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ABSTRACT

RATIONALIZING EVERYDAY LIFE IN LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY ISTANBUL C.1900

**by
Ersin Altin**

This dissertation explores the rationalizing process of everyday life in late nineteenth century Istanbul, within the framework of the modernization agendas that swept the Ottoman Empire from the 1830s on. Starting with the period known as Tanzimat (literally [the reforms]), the study covers the Hamidian period (1876-1909), Second Constitutional Era (1908-1918) and first seven years of the Turkish Republic (1923-1930) noting the complexities of shifts and novelties by looking at daily practices and discourses, as well as the relationships between them.

Within this historic framework, the main focus is the changing relationship between everyday objects and behavioral patterns of the Muslim middle class in the Ottoman capital, Istanbul, and consequently the “new life” that they aspired to. “New life,” which emerged as a concept in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, was charged with aims and high hopes and demands for social and cultural change. These notions were defined and developed in reference to “old” habits and lifestyles, whether real or imagined. Without distinguishing them categorically, the dissertation analyzes two sets of intertwined transformations: in the self-identification of Ottoman intellectuals and citizens and in the practical realities of daily life.

**RATIONALIZING EVERYDAY LIFE
IN LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY ISTANBUL C. 1900**

**by
Ersin Altin**

**A Dissertation
Submitted to the Faculty of
New Jersey Institute of Technology and
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Doctor of Philosophy in Urban Systems**

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**RATIONALIZING EVERYDAY LIFE
IN LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY ISTANBUL C.1900**

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To Burak and Ada

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview and Objectives

1.1.1 Description

This dissertation explores the rationalization process of everyday life in Istanbul aspiring to cover a period of several decades at the turn of the 20th century during which enormous changes took place. From the state of the Ottoman Empire in the world-historical context to major administrative reforms within the Empire, and attendant changes in the Ottoman military, law, education, medicine, religion, to the social and cultural transformations that accompanied these, no aspect of the Ottoman lives remained untouched. Effects on the daily life of Ottoman citizens were no exception, and were the natural outcome of these large scale shifts. Any number of these changes was welcomed with open arms by some, not so much by others. Some were thought to be destructive to traditions that made Ottomans Ottomans, Turks, or Muslims: whatever the identifier might be.

Rationalization appeared and was appropriated as a tool to justify, legitimize and control the ongoing change in daily life of the nineteenth-century Ottoman society. The term promised universality and implied being a part of the civilized world. In fact, there was never only one rationalism in circulation: there were many approaches, each depending on particular position, objective or ideology, but all pretended to be shaped within the idea of “universal civilization,” since the alleged universal nature of scientific rational thinking was the one of the most privileged obsessions of Ottoman intellectuals,

as it was of many of their contemporaries elsewhere. Civilization charged with rationality—scientism functioned as *the* uniform problem solver, posited against any other “ambiguous” knowledge (religion, tradition, etc.). It also was the answer to change in daily life: from mundane to the crucial.

My interest mainly lies in how meta-discourses like rationalization or civilization leak into and are reproduced at the daily level. Changing lifestyles of upper class Ottomans --what Şerif Mardin theorized as super-westernization of upper classes after the *Tanzimat*-- had been interpreted as one of the most prominent agents of modernization in late Ottoman and republican period history. Challenged recently, modernization was used almost interchangeably with westernization. Even though the nineteenth century intelligentsia described the process not with the term westernization but with “Europeanization,” this transformation as well as the term itself was locally constructed in the Empire. It is also crucial to point out that what came to be known as Europeanization or European—modern—civil life style was an ongoing construction process in Europe, too. I argue that modernization is not directly or even primarily about westernization, but about a discourse of the “new” that was formulated within a “new” spatial context. Within this framework of the “new,” the rules of a “new life”, from the improvement of hygiene to the use of “new” daily objects, was defined by the same discourse albeit with different granularities.

In the Ottoman Empire, the “new life” immediately raised the binary opposition of tradition almost as a reflex, but despite the first impression, it was not a replica of a European or Western lifestyle, but Ottoman. It was the perception of “new life” that ignited physical transformation of the cityscape and the domestic environment. The

notion of rationalization functioned as a tool to legitimize physical interventions to space. As Foucault observed, production of discourse was directly related to the redefinition of spatial qualities that aimed controlling the modern body.¹ In the Ottoman Empire, discursive production had also spatial outcomes: in the cityscape, for instance, parks became a part of the Ottoman’s “new health agendas.” At home, rules of hygiene determined “new” layouts that were based on functional separation. By investigating how this discourse infiltrated different fragments of daily life, I aim to explore the complex relations of everyday life, including accidents and coincidences on the one hand, and conscious resistances on the other, without making a categorical distinction between discourses and practices, and without attributing a privileged position to any of these agents.

The discourse of the “new” depicted an embodied form in the modern subject: a healthy, happy, hygienic subject that was sleeping on a metal frame bed, taking excursions in parks, and concerned about personal hygiene. The importance of having a healthy body and choosing a bed frame; the reorganization of domestic life and deployment of certain types of furniture, dining sets, and kitchen appliances; urban transformation and the introduction of coal gas all became parts and indicators of the “new” life. But this individual was coded as male with an active search for the new. Attempts of including female subject in the new spatial organization revealed ambivalent situations. While the female body was included in the daily routine, women’s visibility outside of the home remained limited and conditional. Nonetheless, women participated actively in the modernization process. They were primary consumers (in rare cases, producers) of many

¹ For instance, Foucault’s *Discipline & Punish* narrates such sharp transformation to highlight the dramatic change in nature of the power. Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1995) first published in 1975.

discourses and products, and have actively reproduced them by using, appropriating, rejecting or resisting to them.

1.1.2 Approach and Contents

New objects that appeared in the market and gradually entered Istanbulites' lives triggered discursive productions and kept alive a search for rationalism that aimed to suggest norms, shape the physical environment of the home and the city in not always expected ways. My study scrutinizes these interrelated exchanges between new objects, space and discourse. However, it must be noted at the outset that my study is *not* an attempt to “reconstruct” the “new” life neither as it was discursively defined by Ottoman intellectuals nor as it was lived. I explore the use of objects and spaces, but the aim is not to write the history of these objects or to write that of the spaces. Rather, I am interested in how new objects' spaces were often seen and sometimes promoted as symbols of larger discourses such as civilization or westernization (or Europeanization), in the positive or negative sense of the terms. It was this approach that attributed special importance to objects' spaces and turned them into topics of debate. One of threads throughout the dissertation is to point out these debates and demonstrate how they made the objects' spaces part of the daily life before they are actually being used.

Looking at the components of the [often] “unlived new life” in this fashion is also tied to *who* the subject of this inquiry is. This study is essentially a historical research on the everyday life of Muslim middle and upper-middle class in *fin de siècle* Istanbul. One of the reasons of this decision is the relatively larger pool of material relating to or belonging to the upper classes (memoirs, letters, photographs, personal belongings,

novels alike). I looked primarily at popular publications and school books, as these would arguably have been accessible to more people.

Although I limited my research to the Muslim middle and upper-middle class, the Istanbul I envision is not made up of Muslims only. As prior research has shown non-Muslims constituted a considerable part of Istanbul's population at the time.² I did not exclude, nor could I have, any occurrence of non-Muslims (as store owners, patrons, inhabitants) and their interaction with the Muslim middle class. This also means that the word *Istanbul* in the title is not meant to be an all-inclusive depiction of the Istanbul of the time.

Within this limitation, it is questionable how widely the objects'spaces were accessible at the time. Even so, if not direct access to these new novelties, it seems that the knowledge of or information regarding them disseminated considerably by the word of mouth, hearsay, and gossip alike; perhaps more so than through books, textbooks, or magazines; leading people to have their own views about those objects'spaces. A certain grandmother was able to despise the altered (read: degenerate) conditions of Beyoğlu, without ever taking a stroll down *Cadde-i Kebir* (today's İstiklal Street). Unused objects and unvisited places became parts of people's lives, loaded with emotions of longing, rejection or admiration.

As equally important as the means of transmitting knowledge were the misuses, misunderstandings and reactions towards these ideas, objects, and practices. What Mardin has observed in lower classes as resistance to modernization is interpreted in this

² The 1885 census of Ottoman subjects in the capital shows the following data: Muslim, 44.06 percent; Greek Orthodox, 17.48 percent; Armenian Gregorian, 17.12 percent; Jewish, 5.08 percent; Catholic, 1.17 percent; Bulgarian, 0.50 percent; Latin, 0.12 percent; and Protestant, 0.09 percent. Foreigners made up the remaining 14.74 percent. Stanford Shaw and Ezel K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 2 vols. (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 2:266-267.

study as natural outcomes of the discursive production I am interested in. Admittedly, this type of inquiry is even more evanescent than the already elusive nature of this study's attempt. When the sources allow, I discuss how such misuses and reactions could also shape the knowledge of what had been introduced. In order to demonstrate this, the text sometimes tends to be more descriptive than argumentative.

New objects, furniture, garments, cloths act not merely as signifiers of the success of the new life or modernization or westernization, but as evidences of the existence of discourse of the "new." In this sense, my study sees the production and dissemination of knowledge through books, or the promotion of goods and objects through capitalist means as important data in terms of modernization. For instance, the increasing numbers of advertisements, posters, and flyers do not inform us about their recipients, but they are telling about the existing demand. I rely on discursive production that became increasingly textual and reached to various layers of the society through various mechanisms. Although the textualization of knowledge raises the question of accessing to that knowledge, the change in the medium also shapes the way in which the knowledge was produced and circulated.

Not surprisingly, change and new conditions, whether real or imagined, were neither totally embraced nor completely rejected. All this knowledge, these big ideas and new objects started to slowly pervade the lives of the Ottomans who had access to various media, including but not limited to advertisements, textbooks, magazine articles, and newspapers. None of these publications were as widespread as they are taken to be. The low literacy rate of the period alone is enough to make their influence appear

insignificant.³ Nevertheless, these seemingly small and trivial effects accumulated over time to create a larger influence: sometimes it was the brief instructional paragraph that accompanied the image of a new object in a magazine with a limited circulation; other times, it was a caption of a photograph, or an emphasis in a school textbook.⁴ Another way to access the contents of the printed media was more informal and untraceable: as Ahmet Hamdi (Tanpınar) pointed out when he was discussing Ahmed Midhat's literary contributions, at the time "everyone gathered around the person who knows to read and they all discussed what is being read." Penetrating the world of printed media did not always require literacy. This new "tradition" also had spatial implications: according to Ahmet Hamdi, it transformed the time spent at nights "under the lamp in [old] wooden houses."⁵ One could observe a similar practice in public spaces such as coffeehouses (*kıraathane*) where a variety periodicals were available.⁶

This study concentrates on the complex nature of being an inhabitant of a turn-of-the-century metropolis that has always had vibrant communication with the broader world. I do not locate discourses in a privileged position to analyze daily dynamics, but examine them just like consumer products and objects at three foci: the body, the home and the city itself. Each chapter corresponds to one of these scales and deals with three concepts and their interrelation as well as discourses that surround, connect or compare

³ Literacy rate had been calculated around 10% by relying on the first Ottoman statistical yearbook dated 1897. Tefvik Gıran, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlk İstatistik Yıllığı 1897*, (Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1997).

⁴ For brief and average numbers see Publisher Ahmet İhsan (Tokgöz) memoir: Ahmet İhsan Tokgöz, *Matbuat Hatıralarım, 1888-1923*. (İstanbul: A. İhsan Matbaası, 1930).

⁵ Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, (İstanbul: YKY Yayınları, 2006), 413. First publication Bırhaneddin Matbaası. 1942.

⁶ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources* (Cambridge: New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 169. Faroqhi notes that this cut down the number of individual purchasers. This also means that the sales reports do not accurately reflect the number of people a certain publication reached to.

them: exercise, products, and hygiene. I picked these three concepts because each has implications beyond their basic meanings. For instance, I am interested in exercise, because it is more than being merely about physical well-being: it was also accepted as being about mental well-being and being happy, and eventually was seen as being good for the larger society. Similarly, newly introduced products not only enhanced an individual's life, but they also became integral parts of and even symbols of the proposed "new life." Many of these products were advertised as being good for people's health and well-being, thus, tying back to the issue of the body. Hygiene was another concept that sneaked into the daily lives of Istanbulites, with direct implications on health, happiness, and above all being civilized.

This dissertation is consisted of four chapters that reflect this organization, in addition to the introduction and conclusion. The second chapter, immediately following introduction, is a discussion regarding the introduction of proper use of time and space through textbooks and etiquette books. It is an attempt to read the production of knowledge of behavior through objects and individuals, both of which are strongly connected to new understanding of space and time that regulated them.

In the third chapter, I analyze suggested paths that were asserted to lead to creating a healthy, and accordingly happy, individual. I seek to demonstrate how the modern body transforms into a hygienic subject shaped by exercise and accommodated with appropriate products. The resulting body of the *civilized Ottoman* is redefined by the medical discourse that is a part of the broader rationalization agendas.

The fourth chapter focuses on the habitat of this fit, supplemented, and clean Ottoman. It was not only the civilized individual --and the "modern" family it was a part

of-- that inhabited the home that changed, but the home itself was shifting, socially and spatially. In this chapter, I discuss the new home for a new life with all the new activities it sought to harbor, the products it sought to accommodate and the hygienic environment it sought to offer so as to explore the marks of the meta discourses as they were presented, appropriated or rejected.

The fifth chapter moves one scale up and this time I explore the habitat of the healthy, embellished and hygienic homes, and their inhabitants. I am interested in how the discourse [now combined with medical, sanitary and scientific agendas] convinced the citizens about the need to change the city radically. By “surgical” interventions (cutting, sewing, and transplanting), systemically cleaning, sanitizing, and illuminating as reflections of these discourses, authorities intended to make Istanbul a contemporary (*asri*) city.

1.2 Historical Context

1.2.1 General Framework

The second half of the nineteenth century was a period of tremendous social and cultural transformations in Istanbul. Wars changed the population drastically. With migrations triggered by the Crimean War (1853-1856) and the Russo-Ottoman War (1877-1878), the city's population more than doubled, increasing from a little more than 350,000 in 1844 to just under 875,000 in 1885. Despite political instabilities and social inconsistencies, Istanbulites filled “new” public spaces and enjoyed them in ways they never had before. Trade treaties after wars and demographic shifts made European powers more visible in the Ottoman capital, both culturally and politically. This altered daily routines of

inhabitants of Istanbul making the urban environment even more dynamic and compelling but also in some cases uncanny and problematic. The government was in search of reforms to respond to the emerging problems caused by the transformation. The establishment of municipal governments in 1868 de-centralized administrative duties and directed rapid stabilizing solutions to local problems.

These factors resulted in an economic boom: imported goods started to fill large display windows of department stores. These goods started to decorate the cityscape by creating new shopping nodes and lines in the city. As a citizen of an Empire that had been losing its political power in the world, an ordinary Istanbulite witnessed an accelerated transition. Every individual, depending on class, ethnicity, gender, interpreted these changes differently; nonetheless s/he was forced to be part of it because of the stimuli it created.

I define the chronological scope of the dissertation within the framework of the modernization agendas that swept the Ottoman Empire from the 1830s on, starting with the period known as *Tanzimat*. Even though the period of change is typically framed between 1840s-1930s and my sources range from the 1870s to 1930s, the main focus of this study is the turn of the twentieth century.

The term *Tanzimat* (literally “the reforms”) designates the period that began in 1839 with a government change. Although *Tanzimat* provides the framework, this study covers largely the transformation under the reign of Abdühamid II, which is also known as the *Hamidian* period (1876-1909). His reign was a “period of despotism (*istibdad*), dwelling on its secrecy, paranoia and illiberalism”, but also was a time of “positive developments, such as a flourishing popular press, education for both girls and boys, and

a rapid increase in public services.”⁷ I also investigate the following *Second Constitution Era* that started with the Young Turk Revolution that overthrew the Hamidian regime under the banner of “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and Justice (1889-1918).” Inspired by the positivist motto “order and progress,” the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) (*İttihad ve Terakki*) acted as the political and military organization that ruled *Second Constitution Era*. This period has been interpreted in various ways by scholars. According to Şükrü Hanioglu, CUP expected “political parties to replace age-old institutions,” “stood for a new fraternal Ottoman identity, united against European intervention in the affairs of the empire,” and “spoke of a free press, and of virtually unlimited individual liberties.” However, as Hanioglu points out, the outcomes “differed markedly from the expectations of its true believers.” Accordingly, they were after “conservation and survival” rather than reconstruction⁸.

My study extends to the early Republican period. I examine the period until 1930, including the first seven years of the Turkish Republic (1923). I do not take the declaration of the Republic (1923) as a rupture point or a smooth continuity; rather by looking at mundane practices I note the complexities of shifts and novelties. I do the same for the *Hamidian* period or the Committee of Union and Progress years. Every time

⁷ Benjamin C. Fortna, “The Reign of Abdulhamid II,” in Resat Kasaba (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Turkey* vol 4 *Turkey in the Modern World*, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 38-40. François Georgeon, *Abdul Hamid, Le Sultan Calife* (Paris: Fayard, 2003). A review of recent scholarship on the Hamidian period can be found here: Nadir Özbek, “Modernite, Tarih ve İdeoloji: II. Abdülhamid Dönemi Tarihçiliği Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme”, *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 2, 1 (2004) 71-90.

⁸ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, “The Second Constitutional Period, 1908-1918” in R. Kasaba (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Turkey* vol 4 *Turkey in the Modern World*, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 62-67. Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye’de Siyasal Partiler*, vol. III: *İttihat ve Terakki, Bir Çağın, Bir Kuşağın, Bir Partinin Tarihi* (İstanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1989) Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye’de Ekonomi ve Toplum, 1908–1950: İttihat-Terakki ve Devletçilik* (İstanbul: Yurt Yayınları, 1995) Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Unionist Factor: The Role of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Turkish National Movement, 1905 –1926* (Leiden: Brill, 1984). Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks: The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics, 1908–1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

I switch between periods, I take into account the change in the political, social, and cultural change, but in all instances I try to focus on the daily level.

1.2.2 New Discourse

“New life” □as I envision it- emerged in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, as a concept charged with high hopes and demands for change. Change and “new life” were defined in reference to what came to be seen as the “old” habits and lifestyles, whether real or imagined. The old ways were believed to have caused the “backwardness” of the Ottoman Empire in a comparison with “Western” countries. In this sense, change did not necessarily mean a sudden alteration of life in the second half of the nineteenth century; rather it was a combination of self-identification of Ottoman intellectuals and citizens as well as shifts that really occurred. As Turkish ideologue Ziya G□kalp (1876-1924) wrote, the “new life” would “bring a big revolution, a transformation to the social milieu (*içtimai muhit*).”⁹ However, there was no uniform definition for the “new life” among the Turkish intellectuals.

For G□kalp and other authors such as Namık Kemal or Ahmed Midhat Efendi, new life was the opposite of the “old □superstitious□lifestyle that was based on religious dogma.” “New life promised a bright future,” but in order to reach that bright future, the individual needed to be aware of “the realities of the time.”¹⁰ The realities of the time □ with its accelerated pace, and ideally driven by scientific rational thinking- were closely related to civilization. The term civilization was re-defined in the Ottoman Empire around 1840s as equivalent of the same word in western languages that emerged during

⁹ Ziya G□kalp, “Yeni Hayat” (New Life), *Yeni Felsefe* (New Philosophy), 15 (1911), 1-6.

¹⁰ Ziya G□kalp, *Yeni Hayat*.

1750s.¹¹ Civilization referred to a particular level of social and cultural development, and was seen as a combination of a particular worldview, behaviors, and life styles that reflected “common universal values.” As Gökbalp noted “civilization is universal. Thus it can pass from one nation to another.” However, as one of the most significant founder theorists of Turkish nationalism, Gökbalp repetitively praised *hars* (culture), which would complement civilization, as a determinant of what makes a nation unique. Civilization, to him, represented the transformation in perception: it was inseparable from scientific and technological progress; it was universally measurable, and facilitated “objective” comparisons.¹² Ottoman intellectuals thought that --compared to the Europeans-- Ottoman society was not “civilized,” at least *not civilized enough*.

Ziya Gökbalp saw a direct relationship between civilization and morality.¹³ Civilization, owing to its attributes, destroyed culture as well as solidarity and morality in a society, especially if there was an unbalanced development between culture and civilization due to external dominance. Creating a binary of culture and civilization, Gökbalp instrumentalized civilization as a common objective of Turkish nation. In other words, he proposed a rationale for a kind of inevitable process.

Turkish intellectuals who praised scientific thinking and rationality seemed convinced that a society’s manners were signs of its development level. However, as journalist Celal Nuri criticized “Western civilization has pervaded the society without

¹¹ Tuncer Baykara, *Osmanlılarda Medeniyet Kavramı*, (Istanbul: IQ Kıtıf Sanat, 2007). For emergence of the term civilization see Bruce Mazlish, *Civilization and Its Contents*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004). Harriet Guest, *Empire, Barbarism, and Civilisation: James Cook, William Hodges, and the Return to the Pacific*. (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Brett Bowden, *The Empire of Civilization: The Evolution of an Imperial Idea*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

¹² Ziya Gökbalp, “İçtimaiyat, Halkçılık,” *Yeni Mecmua* (1918), 102.

¹³ Ziya Gökbalp, “Halk Medeniyeti -1 Başlangıç” *Halka Doğru* 1 (1913), 107.

any rules and manners” creating a “socially outrageous society.”¹⁴ This perceived tension that Celal Nuri pointed out left Turkish intellectuals ambivalent: they wanted a civilized society but they were not happy about the consequences of it. It was precisely this dilemma that led them to determine a set of rules or devise pathways of civilization for the society.

“Europeanization” (*Avrupalılařma*) was another concept that was in wide circulation to define the transformation in this turbulent period of the nineteenth century. As concerns of the intellectuals of the time reveal, European influences were not completely welcomed (although some of them accepted Europe or the West as a model.) The image that was created for the “new life” cannot be explained as a direct influence of the “West,” or a dichotomy that splits the society into two camps as civilized and uncivilized. I tackle Europeanization not as something that is “imported,” but as a local concept that the middle and upper-middle class Ottomans defined. It was these Ottomans who saw Europe in a certain way, and coined and used the term the term. The focus of this research is the reaction that leads to problematizing the term and its implications, and which often exhibited individualistic patterns.

Intellectuals who felt obliged to educate their society did not agree on one single path leading to civilization. Although many turned to Europe when discussing civilization, such Ottoman intellectuals as Ahmed Midhat were aware of the problematic nature of the “European” situation: Ahmed Midhat aimed to eliminate the established misconception about Europe as a unified, monolithic culture: “When we say Europe we use it in a general sense, it [Europe] is a large continent. Various nations live on it. Just as their languages are different, their governmental methods and traditions are also

¹⁴ Celal Nuri, *Kadınlarımız* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Letihad, 1331[1913]).

different.”¹⁵ Not all intellectuals distanced themselves from having a categorical understanding of Europe. For instance, when Namık Kemal looked at European metropolises, he saw the vision of embodied civilization in a very concrete form. The civilization was embodied in masonry buildings, ferries, trains, and in the street lamps.¹⁶ The differences in the perception of Europe, and what to focus on this vast geographical, cultural and political entity, stemmed from personal views as well as ideological commitments and different perspectives all fed into the discussions on civilization.

1.3 Sources

As I am interested in both practices-objects and discourses that are in a mutual relationship, I employ various types of sources. Although I do not prioritize the discursive productions, inevitably I turn to the writings of late nineteenth-century Turkish intellectuals. More specifically, I study daily life as an attempt to understand how these discourses were re-produced at a micro level. In order to highlight the intertwined or correlative nature of these two realms --namely, the intellectual corpus and daily practices-- I engage in an inter-textual study. The dissertation draws from three sets of sources: 1) textbooks and guidebooks; 2) popular media (periodicals such as newspapers, magazines); and 3) official acts such as municipal applications and regulations.

Publications intended to regulate daily life on a behavioral basis constitute the first set: etiquette books, published since 1894, object books¹⁷ and home economics

¹⁵ “Biz Avrupa dediğimiz zaman bu kelimeyi umumiyet üzere s̄yler isek de orası azim bir kıtadır. Œzerinde bir Œk milletler m̄teayıştır. Bunların lisanları muhtelif olduđu gibi usul-i h̄k̄metleri, suret-i maişetleri dahi muhteliftir. Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Avrupa Adab- Muaşeret-i yahud Alafranga*, 1894.

¹⁶ Namık Kemal, “Medeniyet”, *İbret*, Sayı 84, 1 January 1873.

¹⁷ *İlm-i eşya or Eşya dersleri* in Turkish, “Le Œon des choses” in French. What I refer to as object books are textbooks of these courses and textbooks of *Malumat-ı Nafia* (useful knowledge) course, also encyclopedias such as Mehmet İzzet, *Rehber-i Umur-ı Beytiyye* (Istanbul: Feridiye Matbaası, 1901).

books, which were used as textbooks for primary and secondary school curriculum. These publications complemented one another and thus can be used in conjunction with each other. Object and home economics books were produced by state agencies and explicitly contributed to the establishment of meta-discourses, such as civilizing the society. Etiquette books were translated and published by private initiatives, but they also focused on “civilization,” understood as a way of living.

The second set of sources, magazines and newspapers of the time, was important as it offered further insight into the dissemination of new ideas.¹⁸ The illustrations that accompanied the texts and the advertisements in the periodicals provided me with invaluable visual data-- both in terms of the kinds of new objects and the manner in which they were used. For instance, didactic stories in women’s magazines informed Ottoman ladies about women’s changing role in the house, their demand of participating in labor life, women’s education, their approach to religion, and ideas about family and marriage. In addition, surprisingly they always had sections that reported news about European royal and upper class families.

The third set is records of official acts such as municipal applications and regulations. Osman Nuri Ergin’s five-volume-work *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Beleddiyye* is still a very useful source for municipal acts.¹⁹ A municipal regulation dated 1868 reorganized existing city government into Municipal Prefecture. Under this Prefecture, Istanbul was divided into 14 districts (*daire*). The new municipal government and its constituent

¹⁸ The extent of the publications during this period is immense and is beyond the scope of any one study. It is true that many of the magazines, newspapers and similar publications had rather short publication lives, nevertheless, collectively they comprise a significant body of materials. It is also important to note that I only limited my search to publications in Ottoman.

¹⁹ First publication: Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Beleddiyye* (Dersaadet [İstanbul]: Arşak Garoyan Matbaası, 1330 [1912]). The transcribed version in nine volumes: Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Beleddiyye* (Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kıtık İşleri, 1995).

district organizations were given extensive duties and powers.²⁰ Since new municipal organization was responsible both for local legislation and execution, it had a significant impact on urban life. Official records offer detailed definitions of the intended and realized interventions on the daily life in Istanbul.

In addition to these three sets, the dissertation occasionally relies on petitions by ordinary people concerning daily problems and petitions in response to municipal acts, kept in the Prime Minister's Archives (BOA). Petitions do not only help understanding the socio-cultural contexts and expectations, but also they provide useful information on the degree of success of discourses in consolidating the concept of "new life" among the Istanbulites. This dissertation also draws from the writings and memoirs of people who witnessed the change of the city. Memoirs of Ahmet Hamdi, Halide Edip, doctor-mayor Cemil Paşa, publisher Ahmet İhsan Bey to name a few are invaluable sources for shedding light on the mindsets of their producers.²¹ Additionally, newspaper articles of Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza and Basiretî Ali Efendi, written in the late nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries provide me with insight of daily dynamics of the period.²²

²⁰ A detailed description of municipal changes can be found in Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediye*. Also, several secondary sources deal with the history of the municipal organizations in Istanbul. For example, see Stanford J. Shaw, and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*. 2 vols (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

²¹ Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Beş Şehir* (Ankara: Ülkü, 1946). Halide Edip Adivar, *Memoirs of Halide Edib*. (New York, London: The Century co., 1926). Ahmet İhsan Tokgözü, *Matbuat Hatıralarım, 1888-1923*. Ayşe Osmanoğlu, *Babam Abdülhamid*. (Istanbul: Güven Yayınevi, 1960). Şadiye Osmanoğlu, *Babam Abdülhamid: Saray ve Sürgün Yılları*. (Istanbul: LİM Yayınları, 2007). For Cemil Paşa's memoirs: Cemil Topuzlu, *İstibdat, Meşrutiyet, Cumhuriyet devirlerinde 80 yıllık hâtıralarım* (İstanbul: Güven Yayınevi, 1951). Cemil Topuzlu, *Yarıncı İstanbul: İstanbulu asrî bir şehir yapmak için yıkıp yeniden kurmak lâzımdır* (Istanbul: Kenan Basımevi, 1937). Cemil Topuzlu, *Operatör Cemil Paşa hatıraları* (Istanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1945).

²² For compilations of articles of both authors, see Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, *Eski Devirlerde İstanbul Hayatı*, Ali Şükrü Çoruk (ed.) (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2007). Basiretî Ali Efendi, *İstanbul Mektupları*, Nuri Sağlam (ed) (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2001).

And lastly, this study uses images as primary documents: visual elements, advertisements, pictures, caricatures, plans, and maps all play essential roles in depicting the story.

1.4 Literature Survey

There are a number of studies that tackle everyday life in the Ottoman Empire. An early example is Reşad Koşu's incomplete project *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, published in 11 volumes between 1944 and 1973. This is a useful source since it frames daily life by including anecdotes and folkloric perspectives like local sayings. Memoirs also provide invaluable information about traditions and behavioral patterns.

Scholars have recently turned to everyday life. Ekrem Işın, one such scholar, in his *Everyday Life in Istanbul: Social Historical Essays on People, Culture and Spatial Relations* devotes a part specifically to everyday life in nineteenth-century Istanbul.²³ Işın focuses on the Europeanization and modernization of the daily behavioral habits in general terms. Another scholar Kudret Emiroğlu, in his encyclopedic book *Gündelik Hayatımızın Tarihi (The History of Our Daily Life)*, tackles objects and practices of daily life under headings such as traditions, health, eating, home, kitchen, alike.²⁴ Structured exactly like an encyclopedia, Emiroğlu defines the history and use of objects or practices. Both Işın and Emiroğlu focus on very similar topics, and both works suffer from the same problem of not citing their sources. As a result, in many places it is hard to determine where they got the information from, which makes it impossible to use them without finding a second source.

²³ Ekrem Işın, *Everyday Life in Istanbul: Social Historical Essays on People, Culture and Spatial Relations*: Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Publications, 2001).

²⁴ Kudret Emiroğlu, *Gündelik hayatımızın tarihi* (1. baskı. ed.). (Ankara: Dost Kitabevi, 2001).

Another recent trend in Ottoman-Turkish studies is a growing number of publications initiated and funded by government and municipal agencies. These are usually a compilation of documents or visual sources. Some of examples relevant to my subject are Mehmet Mazak's *Tanzifat-ı İstanbul* (2011) and *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Havagazı Tarihi* (1999).²⁵ Even though such compilations of primary sources are useful, these works lack methodological approach.

There are inspiring studies on the early modern period that look into material culture by analyzing records of inherited objects or sales reports to trace the change in society.²⁶ Suraiya Faroqhi's works on seventeenth century Anatolian cities are among them. Specifically in *Men of Modest Substance*, Faroqhi examines the material culture and consumption habits in Ankara and Kayseri by relying on the data that she gathers from local statistics, governmental documents and commercial records.²⁷ Using similar sources, Hılya Canbakal focuses on Ayntabi society from the perspective of social and political hierarchy, the power of urban elite, their relationship to the common folk. Canbakal aims to reveal complex agendas of an Anatolian town by scrutinizing the politics of center-periphery relations, the rise of local power groups and the politics of

²⁵ Mehmet Mazak and Fatih Gıdal, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Temizlik Tarihi: Tanzifat-ı İstanbul* (1. baskı ed.) (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2011). Mehmet Mazak, *Gündelik Hayatından Renklerle Eski İstanbul* (1. baskı. ed.) (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2009). Mehmet Mazak, Sertaç Kayserilioğlu and Kadir Kon, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Havagazı Tarihi*, (İstanbul: IGDAŞ, 1999).

²⁶ Suraiya Faroqhi and Hılya Canbakal conduct such researches for Anatolian towns of the seventeenth century.

²⁷ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance: House Owners and House Property in Seventeenth-century Ankara and Kayseri*, (Cambridge Cambridgeshire ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987). See also Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2005).

everyday life.²⁸ These studies are very beneficial both methodologically and in terms of their creative approaches to the notion of change in daily life and representations of them.

Alan Duben and Cem Behar's *Istanbul Households* examines family and population in Istanbul during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.²⁹ This study is an incredibly useful source to understand the familial transformation in Istanbul, as the first Muslim city to experience a systematic decline in fertility and attendant major changes in family life, and as such, setting the tone for many social and cultural changes in Turkey. As the authors explain the change with "westernization," pointing to Istanbul as the major focal point for the forces of westernization, the book contributes to various aspects of this dissertation, most notable being their focus on domestic life.

Another topic I tackle in my study is the change in manners. There are numerous publications on this topic. For instance, the recent work of Nevin Meriç focuses on the transformation of etiquette rules in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.³⁰ Meriç analyzes nine etiquette books published between 1894 and 1927 and by looking at the change from traditional behavioral codes to the "western" ones, the author argues that it is not merely adapting the western life style that constitutes change, but constructing new cultural patterns. Meriç's emphasis is on "western practices" and the confusion stemming from their adaptation is useful in demonstrating a different take on the materials my and Meriç's study share.

²⁸ Hılya Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town: Aynıtab in the 17th century* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007).

²⁹ Alan Duben, and Cem Behar, *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family, and Fertility, 1880-1940* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

³⁰ Nevin Meriç, *Adab-ı Muaşeret: Osmanlı'da Gündelik Hayatın Değişimi (1894-1927)* (Istanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2007).

Another vein of scholarship this dissertation benefited from is theorization of daily life. Henri Lefebvre's philosophical and political criticism had significant impact on discussions regarding the topic.³¹ His work has revitalized urban studies, geography and planning via concepts like the social production of space, the right to the city, everyday life, and global urbanization. Publishing a number of studies on everyday life and also being an activist on the streets over a span of forty years, he aimed to discern the consequences of modernity in its late capitalist incarnation for the multiplicity of forms of social life and for (social) being itself. Consumerism and the capitalist cycle, according to Lefebvre, not only shaped daily life but daily life was also the sphere in which economic and political relationships occurred. Attributing a central position to architecture (clinic, prison, asylum), Foucault's discourse analyzed space not only an outcome of cultural production, but also a structure that contains, codifies, and shapes power and behavior, and therefore cultural and social practices.³² Another French scholar, Michel de Certeau, had also significant contribution on the perception of everyday life. In his 1980 book, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, de Certeau attempted to define this sphere, re-examining works of thinkers like Foucault, Bourdieu, and Kant. de Certeau's everyday life significantly differed from that of Lefebvre's or Foucault's with its potential to produce instant "resistances" against inclusive characteristics of dominance or power. Loosening inescapable Foucauldian power structure, he depicted

³¹ Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life* (London; New York: Verso, 1991). This book first published in 1947.

³² Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception* (New York, 1973; first published 1963), *Madness and Civilization* (New York, 1965; first published 1961), and *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage, 1995; first published 1975).

everyday life as a place in which strict power relations (strategies) could be eliminated with mundane conscious/unconscious acts or what de Certeau called “tactics.”³³

Admitting the historicity of material culture revealed possibilities of different perspectives on space and architecture: rather than focusing on *performance* of architecture (e.g., style, façade, typology), this approach enabled grasping architecture and space both as a cultural outcome and an active agent. The problematic nature of culture required new insights and an interdisciplinary approach. Urban space, thus, began to be seen not only as a physical environment that “contains” actors, but also the place of power relations that both use and contest it, and, indeed, as the very locale of resistance. It is within this framework of understanding of architecture that I analyze the urban and domestic space in my dissertation. It is within this complexity that I look for stories of multiple actors, and examples of multiple ways of appropriating the space.

Many scholars have used a similar approach to tackle the general transformation in a particular period by looking at bourgeois culture, behavioral patterns, organization of time, daily routine, meals and drinks, clothing and fashion, lifestyles and the like. Among them, Lynda Nead’s *Victorian Babylon* aims to understand change of London’s physical environment by tracing historicities of people, streets and images in the nineteenth century.³⁴ Richards’ *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England* not only sheds light on the subject matter, but also provides visual documentation of the commercial language of the time.³⁵ Eva Giloi’s *Monarchy, Myth, and Material Culture in Germany* is also an invaluable source in order to understand transformation of material culture of nineteenth

³³ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*.

³⁴ Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon : People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London*. (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2000).

³⁵ Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

century Prussian monarchs. In the American context, Dell Upton attempts to read spatial reflection of the material culture. In his *Another City*, Upton looks at burgeoning American cities like New Orleans and Philadelphia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, attempting to grasp the city through the lives of its inhabitants, through contemporary travel accounts, diaries, and correspondences, as well as maps, architectural drawings, paintings, and prints.³⁶ Books like Despina Stratigakos' *A Women's Berlin*, Erika Diane Rappaport's *Shopping for Pleasure*, and Sewell's *Women and the Everyday City* investigate material culture in specific cities by bringing the problem of gender to the center.³⁷

Gender is crucial in terms of my topic since my dissertation also investigates the production of information for women. Among others, Maresi Nerad in her *The Academic Kitchen* discusses problem of gender in an academic environment by looking at the Department of Home Economics as an all-women institution and analyzes production of academic knowledge for women's use.³⁸ Annmarie Adams' *Architecture in the Family Way*, with its focus on the intersection of medicine and architecture as well as women was became an invaluable source for this dissertation.³⁹

One can see that the broad and fragmented nature of the dissertation is also reflected on the literature referred to here and in the text. Some sources were helpful in

³⁶ Dell Upton, *Another City: Urban Life and Urban Spaces in the New American Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008). D. Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream: The Future of Housing, Work, and Family Life*. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984).

³⁷ D. Stratigakos, *A Women's Berlin: Building the Modern City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008). E.D. Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000). J. E. Sewell, *Women and the Everyday City: Public Space in San Francisco, 1890-1915* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

³⁸ Maresi Nerad, *The academic Kitchen: a Social History of Gender Stratification at the University of California, Berkeley*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999).

³⁹ Annmarie Adams, *Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, Houses, and Women 1870-1900*. (Montreal ; Buffalo: McGill-Queens University Press, 1996).

terms of navigating through methodological problems. Others helped me in making sense of the context of the period by questioning the differences and similarities within various frameworks, be it about the Ottoman Empire or elsewhere. I benefited from a number of studies for the information offered, even if they did not offer as much insight about methodology or theoretical frameworks. And last but not least, there are some works that I do not directly refer to in the following text, but they have been informative in shaping the study as these were also those that transformed the field.

CHAPTER 2

REGULATING DAILY LIFE

2.1 Introduction

2.1.1 Teaching the Proper

The concept of properness and its implications was understood in a certain way at the turn-of-the-century Istanbul as it related to issues of civilization, modernization, Europeanization. Intellectuals of the time claimed that the modernization process required a particular etiquette that was based on European models, but Ottoman nevertheless. Terms *alafranga* and *alaturka* denoted a crucial distinction at the time and were used repetitively in the etiquette literature. *Alafranga* and *alaturka* were binary opposites that referred to new or Western and old-fashioned or native respectively.

This was evident in the first “modern” Ottoman etiquette book *Avrupa Adab-ı Muaşeretî ve yahud Alafranga* (European Etiquette or Alafranga) by Ahmed Midhat that instructed [desired] refined behavioral patterns and etiquette.¹ Knowing etiquette, according to him, was practical; for this reason the first etiquette book aimed to inform Ottomans who would visit Europe about the existing behavioral patterns. The implied message could not remain modest as it was meant to be: the author’s purpose was to fix misapplications and misuses within the Empire for civilization’s sake.²

Etiquette became so crucial to the upper echelons of the Ottoman society that French author Comtesse de Magalon’s *Le Guide Mondain, Art Moderne Du Savoir-Vivre*

¹ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa Adab-ı Muaşeretî ve yahud Alafranga* (Istanbul: İkdâm, 1894). It was first published serially in *İkdâm* newspaper and was afterwards published as a book in 1894.

² As will be discussed, this attitude has not changed all that much (although it did to a certain extent) in the next couple of decades as seen in a later etiquette book Ahmed Cevad’s published in the Republican period.

(1910) was translated into Turkish in 1911.³ In the foreword, the publisher and editor, İbrahim Hilmi noted the following:

“To live is the most significant need of humanity but people know very little about it. A man can live in any condition. However, living like a human, like a civilized man is very difficult. The French say that getting along with others does not mean living. A nation that does not comply with etiquette and does not understand public manners cannot be called a *living* nation. Every society has its own lifestyle. Etiquette of a westerner is totally different from the etiquette of an easterner. It is natural that there are differences between west and east in terms of manners of religion, of public and of national manner. Every society has its own traditions; these cannot be sacrificed easily, and should not be. The Japanese people are a very good example for us in this case. However, it must not be forgotten that the place we are located in is the most beautiful part of Europe. All around us, there are Europeans, moreover effects of European lifestyle began to spread in our layers of society (*tabakat-ı içtimaiye*). As we embrace progress of civilization, our contact with Europeans will increase. For this, it is required to know westerner’s manners.”⁴

Like Ahmet Midhat, İbrahim Hilmi distinguished the Ottoman from the French, calling the new patterns *alafranga*, and the older *alaturka*. Even though this duality was clearly articulated, the problem of civilization and the problem of morality accompanying it were convoluted for Ottoman intellectuals. The Ottoman writer was aware of the “new” and tried to appropriate it in his daily life, while confronting difficulties to legitimize the new even for himself.

In Abdullah Cevdet’s understanding, on the other hand, proper behavior was almost universal; therefore he did not see any problems in giving Sunday prayers as an example of good opportunity for a family morning excursion. He compared this routine to with Muslims’ morning prayer, which is done everyday. Abdullah Cevdet looked for ways to incorporate existing patterns to establish new “exercise.” He observed: “Muslim’s religious practices are not as accustomed (*mutat*) as that of Christians.

³ Kontes Dumaglin[sic], *Rehber-i Muaşeret: Avrupa Adab-ı Muaşereti* (İstanbul: Kitaphane-i Askeri, 1910).

⁴ Italics are mine. Kontes Dumaglin, *Rehber-i Muaşeret*.

Number of people who go to mosque for the morning prayer is decreasing.”⁵ Thus the author did not find the idea that morning prayers could be appropriated for morning excursions very practical. Perhaps he did not find its implementation exclusive enough because according to Abdullah Cevdet, “there is not a second civilization. Civilization is the European civilization.”⁶

According to some scholars, publication of etiquette books in the Ottoman Empire was part of the education process of the society that did not have proper knowledge of things that were imported. For instance, Ekrem Işın wrote that what triggered the publication of etiquette books mostly stemmed from the idea of keeping the “myth of civilized Europe” alive. To Işın, etiquette “was invented for the purpose of reducing to a minimum the friction between the traditional and modern, of drawing attention to the points where the two complement each other.”⁷ Nevin Meriç who investigated change in everyday life through the construction of *Adab-ı Muaşeret* (etiquette) rules, built her argument upon the process of modernization pioneered by the intellectuals who wrote the books.⁸

In this chapter, I investigate how information-knowledge on space and time was formulated in etiquette books and textbooks, and eventually became an essential tool for progress in the eyes of Ottoman intellectuals. I argue that the aim of these books were not as object-centered as they seem to be. Although at first glance, because of the stress on the use of new objects, Ottoman intellectuals seemed to help society adapt new situations

⁵ Abdullah Cevdet, *Resimli ve Mukemmel Adab-ı Muaşeret Rehberi* (Istanbul : Yeni Matbaa, 1926), 134.

⁶ “Bir ikinci medeniyet yoktur. Medeniyet, Avrupa medeniyetidir. Bunu g yyle, dikeniyile isticn s etmeye mecburuz.” Abdullah Cevdet, “ ime-i Muhabbet”, *İctihad*, no: 89, 1329-1914, 1983.

⁷ Ekrem Işın, *Everyday Life in Istanbul: Social Historical Essays on People, Culture and Spatial Relations*: Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2001), 139.

⁸ This pattern suggesting modernization by following the pioneers is still the dominant agent in the nineteenth century history writing.

stemming from new life through etiquette. In many cases it was only loosely tied to the object or to material culture. On the contrary, in many of these books the material aspect of an object appears to be disturbing for the authors. In order for the material to be legitimized, it had to be theorized. Although the (“new”) object was heavily instrumentalized in many cases to construct the knowledge of “proper use,” the main emphasis remained on the rationalization of the act of importing that object, not the object itself. So, etiquette books first produced the knowledge to justify the new “material culture,” then they transformed it into something precious. Because of this construct, misuses, misbehaviors, mistakes became much larger problems related to new spatiality and temporality that exceeded individual object-related issues.

If one overarching aim was the theorization of new objects and tie them to larger problems, another was the “correction” of misbehaved individuals in the society. For instance, the biggest thread to Ahmed Mithad's *Avrupa Adab-ı Muaşeretini ve yahud Alafranga* (1894) was people who misbehaved and ridiculed themselves in public with their hybrid attitudes. Ahmed Midhat started his book by complaining about the misconceptions of a hip term of the time: *Alafranga*:

“Is there any mouth left that this term has not visited yet in the last 30-40 years? Every mouth uses the word “alafranga” whether it is relevant or not. Sometimes it reaches to the level of a certain negative verdict: It is alafranga! Who can object to that afterwards? How many people use the term knowing what it really means? Although for a while the word “fancy” has been circulated at a similar level, number of people who are aware of its meaning is really rare.”⁹

⁹ “Otuz kırk seneden beri bu kelimenin ziyaret etmediği ağız mı kalmıştır? Her ağızdan olur olmaz münasebetler üzerine bir alafranga sözüdür çıkar. Bazen bu sözün kuvveti bir hıkm-kati derecesine varır. Alafranga imiş!...Artık buna kim itiraz edebilir? Ya acaba bu sözün asıl manası ne olduğunu ka kişi bilerek söyler? Bir zamandan beri “şık” kelimesi dahi hemen bu derecelerde ta’min etmiş ise de onun da ne olduğunu bilerek istimal edenler hakikaten enderdirler.” Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa Adab-ı Muaşeretini ve yahud Alafranga*, 2.

Fictional characters in novels such as Mahmut Ekrem's *Bihruz Bey* and Ahmet Midhat's *Felâhî Bey*, who not only "misunderstood" *alafranga* but also being civilized, emerged in the very first Ottoman novels in the "western" format. Speaking half French-half Turkish or imitating European clothes, these characters were not intended as satire elements or laughing stock in the narrative, but as real personalities who were confused about the temporal and spatial scales of everyday life. What described in such narratives as "new life" with its negative connotation was about the attempt of establishing new spatial and temporal order, rather than fixing "confused" individuals' mistakes.

One other major source of disseminating knowledge in addition to etiquette books was textbooks for courses like *malumat-ı nafia* (useful knowledge), *ilm-i esya*¹⁰ (object lessons) and *idare-yi beytiyye* (home economics for girls). These courses were offered in primary schools and introduced objects such as furniture, household equipment, clock, as well as tools to measure physical change such as thermometer, barometer, while at the same time they instructed the uses of these objects. For instance, prepared by medical doctor Tevfik Şükrü for high school curriculum, *700 Resimli İlm-i Eşya*, besides practical information on variety of objects, included a chapter on negative effects of alcohol consumption on individuals and their children.¹¹ Another textbook, *Ev Bakımı*, written by another medical doctor, Muhittin Celil, was prepared for primary school female students and aimed to teach maintenance of homes. This text book that contained detailed information about domestic objects and furniture as well as their maintenance had a large chapter on domestic etiquette.

¹⁰ "Leçon des choses" in French. This was based on a nineteenth century educational theory in which a material object forms the basis of the teaching abstract concepts.

¹¹ Tevfik Şükrü, *700 Resimli İlm-i Eşya* (İstanbul: Mekteb-i Fânun-ı Harbiye-yi Şahane Matbaası, 1906-1907),

Objects and their use clearly functioned as tool to establish norms. Therefore the information attached to an object often exceeds beyond the limit of practical use of that particular objects. However, how to actually teach these objects and their uses was also problematized. A good example of this approach is a known publisher of the time, İbrahim Hilmi who published not only textbooks for school children but also etiquette books for grown-ups as mentioned above.

Etiquette books and textbooks addressed themes such as social responsibility, patriotism, and civilization as an umbrella for such themes. Civilization in these particular publications became an object-centered term, which implied objects could determine civilized environment. The objects that entered the “new lives” of Ottomans functioned as symbols of civil morality that was tried to be established throughout society. This conception made objects topics of debate even before their appearance in daily life. Making objects part of daily life before the entrance of the actual object into people’s lives is one of the major threads in this study. If the knowledge or information of a certain object spreads enough by books but also by the word of mouth, hearsay, gossip alike, people start to have an opinion about that object. Reacting, wanting to own, missing even before owning, complete rejection are only a few of these emotions. At this particular time, civilization was at the center of such emotions. Objects promoted as requirements of health, happiness and finally civilized world, supposedly had to be utilized by ordinary people but the notion of civilization was not intrinsic to those objects.

Another aspect of the “burden” disseminated by these publications was that the person had social consciousness. Whoever civilized was supposed to feel obliged to teach

others (who would in turn teach the next) who had not reached the desired level yet. This probably was one of the reasons that etiquette or ethics books were not only part of the primary and secondary school curriculum, but universities and military academies also continued to teach “proper” use behavior. There were also many books that targeted the general public (not students). This publication activity was to continue in the Republican period as well.

2.2 Proper Use of Time

All of the larger themes and seemingly practical information was going to take place in a certain time and space. It was absolutely crucial for potentially everyone to understand proper use of time and space. To use time and space properly, it was also important to grasp the notion of modern time and space that regulated the relationship between objects and individuals through theorization of the behavioral patterns. In the next sections, I discuss how knowledge of time and space are produced in schools. By briefly looking at the changing curriculum, pedagogical approaches and textbooks of the late nineteenth century, I aim to trace the transformation in narrative, strategy, methods that are tailored to modern children and youth.

Streets of London fascinated Namik Kemal with their dynamism: “There is so much activity that each street has been transformed into a great whirlpool that is incessantly turning and flowing.” It was urban space and the notion of time that regulated that activity: “the time of the day rotates on the minute hand of the clock there and on the hour hand here.”¹² Namik Kemal observed a mind blowing speed and dynamism in Istanbul, however, it was a different pace for different purposes according to him: “as for

¹² Namik Kemal, *İbret*, 5 November 1872.

what has been going on since the fifth and sixth of Ramadan: as soon as the weather cleared up, the women, too, poured into the streets as they have for twenty-thirty years. In the area extending from the Ministry of War to Beyoğlu Police Station, Beyazıt Square and Şehzade Avenue are jammed with carriages, and Kalpakçılarbaşı is overflowing with pedestrians.”¹³ In Namık Kemal’s perspective in the 1870s, Istanbul’s mobility and temporality still seemed to be based on religious traditions compared to London’s cyclic temporality that was based on the mechanized working hours. He wanted the latter for Istanbul as it corresponded with a desired level of civilization

Only two decades later, famous poet Ahmet Haşim (1884-1933) longed for what Namık Kemal wanted to change. By then, this became a forgotten value, a memory of a lost time (pun intended). “The most latent and the most affective invasion that renewed Istanbul and surprised its residents was the introduction of foreign clocks into our lives. What we mean by clock is not the device that measures time, but the time itself. We used to have our own life and our own way of thinking and in accordance with that life style our own hours [also clocks] and days.”¹⁴

As Ahmed Haşim observed, as much as clocks were tools that organized life in a different way, they were also symbols that signified metaphoric representation of social expectations. As the author nostalgically recalled his times’ lifestyle and interpretation of temporality as lost, he described clock as a “foreign” device with major transformative powers that imposed its “foreign” temporality. Although Ahmed Haşim saw this life

¹³ Author’s letter written in January 1867 cited in Namık Kemal, *İbret*, 173.

¹⁴ In Turkish clock and hour is the same word: *saat*. “İstanbul’u yenileştiren ve yerlisini şaşırtan istilaların en gizlisi ve en tesirlisi yabancı saatlerin hayatımıza girişi oldu. Saatten kastımız, zamanı ölçen alet değil, fakat bizzat zamandır. Eskiden kendimize göre yaşıyışımız, düşünüşümüz, ... Bu hayat uslubuna göre de saatlerimiz ve günlerimiz vardı.” Ahmet Haşim, *Bize göre; Gurebâhâne-i Laklakan; Frankfurt Seyahatnamesi*. (Istanbul: M.E.B. Devlet Kitapları, 1969). First publication 1928.

foreign, missing a time he perhaps never really experienced, time started to play an essential role in regulating the modern individual's life, which was to be divided into standardized durations. As an advertisement urged, an individual should “never be without a watch.”¹⁵



Figure 2.1 Advertisement of *Selvaciyen* watch store. “Never be without a watch.”

Source: *İkdam*, 19 December 1894.

Watches and clocks were important for two major reasons: first, they helped establish standardized durations in daily life and measure the level of its proper use. Second, and more importantly, they functioned as tools that could convince individuals on the necessity of those durations in their lives. At the urban scale, clock towers appeared as monuments that emphasized this temporal transformation. They were symbols of both a new temporal order and progress. Abdühamid II ordered the

¹⁵ “Asla saatsiz kalmayınız,” *İkdam*, 19 December 1894.

construction of clock towers in 81 locations in the Ottoman capital in 1888.¹⁶ Those that were built were located in the most prominent locations in the city such as public plazas in Tophane Square or in front of the Dolmabahçe Palace where official ceremonies took place regularly.



Figure 2.2 Dolmabahçe clock tower.

Source: <http://www.millisaraylar.gov.tr/portalmain/Palaces.aspx?SarayId=10> (accessed November 1, 2013).

As will be discussed in the following chapters, schools were one of the first places that something new was introduced to the larger public. Educational reforms of the late 1860s centered time as societal regulator. Children were introduced to a new temporality, learned reading the time and then, by using this notion efficiently, were asked to execute their time based re-defined duties.

¹⁶ Zeynep Üelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986), 130.

2.2.1 Timetabling the Education

Educator and pedagogue Selim Sabit Efendi (1829-1910) educational model, *usûl-i cedîd* (new method), implemented roughly between 1869 and 1876, aimed to be the archetype of modern school system. This model attempted to combine the positive aspects of tutorial, class and monitorial systems. The new method changed the existing structure of Ottoman system in many aspects. The *usûl-i cedîd* contained both modern aspects of scientific education and the tradition of social disciplining.¹⁷

The *new method* started to change the traditional schedule based on prayer times in addition to existing educational institutions and religious curriculum.¹⁸ Although an educational model that aimed to divide knowledge into subjects that had a specific duration and location in time was implemented, it did not strip off religious subjects or courses, and religion and religious ethics continued to occupy an important part of students' school schedule. Furthermore, *usûl-i cedîd* introduced a generalized and standardized timetable to teach listed courses. The curriculum incorporated courses on modern science and morality: for instance, according to the 1869 Regulation of General Education (Maarif-i Umûmiye Nizamnamesi), required courses included *Elifba* (alphabet), *Kurân-ı Kerim* (Koran), *Tecvid* (Koran reading), *Ahlâka Müteallik Resail* (ethics), *İlm-i Hal* (science of behavior), *Yazı Talimi* (writing), *Fenn-i Hesap* (scientific calculation), *Tarih-i Osmanî* (Ottoman History), *Coğrafya* (geography), *Malumat-ı Nafia* (useful knowledge).

¹⁷ Term had been used in the official documentation already in 1868. But there is no evidence that this term was applied, in 1868 and in the Regulation of Public Education (Maarif-i Umûmiye Nizamnamesi), in the sense of Selim Sabit Efendi's pedagogical approach S.A. Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908*. (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 168-169.

¹⁸ Randi Deguilhem, "A Revolution in Learning? The Islamic Contribution to the Ottoman State Schools: Examples from the Syrian Provinces," in *Proceedings of the International Congress on Learning and Education in the Ottoman World*, ed. Ali İksu (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2001), 285-295.

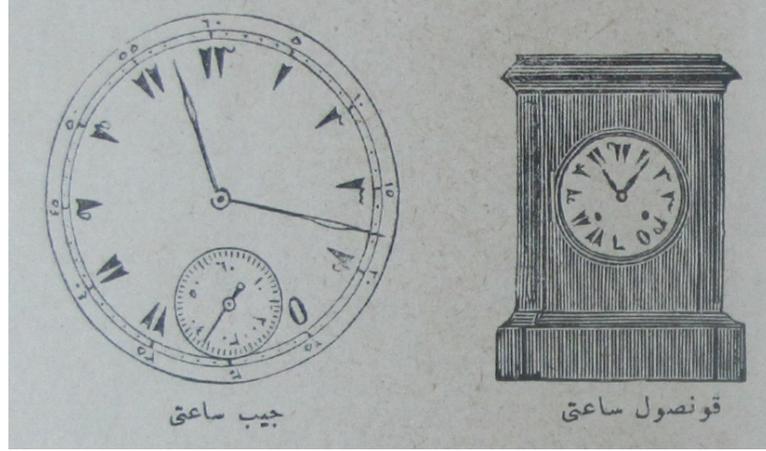


Figure 2.3 Illustration of time measuring devices in a textbook.

Source: Mehmed İzzet, *Malumat-ı Nafi'a ve Medenniyye-yi Cami* (Istanbul: Kanaat Matbaası, 1908), 8

Basic information about time and its measurement often found its place as a chapter in textbooks on *malumat-ı nafi'a* (useful knowledge) or *ilm-i eşya* (object lessons) used in lower grades. The contents of these books followed closely the official instruction that was regulated by the governing bodies.¹⁹ Many books familiarized the students with the division of time into standardized durations, such as hours minutes and seconds, and explained how to read the hour from mechanical clocks.²⁰ Some books went further: prepared as a part of “*Yeni Kıraat*” [new reading] *Malumat-ı Nafi'a ve Medeniyye* spared one of the opening chapters to the introduction of clocks-watches. The book described two categories for time measuring tools: wall clocks and pocket watches. The former for indoors and the latter for outdoors, one would never be without this always necessary device.²¹ In teaching division of time, the book asked teachers to follow a particular pedagogical method. A footnote in the book instructed the teachers: “teacher, with a

¹⁹ See for example, the specification of time-related materials in the 1892 instruction plan for elementary schools: “Sınıf-ı İbtidaiye,” brought in Mahmud Cevad, *Maârif-i Umûmiye*, 234, 246.

²⁰ Ali Nazîma, *Dürus-ı Şetta*, (1. kitap) (Istanbul: Karabet Matbaası, 1309/1891-1892), 111-115. For similar contents, see: Ali Rıza, *Kızlara Mahsus Malumat-ı Nafi'a* (3. sene) (Istanbul, 1316/1898-1899), 4-16, 27-28.

²¹ “Saat iki türlüdür: Cep saati, asma saat. Cepte taşınılan saatlere umumiyetle cep saati ve duvara asılanlarına asma saati ve bir de konsol ve masa ustlerine konulani vardır ki onlara da konsol saati denir.” Mehmed İzzet, *Malumat-ı Nafi'a ve Medenniyye-yi Cami* (Istanbul: Kanaat Matbaası, 1908), 8.

clock in one hand, will explain the hour, minute and second is in front of the students. By turning the minute hand, the teacher will ask about the time and will try to get correct answers from each student.”²² The author of the textbook sounded like he wanted to make sure that students learnt the subject matter and use what they have learnt.

The books instructed “modern” clocks and “modern” temporality that was significantly different than the “alaturka” temporal patterns, which were based on seasonal changes and prayer times. Textbooks written for higher grades were more detailed and offered more than basic information. A book composed for girls in the sixth grade, for instance, already included explanations about the different calendars used in the Ottoman Empire, about the differences between the Ottoman and European hour systems, and about the mechanism of the mechanical clock.²³

Textbooks and curriculum repeatedly stressed importance of the time, reading and appropriating it in the daily routine. By suggesting a timetabled teaching schedule, the new method of the 1860s also created a model for students to apply in their lives with the help of accordingly determined course contents. Using time correctly was as important as reading the time correctly. Many of the textbooks used in classes on ethics (*ahlak*) included a section on working, which normally stressed the importance and benefits of hard work on one hand, and the dangers of indolence, on the other. Based on dualities, the texts distinguished hard work with a long list of virtues as a good deed from laziness as bad. According to the widespread narrative of the day, the industrious would benefit

²² “İhtar: Muallim efendi yedine bir saat alıp talebe huzurunda kadran, akrep,yelkovan ve saniye ibresinin ne demek olduğunu anlatacak ve sonra yelkovanı çevirerek saatin kağı olduğunu sorup her birinden dırıt cevap almağa gayret eyleyecekdir.” Mehmed İzzet, *Malumat-ı Nafi’a*, 10.

²³ Ali Rıza, *Kızlara Mahsus Malumat-ı Nafi’a (6. sene)* (Istanbul: Karabet, 1898-1899), 127-134.

enormously from working whereas the lazy would suffer from every possible vice.²⁴ Another common motive was the warning that progress could be achieved only through hard work. Abdurrahman Şeref in his *İlm-i Ahlak* advocated that working hard is also a necessity of Islam in that it declared “a person has nothing but what he has endeavored for.”²⁵

Ali İrfan in *Çocuklara Talim-i Fezail-i Ahlak*, a textbook for high schools on ethics, explained how time passes faster and hours seem like minutes when one engages with his/her work. In lazy times, however, minutes may seem as long as days and even years.²⁶ The author continued: “order exists when all our things are in place, and when we complete all our duties on time.”²⁷

In almost all cases, work and order was tied to the larger patriotic obligations: Hardworking was not only rewarding for the individual, but also for the society. Men, women, children, students were all to work as hard as possible to perform their duties within their clearly defined boundaries for the good of the Ottoman state. “Effort and work,” said one book, “affect order and public security (*intizam ve asayiş*) in the state.” Industrious people (*ashab-ı mesa’i*) are the servants of the state and of its order and progress, whereas idle people (*ashab-ı atâlet*) are those who destroy this “edifice of perfection and happiness.”²⁸ In the context of this discourse of duties, the author states that one of the praiseworthy qualities of state officials was to always be at work on time. He further stressed that there was no point in arriving on time if time was to be wasted

²⁴ For example see: Ali Rıza, *İlm-i Ahlak* (Istanbul: Karabet Matbaası, 1900-1901), 105-108; Abdurrahman Şeref, *İlm-i Ahlak* (Istanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1898), 78-80; Ali İrfan, *Çocuklara Talim-i Fezail-i Ahlak* (Istanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1894-1895), 16-20.

²⁵ The verse was from Koran (Necm: 39), Şeref, *İlm-i Ahlak*, 78-79.

²⁶ Ali İrfan, *Çocuklara Talim-i Fezail-i Ahlak*, 16-17.

²⁷ Ali İrfan, *Çocuklara Talim-i Fezail-i Ahlak*, 34-35.

²⁸ Abdurrahman Şeref, *İlm-i Ahlak*, 82.

idly.²⁹ Punctuality and efficiency, qualities that were hardly meaningful a century earlier, were now celebrated as “praiseworthy” virtues, and the violation of office hours was deemed immoral.³⁰

2.2.2 Timetabling the Family Home

In the Second Constitutional Period, the message got even stronger. Textbooks began to praise individual patriotic duties, concepts such as liberty, parliamentarism, democracy and equality with the new political excitement, as well as the use of proper time. One such book was *Aile Arasında Malumat-ı Ahlakiye ve Medeniyye Dersleri* which was a textbook on ethics prepared for the primary schools. It imposed many messages from being hard-working to social responsibilities to the idea of liberty, equality in accordance with the political atmosphere of the time. As much as it was important to follow these at school and work, it was equally important to have the same spirit at home: the home of the “ideal” Ottoman family with their new lifestyles.³¹

The main story line revolved around a brother and sister: seven year old Cehdi (literally means one who tries, works hard) who tended to be distracted with anything rather than studying for his classes, and his younger sister, nine-year-old Hikmet (literally wisdom) who was more responsible and accordingly had better grades in school. Cehdi and Hikmet lived with their parents, a stay home nanny (*dadı*), a cook (*ahçı*), and a butler (*uşak*) which situates them as an upper-class family. Such an emphasis on bourgeoisie life style in a primary school textbook seems quite curious: kids□father merchant Mustafa

²⁹ Abdurrahman Şeref, *İlm-i Ahlak*, 110.

³⁰ For further reading see Avner Wishnitzer, “Teaching time: Schools, schedules, and the Ottoman pursuit of progress,” in *New Perspectives on Turkey (NPT)* (Istanbul: Homer Fall 2000) issue 43, 5-32.

³¹ A. Cevad Emre, *Aile Arasında Malumat-ı Ahlakiye ve Medeniyye Dersleri* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1328/1912)

Bey was described as a cultivated person who spoke French fluently and taught the language to his kids. Written right after the 1908 Revolution, picking a merchant father should not be a coincidence; it can be linked to the desire of having “Turkish bourgeois” in Ottoman society which was formulated by the intellectuals like sociologist like Ziya Gökalp or officials of *İttihat ve Terakki* regime as a requirement of time.³² One can argue that this image of a wealthy and cultivated family was shown implicitly amongst positive outcomes of the new regime. However, this is an extensive topic that will not be discussed here any longer.

In the big mansion that they lived, Cehdi and Hikmet shared a “small but comfortable” bedroom: “each kid has a small bed of their own. Their mother laid a colorful felt (*keçe*) with floral patterns on the floor. There also was a small carpet laid between two beds, so Cehdi and Hikmet would step on this soft carpet with their bare feet when they woke up. These were not the all objects in the room. They had a table and two chairs. Do you think that Cehdi and Hikmet were using those often? You’d wish! Using the table and chairs would mean to sit down quietly and to study for classes and write.” Instead, the author continued, they preferred to play with their toys. The kids had so many toys that “their room looks like a toy store.”³³ This short quote from the book

³² Aykut Kansu, *1908 Devrimi*, (Istanbul: İletişim, 1995), 22-25.

³³ “Cehdi ile Hikmet odalarında oynuyorlardı. Bu, mini mini, güzel, rahat, bir odaydı. Bu birader ve hemşireden her birinin birer küçük karyolası var idi. Anneleri yere renkli, çiçekli bir keçe yaymış idi. Fazla olarak iki karyola arasında ufacık bir halı sermiş idi. Cehdi ile Hikmet uykudan kalktukları zaman çıplak ayakları bu yumuşak halıya basıyordu. Odanın eşyası bunlardan ibaret değildi. Bir masaları, iki de sandalyeleri vardı. Fakat Cehdi ile Hikmet bunları çok kullanıyor mu, zannedersiniz? - Nerede! Masa ile iskemleleri kullanmak demek uslu uslu oturup derse çalışmak, yazı yazmak demektir. Bu ise Cehdi ile Hikmet’i pek de hoşuna gitmezdi. Yalnız dadıları veya anneleri gelip de mahsus oradaki koltuğa oturduğu zaman çocuklar hemen iskemlelerine oturuyor, kitaplarını açıyor, çalışmağa başlıyorlardı. Ne kadar güzel, resimli, renkli kitapları ve defterleri vardı! Hele yazı takımları adeta büyük bir efendinin yazı takımı kadar pahalı ve zarif idi. Bu güzel yazı takımını babaları geçen bayramda hediye olarak vermiş idi. Çalışmak, okumak, öğrenmek için her şey vardı. Lakin Cehdi ile Hikmet’te oturup çalışmağa hiç heves yoktu. Hikmet bir dereceye kadar çalışıyordu, fakat Cehdi pek afacan, pek yaramaz bir şeydi.” A. Cevad Emre, *Aile Arasında Malumat-ı Ahlakiye*, 4-6.

points out to at least two issues that requires further discussion here: studying versus playing with toys and the *timing* of these.

In the story of Cehdi and Hikmet too, one can see that studying and being hardworking were described as qualities that individuals should apply in their lives. Programming time and scheduling works were narrated as part of the daily routine not only in school but also at home. Therefore, kids had a table and chair in their rooms and they had to use them in the designated time period. Since the story had didactic concerns, kids did not tend to use these objects until their mother taught them the importance of hardworking and the danger of being fickle “*maymun iştahlı.*” Accordingly, object, desk and chair in this case, appeared not as a functional instrument but something that its knowledge was constructed around particular behavioral patterns.



Figure 2.4 “Cehdi plays with his toy horse in his bedroom he shares with his sister Hikmet. The kids sleep in their hygienic beds with metal frames, a night lamp places appropriately between two beds on a nightstand. Also notice the study table at the forefront of the image. Hikmet is playing with her dolls in the background.”

Source: A. Cevad Emre, *Aile Arasında Malumat-ı Ahlakiye ve Medeniye Dersleri* (Istanbul: Matbaa-yı Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1328/1912), 4.

Studying, which is also the title of this section of the book, was very important since it was to create the “desired personalities” of the time: a new generation of hard-working, educated children—youth, familiar filled with the knowledge and excitement of all the overarching themes of the era, like humanism, democracy, keeping up with the time, social duties and responsibilities that this very book aimed to teach.

A new lifestyle furnished with all the new objects was narrated around a particular daily tempo at home that was divided into slots such as a *time* to play, *time* to study, *time* for French, *time* to eat. This structure made the intangible aspects of life measurable (did the children study enough? did the children play enough or too much? etc.), just like the modern time itself. Divisions like school time, time at home and father’s working hours determined the larger routine. Not only the day but also the year was now divided in a different way: while Cehdi and Hikmet used to spend half of the year at paternal grandmother’s *yalı* (waterfront mansion) in Bıyıkdere, now due to the their school they stayed at their grandmother’s only during the two-and-a-half-month summer break.

It was not only the children who needed to study at home. In Ahmed Midhat’s *Avrupa Adab-ı Muaşeretı ve yahud Alafranga*, the father of the household also devoted some of his family time to study in a special room that was spared only to him: “kabine do travay” [*cabinet de travail*] or study. This room furnished with chairs, couch, bookcase and a desk also housed the gun collection of the master of the house. Domestic objects revealed specific messages in Ahmed Midhat’s book. They were not only a necessity in people’s lives but they also demanded a particular program. In this case, desk was introduced as a domestic object in addition to its symbolic meaning, which was the

significance of study in “man”’s life. He added: " If the owner of the house does not have a separate study, his book case can be placed in smaller salon or in the living room if there is no smaller room. However, desk cannot be place here, it is okay if it is placed in even bedroom.”³⁴

2.3 Proper Use of Space

Clocks and watches functioned as measuring tools to divide time into standardized durations, space on the other hand lacked such overt tools and regulating space went hand in hand with the imposition of manners and new morality.

The changing meaning of space was not limited to its function but its physicality often was described with its inhabitants. While physical environment of the city received constant interventions to make it healthier, domestic setting was also changing its layout with similar reasons. Ongoing transformations had been interpreted as problematic by intellectuals, but were also accepted as inevitable. Tension between proper and improper as intellectuals defined it, generated resolutions that included larger notions of being civilized, healthy, patriot. I argue that only this change in perception of space complicated its use and appropriation. Discourses on proper use that aimed establishing norms sabotaged the preconceptions by opening the knowledge of space controversial.

2.3.1 Proper Use of Urban Space

In a lecture, Cemil Paşa complained about the Istanbulites: “our fellow citizens did not know how to walk on street. They did not follow the right side of busy streets; [they] talked loudly with their friends that they bumped into and partly blocked the sidewalk,

³⁴ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa Adab-ı Muaşeretı ve yahud Alafranga*, 284.

and disturbed other people who passed by. One could frequently coincide such situations that was not suitable for citizens of a civilized city”³⁵ Cemil Paşa, during his service as mayor devoted a significant amount of energy on “correcting” misbehaviors. For instance, Cemil Paşa proposed assigning police and municipal officers to fix “improper behaviors” such as cutting in line in theaters and mass transportation vehicles.³⁶

As a person who spent particular time in Europe, like Namık Kemal, Cemil Paşa imagined concrete visions of Istanbul as civilized city. These visions were not completely different from what they saw in Paris or London. According to novelist Safveti Ziya, the author of *Adab-ı Muâşeret Hasbıhalleri*, “people’s manners and culture in a country should not only be seen in salons, in higher domains, but also in everyday life.” Ziya’s etiquette targeted everybody in society, not only high society. Streets and public spaces were basically the places that one can observe people’s manners: “Interactions between well-mannered people and their behaviors are set/determined (*muayyen*), regulated (*mudevven*) and positive (*müsbet*) in every field of civilized life. All events and possibilities are considered in every phase of life, it is unanimously decided what kind of behavior is required where, and an order and regularity was established.”³⁷ Ziya’s understanding of etiquette was inclusive to all layers of society. Rules were determined via social consensuses; therefore they should be pretty much the same for every individual or group. Proper behavior was a matter of education and absorbing the knowledge produced anonymously at some time somewhere. Ziya thought that etiquette’s social aspects were even more significant, thus for instance municipal regulations could

³⁵ Cemil Topuzlu, *32 Sene Evvelki, Bugünkü, Yarınki İstanbul* (İstanbul: Ülkü Basımevi, 1944), 11-12.

³⁶ Cemil Topuzlu, *İstibdat, Meşrutiyet, Cumhuriyet Devirlerinde 80 yıllık Hâtıralarım*. (İstanbul: Güven Basımevi, 1951), 114.

³⁷ Safveti Ziya, *Adab-ı Muâşeret Hasbıhalleri* (Ankara: Türk Ocakları Merkez Heyeti Matbaası, 1927), 213.

also be considered as an extension of etiquette. He suggested that the municipality could educate society via regulations: so there was no fundamental difference between etiquette rules and municipal warning signs. Ziya noted: “grown-ups teach children, and municipalities teach public teach these [rules]. Society’s guide regarding this is the municipal regulations. It is families who are to teach the necessity and importance of following these regulations.”³⁸

In this sense, etiquette applied to all public domains: for instance, it was not proper to push others while boarding mass transportation vehicles like trams, trains, buses. One should get in line to purchase tickets. In these vehicles one should be “respectful to women (*hürmetkâr*) and make way to them, should not hurry, in short, should not violate general order with the desire of proving her/his own benefits.” Ziya’s understanding differentiated at the point of description of public sphere from that of Ahmed Midhat’s. While Midhat explained rules and ways to behave in with carriages, the appropriate rate to tip the driver, in the period when Ziya published his book, mass transportation had become an inseparable part of daily routine and functioned according to regulations. In 1894 Istanbul also had mass transportation system, however, Ahmed Midhat’s text did not deal with this fact. Instead, he gave quite detailed information about cabs which offered service to particular groups in society.

Another textbook, *Musahabat-ı Ahlakiye*, which had a more direct narrative, albeit in a story format, described the importance of common good as follows: “common properties are roads, streets, stream beds, fountains, public gardens like parks, trees in the streets, telegraph posts, and so on. Since their profit belongs to public, they are not private property of anybody. Everybody has a right to benefit from these objects. No one

³⁸ Safveti Ziya, *Adab-ı Muâşeret Hasbîhalleri*, 215.

can claim to be privileged. Since these are common property of public, you cannot go cut a tree in the street, pick flowers in the park, remove cobblestone from the street, overflow the water, shake telegraph posts, change the direction of water canals.”³⁹ Commonwealth regime required that citizens took responsibilities of common goods.

2.3.2 Proper Use of Domestic Space

Theorization of space and time, as noted, opened these domains to discussion. Since they became subjects of scientific disciplines such as hygiene, sociology, home economics their experience began to suggest particular guideline. Ahmed Midhat’s infamous *Felatun* can be very good example: When the author wrote about etiquette, he criticized major misunderstanding of *alafranga* which was personified by *Felatun*. Thus the author seemingly he knew what would be “improper.” He formulated *alafranga* and *alaturka* as binary oppositions however, he did not suggest pursuing the *alaturka* lifestyle, he described proper situations for proper contexts: Proper use of domestic space, for instance, in France: “Nowadays, we, for some reason, began to not like our “*alaturka*” salons [living rooms] and we make crucial mistakes for the sake of furnishing living rooms in *alafranga* style. If we know how Europeans furnish their homes we would be more aware of our own home furnishing and our mistakes would decrease.”⁴⁰ Ahmed

³⁹ “Umuma ait şeylerden maksad yollar, caddeler, çay yatakları, çesmeler, park gibi umumi bahçeler, yollardaki ağaçlar, telgraf direkleri ve emsalidir. Bunların menfaati umuma ait olduğundan hiçbir kimsenin malı değildir. Bunlardan herkes, istifadeye me’zundur. Hiçbir kimse bunu benimseyerek tasarruf iddiasında bulunamaz. İşte madem ki bunlar, bu şeyler umumun mal-ı müsterekidir; senin gidip caddedeki bir ağacı kesmen, bir parktaki çimliği kopartman, kaldırımın taşını yerinden oynatman, suyu fazla akıtman, telgraf direklerini sarsman, çay ark yataklarını değiştirmen katiyen caiz değildir.” Ali Seydi, *Musahabat-ı Ahlakiye* (Istanbul: Şirket-i Mürrettebiye Matbaası, 1914), 36-37.

⁴⁰ “Ancak şimdilerde biz dahi eski alaturka salonlarımızı nasılsa beğenmiyerek alafrangada salon tanzim edeceğiz diye hayali [sic. probably hayati] hatalara dâ’ar olmakta bulunduğumuzdan Avrupalılar’ın hanelerini d’zelttikleri hakkında velev muhtasaran olsun malîmat peyda edecek olursak kendi tanzimat-ı beytiyyemiz hususunda dahi biraz daha uyanık bulunuruz da hatalarımız dahi azalır.” Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa Adab-ı Muaşeretî ve yahud Alafranga*, 274.

Midhat gives an example of misuses of furniture: “We saw with our eyes that a prominent person who inclines to an *alafranga* [lifestyle] placed an ornate hallstand that is devoted to hang coats, hats, etc. in his living room □placing a very fancy object that is difficult to reach makes a person smile.⁴¹ The author aimed to fix these misunderstandings by showing how Europeans behave and what is considered impolite as was the premise of etiquette. It is important to note here that Ahmed Midhat saw this change that was happening unavoidable and his corrections were meant to make them happen properly. He did not see any problems in taking European homes as a model and he described certain spaces that probably he saw problematic in detail: the living room, vestibule, anti-chambre, *boudoir*, *cabinet de travail*.

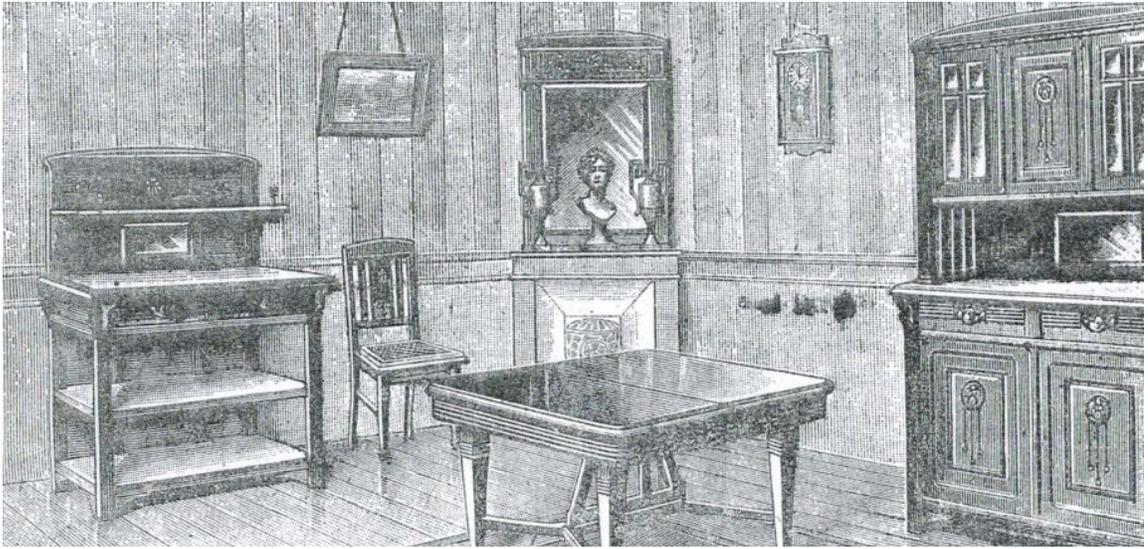


Figure 2.5 Illustration of a dining room. Clock is placed in a prominent location on the wall of the room.

Source: Doktor Muhittin Celal, *Ev Bakımı*, (Istanbul: Trk Kitapılıęı L. Őirketi: 1931-1932), 35.

⁴¹ “□ mesela, alafrangaya ragıb bir bycek zatın salon ittihaz etmiŐ olduęu mahalde palto ve Őapka vesaire asmaęa mahsus olan askılardan birisini kendi gzmz ile grmŐdr ki vakaa pek ssl yapılmıŐ bir askı civarından pek de uzanamıyacak olan bir Őeyi salona kadar ıkarmak insanı bittab’ tebessme mecbur eder.” Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa Adab-ı MuaŐereti ve yahud Alafranga*,274-275.

Ahmed Midhat observed that the most important space in a house is the living room. Ahmed Midhat depicted living room as very loaded space with furniture, ornamental objects and also with the lifestyles that the narrative is around these objects. Author continued to describe the living room as follows: “In the middle of living room there is a table and around it elegant and light chairs are placed”⁴², however, rather than eating, this table and chairs had another function: “either on this table or on the tables that are put in appropriate places according to the size of the room and specifically on the table that are place somewhere close to lady’s chair, some of newly published books, last issues of scientific and literary magazines and day’s newspaper are placed. Also, inside a golden or silver plate, cup or basket is carte-de-visits of the most elegant visitor should be put.”⁴³ So *salon* or living room that Ahmed Midhat described was not a space that served for family members only anymore but it was a place for social interactions and a place that landlord could compete with others to host elegant visitors.

About a decade later, a textbook for fourth graders criticized the differentiation of *salons* from living rooms as the space that devoted for hosting guests. To the author, “in cities sparing the room that has the best ventilation, light and view to guests is unpreventable, very bad application” and household should benefit from good features as well.⁴⁴ The textbook also, as Ahmed Midhat’s etiquette book, stressed the significance of anti-chambre (*methal* or *hayat*) where shoes and daily cloths can be taken off as space

⁴² “Salonun orta yerinde beyaz bir masa bulunarak onun etrafına dahi hafif ve zarif sandalyeler konulur.” Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa Adab-ı Muaşeretini ve yahud Alafranga*, 285.

⁴³ “...gerek bu orta masasının üzerine ve gerek salonun cesametindeki mäsadeye göre başka mäsasip yerlere ve bilhassa madamın koltuk sandalyesine yakın bir yere konulacak diğer masalar üzerine en yeni çıkmış olan kitaplardan ve ilmi ve edebi mecmuaların nüshaları ve o günkü gazeteler konulacağı gibi bir de altından ve gümüşten mamul beyaz bir kupa ve tabak ve sepet gibi bir şey derününe ve bunlar bulunmaz ise ağaçdan oyma veya sazdan örme gayet zarif sepet gibi birşey içine ve hiç olmaz ise eski maden tabağa en muteber misafirlerin bırakmış oldukları vizite kağıtları vaz olunur.” Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa Adab-ı Muaşeretini ve yahud Alafranga*, 285.

⁴⁴ Doktor Muhittin Celal, *Ev Bakımı*, (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı L. Şirketi: 1931-1932), 22.

can prevent interior space from bad effects of outside air and eyes of strangers. Muhittin Celal suggested that leaving *hayat* unfurnished could have ugly results and listed devices such as clock, barometer among the objects could be placed into this space.⁴⁵

What was described as *alafranga* in 1930s textbooks, started to become the fact of daily life without referring such separations. This did not indicate that *alafranga* lifestyle took over, this separation did not as crucial as it was in 1890s. The most crucial problem was also noting that *alafranga* was a construct and its meaning had changed.

2.4 Conclusion

Ethics, etiquette and textbooks on civilization constructed knowledge of objects around complex patterns that were not free from politics, ideologies and social desires; however, the actual historicity of objects might have had a relatively modest circulation (as opposed to all the larger meanings they were loaded with). What seems crucial is that objects became integrated to the identity construct. The more a person uses them appropriately, the more s/he developed. Textbooks described models for the progress although they had difficulties to determine a particular path to civilization.

⁴⁵ Doktor Muhittin Celal, *Ev Bakımı*, 23-24.

CHAPTER 3

MODERN, HAPPY BODIES

A modern body was one that its owner had the power on. It was not one's destiny anymore. It was open to improvement: through exercise, various products and with sufficient hygiene. Of course, all these have the stamp of medical science on them. Even practices previously located within the domain of religion, were now rationalized with science, many times with medical science. And this fit, supplemented, and clean body was a healthy and happy body. All of these traits were also defined among the desired characteristics of civilized Ottomans. In other words, although they were individual tasks, they had larger implications: giving appropriate importance to these notions was also a mission for individuals on the road to civilization.

Appearance of exercise suggestions in books coincided with the cross-definition of modern body as hygienic subject which would be accommodated with the appropriate products. Cleanliness and loyalty to hygienic principles started to occupy a privileged position in the society which brought additional responsibilities to the individual who became civilized by responding the requirements of time such as being clean. This chapter investigates the roots of interwoven patterns of features that were attributed to modern man in the Ottoman context which seemed quite responsive to the circulating themes of the time in three realms – exercise, products, and hygiene- as they relate to the modern bodies of the *fin-de-siècle* Istanbulites.

3.1 Fitting in the World: Body and Exercise

“If they bore you, it shows you are not doing them properly, try hard to do them properly” wrote Kafka to his fiancée Felice Bauer in August 1913. He was referring to the exercise regimen instructed by J.P. Müller in his book *My System* that he himself followed and sent a copy to Bauer, when *My System for Women* was published in 1913, recommending that she pick up a daily practice as well.¹ Franz Kafka was obsessed with having a healthy and fit body.² It is, of course, hard to know how Kafka exactly felt about his body and how these exercises improved his physical skills, however one can claim that seeking for better (in this case physical) features was not “Kafkaesque” at all. Proper exercise was, to him, good for health and it was joyous. In nineteenth century Istanbul, a similar idea that one’s felicity is closely related to physical health became one of the most emphasized themes of daily life.

At least two articles four years apart, one in 1910 in *Şehbal* and another in 1911 in *Nevsal-i Milli*, introduced Müller’s system to its Ottoman readers.³ *Nevsal-i Milli* article delivered *My System*’s premise of being healthy (and happy) with a brief and regular exercise regimen.⁴ The biggest premise of this small exercise guide was that only a “15-minute a day” of prescribed exercise would make “weaklings” into strong men and women. As Müller argued “everyone is the architect of her/his own happiness; but

¹ Kafka in this letter says that he is mailing the book that day (14 August 1913). F. Kafka, Erich Heller, and Jürgen Born, *Letters to Felice*, (New York: Schocken Books, 1967), 304. In the letters to his fiancée Kafka refers to Müller’s exercise program four times and strongly recommends these movements to Felice.

² For an article on Kafka’s interest of physical exercise see Sarah Wildman, “Kafka’s Calisthenics” in *Slate* (http://www.slate.com/articles/life/fitness/2011/01/kafkas_calisthenics.html). Kafka trained the movements himself, sometimes fully naked in front his open window twice each day, see Elias Canetti, *Kafka’s Other Trial; the Letters to Felice* (New York: Schocken Books, 1974), 77.

³ Selim Sırrı, “Olmaya devlet cihanda bir nefes sıhhat gibi’: Profesör Müller ve ‘Benim Usulüm’,” in *Şehbal*, 28 December 1910. *Nevsal-i Milli* is a yearbook that was published as one volume in 1911.

⁴ J. P. Müller first published this wildly popular physical fitness book *My System: 15 Minutes Exercise a Day for Health’s Sake* in 1904.

happiness depends on health, and not on dignities or power, or on a pile of money inherited or scraped together.” This individualistic re-description of happiness should have convinced 20th century “men” well enough that the book was translated into 25 languages, reprinted dozens of times, and sold briskly well into the first quarter of the 20th century. Moller also published other exercise books tailored specifically for women or children, in addition to the chapters in his “my system.”

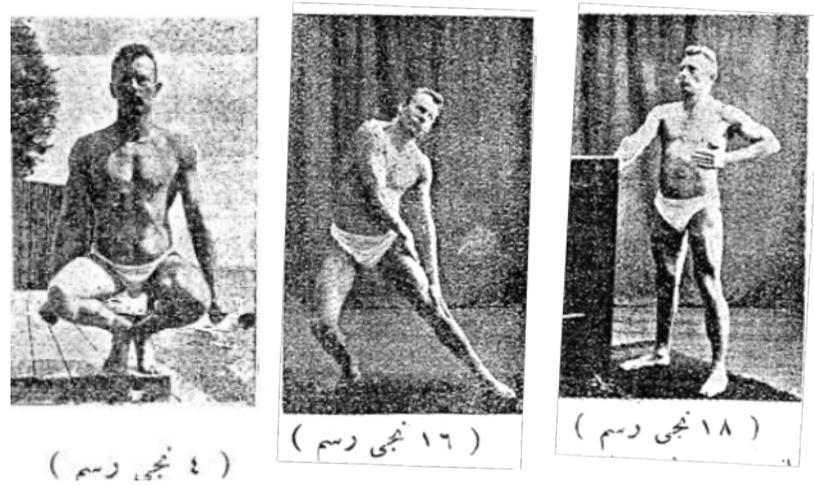


Figure 3.1 Moller’s exercise program in *Nevsal-i Milli*.

Source: “Sıhhat ve Afiyetinizi Nasıl İdame Edebilirsiniz? Günde 15 Dakika Talim” in *Nevsal-i Milli*, (İstanbul : Arstun Aşarduryan ve Mahdumları Matbaası, 1330 1911), 388-399.

Nevsal-i Milli delivered Moller’s “contemporary training methods” in a 12-page article and advised its readers to work out every day to have a healthy body, just like Kafka did to his fiancée. After a brief introduction of Moller and his “system,” the article listed a number of suggestions:

1. Avoid engaging in fear and excessiveness. (Korku ve fart-ı iştigalden istinab ediniz.)
2. Rinse your mouth with saline water in the mornings; brush your teeth and wash your mouth. (Sabahları tuzlu su ile gargara ediniz, dişlerinizi fırçalayınız, ağzınızı yıkayınız.)

3. Sleep 7-8 hours a day. (Günde 7-8 saat uyuyunuz.)
4. Give up distilled beverages [spirits].⁵ Only during exercise a maximum of a glass of wine or beer can be drunk. (Meşrubat-ı külliyye (rakı, konyak, ve saire) istimalinden katiyen vazgeçmeli, Yalnız talim esnasında hadd-i azam olarak bir kadeh şarap yahud bira içmeli.)
5. Do not use tobacco [products], or content yourself with one cigarette after meals. (Tütün kullanmayınız, yahud yemeklerden sonra yalnız bir tek sigara ile iktifa ediniz.)
6. Leave your bedroom windows open in the daytime and night. Temperature of the room should not exceed 12-14 °C in winters. Never let wool clothes contact your skin. (Yatak odanızın pencerelerini gece gündüz açık bırakınız ve odanızdaki hararet kışın 12-14 dereceyi tecaviz etmesin. Teninizin üzerinde asla yün elbise taşımayınız.)
7. Walk for an hour a day. In doing so, you will be free from all kinds of severe illnesses, you will prevent the progression of the hereditary illnesses and you will never catch cold. (Günde 1 saat yürüyünüz. Bu suretle her türlü emraz-ı haddeden azade kalacaksınız, emraz-ı mevrusenin terakkisini tecil edeceksiniz ve hiçbir vakit nezleye uğramayacaksınız.)

The program did not read any different from what most training books of the time suggested, nevertheless, these seven bullets pointed out to different aspects of life that the author (or the editor, hard to know) considered important or proper for the Ottoman society in general and the readers in particular. Both this list, which does not exist in the original book, and the Turkish translation of excerpts from *My System* following it were highly selective in nature and it is precisely this act of selection that is telling. As can be seen, the emphasis of the coverage was mostly on disciplining the body and the wellbeing of the body.

Stressing the happiness and healthiness duality seems to be so crucial that it appeared as one of the most frequently repeated leitmotifs in the printed press. The duality of healthiness and happiness was revolutionary in many aspects and the

⁵ The phrase is *meşrubat-ı külliyye* which means both alcoholic beverage and spirits (*ispirtolu*); however, the fact that distilled beverages such as *rakı*, cognac were named in parentheses and the next sentence allows consuming beer and wine in moderation indicates that a distinction is made between distilled and undistilled fermented beverages.

publication of the piece revealed many of them: Müller's idea was his call to strip away restrictive layered clothes and corsets, a rejection of the "pallid, sickly looks" once prized as beautiful, and the "false dignity which forbids people, for instance, to indulge in so healthy and beneficial an exercise as running." Many Europeans found Müller's book pornographic because of the illustrations it included of men (mostly Müller himself) in loincloths. *Nevsal-i Milli* published Müller's half-naked exercise pictures pointing out the importance of physical health in human life, without commenting on any possible ethical questions that the pictures could raise.

This is not surprising considering the fact that before *Nevsal-i Milli*'s coverage of Müller's *My System*, and even before the first publication of Müller's exercise book, strengthening the body with scientific exercise technics, like gymnastics, was on Ottoman pedagogues' agenda. Almost two decades earlier, in 1886, Nazım Şerafettin Bey published his exercise book, *Bahçe ve Salonlarda Cımnastik Tâlimi*⁶ (Gymnastics Training in Gardens and Gymnasiums). In the foreword of the book, Nazım Şerafettin Bey quoted an ancient philosopher (*Kudemâ-yı feylosofan*) "people often pursue happiness and luck far away but they usually are near them" and claimed that people can find happiness and create their own luck by treating their bodies properly. Pointing out to one's body as her/his essential source of happiness, the author described the methods that are not manmade (*sınai*) but is based on laws of nature (*kavânin-i tabîyye*)⁷. Although *sıhhatnames*, treatises on health and body, were well known and referred products of

⁶ The full name of the book is *Bahçe ve Salonlarda Cımnastik Tâlimi yâhûd Bil-tedric cümle-i adliyenin nesv ü nemâsına mahsûs-i tecârüb bedeniyye eglenceleriyle her yerde icrâ-yi kabil bilâ echeze tâlimât-i makûleden bahis Sıhhatnümâ*.

⁷ Nazım Şerafettin Bey, *Bahçe ve Salonlarda Cımnastik Tâlimi yâhûd Bil-tedric cümle-i adliyenin nesv ü nemâsına mahsûs-i tecârüb bedeniyye eglenceleriyle her yerde icrâ-yi kabil bilâ echeze tâlimât-i makûleden bahis Sıhhatnümâ* (Istanbul: Matba'ı A.K. Tozluyan İdâre-i Şirket-i Mırettebiye, 1302/1886).

Ottoman literature, this book was one of the first of its genre since it included an exercise program and systemized training techniques. Nazım Şerafettin treated physical exercise as a scientific discipline that was a complement to medical science, and systematized it in a way that would be accessible to ordinary people.

A medical doctor, Rıza Tevfik Bey in an 1899 article provided further theoretical, and even some philosophical, framework to exercise: “life is a constant activity (*faaliyet-i mütemadiye*) and human body does not stop its movement not even a second while it is living.”⁸ More importantly, Rıza adds, there is a close relationship between health and an organism’s activity (*faaliyet-i uzviyye*) which is based on a particular balance that attributes importance to gymnastics and exercise (*cimnastik* [sic.] ve *idman*) in terms of maintaining this balance: “the situation we call health is about moderation (*itidâl*) and equilibrium (*muvaazene*).”⁹ Rıza claimed that gymnastics was as old as humanity. Ancient Greeks, Romans, Persians exercised regularly as well as Turks who were inherently strong (*zorbaz*) and had great interest towards wrestling, sword and horse games. Unlike Europeans, argued Rıza, who forgot gymnastics because they linked being healthy to asceticism¹⁰, Turks never gave up physical exercise. This seems quite interesting since Early modern European travelers who visited Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century such as Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq criticized “Turks” for not exercising at all.¹¹ Rıza argued the same for Europeans: they were not, to him, into gymnastics until Johann Christoph Friedrich GutsMuths’s book, “Gymnastics for Youth,” came out in 1804 as the

8 Dr Rıza Tevfik Bey, “Hayat Hareketir” in *Neval-i Afiyet*, (İstanbul: Alim Matbaası, 1315/1899), 185.

9 Dr. Rıza Tevfik Bey, 186.

¹⁰ This argument requires more explanation: Rıza writes that Europeans “during the Middle Ages, irrationally (*gayr-i makul*) started to regard the idea of torturing the body in order to release it from mundane pleasures as healthy” by the way of “fasting, lying on a bed of thorns (*diken*), flagellation.” Dr. Rıza Tevfik Bey, 187.

¹¹ Charles Thornton Foster and F.H. Blackburne Daniell, *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, 1522-1592 (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co, 1881).

first textbook in gymnastics.¹² Inspired by the Enlightenment thinkers like Jean-Jacques Rousseau, pedagogue GutsMuths aimed to replace religious teachings (specifically in body training) with “natural” ones that were prevalent in the German educational system.

Rıza then went on to suggest that “gymnastics and body training (*terbiye-yi cismaniye*) should be the central pillars (*rük-n-u asli*) of public health (*hifz-ı sıhhat*) in that they would give strength to the body to fight against illnesses.”¹³ This was along the lines of the seventh item in the Müller piece where the author proposed that an hour walk a day would help with all kinds of illnesses. The major difference in two statements was in the former the emphasis was on the individual whereas in the latter exercise was seen as a contribution to the well-being of the society. The second significant message to be taken from GutsMuths according to Rıza was a pedagogical one: in addition to chapters on exercise, social play, various hands-on activities such as gardening for the youth, the book aimed to organize physical activities of seven-year-olds who ought to spend around ten hours a day outdoors in engaging physical activities. Referring to pedagogies of the “stage of civilization” (*sahne-i medeniye*), Rıza Tevfik suggested that gymnastics were absolutely essential for a modern human, even more than “intellect and talent” (*akıl ve marifet*).

¹² The first publication of the book was 1786. Rıza refers to revised second edition of the textbook.

¹³ Dr. Rıza Tevfik Bey, 187.



Figure 3.2 Development of muscles with exercise.

Source: Dr. Rıza Tevfik Bey, “Hayat Hareketidir” in *Nevsal-i Afiyet*, (İstanbul: Alim Matbaası, 1315□1899), 189.

3.1.1 Teaching Calisthenics

Once the importance of gymnastics□training was agreed upon, the question became how to disseminate this knowledge to the general public. And what better way to accomplish this than through formal education? Like many other fields, physical training became part of the curriculum in military schools first. Military high schools began to teach basic fitness training methods and several combat sports in a structured way in the early 1860s: differentiating them from wrestling, horseback riding, or archery that were perceived as traditional Ottoman□Turkish activities, the “modern” perception of training required a program and a working schedule that regulated one□s daily routine. In 1869, the Regulation of Public Education (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi*) mandated gymnastic courses for all civil and military middle schools with the title *riyazet-i bedeniyye*¹⁴ (gymnastics).

One of the strategies in making this knowledge accessible to the general public was the generous use of images: in articles, popular books and textbooks for students.

¹⁴ It is worth noting that *riyazet* means asceticism. It is interesting that this word was used as the translation of gymnastics. A distinction was made, however, between *riyazet-i bedeniyye* (gymnastics) and *riyazet-i maneviyye* (asceticism).

Rıza Tevfik included images that exemplified how gymnastics could make men strong and healthy (Figure 3.2). Similarly, Tevfik Şükrü's textbook *700 Resimli İlm-i Eşya* (Science of Objects with 700 Images) included images that compared body parts of men who used their muscles and that did not train at all. In a figure, Tevfik Şükrü compared “arm of a blacksmith who constantly moved his arm” with an “inactive (*bilâ hareket*) arm that did not do body training (*riyazet-i bedeniyye*).”¹⁵ While working—moving arm was very-well built, inactive—motionless arm remained weak and ill-looking as seen in Figure 3.3.



Figure 3.3 *Riyazet-i bedeniyye*: muscle building by using body parts actively. Blacksmith's arm (left) vs arm of a person who does not work out.

Source: Tevfik Şükrü, *700 Resimli İlm-i Eşya*, (İstanbul: Mekteb-i Fünun-ı Harbiye-yi Şahane Matbaası, 1906-1907), 218.

Tevfik Şükrü's textbook “taught” students that physical training could play a pivotal role in a human's life. So students—and everybody—should adopt the notion of movement in their lives via exercising. The author divided body training into two

¹⁵ Tevfik Şükrü, *700 Resimli İlm-i Eşya*, (İstanbul: Mekteb-i Fünun-ı Harbiye-yi Şahane Matbaası, 1906-1907), 218.

subcategories: natural exercise or non-apparatus training (*riyazet-i tabîyye*) and indoors exercise with apparatus or artificial gymnastics (*sunnî cimnastik* [sic.]).

This distinction reflected precisely the controversy between Swedish vs. German schools in physical training. While Swedish school, founded by Pehr Henrik Ling, proposed not using any apparatus and was recognized for inherent medical values which brought this method a health-oriented approach, the German system theorized mainly by Johann Christoph Friedrich GutsMuths- had more systemized almost “militaristic” view of fitness, with a very strict, formal style of physical training.

This controversy between two schools-methods raged in the Ottoman Empire especially during the years of WWI when *İttihad ve Terakki* government directly received help from German exercise experts and soldiers to improve physical characteristics of the population. Although by the experts such as Selim Sırrı (Tarcan) who advocated Swedish school, non-apparatus gymnastics would officially be part of the curriculum in Republican Turkey, textbooks of early twentieth century introduced both methods (Swedish and German) to their readers, and the topic was widely debated in publications including the introduction of *My System* by Danish J.P. Müller, which was also based on Swedish method.¹⁶

According to Tefvik Şükrü, walking, running in moderation (*mu'tedil derecede*), jumping, climbing trees, dancing, swimming, rowing, horseback riding, cycling, arms drill, hunting, wrestling (*pehlivanlık*), ball games were among natural exercises, and they “move the entire body.”¹⁷

¹⁶ Selim Sırrı, *İsveç Usulünde Jimnastik Terbiye-i Bedeniye* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1326/1919). Also see Dr. Rıza Tefvik Bey, “Hayat Hareketir” in *Nevsal-i Afiyet*, (İstanbul: Alim Matbaası, 1315-1899) for the information on each method.

¹⁷ Tefvik Şükrü, *700 Resimli İlm-i Eşya*, 218.

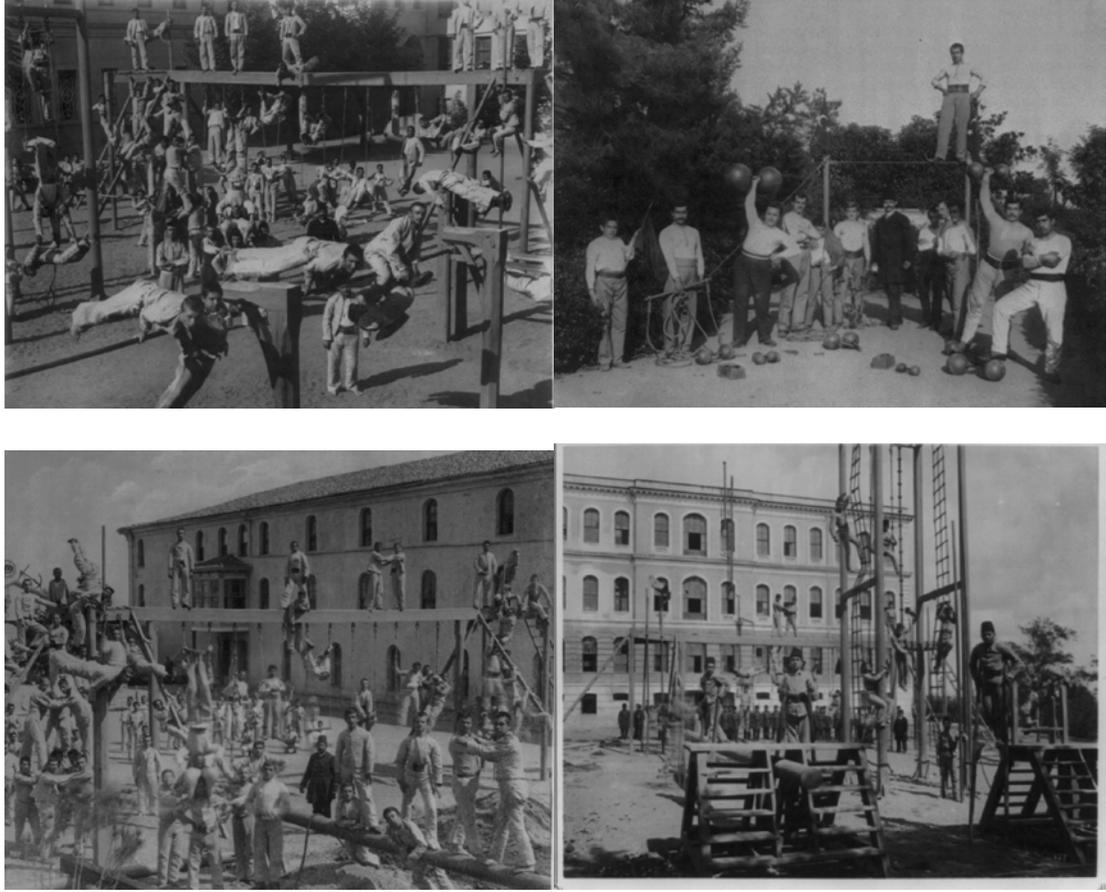


Figure 3.4 Students in their gymnastics class. Upper and lower left Imperial Naval Academy, upper right *Mekteb-i Sultani (Galatasaray High School)*, lower right *Darüşşafaka High School*. Photographer: Abdullah Fr̄res, 1890-1893.

Source: Abdulhamid II Photograph Albums. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C.

“Salon sports,” on the other hand, were described as “exercises that are done with equipment such as trapeze, rope, ring, parallel and that activate only specific areas of the body. Especially hands and arms are in motion (*müteharik*). Indoor gymnastics are harmful for children below thirteen. Appetite (*iştihad*) of people who work with rope is excellent and their bodies are strong (kavı).”¹⁸

¹⁸ Tefik Şükrü, *700 Resimli İlm-i Eşya*, 219.

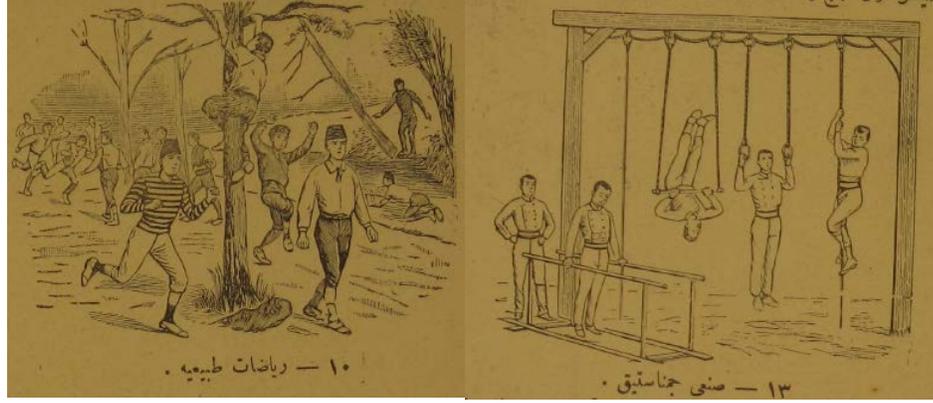


Figure 3.5 Working out in nature (*Riyazet-i tabîyye*) and gymnastics with exercise equipment (*sunî cinnastik*).

Source: Tefik Şükrü, *700 Resimli İlm-i Esya*, (İstanbul : Mekteb-i Fânun-ı Harbiye-yi Şahane Matbaası, 1906-1907), 218-219.

Tefik Şükrü added: “since fat burning (*ihitirak*) speeds up while working out, the body gets in shape: chest and arm muscles grow.” But training did not only help the bodybuilding, but also to the general well-being that was not immediately visible: activity of lungs increases. Digestion and appetite become excellent (unless one works out until exhaustion). One gains strength against the difficulties and obstacles in life. Those who do not do gymnastics, on the contrary, have no appetite and their digestion is slow warned Tefik Şükrü: “people who spend their time at home with imaginary troubles (*hayali marazlar*) cannot escape from constipation”¹⁹

From the overall physical well-being to public health, the benefits of exercise were multifold, and thus it needed to reach out to the masses, preferably at a young age. The inclusion of gymnastics to the standardized curriculum meant that structured physical training was potentially introduced to the public at large to respond to concerns

¹⁹ Tefik Şükrü, *700 Resimli İlm-i Esya*, 219.

such as raising generations or public health. Now it was only the children before school age that were left out but that problem was also addressed.

3.1.2 Child's Play

As physical training was integrated into primary-middle high school curriculum, it was not designated as a notion that a person could adopt *only* in school.²⁰ Rather, it was believed, gymnastics had to be an integral part of humans' entire lives to provide them with healthy and happy living from early childhood till death. Selim Sırrı, a sports administrator, academician and politician who was the founder of *National Olympics Committee* in the early years of Republic of Turkey, in an article addressed the concept of exercise – only this time the target population was children and the exercise was child's play: a “natural exercise” (*tabii idman*) in a child's education. Curious enough, Selim Sırrı's article, “Revolution in Nurture – Education with Play”, was published in the same issue of *Nevsal-i Milli*, right before the introduction of Møller's “system.”²¹ It seems that editors of the yearbook also noticed a close connection between happiness and health, like Møller himself did when he wrote his book and the Europeans did when they purchased Møller's book. In the article, Selim Sırrı applied the principles to toddlers and children and wrote as follows: “Game is the most natural exercise. Game is a source of joy and an innate need. A child laughs with game, enjoys playing. Pleasure and joy are regulators of health and happiness.”²² Grasping game as a physical activity and the spine

²⁰ Emine Ç. Evered, *Empire and Education Under the Ottomans: Politics, Reform and Resistance from the Tanzimat to the Young Turks* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012).

²¹ Selim Sırrı, “Terbiye’de Oyunla İnkılap” in *Nevsal-i Milli*, (İstanbul: Arstun Aşarduryan ve Mahdumları Matbaası, 1330/1911), 385-388.

²² Selim Sırrı, *Terbiye’de Oyunla İnkılap*, 385.

for physical development did not only show parallels with the European context but also emphasized the importance of happiness, starting from childhood.

Selim Sırrı'nın article was not an isolated instance: in a home economics textbook for middle schools by Nazım (İçsel), *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, a paragraph about “game” reads as follows:

“Game strengthens the muscles. Time devoted to game is not necessarily wasted time. Children love game; however, they do not know as many games as their English or American counterparts. In England and America, there are many big volumes with at least 500 pages. These books include instructions about various games. Almost all of these games are played in open air; they force children to do various movements and entertain them.”²³

Nazım agreed that body training, in general, prepared children to real life. The author concluded the chapter on exercise by attributing a crucial role to the notion of movement in human life: “Our body is created for movement. Movements like walking, running, jumping etc. are very beneficial for physical well-being.”²⁴

However, with no surprise, gender came into play (pun intended) from childhood. All of these publications meticulously stressed gender differences. For instance in the same article Nazım stated that “[o]ur children games among them hide □ seek (*saklambaç*), blind man □ bluff (*körebe*) and several ball games give body strength and agility. These games are suitable for girls rather than boys.”²⁵ In *Sıhhatnuma* (1886), Nazım Şerafettin Bey wrote that gymnastics were not suitable for girls although exercise could help them in their work □that is housework-- that they were obliged to do for a better life.²⁶ The author of the book, Nazım (İçsel), agreed with Selim Sırrı regarding the idea that game could improve physical abilities of kids, however Nazım like Nazım

²³ Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, (İstanbul: Garoyan Matbaası, 1334 [1915-1916]), 162.

²⁴ Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*.

²⁵ Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, 156.

²⁶ Nazım Şerafettin Bey, *Sıhhatnüma*.

Şerafettin meticulously stressed gender differences. The Author suggested handicrafts such as needlework, embroidery, knitting and sewing as exercises for girls and they could be done at home.²⁷

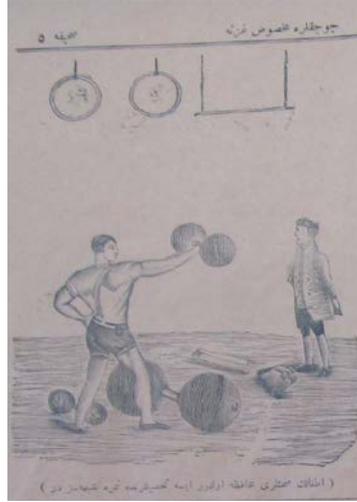


Figure 3.6 High school student is working out in the court of his house.

Source: Hüsnü Rıza, “Cimnastik” in *Çocuklara Mahsus Gazete*, No: 38 (İstanbul: Yuvanaki Panayotidis Matbaası, 11 January 1897), 5-6.

On the other hand, when it came to boys, game and exercise was closely associated with strength. In 1897, a children’s magazine, *Çocuklara Mahsus Gazete*, published a didactic article on physical exercise and gymnastics that spoke to the younger public. The story was about two schoolboys: one of them, Ekrem Beğ, although once weaker than his friend Nahif Efendi, became very strong with the help of gymnastics and physical training. In addition to his body’s physical improvement, he was now more successful in his classes. Caption of the picture that accompanied the article read as follows: “If the children’s health is maintained, it will no doubt benefit their education.”²⁸

²⁷ This aspect will be discussed more in Chapter 4.

²⁸ Hüsnü Rıza, “Cimnastik” in *Çocuklara Mahsus Gazete*, No: 38 (İstanbul: Yuvanaki Panayotidis Matbaası, 11 January 1897), 5-6.

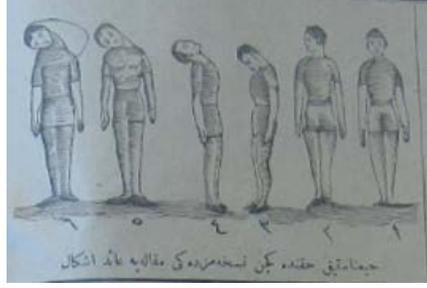


Figure 3.7 Exercise instructions in *Çocuklara Mahsus Gazete*.

Source: *Çocuklara Mahsus Gazete*, No: 43 (İstanbul: Yuvanaki Panayotidis Matbaası, 29 January 1897), 8.

The article, which is narrated around a dialogue between two students, concluded with Ekrem Bey's suggestions to Nahif Efendi: "My first advice would be to get used to praying five times a day. Clearly, prayer is a very beneficial exercise for the body."²⁹ Everyday, after the morning prayer, execute the extremity exercises, avoid humidity and obnoxious odor, drink good water and prefer nutritious foods. Do not waste your sleep: go to bed early and wake up early. If you do these, your body will be healthy."³⁰

In addition to the promotion of games and gymnastics in school as paths to healthy generations, youth clubs emphasized the objective further.

²⁹ Seeing prayer as exercise and ablution (*abdest*; body cleaning that must be done before each prayer according to the Islamic rules) as a predecessor of modern hygiene were popular themes of the era. This reflected the idea that Islam has always been relevant and a guide to all periods. This idea is still very much alive and around as exemplified by this Wikipedia entry "Islamic hygienical jurisprudence": "Hygiene is a prominent topic in Islam. Islam has always placed a strong emphasis on personal hygiene. Other than the need to be ritually clean in time for the daily prayer (Arabic: *Salah*) through *Wudu* and *Ghusl*, there are a large number of other hygiene-related rules governing the lives of Muslims. Other issues include the Islamic dietary laws. In general, the Qur'an advises Muslims to uphold high standards of physical hygiene and to be ritually clean whenever possible." (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_hygienical_jurisprudence).

³⁰ Hüsnü Rıza, *Cimnastik*, 5.

3.1.3 Youth Clubs of *İttihad Terakki* and Sturdy Kids of the Republic

Raising healthy generations by physical training entered also the government's agenda as they became indicators of particular political visions. For example, under *İttihad ve Terakki* administration, youth organizations called *Genç Dernekleri* (*Youth Clubs*), taking German "Kaiserlich Deutsche Jugendwehr" organizations as a model, were founded in 14 June 1914 with the approval of Sultan Mehmet V as a continuation of a specific political agenda: mentally and physically preparing youth (who had not yet reached the age of drafting) as healthy and strong individuals for a possible war scenario.³¹

Branching out the organization throughout the Empire was the main goal and education of the youth would help the country in preventing experiencing defeats in battlefields like recent failures in the Balkan Wars (1912-1913).³² These objectives were "educating and developing all body parts in harmony with gymnastic and training and giving them strong and decent physicality. Providing the young generation with the habit of cleanliness, having them grasp that cleanliness is the first condition of healthy living and preventing contagious diseases is only possible by keeping the body, cloths, and the space clean."³³

³¹ Zafer Toprak, "II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Paramiliter Gençlik Örgütleri" in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, v. 2, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), 531-536. See also Mustafa Balcıoğlu, "Osmanlı Genç Dernekleri" in *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa'dan Cumhuriyet'e* (Ankara: Asil Yayın, 2004), 198-208, Sadık Sarısaman, "Birinci Dünya Savaşı Sırasında İhtiyat Kuvveti Olarak Kurulan Osmanlı Genç Dernekleri" in *OTAM: Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi*, issue 11 (2000), 439-501.

³² Selim Sırrı, "Genç Dernekleri'nde Terbiye-i Ahlakiye," in *Osmanlı Genç Dernekleri Mecmuası*, issue: 2, 1 Teşrinievvel 1333/1 October 1917, 9-10.

³³ "Cimnastik ve idman talimleri ile vücudun azalarının ahenk içerisinde terbiyesi ve gelişmesi ile düzgün ve güçlü bir fizik kazandırılması sağlanacaktır. Gençlere temizlik alışkanlığı verilerek temizliğin sağlıklı yaşamın ilk koşulu olduğu, bu aşıcı hastalıklara karşı korunmanın vücudun, giysilerin ve yaşanılan mekanın temiz olmasından geçtiği kavratılacaktır." Fon Huf, "Bazı Umumi Terbiye Meselelerine Dair," in *Osmanlı Genç Dernekleri*, 1 September 1917, 12-13. See also *Tanin*, issue: 2681, 30 May 1916.

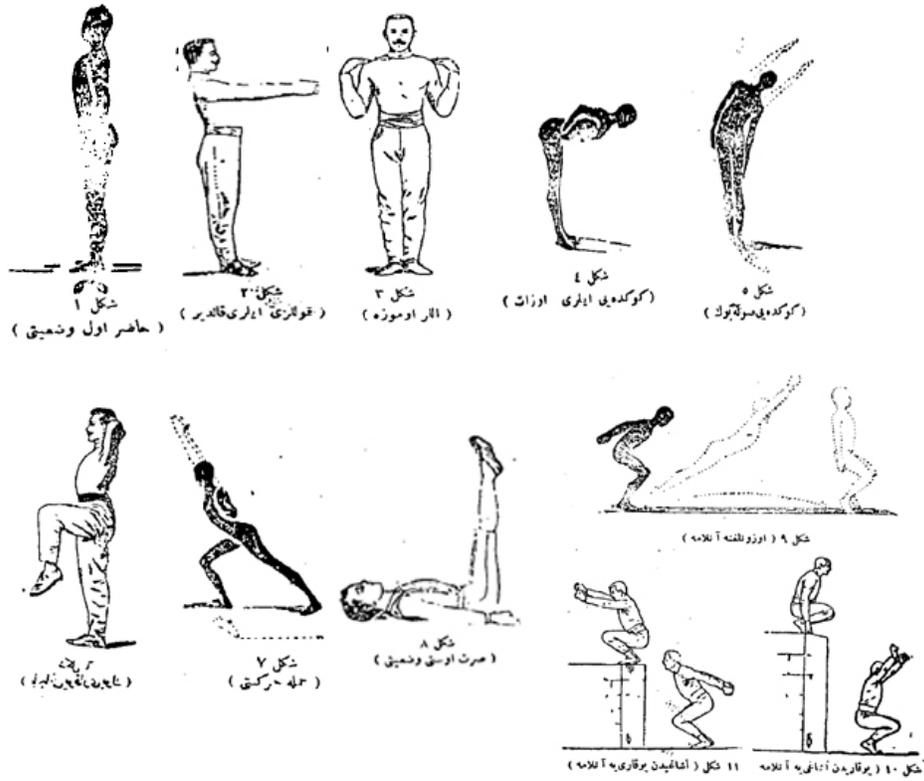


Figure 3.8 Exercises from Youth Clubs Regulation 17 April 1916: 1. Order arms, 2. Raise arms forward, 3. Hands on the shoulders, 4. Lean forward, 5. Side stretches, 6. Raise legs up, 7. Charge forward, 8. Supine position, 9. Broad jump, 10. Jump down, 11. Jump up.

Source: *Genç Dernekleri hakkındaki kanun-ı muvakkat*, 17 April 1916, No: 411.

With these objectives, young individuals would not only receive militaristic training, but they would also learn moral and social values of the nation as well. Significance of religion and religious individuals in society was among topics that had been stressed.³⁴ Being skillful, resistant, hardworking, strong, patriotic, ready for social encounters, able to solve problems by himself are only a few of the targeted

³⁴ For instance see Mehmet Emin, "Dindar Olmanın Lüzum ve Ehemmiyeti" in *Osmanlı Genç Dernekleri Mecmuası*, issue: 19. 1 December 1919.

characteristics of a young person who would gain after his/her education in these organizations.³⁵

These organizations continued their activities until September 1920. Although it is difficult to find statistics about young people who were trained in *Genç Dernekleri* (*Youth Clubs*), recorded data in a specific branch might give an idea. For instance, only in branches in the province (*vilayet*) of Bursa more than 8,000 teenagers were trained until October 1917, in less than three years. Thus, it is safe to assume that these organizations were very active at least during the WWI years and systematically aimed to improve physical skills of existing young population.³⁶

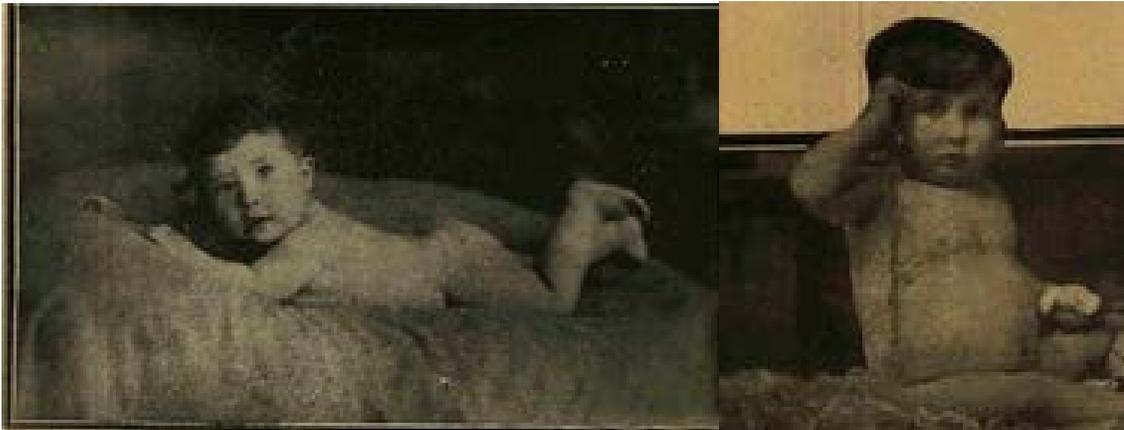


Figure 3.9 Candidates of “sturdy” kids competition.

Source: *Gürbüz Türk Çocuğu*, issue: 2, Teşrinisani 1926, 21 (left). *Gürbüz Türk Çocuğu*, issue: 20, May 1928, 19 (right).

Republican Turkey went even further and health, strength, creating a healthy and sturdy generation became an official policy. It was again Selim Sırrı (Tarcan) who pioneered in shaping Republican policies on physical training, which he saw as a

³⁵ Selim Sırrı, “Genç Dernekleri ve Yanlış Telakkiler,” in *Osmanlı Genç Dernekleri* (Mecmuası), issue: 1 Eylül 1917, 3. As an examination of ideological connotations of the obsession with the sturdy body see Atila Doğan, *Osmanlı Aydınları ve Sosyal Darwinizm* (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006).

³⁶ ATASE Arşivi; 1842.0:66, 1-24 cited in Sadık Sarısaman, *Osmanlı Genç Dernekleri*, 449.

pedagogical and psychological tool in the hands of the state. He endeavored to “lengthen and flatten the backs of the ill-shaped Turkish bodies.”³⁷ Selim Sırrı held discussions on the radio to convince people of the importance of physical training and sports. According to him, a nation of well-trained people was similar to a well-equipped army. Body Discipline Law in 1938 aimed to “regulate games, gymnastics and sports that improve the physical and moral capabilities of the citizens in accordance with the national and reformist principles.”³⁸ Additionally, *Gürbüz Çocuk Yarışmaları* (sturdy child competitions) were organized to promote childcare in the country.³⁹

Creating “healthy” mind and the “healthy” body accompanying it at the administrative level was not necessarily the same with the one in the daily life. Physical appearance and physical health seemed to occupy an important place in people’s daily routine in the practicality of everyday life, regardless of any agendas such as forming a strong army and a strong country. Mothers did not start feeding their kid with imported baby formula in order to win the “sturdy kid competition” nor did they begin to refer to scientific agenda of “modern” child upbringing to prepare their kids as future fighters for the country. Nevertheless, Ottoman mothers started to feed their babies with formula even before giving up seeing earthquakes as punishment of God due to the decline in morality.

³⁷ Selim Sırrı, *Bugünkü Almanya* (Ankara: Maarif Vekaleti, 1930).

³⁸ “Yurddaşın fizik ve moral kabiliyetlerinin ulusal ve inkılâbı amaçlara göre gelişimini sağlayan oyun, jimnastik ve spor faaliyetlerini sevk ve idare etmek maksadile□ ” *Beden Terbiyesi Kanunu*, Resmî Gazete ile neşir ve ilâm : 16/VII/1938, issue: 3961.

³⁹ Yiğit Akın, *Gürbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar: Erken Cumhuriyet’te Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor* (İstanbul:İletişim Yayınları, 2004).

3.2 Body Retouched

Nestlé opened its first store in Karaköy, Istanbul, but the firm introduced its baby formula to the Ottoman market a couple of decades earlier, in 1875.⁴⁰ By benefiting from pursuing smart marketing strategies like providing food to Balkan Wars veterans, the firm increased its popularity and also received governmental support. *Nestlé* advertised its sponsorship to Balkan Wars veterans, needless to say, by emphasizing strength: strong generations meant brighter future.

Baby formulas promised parents healthy futures for their children in a society that still had strong connections to conventional agricultural production.⁴¹ Istanbul still had many rural areas at the end of the nineteenth century where people made their living by selling milk by raising cow(s). More interestingly, wet nursing was also still a popular tradition in the late nineteenth century Istanbul. Under these circumstances, where cow's milk or wet nursing was rather easy to access, the idea that industrial formula was better for babies was revolutionary. Therefore, Nestlé's introduction of its baby formula to the Ottoman market indicates an important break from the traditional child upbringing in many ways. In addition to the changing perception of breastfeeding, it pointed out to Istanbulites' growing concern about providing nutrient food and hygienic conditions to their babies.

Another indication of the changing perception was the horror stories related to breastfeeding. For instance, one newspaper reported the death of a baby while the mother

⁴⁰ In Karaköy store the firm started to sell condensed milk and chocolate products to Ottoman customers.

⁴¹ For changing meaning and applications of breast feeding see Rima D. Apple, *Mothers and Medicine: A Social History of Infant Feeding, 1890-1950* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987). Valerie A. Fildes, *Breasts, Bottles, and Babies: A History of Infant Feeding* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1986). Lynn Janet Golden, *A Social History of Wet Nursing in America: From Breast to Bottle* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2001).

was nursing him: “While Hıseyin Faik Efendi’s wife from İshakpaşa was travelling to Galata in a carriage, her six-month old boy that she was breastfeeding under her *chador* dies. Mom realizes the situation and gets her baby examined in a pharmacy in Karaköy and it is understood that the poor kid’s cause of death was suffocation (*inkita-i teneffüs*). Interment of the poor kid who was the victim of an unconcerned mother was approved. We hope that this would be a *touching lesson* (*ibret-i muessire*) for ignorant and inconsiderate (*cahil ve kayıtsız*) mothers (emphasis mine).”⁴² This touching report had a lesson to remember that would be marked to the collective memory: where and how to feed the baby was as important as what to feed the baby with.



Figure 3.10 Advertisement of *Dakik Doktor Ziya* baby formula.

Source: *İkdam*, 3 October 1901.

As a native baby formula brand, (*memedeki cocuklara gıda*) *Dakik Doktor Ziya*, warned in an advertisement in a newspaper: “today’s medical authorities (*ettıbbâ*)

⁴² “Kayıtsız validelere ibret,” in *Sabah*, 10 January 1904.

confirm that all serious diseases (*emraz-ı vahime*) which sicken human beings (*ebna-yi beşer*) stem from lack of nutritious feeding in their early childhood.” This indicated that the knowledge of raising “healthy” children was no longer gained from solely the experiences passed from generation to generation (between women), but it was now also under the domain of medical sciences. Therefore, the ad stressed that their product received the approval (*taht-ı tasdik*) of city’s highly skilled medical doctors (*en hâzık ettibâ*). If mothers were to feed their nursing babies with “*dakik Doktor Ziya*” formula (as a supplement), their babies would teeth easily, walk quickly since it strengthened their bones, and it would protect babies against diarrhea and constipation. Finally the formula would help mothers to raise their kids without difficulties and “have kids like lions.”⁴³ Just as supplements were needed for raising healthy babies, grown-ups needed their share to cope and fit in to the modern world.

3.2.1 Supplements to Modern World

When Moller’s exercise book was introduced in 1911, the readers were also informed about the importance of baby formula *and* they encountered a group of personal products from cosmetics to remedies via printed press. Thus being healthy, well-kept and fit were not among concepts they were completely unfamiliar with. Some of them were already benefiting from a wide range of products to do so: products from beauty creams to strength pills promised happier lives and healthier bodies to their potential customers. Although the capitalist notion of urging people to use a particular product shaped the rhetoric of these advertisements, the crucial turning point was the emergence of the

⁴³ “...validelerin evlatlarını zahmet çekmeksizin büyütmesine ve aslan gibi evlada malik olmasına yardım etmek için mezkur gıdayı ikmal ettirmesini tavsiye ederiz.” *İkdam*, 3 October 1901.

promise of a better life and the consumer who tended to pursue that promise via consumption objects.

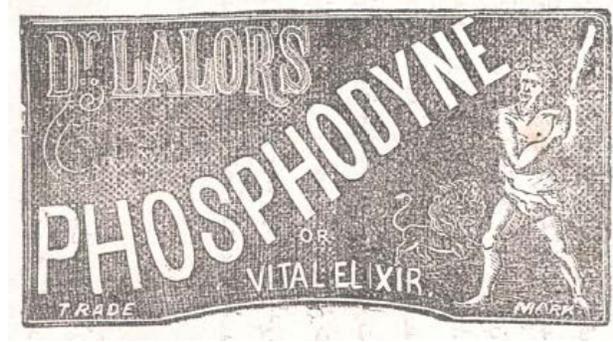


Figure 3.11 Advertisement of “miraculous” *Phosphodyne* in newspaper.

Source: *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 24 January 1888.

For example, a remedy for industrial age, *Phosphodyne*, was marketed in the Ottoman Empire alongside with European countries, in addition to other non-western geographies such as India. Discovered in 1862 by Dr. R.D. Lalor, M.D., *Phosphodyne* promised health, strength and energy (*sihhat-kuvvet-nuûmet*). The pills claimed to be “the only safe and reliable phosphoric remedy for the overworked brain, worry, anxiety, excitement, late hours, business pressure (□) and all morbid conditions of the system, dependent upon the deficiency of vital force.”⁴⁴ *Phosphodyne* promised to help endure hard conditions of the time and to affect a cure for the premature decay of vital power and brain wreckage caused by the industrial age and the “new life” it brought about. Dr. Lalor’s *Phosphodyne* offered sound minds to the Ottomans by providing phosphor which was an essential element for the human brain: a healthy mind for a healthy body.

⁴⁴ *The Imperial Tariff*, (London: 1879).



Figure 3.12 Depilatories for Ottoman women.

Source: “Fazla Kıllar,” *İkdam*, 21 December 1894 (left). Diklikin, *İkdam*, 27 July 1898 (right).

Beauty of the body and mind became a notion features of which could be changed with the help of new “scientific improvements” and technologies. However, in some cases, products that were promoted as “newly invented” offered what people were already familiar with. For instance, *Rusma Canibal* (also known as *hamamtozu*) had been long used by Turks as depilatory. However, the same product was promoted as a “hygienic, newly invented (*nev icad*) depilatory liquid” that “destroys hair roots and makes them fall without burning the skin with a process that does not require bathing.”⁴⁵

Another hair product, Diklikin (?), not destroying this time but strengthening the hair, was marketed as follows: “Some are born with beautiful hair but this hair does not come out forcibly. People with beautiful hair use this medicine and once they do they can never give up.”⁴⁶ Thus, with the “new” products, being hairy or having weak hair was no longer a fate for Ottoman women.

⁴⁵ “Kıl düşürmek için sıhate müccerrib nev icad mayi. “rusman cannibal,” nam nev icad taharet suyu teni asla yakmayarak ve istihmama hacet bırakmayarak vücuddaki fazla kılları bir anda kıldan mahvedip düşürür.” “Fazla Kıllar,” *İkdam*, 21 December 1894.

⁴⁶ “Bazıları var ki güzel saçlarla doğuyorlar fakat bu saçlar hiçkimsede zorla çıkmazlar. Güzel saçları olanlar umumiyetle saçlarının takviyesi için bu ilaçtan kullanırlar ve bundan ayıramazlar”. “Diklikin,” *İkdam*, 27 July 1898.



Figure 3.13 Advertisements Hair coloring products for men. These two images are from two different products. Please note the striking resemblance between the two.

Source: *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 23 March 1898 (left), *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 21 June 1888 (right)

Nor for men, for that matter. These body care products did not only target women: different hair restorer brands such as *Mrs. S. A. Allen's* or *Melrose* promised brightness and vitality for men who had weak hair. “Newly invented herbal hair dye” promised bringing back original hair and beard color. Advertisements warned potential customers against fake products and invited them to the official distributor of the product on Tramway Caddesi in Galata, Istanbul.



Figure 3.14 Advertisement of “miraculous” breast improvement pills: “improvement of breasts with [oryantal [sic.] pills.”

Source: *Nevsal-i Milli*, (İstanbul: Arstun Aşarduryan ve Mahdumları Matbaası, 1330/1911).

An advertisement of breast improvement pills was not only one of the signifiers about the changing consumption habits of the Ottoman society, but also gave clues about the diversity and complexity of Istanbul's everyday life. Recommended by the French physician Kapel, *Oryantal* pills promised large and healthy breasts for the Ottoman women who "suffered" from small breasts.⁴⁷ The interesting aspect of this ad is not only the "miraculous" pills themselves, but also the implication that the potential consumers really cared about their physical appearance and intended to change unwanted features of that. Aside from the fact that the ad points out to an emerging sexual character that had already obeyed the standardizing women perception in a dominant male-centric world, it can also be read as self-imagination of women who demanded a new domain in daily life, both in private and public spheres. As depicted in the ad, these pills were supposed to rebuild not only the breasts, but also the self-confidence of the ladies who were going to feel better as their breasts improved. This advertisement was only one of the "things" that the late Ottoman market offered its customers. At least as colorful as these pills, Ottomans started to be surrounded by transforming imagery of consumer life. However, when it came to visibility of the women (especially with these improvements), there had always been an ongoing discussion regarding the use of these products. Thus, there was a limitation for "better life" although the boundaries were always shifting.

An anonymous article in an 1898 issue of *Nevsal-i Nisvan* was on powders. Not nearly as provocative as breast pills, powder was still an issue of concern. The article started with a brief description of the word's origin, informing that the word powder was taken from French *poudre*, but recently it became to be commonly used as the product itself. Article discussed how and why this product, which is usually associated with

⁴⁷ *Nevsal-i Milli*, 1911.

woman, should be used: “Men can use powder after shaving (□) Since women’s skin is gentler and freshens itself rapidly [taravetbar], they get affected from external impacts quickly, thus they [women] do not have to use *poudre* all the time. They can use powder once a month if it is necessary.” After this “practical information”, the article started to speculate about the (un)necessity of women’s powder usage:

“Most of their [women’s] time passes in the house. Since a house is cleaned and swept everyday, it is clean. When she goes out, she wears a headscarf (*yaşmak*). Headscarf is the perfect and the only solution for protecting the mouth, nose, eyes and face from noxious [muzir] dust. Women are happy because they have such an instrument that follows a proper fashion and rules (*usul ve kaide*). As noted earlier, like foundations (*fond de teint*), powders are also detrimental. If they were free of harmful ingredients, both could be considered beneficial. This is the law of nature. Good is good, bad is bad. Men can use good and non-detrimental *poudre* gently after shave. Women need not use it at all.⁴⁸ Even a popular article like this on a fashionable object, which is primarily a product for women, reinforced gender-based distinctions. The author clearly disapproves women’s powder usage. However, this objection was based on allegedly scientific facts such as the nature of women’s skin and its reaction to external effects, instead of relying on the societal or religious conventions although the cure to this problem existed all along in the convention: using headscarf. Discussions on consumption of powder and

⁴⁸ “Tıraş olduktan sonra erkekler pudra sürebilirler (...) Kadınların ciltleri daha nazik daha taravetbar olduğu için tesirat-ı hariciyeden İbük müteessir olurlar. Bu sebeple her daim pudra isti’mailine hakları yoktur. Ayda yani pek İzumunda bir kere pudra isti’mal edebilirler. Vakitlerinin kısm-ı azami hanede geçer. Bir hane hergün temizlenip süpürüldüğü için temizdir. Sokağa çıkılacağı zaman ise yaşmak var. Yaşmak bir takım muzır tozları ağza, buruna, yize ve gize girdirmemeğe en mükemmel ve yegane İaredir. Kadınlar, usul ve kaideye muvaffak böyle bir vasıta-ı mükemmele muvaffakiyetlerinden dolayı bahtiyardılar. Evvelce de demiş idik, yerli ve yabancı umum düzgün suları (fondoten) muzır olduğu gibi pudra da muzırdır. Meğer ki mevad-ı muzıradan arıolalar o vakit ikisi de faideli addolunur. Bu bir kanun-u tabiidir. İyiye iyi fenaya fena denilir. Erkekler tıraştan tıraşa güzel ve muzır olmayan pudradan hafifçe sürebilirler. Kadınlar hiç sürmeyebilirler.” *Nevsal-i Nisvan*, (İstanbul: Yuvanaki Panayotidis Matbaası), 71.

foundation by centering health continued to be among popular topics of magazines and newspapers in the following decade.⁴⁹



Figure 3.15 Advertisements of Riveris in Ottoman and American press. *Riveris* talcum powder “prevents excessive perspiration. Keeps skin soft and cool.”

Source: *Şehbal*, 28 August 1909 (left). *Riveris* Advertisement poster, 1910 (right).

Needless to say, powder advertisements did not recommend headscarf in lieu of powder and in ads powder is clearly presented as a feminine product. A *Riveris Talcum Powder* advertisement published in *Şehbal* stressed the benefits of the product as many of other ads did: “[Powder] prevents over-perspiration □ Keeps the skin soft and cool.”⁵⁰

The same product was marketed in the United States as follows: “Consider how frequently you use talcum powder □how copiously it is applied to the skin- and consequently how important it is to choose a talcum unquestionably pure and hygienic.”⁵¹

⁴⁹ For such discussion see “Pudra ve Düzgün Sihat Yönünden İncelenmesi” in *Servet-i Funun*, 29 July 1309 □0 August 1893.

⁵⁰ *Riveris* talcum pudrası. Yüz ve tuvalet için terem (?) ve latif bir teması haizdir. Fazla terlemeye mani olur. Cildi yumuşak ve serin tutar. Büyük mağazalarda arayınız.” *Şehbal*, 28 Ağustos 1909

⁵¹ *Riveris* Advertisement poster in *Good Housekeeping*, 1910.

Although it is hard to trace the actual sale reports of particular items, the sort of the advertised items or services and how they are advertised give clues about the reception of these goods. Reader letters also revealed public voices, like Belkıs Hanım from Bebek. Belkıs Hanım wrote a letter to *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* in 1899 to describe her first visit to a new store *Haşmet and Rifat Mağazası*.⁵² Another reader of the same magazine, Bedriye Hanım from Çamlıca, after reading Belkıs Hanım's letter visited the store herself along with a young bride-to-be and was very satisfied with the quality and variety of goods and the service she received.⁵³ Another good way to observe people's demands is looking at the introduction of new domestic products. They often respond to a rapidly changing market that is shaped not only by imported goods but also non-traditional native products.



Figure 3.16 Crème Perteve (or *Krem Perteve*), one of the first native cosmetic products. The figures depict the skin's condition before (on the right) and after (left) use of the product.

⁵² Belkıs Hanım, *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, 239-237 (30 November 1899), 3-4. Cited in B. Elizabeth Frierson, "Cheap and Easy": Patriotic consumer culture in the late-Ottoman era," in *Consumption in the Ottoman Empire*, edited by Quataert, Donald (New York: SUNY Press, 1999), 243.

⁵³ Bedriye Hanım, *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, 243-41 (28 December 1899), 3.

Crème Perteve, was one of the first Turkish cosmetic products that gained an immediate commercial success. It was produced by one of the first Turkish pharmacists Ethem Perteve (1871-1927) at the turn of the twentieth century. This suggests that there was a big enough market to encourage local entrepreneurs to venture on a business. Perhaps just like their Copenhagen, Berliner or Londoner contemporaries who were convinced by Müller and believed that happiness indeed depended on healthiness of one's body, Istanbulites sought for their happiness through personal care, health and beauty.

3.2.2 Packaging the Products

Interestingly enough these self-care products, crèmes, powders, cosmetics and publications on beauty and health did not mean that women were welcomed in the public realm with their re-touched appearance. Nevertheless, these products were in circulation, even under Abdulhamid II regime's (1876-1909) strict censorship and oppression, the media, especially women magazines continued to promote the healthy, "well-kept" and "beautiful women." The promotion did not stop during WWI or right after the War of Independence. For example, Ahmed Faruki Perfumery Store, a month later than the declaration of Republic, advertised a variety of products in *Akbaba* magazine to its customers from lotion to corset none of which could be considered essential for surviving after-war conditions.



Figure 3.17 *Ahmed Faruki Itriyyat Deposu*: “Lavander, cologne, lotion, powder, cream, scented soap, blush, hair color, toothpaste, tooth powder, nail polish, cosmetics, brilliantine, toilet powder (*taharet tozu*), corset, comb, manicure sets. In sum, products both native and from the most famous factories of Europe regarding toilet and perfumery are exquisitely and inexpensively in Istanbul.”

Source: *Akbaba*, 6 December 1923.

Despite ads that promoted improvement of appearance, when women became visible on Istanbul streets, it had been considered a manifestation of a general decline in morals. Appearance of women on the street required changes in women’s mentality and physicality as well as men’s. Generally speaking, in (Ottoman) history writing, the factors that “triggered” women’s visibility were perceived mainly as modernizing agents: education the Western influence, rationalization and socialization concerns to name a few of the usual suspects. I argue that it was these factors together with the “opposing camp” who react to this visibility with moral, religious or scientific rationales reflect the modernization scene. In other words, this encounter itself (on many different fronts) was the modernization process.

Much has been written on the way “things” were used in changing women’s lives. Writers like Işın and Frierson pointed out the educational concerns of publications on

daily objects by arguing this sort of publications “were transforming women in a perceptible way.”⁵⁴ Frierson claims that “illustrations of the goods, especially accessories such as gloves and fans” were employed for educational concerns.⁵⁵ Despite many advertisements indeed provided illustrations of goods, it is hard to claim that ads played a purely pedagogical role in society. Although it is hard to dismiss altogether the importance of controlling a domain by producing the knowledge of “things,” education implies a one-way flow □ from the teacher to the learner. The acceptance and wide usage of a particular product would go through a more complex social process. The ads were only meaningful when they were supported with other means of transmitting knowledge *and* the resistance towards them. For instance, despite etiquette’s insistence on “properness,” misuses and reactions to a product would also shape the knowledge of object. If not in any other way, by making it not “foreign” anymore. For instance, unlike presented in the powder article, the primary reason to use this product was not because it was beneficial for skin, but because everybody was using it.

In many cases a new product would come with a large package: full of discourses that may condemn or encourage the use of it. Reasons for support or reaction varied, however it was increasingly based on scientific and medical knowledge and less on conventions or religion. The use of powder and cream alike is not discussed by explaining why they are beneficial or harmful to the body. Even when conventions or religious practices were referenced, these were no longer taken as transcendental truths, sins or religious

⁵⁴ See Ekrem Işın, *Everyday Life in Istanbul: Social Historical Essays on People, Culture and Spatial Relations* (Istanbul : Yapı Kredi Publication, 2001), 117 for the author’s opinion about popular women magazines of the era. For informative ads see also Frierson, *Cheap and Easy*, 248.

⁵⁵ Frierson, *Cheap and Easy*, 248.

wrongdoings but as rational propositions, like promoting prayer as exercise or ablution as modern hygiene.

3.3 Mission: Hygiene

“Modern man is born in hospital and dies in hospital □ hence he should also live in a place like hospital.”⁵⁶

Hygiene is a very loaded concept. It can signify, on the one hand, level of civilization of a particular group □ society □ nation, on the other, a tool for control and discipline: an indispensable necessity of modern living or hegemony of “western” medicinal practices. From the Foucauldian point of view, this conceptualization paved the way to the process that turned a city into a big hospital (or a prison, school, etc.) In the Ottoman context, this notion functioned as a tool for comparing the level of civilization to some degree. However, the comparison itself was not enough: through products and advertisements the “advanced level” needed to be demonstrated to “teach” to the less fortunate and to encourage the continued use to those who are already using them.

⁵⁶ Robert Musil, *The Man Without Qualities* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1965, 16). First published in 1930.



Figure 3.18 Pears' Soap advertisements, Admiral George Dewey and "The White Man's Burden."

Source: McClure's Magazine, October (left). *The Graphic*, Christmas Number, 1884 (right).

While Victorian British, for example, saw soap as a symbol of bringing civilization to the uncivilized others and as exemplified in Pears' soap campaign, soap advertising took its place at the vanguard of Britain's new commodity culture and its civilizing mission, the Ottomans tended to see cleanliness as an inherent characteristic of their culture stemming from Islamic practices. Yet the use of soap transformed its meaning from being faithful to civil.

Soap was not new to the Ottomans. The production and consumption of soap was quite common; in official documents there is frequent mention of various kinds of soaps such as *kandiye sabunu*, *arap sabunu*, *iraki sabun*, *kara sabun*, *çiçek sabunu*, etc. Many Ottoman towns located on the Mediterranean and Aegean coast had a very active soap industry even in the sixteenth century because of the abundant supplies of olive oil and

potash.⁵⁷ Towns like Heraklion (Kandiye), Jerusalem, Damascus, Tripoli, Aleppo were among the centers of soap production and these towns exported large quantities of soap to Istanbul and other parts of the Ottoman Empire. In Heraklion alone there were 45 soap manufacturing workshops at the beginning of the nineteenth century and soaps produced here were considered high quality products. Another Ottoman town famous with its high quality soaps was Aleppo that had 12 large soap workshops in the second half of the nineteenth century when traditional workshops began to transform into industrial factories.⁵⁸

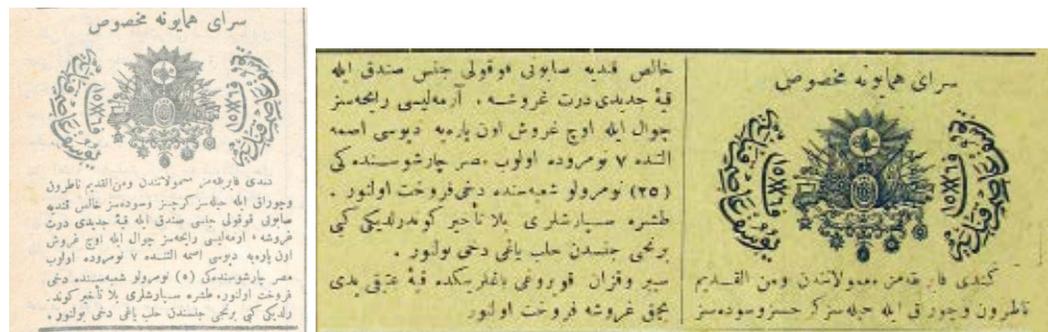


Figure 3.19 Soap advertisements in daily media. Companies promoted their products with the coat of arms indicating that they have approval of the Sultan.

Source: *İkdam*, 3 January 1896 (left). *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, 17 February 1896 (right)

As a consequence of this relatively wide usage and production, Ottoman administrators had been concerned with the use of soap, meeting the capital's soap needs and controlling its ingredients. However, the regulations were not limited to these aspects: at some point, the central government even had to regulate how they were advertised.

⁵⁷ Halil İncalcık and D. Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire: 1300-1914*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 348.

⁵⁸ Halil İncalcık and D. Quataert, *An Economic and Social History*, 902.

Soap manufacturers published advertisements in the popular magazines and newspapers with interesting marketing tactics. One of them was using the coat of arms of the House of Osman (*arma-i osmani*) implying that the product had received approval of the Palace. Initiated by one soap company, including the coat of arms in their ads was followed by others, pointing out to the government's positive approach to this product, even though none of these were authorized uses. Eventually, the central government had to regulate the use of the official symbol. Nevertheless utilizing imperial symbols as it was done in the British context to promote hygiene products such as soap seems quite curious.

Although soap use was encouraged, the idea of cleanliness was still seen as one of the major characteristics of true belief (*iman*). Just like the redefinition of prayer as physical exercise (see Chapter 3.1), intellectuals benefited from existing practices like ablution (*abdest*) to rationalize the notion of hygiene, and accordingly, hygiene was inserted into Ottoman daily practices. One can claim that there was indeed a big difference with, for instance, the Europe of the time. Müller in his *My System* complains about the lack of fondness for cleanliness and bathing: "This does not only refer to people of the 'working' classes. I have often met 'gentlemen' in frock-coats and top hats and ladies in evening dress of whom you could tell by the smell of them, even at a distance of several feet, that they seldom or never took a bath." It is hard to compare the actual cleanliness. However, at a discursive level, the Ottoman Muslims argued that they were cleaner (than Europeans in Europe) by using the same phrase that Müller used. Indeed, the statement that Muslim Turks have always been clean (especially as compared to Europeans) was to become a very popular and widely believed "legend".

3.3.1 A Place for Cleaning

A part of the support for this argument came from the widespread existence of public Turkish baths (*hamams*) throughout the Ottoman Empire. In this sense, *hamams* became instrumental in the construction of the notion of hygiene. In official Ottoman history writing, this building type has always been seen as a strong evidence to prove the Ottomans' cleanliness and the importance given to personal hygiene. The popularity of *Hamams* continued in the nineteenth-century Istanbul, both discursively and practically. Even in Europe, as a part of emerging orientalist interests towards non-western geographies, especially during the Victorian era, *hamams* became popular as a method of cleansing.⁵⁹

Although Istanbulites did not stop utilizing these public facilities suddenly, the meaning of being clean and bathing began to change during the nineteenth century. Bathing was not only a part of the everyday routine, but it defined a specific "desired" characteristic for Ottoman citizens, a particular manner, a requirement of the time which made it part of the new episteme with connections to rationality and scientific thinking. Accordingly, sanitary conditions of these spaces started to be questioned by intellectuals like physician Celaleddin Muhtar who urged for the necessity of the medical control over public baths and barber shops in some of which dentistry had been practiced. *Hamams* started to be regulated quite strictly as public spaces: these places that were subject to sanitary condition (*kavaid-i sihhiye*) controls by official health inspectors. The

⁵⁹ For re-emergence of public baths and wash houses in Victorian England see Anthony S. Wohl *Endangered Lives: Public Health in Victorian Britain* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983). The establishment of the public baths went hand in hand with the public health reforms, see Robert Owen Alsop, *Public Baths and Wash-houses* (London: E. & F. N. Spon, 1894). Specifically *hamams* with their medical agendas became very popular in London in the mid-1850s. One of the supporters of *hamams* in England was diplomat and orientalist David Urquhart (1805–77) who opened his own *hamam* in the fashionable West End of London in 1862 see Peter Kandela, "The rise and fall of the Turkish bath in Victorian England" in *International Journal of Dermatology*, 39 (2000): 70.

regulations provided detailed instructions from the materials to be used for entrance doors or for the walls of the stove to the features fabrics (towels, *peştemal*) used inside.⁶⁰

Local *hamams* (public bath) became popular again following the *Tanzimat* period (after the 1840s): especially as women used these spaces more often, it shortened the distance between the *konak*, upper class residence and the *hamam*. Işın argues that the upper classes preferred baths in their wealthy mansions with extensive cadre of female servants before Tanzimat. However, because of the great expense of continually burning stokeholes, they started to go to the local baths.⁶¹ Another related development was the emergence of private baths replacing large baths in the mansions of the upper class during the Abdülaziz period (1861-1876). For instance, “European style” individual tubs replaced *göbektaş* (where water was heated by wood burning water heaters).⁶²

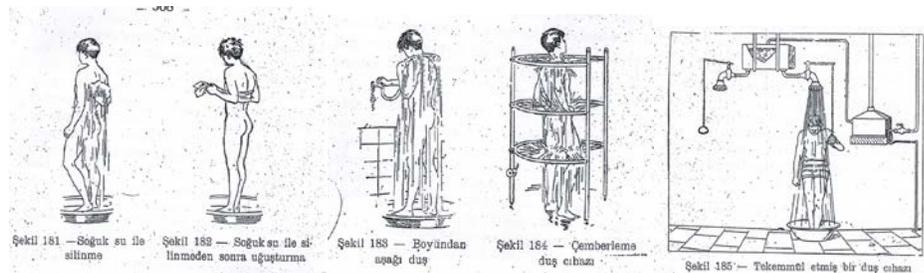


Figure 3.20 Various ways to maintain personal hygiene, from wiping to showering. The illustration on the far right introduces an “advanced showering device” (*tekammül etmiş bir duş cihazı*).

Source: Ahmet Refik and Mehmet Emin, *Teşrih Fizioloji Hıfzıssıhha*, (Istanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1929), 307-308.

⁶⁰ Public spaces including hamams (hanlar, bekar odaları, meyhaneler, and so on) had to be inspected every fifteen days, if necessary even more frequently, by health inspectors who were obliged to report to the head doctor of each branch (*şube sertabibi*), Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediyye*, 3172. These spaces became subject for controlling, for institutionalization of control mechanism see Cengiz Kırılı, “Surveillance and Constituting the Public in the Ottoman Empire,” in Seteney Shami (ed.) *Publics, Politics and Participation: Locating the Public Sphere in the Middle East and North Africa*. (New York: SSR, 2009), 282-305.

⁶¹ Işın, *Everyday Life in Istanbul*, 271-272.

⁶² For mechanization of domestic sanitary fixtures see S. Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History*. (New York: Oxford Univ. Press.,1948).

The middle class home, on the other hand, did not include private *hamams* nor did it have the necessary infrastructure for sanitary bathroom equipment. However they did have a small closet-bath that was called “guslkhane” which was part of the built-in cupboard (*yüklük*). With the introduction of sanitary equipment, bathrooms gradually began to transform into independent rooms in middle class houses as well. The combined effect of all these was the transformation of bathing into a more individual activity compared to traditional *hamam* culture of the Ottoman urban life.

3.3.2 Cleaning for Health

Cleanliness was an indispensable characteristic of the civilized Ottoman, but it was also crucial for another reason: health. A textbook published in 1915-1916 maintained that in order to stay healthy, one had “to avoid cold, to take clean air, to eat in appropriate amounts, to work out, to keep the body clean, to sleep enough time and to avoid extremes in everything.”⁶³ More directly, for instance, taking baths was recommended as a way of treatment: “frequently the weak, and the sick can be treated by sprinkling cold or warm water from above, by taking a shower or a bath. This is called treatment with water. In order to augment the benefits, one should add muscular moves, that is swimming.”⁶⁴

As in many other cases, these habits of cleanliness were to start from childhood. In a home economics book, children were advised to adopt the following hygienic

⁶³“Sihhati muhafaza etmenin başlıca çaresi soğuktan sakınmak, temiz hava almak, münasip surette tagaddi etmek (beslenmek), idman yapmak, vücudu temiz tutmak, kâfi derecede uyumak, herşeyde ifrattan (aşırılıktan) sakınmaktır.” Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, (İstanbul: Garoyan Matbaası, 1334/1915-1916), 140.

⁶⁴“Ekseriya zayıf, hatta hasta olanlar soğuk veya ılık suyu yukarıdan serpererek, duş ve banyo ederek kullanmak suretiyle tedavi edilebilir. Buna su ile tedavi namı verilir. Sudan gelen faideyi büyültmek için ona adal (adaleden) hareketleri yani yılmeyi de ilave etmelidir.” Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, (İstanbul: Garoyan Matbaası, 1334/1915-1916), 154-155.

principles in their lives. It was a list of instructions and why cleaning was good for health.⁶⁵

1. Cleanliness is essential for the health (Temizlik sıhhat için elzemdir).
2. If the body is not always washed and cleaned, skin cannot function well (Vücut daima yıkanıp temizlenmezse cilt de vazifesini iyice ifa edemez).
3. After washing up, rubbing the body with a washcloth opens the pores and improves the circulation of blood in veins. (Yıkandıktan sonra vücudu kese ile ovuşturmakla cildin mesamati açılacağı gibi kanın damarlardaki cevelanı (dolaşım) dahi tesrii (hızlandırma) edilmiş olur).
4. One should go to *hamam* occasionally and get cleaned, sea baths and cold showers also strengthen the body. (Ara sıra hamama gidip yıkanmalı, deniz hamamı ve soğuk su banyoları dahi vucuda kuvvet verirler).
5. Cleaning the mouth and teeth is a hygienic and moral duty. (Ağzı, dişleri temizlemek sıhhi ve ahlakî bir vazifedir).



Figure 3.21 Products for oral hygiene: *Odol* mouth wash and *Gibbs* toothpaste.

Source: *Servet-i Fünûn*, 1 October 1903 (left). *Servet-i Fünûn*, 25 October 1903 (middle). *Vakit*, 23 August 1921 (right).

As much as all of these were good for the health, the duty was also a moral one. By describing oral hygiene as a part of moral responsibility, the author rendered hygiene an instrument of moral judgment reflecting the widespread understating of the time. All

⁶⁵ Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, (Istanbul: Garoyan Matbaası, 1334/1915-1916), 155. Also see Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, (Istanbul: Hilal Matbaası, 1334/1915-1916).

these teachings brought a normative explanation to an individual duty. Personal hygiene also included the immediate surroundings of the body:

“Objects, cloths and dresses we use, food we eat, water we drink, air we breathe should always be clean.

Shining our shoes is also a sort of cleanliness. Cleaning the shoes takes only a few minutes but it is significant since it completes our cloths□ cleanliness and neatness.

A girl who is fond of cleanliness is very careful about neatness and cleanliness of the bed she sleeps on. In order to ventilate the linens, every morning she takes them up and puts them back.”⁶⁶

As an individual could pick good over bad, (good always being the obvious choice), a social norm also accompanied the pedagogical teaching of the notion of hygiene. A good example is the imaginary young girl in Nazım’s textbook who takes action to get herself an oral hygiene set: “a girl who likes cleanliness cares about her oral hygiene. She brushes her teeth every morning, washes her mouth after each meal, cleans food particles out of her teeth, buys herself an oral hygiene set (*diş takımı*) with the money she saved (*ihtiyat parası*). With this care to cleanliness and oral hygiene her teeth becomes beautiful, her mouth clean and her stomach healthy.”⁶⁷ So, seemingly cleaning, in the eye of the author of the textbook, was a part of a package that had very little to do with religious morals but more with mundane normative behavioral patterns of an exemplary child such as being thrifty, tidy or clean.

⁶⁶“Kullandığımız eşyanın, ĩamaşır ve melbusatın yediğimiz yemeklerin içtiğimiz suyun teneffüs ettiğimiz havanın behemehal temiz olması lazımdır. Giydiğimiz kunduraları her sabah temizleyip parlatmak da bir nev ĩ temizliktir. Kunduraları temizlemek birkaç dakikalık bir iştir; fakat kıyafetimize verdiğimiz nezafet ve intizamı ikmal etmesi cihetiyle ehemmiyetlidir. Temizliğı seven bir kız yattığı yatağın temiz ve tertipli olmasına pek ziyade dikkat eder. Yatak takımlarını havalandırmak üzere her sabah bozar, tekrar düzeltir.” Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, (Hilal), 24.

⁶⁷ “Temizliğı seven bir kız ağzının nezafetine de dikkat eder. Her sabah dişlerini fırçalar, yemeklerden sonra ağzını yıkar. Dişlerinin aralıklarında kalan kırıntıları temizler. İhtiyat parasıyla kendine diş takımı tedarik eder. Su nezafet ve ağzın hız-ı sıhhatine dikkat sayesinde dişleri güzel, ağzı temiz, ve midesi sağlam olur.” Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, (Garoyan), 154.



Figure 3.22 “Things that are required to clean the teeth”: tooth brush, toothpaste, tooth powder, tongs, tooth pick, *coton hydrophile*, pump.

Source: Nazım, *İdâre-yi Beytiye*. (Istanbul, Garoyan Matbaası, 1334 [1915-1916], 153.

Very much like other examples, oral hygiene entered the Ottoman life as a package. Like many other practices, brushing the teeth was an Islamic practice when done with *miswak*,⁶⁸ but the introduction of “modern” products, mouthwash, toothpaste, toothbrush came as a part of a package that was articulated to modern hygiene that was practiced in all civilized societies.

The first toothbrush was not patented until 1857 in the United States.⁶⁹ So, although it is a rather late product, toothbrush and toothpaste were almost immediately available for purchase in the Istanbul market. Interestingly enough, these oral hygiene products were sold in perfumeries (*itriyat deposu*) until 1950s alongside of other products

⁶⁸ The *miswak* is a teeth cleaning twig. It is again popular these days as an “alternative” to the modern toothbrush and is praised for its other benefits like being good for the stomach and whitening the teeth. For example, Colgate is offering a *miswak* flavor.

⁶⁹ The first mass-produced toothbrush was made by William Addis in England, around 1780. The first American to patent a toothbrush was H. N. Wadsworth, (patent number 18,653) on Nov. 7, 1857. Mass production of toothbrushes began in America around 1885.

like perfume and eau de cologne that entered the Ottoman market during the last quarter of the nineteenth century as cleaning became more individualized.



Figure 3.23 Modern scents for modern body: The Crown Perfumes and Rhein-Veilchen.

Source: *Tercüman-i Hakikat*, 24 January 1888 (left). *Servet*, 2 July 1898 (right).

These products came with various promises. British *The Crown Perfume*, with its “exceptional charm, strength and long lasting scent,” for instance, offered “a feeling of freshness and skin rehabilitation.”⁷⁰ Another product, German eau-de-cologne brand Rhein-Veilchen was marketed as “the biggest achievement of production of herbalists: produced from the Violets of Rhine River, musk, etc. *Lavantacıbaşı* (Royal Chief Lavenderer) of the Russian Empire, Ferdinad Mulhens’s production.”⁷¹ Both of these products made available to the masses in Europe what was spared only for the kings and emperors before or they claimed to do so. Whether they did this or not, these brands and their Ottoman distributors did make them available to the public (those with the

⁷⁰ “Letafet, ve keskinliği ve rayıhasının devamı fevkalade olan itriyat-i kesife.” *Tercüman-i Hakikat*, 24 January 1888.

⁷¹ “Mamulat-ı itriyatın en büyük muvaffakiyeti.” *Servet*, 2 July 1898 (right).

means to purchase, of course) in Istanbul stores. There was a long tradition of scent making, aromatherapy. For example, “*hacı misi*” (pilgrim’s scent), “*buhur suyu*” were commonly used scents. As the meaning and practices of cleanliness began to be disconnected from its religious bonds; the use of these “new” imported scents started to become a part of the individual responsibility rather than a religious one. Moreover, even though cleanliness tended to be seen as inherent characteristic of Islam, and the use of pleasant scent and the use of *miswak* were considered as *Sunnah*, neither perfumes and colognes nor the toothbrush appeared as the continuation of religious practices.⁷²

Thus, hygiene and giving appropriate importance to this notion was also a mission for each individual. Building the knowledge and the practice (not only teaching how to be clean but also by building hospitals, medical schools) coincided around the second half of the nineteenth century. In addition to the information in the textbooks, between 1850s and 1910s, Ottoman imperial administration prepared significant regulations regarding public health and executed majority of them. From another perspective, these regulations functioned as tools that helped establish standards with respect to modern criteria of personal and public hygiene.

⁷² *Sunnah* (sünnet in Turkish) is deeds and way of living of Mohammed that are prescribed as norms for Muslims.

CHAPTER 4

NEW HOME FOR NEW LIFE

The Ottoman house and the perception of living in domestic space started to break off its existing connections from the traditional practices in the second half of the eighteenth century. Many features of the home as well as the home itself were shifting: not only the objects that filled the domestic space, but also its layout and the practices and rituals were changing in accordance with its inhabitants. What will be inaccurately called in the Republican Period called inaccurately the “Turkish house” was experiencing its last years in Istanbul and also in the Empire.¹ This residential building type that mostly held large families would mostly disappear with the second quarter of the twentieth century. It disappeared from the city but continued to live increasingly more vividly in the Turkish collective memory, which was also a cultural construct with a nostalgic recall.²

In 1850s the city consisted of three main concentrations, geographically separated from each other by the Bosphorus. This were Istanbul (or historical peninsula), Galata and Üsküdar. The neighborhoods of Istanbul were also ethnically organized: in the historical peninsula, for instance, Muslims lived in the central part; Armenians, Greeks, and Jews were concentrated along the shores. While the Marmara shore had mainly Greek and Armenian neighborhoods, the Golden Horn was crowded with Greek and Jewish

¹ The notion of “Turkish House” can be seen as one the outcomes of the nation building process during early republican period. Although emphasis was on the “Turkishness” of the house, in reality, non-Turkish groups also utilized this building typology. When architect Sedad Hakki Eldem, “inventor” of the term, proposed this notion, some architects (along with nationalists) did not necessarily adopt the idea of praising wooden construction since it was not considered hygienic or contemporary enough in the 1940s. For an analysis of this term and the typology: Uğur Tanyeli, *Istanbul:1900-2000, Konutu ve Modernleşmeyi Metropolden Okumak* (Istanbul: Akın Nalça, 1999).

² This specific issue has been examined by many scholars around different case studies, for one of them see Zeynep Çelik, “Istanbul: Urban Preservation as Theme Park: The Case of Soğukcesme Street” in Z. Çelik, *et al. Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

settlements. Istanbul's population increased regularly until the World War I. Accordingly, city boundaries started to expand. New neighborhoods were added to cityscape. Apartment buildings started to be a part of Istanbul in the early nineteenth century and eventually they would take over. Although apartment buildings were being built, single-family houses still dominated the urban fabric at the turn of the century, even in new neighborhoods such as Nişantaşı and Teşvikiye as observed in the cadastral plans of the region.



Figure 4.1 Map of Istanbul by Helmuth von Moltke, 1852. “Darü’l-hilafetü’l-aliye ve civarı haritasıdır.”

Source: *Istanbul Atatürk Kitaplığı Harita Bölümü*. Catalog No: 956.101.563 MOL.

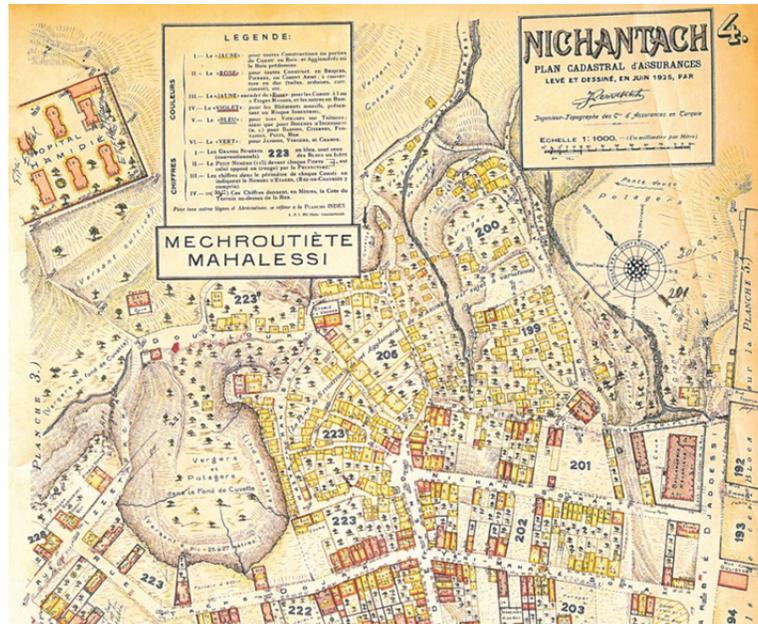


Figure 4.2 Region of Nişantaşı in insurance maps, 1925 (below). These maps were prepared to by Jacques Pervititch between 1922 and 1945.

Source: J. Pervititch, *Istanbul in the insurance maps of Jacques Pervititch*, (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı; Axa Oyak, 2000).

The notion of the family itself was also subject to change. As Duben and Behar point out, birth control was already commonly used, even lower classes tended not to have more than two children beginning with the early nineteenth century.³ As the image of nucleus family spread, roles at home started to change. Not only has the social structure of the home shifted accordingly, but also has the spatial structure. This new house was a home for a “healthy” family who, among many other things, was also supposed to exercise at home.

³ A. Duben, and C. Behar, *Istanbul Households : Marriage, Family, and Fertility, 1880-1940* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

4.1 Exercising at Home

Nazım Şerafettin Bey stated in the introduction of his 1886 exercise treatise that “[t]hese are the exercises that anybody can easily do (*bilâ-icra*) in their homes.” He continued: “Although these exercises are suitable for all ages and sexes, they should not be worked out by the people who are ill and/or on a particular diet (*halât-ı merziyye-i iltihabiyye ve himyeviye*).”⁴ This relatively small, 68-page treatise was a first of its kind both in terms of its systematic narrative and target group that spanned all levels of society. The booklet was drastically different from the earlier health books that included treatments and cures for particular illnesses and suggested particular diets and must-do’s against diseases. The difference of this booklet from its precedents was primarily its genre: it was an “exercise” booklet and the topics intersected with medicinal science in terms of its goal of maintaining health. However, it was written to describe physical exercises not as a treatment of particular medical conditions that would be applied temporarily, but prescribed work-outs that people would adopt for their entire life.

These systematized exercises that traversed a whole lifespan were not designated for specialized spaces either. They could be done in any home and this took these calisthenics from the domain of medicine and relocated them at the very center of daily life. In what followed, Nazım Şerafettin Bey described exercise moves and noted that there were many more, however he only listed work-outs that could be done without any danger and when done regularly, they would help a person to have a healthy life. He was in favor of non-apparatus training because of its convenience and he thought that apparatus gymnastics could be dangerous. The reason Nazım Şerafettin especially

⁴ Nazım Şerafettin Bey, *Bahçe ve Salonlarda Cinnastik Tâlimi yâhûd Bil-tedric cümle-i adliyenin nesv ü nemâsına mahsûs-i tecârüb bedeniyye eglenceleriyle her yerde icrâ-yi kabil bilâ echeze tâlimât-i makûleden bahis Sihatnümâ* (Istanbul: Matbaâ-yı A.K. Tozluyan İdâre-i Şirket-i Mürettebiye, 1302/1886).

stressed that was to make his position apparent on the famous controversy over the most effective system of exercise and calisthenics that spanned from the 1830s to the early 1920s.

Nazım Şerafettin offered a set of physical exercises that could easily be done at home without any requirement of specialized equipment (*bilâ âlet ve adâvat*), nor showing much effort and spatial organization. His aim was helping people live healthier lives by instructing them how to discover their bodies' strength (*kuvâ-yı bedeniyye*). Nazım Şerafettin's target was students (*talebe*), workers (*amele*), people of eminence (*eshâb*), in short all of society: "students since they had to fill inadequate and not spacious schools do not have freedom to do the moves that they require to do for their ages. Working people/craftsmen (*sanatkar*), since they do not eat properly and live in inappropriate spaces, their craft only improves the organs that a craftsman has to use to work. After a tiring day the only thing they know to relax (*istirahat*) is smoking, [going to] coffeehouse (*kahvehane*) and tavern (*meyhane*)." The author observed that people of the time worked without giving any break to their heads, hands, or their stomachs, and they did not take into consideration the warnings of the prominent medical scientists of the time (*asrın ettibâ-ı marûfesinden şumul*): "rather than stomach, food is digested by arms and legs." Life meant being in motion, "however, the number of people who move properly because of the nature of their work is very little," accordingly, the author claimed "in order to function limbs (*uzviyet*) of people who cannot act properly at work, gymnastics is a must (*behemehâl lazım*) for them. Therefore Nazım Şerafettin listed 41 non-apparatus exercises that people could work out in their homes which also meant taking people out of coffeehouses and taverns. Since houses were now to become spaces

for healthy bodies, their physical set-ups needed to be transformed as well (see Chapter 4.3).



Figure 4.3 Illustrations of work-out moves from *Sihhatnūma*. Although author offered exercise moves for everybody it is quite curious that illustrations depicted man in uniform. Left to right: Exercise 1: Turning the head to right and left, Exercise 2: Tilting the head to right and left, Exercise 3: Tilting the head back and forward, Exercise 4: Circling the head.

Source: Nazım Şerafettin Bey, *Bahçe ve Salonlarda Cimnastik Tâlimi yâhûd ...* (Istanbul: Matbaâ-yı A.K. Tozluyan İdare-yi Şirket-i Mürettebiye, 1302/1886).

While the author suggested a way of healthy and beneficial relaxation to those that had to work in an enclosed space repeating same movements and students that had no or little chance to be in motion, he highlighted a fact that he found very crucial: “young girls should not be trained gymnastics in girl-schools (*inas mektebi*).”

Nazım Şerafettin Bey’s reason is quite interesting: “When young girls grow up and become mothers, among them who have enough power (*sahibe-yi iktidar*) would only order [to servants] and would not do any [house]work at all, those from lower and middle income families would barely do their household duties that are mandatory to them (*mecburi alaiḡā olan*) with many excuses.” According to the author, this was happening because of the inherent characteristics of female nature. When trained women could lose their inner strength (*tevsî-i kuvvet*) that would help relieve anxiety (*cümle-i*

asabiye) which is observed in all young women as a result of their development.⁵ “Since the more the weaknesses increase the more a woman fears, climbing stairs little faster, jumping across a couple step distance, crossing a tiny river are among big dangers for them. Although gymnastic training could help them to do their physical duties easily, because of their nature, this training can be life threatening.”⁶

Although it is difficult to follow biological justifications, Nazım Şerafettin Bey was primarily concerned that training could impede women’s domestic duties. The author thought that after “some” education a girl should get married and be responsible for her own family. Even with education, according to the author, girls would end up being a housewife. This idea was pretty much the norm of the time, not only in the Ottoman Empire but all around the world and it was stressed in different publications, especially *Home Economics* textbooks.⁷

Nazım was one of the educators who was advocating this in his home economics textbook, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*: “Some mothers who are busy with their works in homes do not even recall that their bodies require movements. When you become a housewife in the future, remember this statement: ‘gymnastics or exercise is the best instrument for the protection of health’.” So unlike Nazım Şerafeddin, Nazım proposed work-out moves that school girls can train at home.

⁵ “Genç kızlarda daima neşv-ü nema üzere bulunan cümle-i asabiyeye iade-yi asayiş etmeye de vasıta olan tevsi-i kuvvet meselesinden bi-tamamiha tebaud olunarak bilakis cümle-i asabiyeyi tahrik edecek ne varsa takid-i tam ile icra ve ifa kılınır.” Nazım Şerafettin Bey, *Sıhhatümüma*, 7.

⁶ Nazım Şerafettin Bey, *Bahçe ve Salonlarda Cimnastik Tâlimi yâhûd ...* (Istanbul: Matbaâ-yı A.K. Tozluyan İdare-yi Sirket-i Mürettebiye, 1302/1886).

⁷ Different Home Economics targeting different grades stressed this notion, for example see: Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, (İstanbul: Garoyan Matbaası, 1334/1915-1916), Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, (Istanbul: Hilal Matbaası, 1334/1915-1916).



Figure 4.4 The exercises that students can train in their homes by themselves.

Source: Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, (İstanbul: Garoyan Matbaası, 1334/1915 or 1916), 107-109.

Aside from the physical exercises that essentially trained the musculoskeletal system, Nazım claimed that “[h]andcrafts are also salutary exercises to our body.”⁸ Suggesting handcrafts as exercise (that is embroidery, sewing and knitting), the author hinted at the complex position of women’s domain during the era. In Nazım’s perception, girls that went to school learned the “regular” exercises but that was for their use only when they go back to their homes (as opposed to workforce), and for that matter the “regular” exercise might as well be replaced with handcrafts. The benefits of housekeeping to the body were narrated via a didactic story: Hatice, two years ago, was not interested in housework and back then she had a skinny body with bony shoulders; her moves were slow and she looked distracted whereas after getting used to doing housework, she became a girl of striking appearance with square shoulders, strong and fit body. Since she was in motion while she worked, her arms and legs grew stronger. Even

⁸ Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, 162.

her psychological state (*ahval-i ruhiye*) had changed: One would easily realize that she no longer wasted her time and had gotten used to seeing her immediate surroundings.⁹

This pedagogical approach was quite similar to the discourses of domestic science in the United States. Catherine Beecher stated in her 1843 home economics book, *A Treatise on Domestic Economy* that “all the cosmetics of trade, all the labors of mantuamakers, milliners, makers of corsets, shoemakers, and hairdressers could never confer so clear and pure a skin, so fresh a color, so finely moulded a form, and such cheerful health and spirits, as would be secured by training a child to obey the laws of the benevolent Creator, in the appropriate employment of body and mind in useful domestic exercise.”¹⁰ So engaging in domestic labor as Beecher claimed was a therapeutic séance that was not only beneficial for muscular system but also could bring satisfaction to a person’s spirit. Interestingly enough, while the author was embracing “Christian values” to describe sets of morality for her pedagogical program, she borrowed from science, biology and medicine to formulate the systematic housekeeping that would consequently lead to the improvement of life quality both physically and psychologically.

Another home economics book similarly stated: “In a work which aims to influence women to train the young to honor domestic labor and to seek healthful exercise in home pursuits, there is special reason for explaining the construction of the

⁹ “Hatice tanınmayacak bir hale gelmişti. İki sene evvel azimette kuru vücutlu, omuzları çıkık olduğu gibi yürüyüşü ağır, ve bakışı dikkatsiz idi. Şimdi ise bünyesi sağlam, omuzları geniş, gösterişli, bir kız olmuştu. Ev işleriyle daima harekette bulunmaktan kollarına ve bacaklarına kuvvet gelmişti. Haticenin ahval-i ruhiyesi de değismisti: vaktini ziyan etmemeye, etrafında bulnan her şeyi dikkatle görmeye alışmış olduğu anlaşılıyordu.” Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, (Garoyan), 39-40.

¹⁰ Catherine E. Beecher, *A Treatise on Domestic Economy*, (Boston: Thomas H. Webb & Co, 1843), 132. Beecher is considered the one of the pioneers of calisthenics in America. She designed programs on calisthenics and its education.

muscles and their connection with the nerves, these being the chief organs of motion.”

Author continued:

“It is the universal law of the human frame that *exercise* is indispensable to the health of the several parts. Thus, if a blood-vessel be tied up, so as not to be used, it shrinks, and becomes a useless string; if a muscle be condemned to inaction, it shrinks in size and diminishes in power; and thus it is also with the bones. Inactivity produces softness, debility, and unfitness for the functions they are designed to perform. Now, the nerves, like all other parts of the body, gain and lose strength according as they are exercised. If they have too much or too little exercise, they lose strength; if they are exercised to a proper degree, they gain strength. When the mind is continuously excited, by business, study, or the imagination, the nerves of emotion and sensation are kept in constant action, while the nerves of motion are unemployed.

If this is continued for a long time, the nerves of sensation lose their strength from over-action, and the nerves of motion lose their power from inactivity. In consequence, there is a morbid excitability of the nervous, and a debility of the muscular system, which make all exertion irksome and wearisome.”¹¹

Though as not explicit as Beecher’s argument, Nazım also attempted to balance between religious morality and science of home economics. He did not aim to describe new religious values supported by science as his American counterparts partly did, but he benefited from Islamic rules as evidences to prove his argument’s legitimacy. In both contexts, the shared goal was to produce norms for domestic labor that maintained efficiency and systemized productivity in order to respond to the time of dynamism. A significant conflict was also shared by both American and Turkish contexts: Beecher argued that girls should always engage in motional activities, however there was a danger awaiting girls: “...the present habits of the wealthy, and even of those without wealth, which condemn young girls so exclusively to books or sedentary pursuits, are as destructive to beauty and grace, as they are to health and happiness.”¹²

¹¹ Beecher, *A Treatise on Domestic Economy*, 116-117.

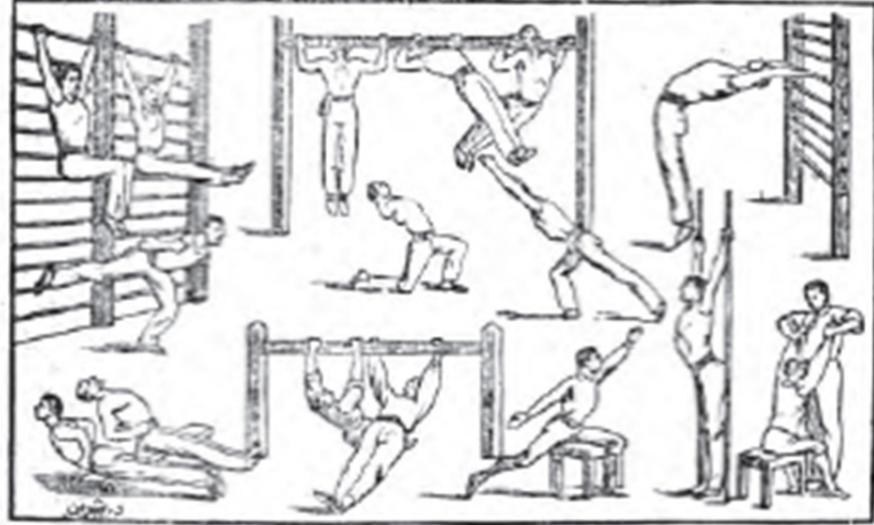
¹² Catherine E. Beecher, *A Treatise on Domestic Economy* (Boston: Thomas H. Webb & Co, 1843), 132.

Akin to the danger of getting away from motion by engaging in passive activities, such as reading, that the American author noticed, Turkish intellectuals and feminists pointed out a similar problem: theoretically girls deserved education as much as boys did, however once they graduated and established a family with her equivalently cultivated husband, “girls become stranger to housework: Not only are they not able to do the laundry these girls neither can they show any aptitude (*istidat*) for kindness towards the ones that do it. In short, all that education and knowledge cannot make them strong (*ikdar*) in housekeeping. As a result, well-educated girls in families cannot act in a way to provide husbands and children with comfort and relaxation. Furthermore, because the accumulated knowledge they got direct their interests and ideas to other fields, they are not even eager to engage housekeeping work.¹³

Rehber-i Umur-ı Beytiyye, a three-volume-encyclopedia of domestic affairs (*eve müteallik bilcümle umurun rehberi*) that aimed to introduce information regarding home, included a definition for gymnastics. The author of the guide/encyclopedia Mehmet Izzet wrote: “in dictionary gymnastics are defined as all kinds of corporal moves that are done as either a pleasure or a requirement of a profession in a particular way (*suret-i umumiye*) like jumping, running, walking, swimming and used as synonym of ‘game.’ Today the word gymnastics fits the definition: all sorts of calisthenics that are done for purposes pertaining to health like improving and reinforcing all parts of the body by following

¹³ “Bu kızlar ulûm-i aliyyede maharet ve irfanlarına bedel bir aile teşkil eyledikleri zaman aile umurunda bigâne bulunuyorlar. Çamaşır yıkayamadıkları gibi yıkayanlara nezaket hususunda da istidat gösteremiyorlar. Hûlasa, idâre-i beytiyye de o kadar ulûm ve funûn-i mütenevvia kendilerini ikdar edemiyor. Bunun neticesi olarak ailelerde böyle mükemmel tahsil gören kızlar zevcinin ve evladının istirahatini temin edecek surette hareket edemiyorlar ve hatta muktesebat-ı ilmiyyesi bunları kendi fikir ve meşgalelerini baska hususata hasretmeye sevk eylediğinden, ev işleriyle istigale heves bile edemiyorlar. “Kızların Tahsili Hakkında bir Mutalaa [A discussion on education of girls]” in *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, 10 November 1895, 1-2.

particular methods and systems. In other words gymnastics means tiring body for the benefit of body with the way that body can benefit from.”¹⁴



(شکل ۲ — انواع جمناسٹیک : جمناسٹیکده حرکات بنیة ابتدائیه)

Figure 4.5 Illustration showing Swedish gymnastic moves. Mehmet İzzet claims that this sort of exercise based on performing basic physical movements had been performed by Muslims under the form of namaz: “Cimnastikde hareket-i bedeniye-i ibdidaiye.”

Source: Mehmet İzzet, *Rehber-i Umur-ı Beytiyye*, 1. Cilt (Istanbul: Feridiye Matbaası, 1901), 90.

The author continued with explaining the benefits of gymnastics to the body, such as its support to immune system, improvement of strength alike. However, exercise or gymnastics were not only good for physicality of a person: if one could discipline his/her digestive system (*cihaz-i hazm*) with gymnastics, “s/he can take an indefinable joy out of digestion (*badel hazm*) that even could not compare to. the joy one can get from a fine art

¹⁴ “Lügatta sıçrama, koşma, yürüme, yüzme gibi ya yer zevk-i mahsusa binaen ve yahud sanat ve maişet muktezasında olarak bir suret-i umumiyede yapılan her nev’i idman-i bedeniyye itlak olunmakta ve bu manada cimnastik oyun kelimesiyle müterâdifen kullanılmaktadır. El-hâletü hâzihi cimnastik kelimesi bir takım usul ve kavaid-i muayeneye tevfikân vücudun bilcümle aksamını terbiye ve takviye etmek gibi bir maksad-ı sıhhi ile icra kalınan temrinatın hey’eti mecmû’ sunu müfiddir.” Mehmet İzzet, *Rehber-i Umur-ı Beytiyye*, 1. Cilt (Istanbul: Feridiye Matbaası, 1901), 85.

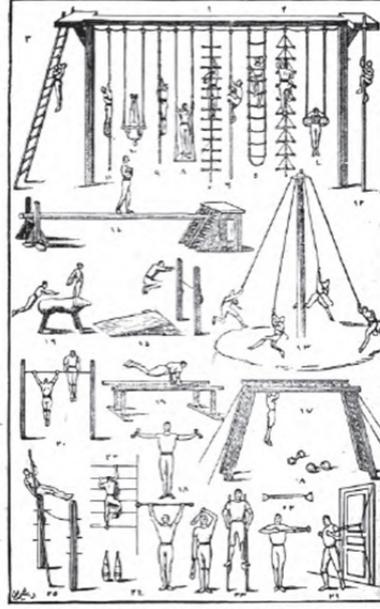
work, from a music piece, or from a nice tableaux or an poet's recital.”¹⁵ This sort of spiritual satisfaction that one could get via working out could be performed in different ways. For instance, “it is experienced (*mücerreb*) that singing or reading not only one of the most important exercises that are required (*labüd*) for lungs but humming after meals expedites the digestion process.”¹⁶

Mehmet İzzet later linked the notion of exercise to the religious practice, *namaz*. This was another way of rendering exercise a part of home, in this case in the form of religious practice. He claimed that: “*namaz*, which is the most essential element of Islam, is a moderate (*aksam-ı mutedile*) physical exercise (*idman-ı bedeniye*) and it was accepted as the cure today for neurological diseases (*emraz-ı asabiye*) by Europeans. What is known as *Swedish Gymnastics* includes nothing more than the moves of *namaz*.” Mehmet İzzet revealed a “two bird with one stone” formula by linking gymnastics with the activity that Ottomans were already familiar with. He continued: “So, a person who persists with *namaz* regularly fulfills two important duties: first is the duty of worship (*vazife-i ubûdiyyet*) towards his/her creator (*halik*) and second is his service to the well-being of his body.”¹⁷

¹⁵ Mehmet İzzet, *Rehber-i Umur-ı Beytiyye*, 87

¹⁶ Mehmet İzzet, *Rehber-i Umur-ı Beytiyye*, 87.

¹⁷ “Bu halde namaza hüsn-ü müdavemet ve muvazabet ile insan iki vazife-i mühimme ifa etmiş olur ki, biri halikine karşı vazife-i ubûdiyyet diğeri dahi bedeninin âfiyetine hizmettir.” Mehmet İzzet, *Rehber-i Umur-ı Beytiyye*, 87.



(شكل ۳ - ۱ درواز - ۷ و ۲ در سكاى ايپ - ۳ مردون - ۴ حلقه - ۵ ايپ نردبان - ۶ متحرك سرن - ۸ مالتيق - ۹ دو كولى ايپ - ۱۰ ترايز - ۱۱ ايپ - ۱۲ ثابت سرن - ۱۳ و رانده (دوراً كنش خطوه آفتى) - ۱۴ الق ديرك - ۱۵ نهنه اوزوندين صبراق و آتلاق - ۱۶ بينك - ۱۷ الق مردون - ۱۸ جنا - ۱۹ كوفله نرى - ۱۹ پارالل (موازى دركار) - ۲۰ ستون مركزى - ۲۱ و ۲۲ باسط - ۲۳ نهنه آتلاق - ۲۴ چوب - ۲۵ عودى چيون ايله صبراق - ۲۷ طرماندق چيشق .

Figure 4.6 Apparatus gymnastics.

Source: Mehmet İzzet, *Rehber-i Umur-ı Beytiyye*, 1. Cilt (Istanbul: Feridiye Matbaası, 1901), 91.

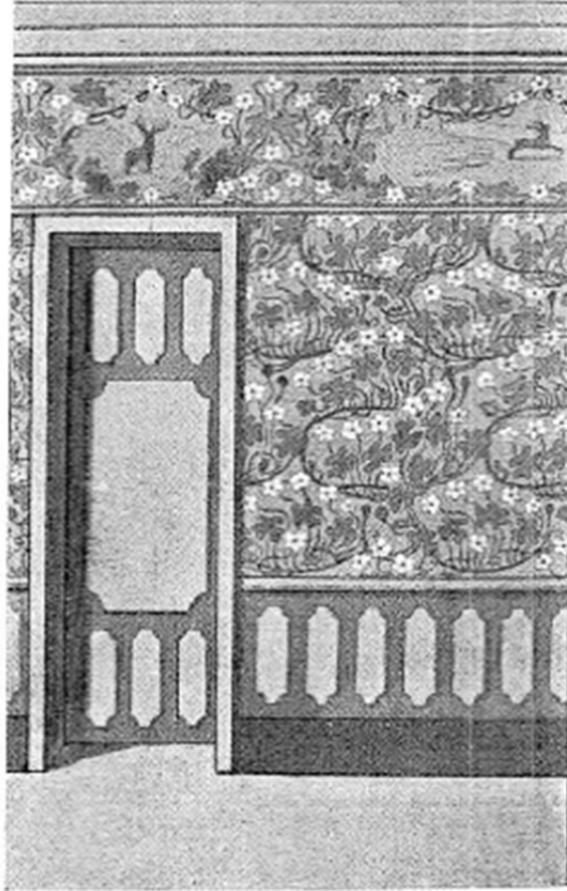
Gymnastics found a place in Mehmet İzzet’s encyclopedic guide on domestic affairs. He, by using *namaz*, “domesticized” gymnastics with the implication that Ottomans already were aware of its importance, and practicing it for centuries. Perhaps, for this reason, instead of introducing systematized and timetabled work-out moves for homes, he simply suggested *namaz*, prayer that was based on repetition of particular moves five times a day at home (in addition to mosque and pretty much any other place). Bringing up a traditional religious practice to justify this “new” notion, gymnastics, seemed quite curious. On the one hand, his suggestion seemed to have made no changes in the daily routine, on the other hand, it rationalized prayer by explaining it in reference to the facts of medical science and rendering inside the domain of medicine (not

completely taking in out of religion's domain though). Thus –with the slight adjustment of Mehmet Izzet, homes turned into places where people have been working out on a daily basis for centuries. “Traditional” domestic space where the very same *namaz* was performed for many years required other adjustments through products to suit better the modern healthy bodies.¹⁸

4.2 Uplifting the Domestic Space

The change in the typical Ottoman house and family structure had an impact on the domestic organization: there was an ever-growing move from large mansions, which did not have functionally determined rooms and housed more than one relative family, to houses in which each room had its own function. Accordingly, furniture that specifies function of the space began to find a place in the lives of Istanbulites. Furniture advertisements became more and more common in periodicals, newspapers: for instance, the first ad in the *Ceride-i Havadis*, which is known as the first non-official Turkish newspaper started to be published in 1840, was a domestic decoration object, a wallpaper imported from France. Similarly, encyclopedic publications like *Nevsal-i Afiyet* (Yearbook of Health) included illustrations of home furnishing and decoration as a part of their educational agenda. New textiles, lighting fixtures, utensils, dining and writing tables, pianos or sewing machines were not simple additions to rooms but they pointed out larger changes in the daily life.

¹⁸ Even *namaz* practiced differently depending on the sects, geography and so on. Speed of the prayer could also be different in different hour of the day.



خانه لرك تزینى

Figure 4.7 Home decoration (*hane tezyini*). This illustration is especially interesting with the depiction of a room, decorated with stylized wallpaper for Ottoman context that reflected principles of British Arts & Craft movement with natural motives and simplified geometric order of embellishments.

Source: *Nevsal-i Âfiyet, Salname-i Tibbî*, (Istanbul: Matbaa-yı Ahmed İhsan, 1322/ 1906), 35.

4.2.1 The Changing Interior

Newspapers, magazines and other printed media increasingly published furniture advertisements. One ad in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* newspaper invited “refined ladies and gentlemen to the store who would like to furnish their homes.” If they visited the advertised store in *Beyoğlu*, these ladies and gentlemen were promised to find all kinds of

“domestic products” (*malzeme-i beytiyye*).¹⁹ Another firm, *Avakim and Antuvan Furniture Store* offered a variety of products that a household might require such as meat grinders, gardening gears, stoves for the kitchen, “American-made dining sets,” curtains and furniture like brass and regular bedsteads (*karyola*), chairs, and couches.²⁰ Furniture such as these indicated the gradual transformation of multi-functional usage of rooms into spaces with fixed functions.

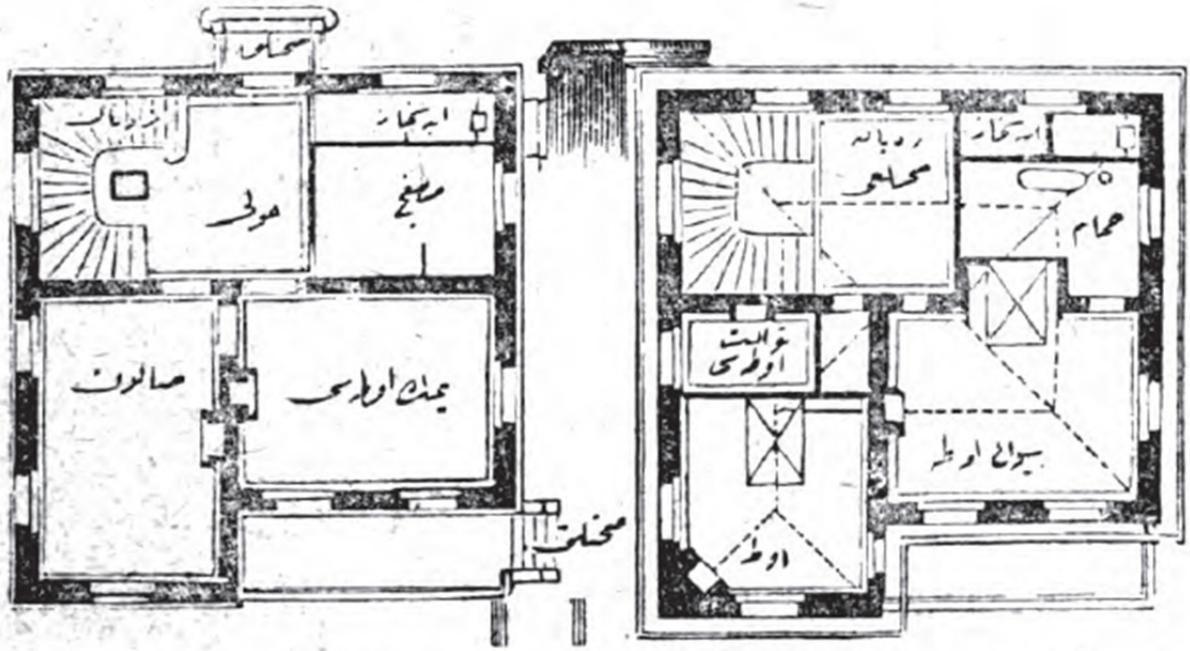


Figure 4.8 First and second floor plans of an “amendable building.”

Source: Mehmet İzzet, *Rehber-i Umur-ı Beytiyye*, 1. Cilt (Istanbul: Feridiye Matbaası, 1901), 232.

¹⁹ Hanesini tefriş etmek arzusunda bulunan zevat-ı kiram bir defa mağazalarımıza teşriflerinde malzemat-ı beytiyyenin her nevi’ni bulacakları muhakkaktır. *Tercüman-i Hakikat*, 8 October 1899.

²⁰ *İkdam*, 29 December 1894

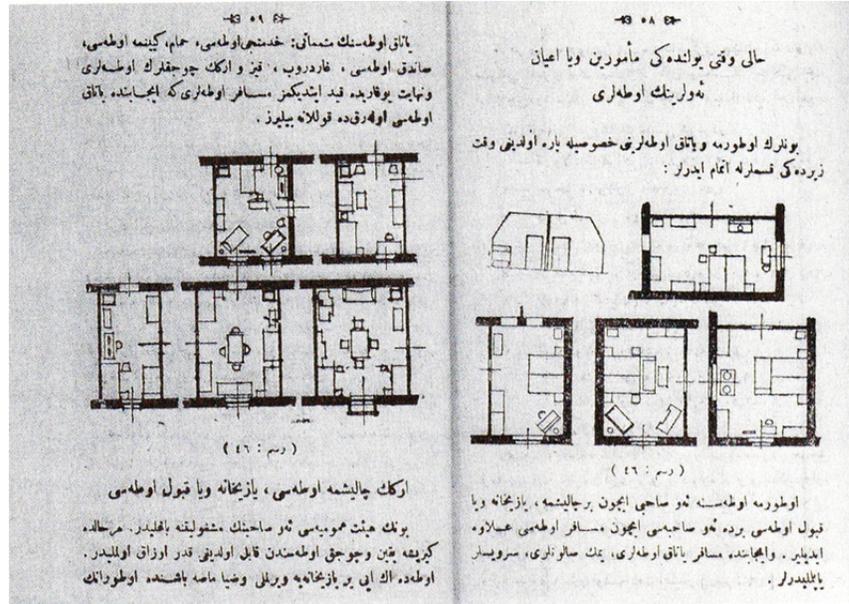


Figure 4.9 Houses for middle classes and civil servants.

Source: Semih Rüstem, *Evler ve Apartmanlar*, (Istanbul: Mekteb-i Sanayi-i Osmani Matbaası, 1337/1921), 58-59.

Architectural knowledge of new residential typology began to be produced for different sectors of the society. Architect Semih Rüstem categorized rooms for different functions and wrote about their planning in his book entitled *Evler ve Apartmanlar* (*Homes and Apartment Buildings*). For upper-middle class homes, the author suggested grouping living rooms with spaces such as study, office or reception room, guest room if necessary and included drawings for these rooms.²¹ Semih Rüstem noted that maid's room, store room (sandık odası), dressing room (giyinme odası), children's bedrooms and closets completed the main bedroom. Around the same time period, popular media promoted new type by publishing plans and renderings of model houses. Interestingly selected models were mostly detached single family houses.²² Weekly *Meraklı Gazete*

²¹ Semih Rüstem, *Evler ve Apartmanlar*, (Istanbul: Mekteb-i Sanayi-i Osmani Matbaası, 1921), 58.

²² Semih Rüstem, *Evler ve Apartmanlar*, 59.

used the title “What is your opinion about your detached home?” Plans were furnished in accordance with their functions and separate bedrooms were designed for family members.

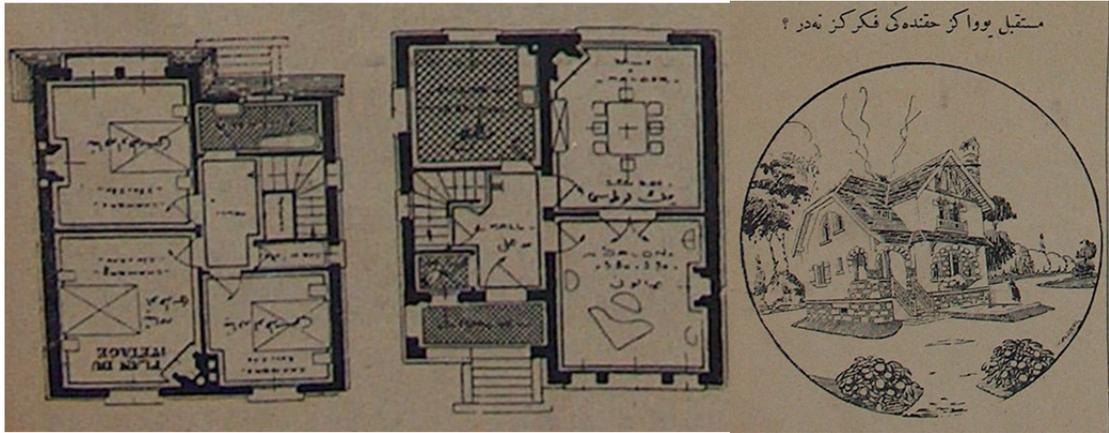


Figure 4.10 “A beautiful cottage with a large living room and five rooms.”

Source: *Meraklı Gazete*, 9 September 1926.



Figure 4.11 Newspaper advertisement of *Baker Store*.

Source: *Servet-i Fünun*, 4 January 1900.



Figure 4.12 Another furniture advertisement of *Baker Store*.

Source: *Şehbal*, no: 72, 28 March 1912.

Furniture for separate rooms with separate functions were already in market. Baker store promised its clients furniture that could “furnish homes perfectly and moderately (*mutedil*)”.²³ Established in 1854 by prominent British George Baker and his family who arrived in Constantinople after the Crimean war, this major department store

²³ “Beyoğlu’nda Doğru Yol’da Fransız Sefarethanesi karşısında Meşhur Baker’ın Yeni Mağazası. Oda döşetmek istiyorsanız Baker Mağazaları’na yeni varit olan muhtelif nevi ve şekilde keten ve yünlü döşemeleri bir defa görmelisiniz. Her nevi mobilya ve tefrişat için Baker Mağazaları taahhüdât kabul ederek gelin odalarınızı, haneleri mükemmelen ve mutedil surette tefriş eylemektedir.” *Servet-i Fünun*, 4 January 1900.

was on the fashionable high street of Pera.²⁴ Advertisement of Baker stores included illustrations of Victorian style furniture: two armchairs and a chair were grouped together in front of a daybed. A Chippendale cabinet was depicted in the lower left side, which completed the composition of the “contemporary” furniture. Upholsterer (*mefruşatçı*) Vitali in Besiktas marketed curtains for all types of rooms, upholstery for chairs and couches, the latest fashion furnishings from Europe for dowry and bedroom decoration, all manufactured by “adept masters.” Their advertisement claimed that since the store had “the highest quality with the lowest prices without leaving room for competition, the visit of eminent people (*zevat-ı kirâm*) to the store would be enough.” The store also sold customized fringes, tufts and cornices accepted new kind beadwork orders.²⁵ Pisalti, which claimed to be the largest furnishing store in Istanbul and sold all sorts of domestic objects (*eşya-yı beytiyye*), invited customers to their store in Beyoğlu to see the “excellence of the goods and their reasonable prices.”²⁶ The illustration that was selected for the Pisalti’s advertisement depicted a large interior with highly embellished furniture: a sofa bed, heavily decorated cabinet, mirror, rocking chair, coffee table, lamp, wall sculpture and a stroller. Although clearly many unrelated object were brought together to

²⁴ George Baker who was bestowed by the Sultan Abdülhamid II, the right to sell goods to the palace. With the involvement of English immigrant families of Edwards and Binns, Baker stores opened new branches in the nearby quarters of Yüksekaldırım and Sirkeci. For Baker stores see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 551. For the history of the company see Victoria and Albert Museum & G.P. & J. Baker Ltd. *From east to west: Textiles from G.P. & J. Baker, Victoria & Albert Museum 9 May-14 Oct. 1984*. (London: G.P. & J. Baker Ltd., 1984), 18-20.

²⁵ “Beşiktaş’ta vapur iskelesi civarında bu kere hususi olarak dükkanlarının ittisalinde cesim bir imalathane küşad ederek her nev’i odalar için perde, kanep ve sandalye takımları salon ve çeyiz ve yatak odalarının tefrişi için Avrupa’dan celp edilen son sistem mefruşat resimli, mucibince ve mahir ustalar yeddiyle imal ettirilmekte ve fiyatlarının hiçbir mağazanın rekabet edemeyeceği derece ehven olduğundan teşrif buyuracak zevat-ı kiramin hoşnut kalacakları ilân olunur. Bunlardan başka mutalik halis ipek ve sırma ibrişimden mamûl saçak ve püsküller ve kornişler fûrûht olduğu gibi müceddiden vâki boncuk siparişler dahi kabul edilir.” *İkdam*, 3 January 1896.

²⁶ “Pisalti’nin mefruşat mağazası Beyoğlu’nda Altıncı Daire-i Belediye karşısında... Dersaadet’te bulunan mefruşat mağazalarının en büyüğüdür. Her nev’i eşya-yı beytiyye külliyyetle mevcuttur. Fiyatların itidalini ve emtianın nefasetini anlamak için mezkur mağazayı ziyaret kafidir.” *İkdam*, 11 September 1901.

emphasize the large variety of products available in the store, ornamentation and decoration targeted a particular taste that reminded the French salon culture of the time. Thus luxury and quality were among stressed features for the goods.



Figure 4.13 Left: Advertisement of upholstery manufacturer Vitali in 1896. Right: “Pisalti’s upholstery store.”

Source: *İkdam*, 3 January 1896 (left). *İkdam*, 11 September 1901(right).

A glass store located in Tepebaşı also in Beyoğlu offered another luxury item: custom-made decorated glass panels. Produced with the latest technology (*nev icad*) by glassmaker Hüseyin “by using the same method as European factories use,” the store decorated “desired floral motives and pictures on crystal glass, double glass panels and mirrors” and wrote “Turkish or French names on door windows” that “never deteriorated.”²⁷

²⁷“Şehrimizce nev icad cam üzerine işleme. Beyoğlu’nda Tepebaşı’nda Otel Pera Palas karşısında ve Şeyh Efendi apartmanı muhitinde vakaa 38 numaralı camcı Hüseyin Efendi’nin mağazasında Avrupa fabrikalarının yaptığı sistemde kristal cam ve dubye cam ve ayna üstüne istenilen çiçekler ve resimler

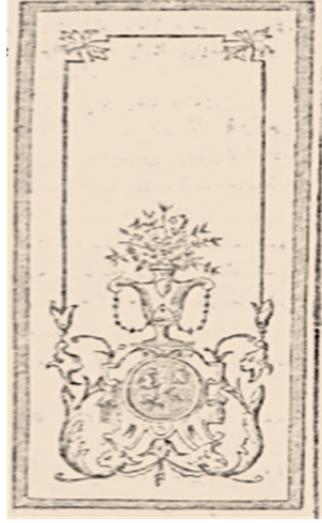


Figure 4.14 Glassmaker Hüseyin's advertisement.

Source: *İkdam*, 8 July 1899.

Many of these items are associated with women, but it is hard to claim that Ottoman ladies were responsible for furnishing the domestic space: Their opinions were significant and contributed to the final decision, regarding expensive purchases such as furniture, ladies' responsibility was still seen limited to "ornamenting" the house. Interestingly enough, even the advertisements of the stores that sold these kinds of goods did not directly target women. General slogans, list of goods, and address information defined the contents of the ads. These advertisements shared common points like emphases on low prices and high quality like any typical advertisement, and descriptions with almost an educative tone, however, the language was not geared towards women specifically.

Other advertisements pointed out to different changes in the daily domestic life: for instance, another Baker stores ad featured a writing desk with drawers that

işlenir. Kapı camları üzerine Türkçe ve yahud Fransızca isim yazmak arzu olunur ise yazılır. Asla bozulmaz..." *İkdam*, 8 July 1899.

accompanied a list of “the newest” products the store offered appropriate for giving out as mementos (yadigâr): “English-ware knives, scissors, blades, shaving sets, silver plates and cups for dining, silverware, lamps, various fantasy goods.”²⁸ Writing desk was indeed a new furniture and indicated that the store targeted upper classes who could spare time and space to working at home. Writing desk was meant for man in the household who had a study or cabinet de travail, “masculine” equivalent of the “feminine” boudoir. Having writing desks for domestic consumption indicated two things: first, having a room dedicated to work at home for the gentlemen, and second studying and writing becoming part of the domestic activity. Another addition to this was writing machines that allowed copying the text easily. They appeared in the market around the last decade of the nineteenth century and were offered for personal use of Ottomans.

²⁸ “Beyoğlu’nda kain Cadde-i Kebir’de Fransız sefaretinin karşısında 37 numaralı Baker mağazasında her nev’i yadigar verilmeye münasib eşyalar bulunur. Yani İngilizkâri çakılar, makaslar, usturalar ve ağır ustura takımları, gümüşten mamul yemek sofrasına müteallik envai cins ve kaplar ve takımlar, lambalar, fantazyeye dair muhtelif eşyalar her anda en cedidleri muvassıl olmaktadır.” *Tercüman-i Hakikat* 26 April 1899.



Gurub-u şemsde, ay ışığında kitap okumak gözü yorar.

Reading in the dusk, with the moonlight tires eyes.



Ayakta çalışmak için müteharrik yazıhane yorgunluk verir.

Movable furniture that is for standing and studying gives tiresome.



Defterine ziyade eğilen bir çocuk kambur, şaşlı ve zaaf-ül-basara düçar olması aaleb-i ihtimâldir

It is most likely that a kid who leans towards his notebook extremely would suffer from having hunchback, cross-eyes and sight problems



30 santimetre mesafeden okuyor.

Reads from 30 cm distance.

Figure 4.15 Instructions on proper reading.

Source: *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 26 April 1899 (left). *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 12 July 1888 (right).

Dr. Tefvik Şükrü described proper ways of reading and studying: Reading is a must and no doubt that it is part of the life however he wrote; “books with dirty and colored paper and written with pretty thin letters should not be read.”²⁹ How to read was another important point for the author, again in terms of human health: “One should avoid reading with the shaky light such as candlelight or moonlight or reading in the dark.”³⁰ Although the author described the “healthy” method for studying or reading because of the understandable reasons, he suggested that reading should be done in daylight which also acted as a guide for scheduling a time for study.

²⁹ “Kağıdı pis ve renkli, yazısı gayet ince kitapları okumamalı, kurşun kaleminden ictinab edip siyah veya mavi mürekkep kullanılmalı.” Tefvik Şükrü, *700 Resimli İlm-i Eşya* (İstanbul: Mekteb-i Fünun-ı Harbiye-yi Şahane Matbaası, 1906-1907), 241.

³⁰ “Mehtap ışığı, mum ziyası gibi titrek ziya ile ve yahud ortalık karardığı vakit kitap okumaktan hazer eylemelidir.” Tefvik Şükrü, *700 Resimli İlm-i Eşya*, 241.

“One should not bring the book or paper closer to his/her eyes, and should get used reading and writing from a 30 centimeter distance.” Related with office furniture author advices: Table or desk should be covered with blue or black broadcloth.³¹



Figure 4.16 Writing desk. Newspaper advertisement of *Baker Store* (left). Writing machine (right).

Source: *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 26 April 1899 (left). *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 12 July 1888 (right).

A revolutionary change in domestic space was lightning fixtures. Another Baker stores ad included the illustration of an *abat-jour* (lampshade) and clearly targeted Istanbulites who perhaps studied at their desks at home or spent time in their living rooms, but whatever they did, they clearly did not pursue a traditional sleeping schedule anymore. It was not a coincidence that other furniture stores also used lamp illustrations in their advertisements. These fixtures were signs of new set of activities and a new schedule they led in the family life.

³¹ Tevfik Şükrü, *700 Resimli İlm-i Eşya*, 240.



Figure 4.17 An *abat-jour* (lampshade) and gas lamp for interior spaces (middle). Introduction of illumination devices and information on cleaning of them in a textbook (right).

Source: *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 8 October 1899 (left). *İkdam*, 29 December 1894 (middle). Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, (Hilal Matbaası, 1334) , 33-34 (right).

Gas lamps were utilized to illuminate the interior space in the nighttime, but they came with a warning. After brief information about these devices, a textbook warned: “despite the fact that illumination devices are considered beneficial and necessary since they transform darkness of the night into light, we should know that they can be dangerous and we should never behave carelessly. The lamp we use at home should not be high or lightweight or small so that it does not tip over. We need to make sure that the table that we put the lamp on is not wobbly.”³²

³² “Tenevvür aletlerini gecelerin karanlığını aydınlığa tahvil etmeleri cihetiyle hakikaten faydeli ve lüzumlu addedilmekle beraber bunların tehlikeli olduklarını bilmeli ve asla ihtiyatsızlık göstermemelidir. Elde [evde?] kullanılan bir lamba kolaylıkla devrilmemek için ne yüksek ne de hafif ve hacimsiz olmalı lambayı koyduğumuz masanın devrilmeye müsait olmamasına dikkat etmelidir.” Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, (Hilal Matbaası, 1334), 33-34.

4.2.2 Changing Practices

From eating to sleeping habits, many practices were changing and the domestic space accompanied this transformation. For example, illumination extended daily activities. Another big change was eating protocols. Regardless of class, a traditional nineteenth century family dined around a large tray, set in the center of a multi-functional room. In the upper echelon families men and women might have dined separately. There was no dining room nor was there a dining table. Hands or spoons rather than forks and knives were the eating implements and food was eaten directly from the common dishes in which it was served. The quick assumption would be that the change in traditions reflected happily on the products that were used. It was not that simple in nature. As Şerif Mardin noted: “introducing knives, forks and plates to replace the traditional crouching around a tray and eating with a spoon upsets the entire family... meeting for meals is not an anticipated pleasure anymore but a torture to be gotten over quickly.”³³

Even if it was torturous for families, they gathered around the table at meals. This transformation cannot simply be seen as a result of “westernization” or the will to be “westernized,” or acting/living/behaving like “westerners,” rather, both the knowledge and praxis were constructed and were distilled via different processes in different layers of society. The “necessary information” was not passed on from parents anymore, but conveyed via books: one could learn how to dine and prepare a dining table at school but it had not yet become a practical component of domestic life. As a home economics book for middle school students, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, instructed in 1915:

“After cleaning the dining table, plates are placed. Plates, glasses, jugs are laid opposite to each other and orderly. In front each place setting a slice of bread

³³ Şerif Mardin, “Super-westernization in the Ottoman Empire in the last quarter of the nineteenth century” in P. Benedict *et al.* *Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), 430.

should be placed. Whole table should be arranged in a way that it is pleasant and appetizing to all family members. In order to whet family members' appetite, one should be careful that the table is clean and fancy.”³⁴



Figure 4.18 Family members had their dinner with joy. (Aile halkı sevinçle yemeklerini yediler).

Source: *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, (Garoyan Matbaası), 41.

It is hard to know if it was the lack of joy that led the author of the textbook to emphasize the necessity to make the table pleasant repeatedly. However, the idea that eating everyday in joy as a family and having a nice conversation is a pleasurable event was also a new concept. Accordingly the author advised students to create pleasant family gatherings around the table by ornamenting it, and by doing so seemed to facilitate the transition to the *alafranga* table by underlying the pleasant aspects. A home

³⁴ “Yemek masası güzelce silindikten sonra tabaklar yerleştirilir. Tabaklar bardaklar, sürahiler karşılıklı ve tertipli olarak yerleştirilir. Her takımın önünde birer dilim ekmek bulundurulur. Velhasıl tek mil sofa aile fertlerine latif ve iştah verici bir şekilde tanzim edilmelidir. Aile halkının iştahını açmak üzere sofranın temiz ve süslü olmasına dikkat edilmelidir.” Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye* (İstanbul: Garoyan), 79.

economics book depicted a family around a properly set dining table in an illustration and noted: “Father, mother, young sisters had their dinner with fun and joy.”³⁵

The food itself began to be a part of “new practices” that came as a package with many components, variations, resistances. Eating was not what it was like before: the chairs and table and utensils replacing traditions as well as the food had to be de-coded and re-coded: “Prepare and arrange your food with care, do not use excessive spice, it is not bad that the food is appetizing. A simpler style [food] is more beneficial to health compared to unnatural food...”³⁶



Figure 4.19 Decorating family dining table with seasonal flowers (Aile sofrasını mevsim çiçekleriyle tezyin).

Source: *Şehbal*, 14 March 1912.

³⁵ “Peder, valide, genç hemşireler, gülerек, eğlenerek akşam yemeklerini yediler.” *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, (Garoyan Matbaası), 41.

³⁶ “Yemeklerimizi dikkatle tertip ve ihzar ediniz, fazla baharat kullanmayınız, yemeğin iştah verici olması fena değildir. Sade bir tarz gayri tabii yemeklerden ziyade sıhhate elverişlidir... Yemek aralarında öte beri şeyler midenize doldurmayınız...” *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, Garoyan, 149-150.

The new eating protocols were often rationalized by new theories about health in middle and high school textbooks, especially home economics books. Temperature of the room, food, its ingredients, its amount had to be beneficial for the human body. The author of a home economics textbook included a chart that showed required food for the human body and but also noted: “amounts of the food may differ depending on age, temperature of the weather, especially on one’s occupation.”³⁷ The form of these eating protocols and its ceremonial execution were also to be learned properly.



Figure 4.20 Proper table setting. (Muntazam bir yemek masası).

Source: *İdâre-i Beytiyye* (Hilal), 42.

Another textbook asked: “dinner is served, family members are to eat their supper. Where? On an untidy, dusty table on which couple of glasses and plated are randomly put?” And answered its own question: “No! On such table even the most delicious food cannot be eaten with appetite.”³⁸ The textbook continued with describing a

³⁷ “Gıdaların miktarları yaşa, havanın derece-i harâretine, bhusus her ferin (?) işğalâte göre deęisir.” *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, Garoyan, 150.

³⁸ Akşam taamı hazırlanmış. Aile ferdleri yemeklerini yiyecekler. Nasıl bir yerde? Gayr-ı muntazam, tozlu, üzerine rasgele birkaç bardak ve tabak konulmuş bir masa üzerinde mi? Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye* (Garoyan), 77.

proper setting: “an oblong (*mustatil-ûl-şekil*) table in the middle of the dining room; covered with white linoleum (*muşamba*) tablecloth. Table’s partially visible legs indicate that it is polished like a mirror. The father’s and mother’s plates are placed across from each other. Between them, kids plates are laid. Plates are distanced equally (*musâvî*). Between each plate a glass, fork, knife and spoon are placed.”³⁹ The textbook also suggested 7:00 pm as the proper time for dinner. As another textbook suggested, this needed to become a habit: a person should “familiarize him/herself eating at the same time everyday.”⁴⁰

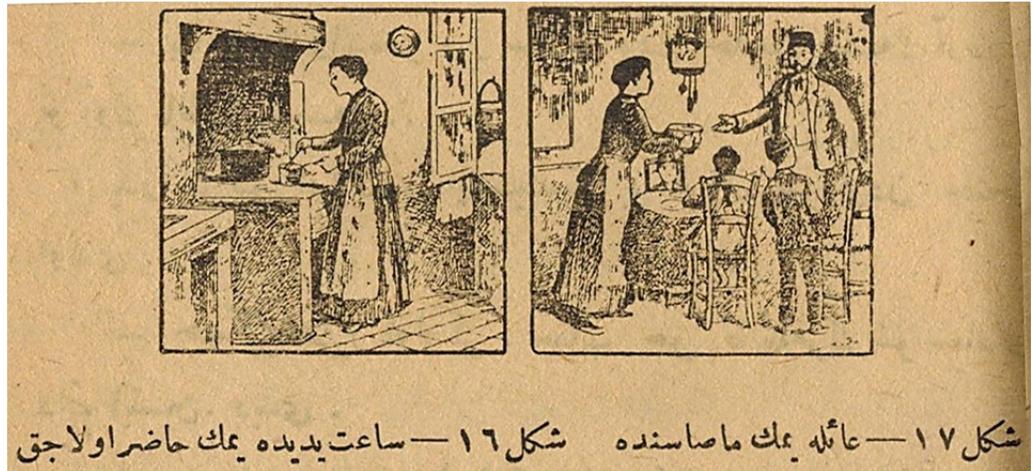


Figure 4.21 Dinner will be served at 7:00 o’clock (left). Family at the dining table (right).

Source: *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, (Garoyan Matbaası), 77.

In addition to textbooks, popular magazines published advisories about dining and arranging the dining table: “places for plates, glasses, fork and knives, napkins, bread do not change. Table should not be too tight, there should be sufficient room for everybody. Napkin should be placed either in the plate or on the other right side of it. Bread is put in

³⁹ Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye* (Garoyan), 77.

⁴⁰ “Hergün muntazam vakitlerde yemek yemeyi ityat ediniz.” Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye* (Garoyan), 79.

the napkin... Using silverware or golden sets, placing a silver fruit bowl (*yemislik*), flowers, elegant jam cups and plates for fruit and candy as centerpieces are among favorable ornamentations.”⁴¹

Another related concern was how to actually sit while eating. Eating, like reading, required a particular posture which would be associated with aesthetics in addition to necessity for physical health. Captions of the pictures read: “to drink in an elegant way, by not opening the arm and elbow, glass should be brought to lips. Drinking with open arm and elbow is not elegant and it is banal.”⁴² Proper way to eat was also described with illustrations: “the only acceptable (*makbûl*) style of eating is an aesthetic one and a style that one does not disturb companions sitting on the right and left side. One can succeed this by not separating arm from the body and by holding [fork and knife] naturally.”⁴³ Cevdet’s book not only wrote these proper ways to behave but also showed with illustrations that attempted to eliminate any chance of making mistakes and/or humiliation in public.

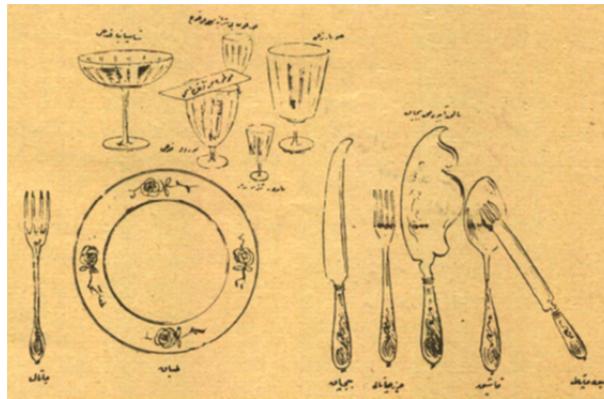


Figure 4.22 Setting the dining table.

Source: *Kadın Yolu*, 6 August 1925, 7.

⁴¹ *Kadın Yolu*, 6 August 1925, 6-7.

⁴² Abdullah Cevdet, *Resimli ve Mükemmel Adab-ı Muaşeret Rehberi* (Istanbul: Yeni Matbaa, 1926), 96.

⁴³ Abdullah Cevdet, *Adab-ı Muaşeret Rehberi*, 96.

Adopting these practices cannot be explained only with the result of a “modernizing project” that was imposed by the central government a century ago as the official history writing and many historians tend to do.⁴⁴ It was a quite complex transformation that included notions of westernization, civilization and modernity. However, this process did not necessarily reveal the “progressive” expectations, in some cases it led to “conservative” reactions. Home continued to represent social values, and the idea or fear/illusion of losing them created reactionary behaviors. Intellectuals with different ideologies (Islamists, Westernists, Nationalists, etc.) were convinced that there was a crisis in family life.⁴⁵ One can observe similar crises in western contexts as well.

Consuming practices could determine the physical space in various ways: in Victorian London, for instance, “middle-class domestic space became crammed as never before with furniture, clocks, mirrors, paintings, stuffed animals, ornaments, guns and myriad gewgaws and knickknacks.”⁴⁶ Ottoman context was not completely different than the British considering the new kind of relationship with the objects as a part of the emerging consumer culture. Domestic products as well were indicators of establishing consumer culture, even more importantly changing “dining habits, furnishings, and dress” were being very evidences for Istanbulites that their families were different from those of their parents.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ For example see Tank Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'nin Siyasi Hayatında Batılılaşma Hareketleri*. (İstanbul: Yedigün Matbaası, 1970), Niyazi Berkes, *200 Yıldır Neden Bocalıyoruz?* (İstanbul: Yön Yayınları, 1964) Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi* (Konya: Selçuk Yayınları, 1979), Mümtaz Turhan, *Where are we in Westernization?* (İstanbul: Research Center, Robert College, 1965).

⁴⁵ Duben and Behar, 195.

⁴⁶ Anne McClintock, “Soft-Soaping Empire: Commodity Racism and Imperial Advertising,” in *The Visual Culture Reader*, Nicholas Mirzoeff (ed) (1998; reprint, London: Routledge an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, 1999), 130. See also Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

⁴⁷ Duben and Behar, 206.

Intellectuals like Ahmet Midhat who problematized westernization attempted to rationalize the use of these objects as well as gewgaws by codifying behavioral patterns for them. Ahmed Midhat had a complicated position because he was an ardent critic of European misconceptions of Ottomans. This counterbalanced his critique of Ottoman upper classes who mimic European modern habits without understanding them. In his etiquette book, Ahmet Midhat suggested the following advice for dining rooms: “into the cabinets in dining room, old metal plates, bowls, cups (...) and a ‘Bacchus’ sculpture can be put.”⁴⁸ He continued “even though sculpture of Bacchus, god of wine, is suitable for dining room, sculpture of Venus, goddess of love will not be pleasant.” Ahmet Midhat was well aware of the absurdity of suggesting to Turkish families to internalize the use of sculpture in their houses. Probably that was why he felt obliged to explain who Bacchus or Venus was. Thus, his etiquette book had a quite pedagogical agenda: educating society by teaching proper uses of the objects and also showing the differences between “eastern” and “western” contexts.

4.2.3 Domesticizing Women Labor

During the *Hamidian* period, the women’s visibility on the streets started to increase. As discussed above especially the upper middle class women gradually began to take major part in developing a consuming culture in everyday life as well as by being part of outdoor recreational activities. Girls high schools educated female teachers and brought another unfamiliar visibility for women as professionals. While these developments were shaking the traditional perception of women’s status and defining more active roles for

⁴⁸ Ahmet Midhat, 290.

them in society, discourses that were reproduced by textbooks, daily press and books frequently continued to stress the significance of women's role at home as housewives.

Maria Mies claims that the "housewife" is a constructed "labor;" housewife who takes care of housework that is also created accordingly as a strategy, functioned as an agent of consumption culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁴⁹ In the context of nineteenth century Istanbul, the image of "constructed" housewife revealed contradictory expectations.

In the Empire, girls primary and middle schools were educating girls since 1858.⁵⁰ These schools provided education opportunities for girls of middle and theoretically lower class families. Daughters of wealthy families had been receiving higher level education by private –in most cases European- teachers all along, thus they could speak foreign language(s) and closely followed recent European literature. However, for all sectors, the highest point a woman could reach was to be a good wife for her husband and good mother for her children. Although some of the girl schools (*dârülmualimât*) were providing professional education and raising teachers which was one of the few professions that was thought to be suitable for women, after all, as textbooks frequently stressed: a woman's place is in the home.⁵¹ This was the case for upper classes, too, with an exception of the opportunity of having domestic help. In the Ottoman society, except the really poor, most even middle-class families had help at home. In the nineteenth century most middle-class families utilized adopted girls, whom were brought from

⁴⁹ Maria Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour*. London: Zed Books , 1986, 106

⁵⁰ Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁵¹ Some of such textbooks: Ali Rıza, *Kızlara Mahsus İdare-i Beytiyye*, (Istanbul: Karabet Matbaası, 1904). Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye* (Istanbul: Garoyan Matbaası, 1334/1914-1915)

villages or poor Circassian tribes, as domestic maids.⁵² In the Second Constitutional era, having help at home was considered as part of social responsibility as it meant providing better conditions for the disadvantaged in exchange for help. The lady of the house was responsible for managing help at home. However, this was quite different from the “servant problem” in Western industrialized societies that shifted from thinking of servants as part of an extended family to the rise of contract and wage and, new concepts of scientific management and home economics in the 20th century, as seen in the case of the American upper class families.⁵³

The leisurely ladies of the Ottoman upper class had to be decision makers about everything including maids: Ottoman women magazines published many articles that discussed how to find the best maids, how to treat maids, and so on. Medical doctor Hüseyin Remzi in his book *Mir'atü'l-Beyt* (the Mirror of Home) suggested that maids are part of the family: the lady of the household needed to see them as equals and treat them with nice-temper.⁵⁴ More importantly, he wrote, the lady of the house should use male and female servants (maid, cook, laundress, etc.) efficiently and effectively. Two most important aspects in managing servants were to organize their work, and to trust and care for them. A servant should not be fired but be released with considerable amount of tip in

⁵² İlber Ortaylı. *Osmanlı Toplumunda Aile*, (İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2001), pp. 129-130.

⁵³ For discussion on “servant problem/question” and proposals to solve this problem see Dolores Hayden, *The Grand domestic revolution: a history of feminist designs for American homes, neighborhoods, and cities* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1981). Dolores Hayden, *Redesigning the American dream: the future of housing, work, and family life* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1884).

⁵⁴ “Bir âile her ne kadar zevce, zevce, evlad ü ahfâddan ibâret ise de o âilenin hizmet-i beytiyyesinde bulunanlar da o âileye mensûb add olunurlar. Nerede bulunsalar filânın hizmetçisi derler ki bu söz onların o âileye olan mensûbiyetini imâ eder. (...) Âilenin reisi ve kadını dahî hizmetçisinin ind-el-hîde kendisi gibi bir mahlûk ve nefesine müsâvî olduğunu unutmayıp dâimâ rıfk u lutf ile mu'âmele etmeyi i'tiyâd edinmesi şarttır.” Doktor Hüseyin Remzi. *Mirat'ül-Beyt, Hanımlara Yadigâr* (İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı, 1308), 56.

order to prevent possible badmouthing to new patrons about former family.⁵⁵ Thus, the lady of an upper class household was the employer and manager of domestic labor, family's good reputation depended on her good administration which required being very well aware of contemporary home economics, housekeeping trends and to follow magazines in order to be up-to-date regarding these issues.

4.2.4 Leisurely Lady's Leisure

Piano was one of the domestic objects that was frequently promoted in the Ottoman popular press in the last quarter of the nineteenth century: while the physical part of the domestic work was handled by servants, playing the piano was promoted as a domestic routine. Especially women magazines like *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* published stories and articles about the desired characteristics of the ladies and in these stories piano symbolized the well-educated, scrupulous, urbanite Ottoman woman. This magazine often published sheet music to be played with piano and emphasized its importance. An illustration from *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* depicted a girl with a doll on her lap playing piano in a quite luxurious interior which indicated the social status of the little girl. In spite of the upper class symbols, message was quite "universal": the illustration

⁵⁵ "Âile içinde erkek hizmetçiler ile kadın hizmetçisi ve matbahda aşçı gibi hizmetçilerin vezâifini birer birer mutâla'a etmek şarttır. Hele hânenin hanımı bu hizmetçileri hüsn-i sûrette kullanmak için gözünü açmalıdır. Çünkü âilenin umûr-ı dâhiliyyesi kadının üzerinde olduğundan hizmetçi, aşçı, işçi ve çamaşırçı âilenin içinde hanımı tanırlar. Hanım onlara emir verir, istemediğini redd eder. Hanım unutmamalıdır ki hizmetçi kullanmak için iki şeye ihtiyaç vardır. Bunlardan birisi onlara mubassırlık etmek, ikincisi onlara i'timâd ve emniyet eylemektir. Bu iki şey çok lâzımdır. Birinciyi bırakırsanız aldanırsınız. İkinciyi bırakırsanız kendi kendinizi aldatmış olursunuz. Zîrâ ittihâd ve emniyet olmayınca hiç bir işe zaferyâb olamazsınız. Hizmetçiler bir âilenin nâmûsudur. Erbâb-ı fesâd, bir eve hizmetçiler vasıtasıyla girer. Bir hizmetçinin hizmetinden memnûn olmadığımız sûrette onu kovmayınız. Rıfk u mülâyemetle ve hakkının fazlası olarak bir mükemmel bahşişle izin veriniz. Zîrâ, bunun aksi olarak şiddetle döğerek kovar nâ-lâyık sûrette tekdîr ve tahkîr ederseniz diğer bir âileye hizmet ettiği zamân o hizmetçi âilenize iftirâ eder. Zîrâ, herkesde bir gurûr olduğundan 'ben hizmetimi ifâ edemedim, beni kovdular' demez. Bilakis, 'benim vücûdum hanımın ve yâhûd efendinin gizli işlerine elvermediği için izin verdiler,' der. İşi bu merkeze götürmeden hizmetçilere dikkat etmek ve onları minnet altında yaşatmak âile reîsinin vazîfesidir." Doktor Hüseyin Remzi. *Mirat'ül-Beyt*, 57.

addressed home as a place for girls and assigned a role for them, that was to raise children, the most sacred duty of a girl. Piano in this setting both reinforced the image of the little girl's acceptance of her home and duties as well as her talent of playing a musical instrument not to an audience but for her doll and for herself. Within her part as a future mother, music has been given a pivotal role in educating children. However, it is important to note that if there was a construction of "housewife," seemingly she was wealthy and belonged to the "high culture," in Adorno's words, with her aesthetic and musical taste, whereas the determined roles and practices adopted the strategies of "culture industries" such as advertisements, imagery, and "cheap" printed media.⁵⁶

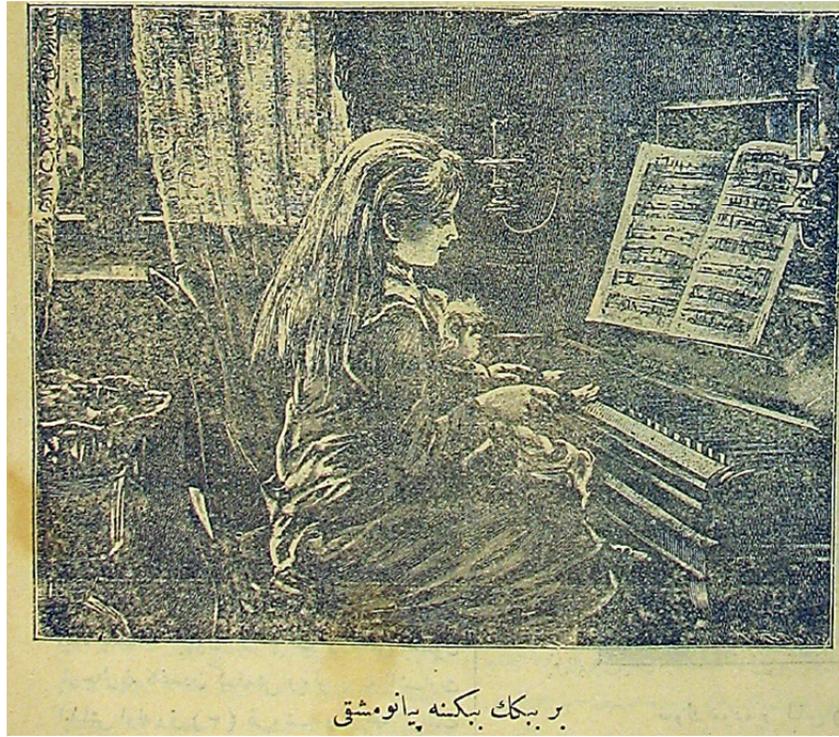


Figure 4.23 A baby plays piano for her doll. (Bir bebeğın bebeğine piyano meşki).

Source: *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, 4 November 1895.

⁵⁶ M. Horkheimer, and T. W. Adorno, *Dialectic of enlightenment*. (New York, Seabury Press, 1972).

Although piano and the values it represented were inaccessible to the majority of Istanbul's residents, the transformation of house and domestic space (as women's domain) changed women's role at home. Despite these changes, the general tendency was still describing domestic roles for women from almost all sectors of the society. Women's role outside home remained problematic.

Objects like piano that were located directly in domestic space functioned primarily as tools that symbolized class differences, social status and intellectual hierarchies, on the other hand sewing machine became a shared value between women from different social strata very much like the shared domestic role that was designated for women.

4.2.5 Sewing Machine

Perhaps one of the most revolutionary objects that entered Istanbul households in the nineteenth century was the sewing machine. In the first decade of the twentieth century it spread to many more. Craftsmen like tailors and cobblers also used this object for business purposes. From the beginning on with its seemingly innocent function that was suitable for Ottoman women, sewing machine played a major transformative role in domestic space. First, it was for indoor use and required no particular mobility on the part of the women. Second, since this machine would help ladies with the work that they already were doing, it could contribute to the desired values such as helping the family budget, being thrifty and being aware of home economics. Ottoman women had traditionally contributed to textile industries by spinning wool, weaving or embroidering

and they were doing this contribution from their homes.⁵⁷ Additionally in Istanbul shoe-making workshops, women could complete the work done on machines by men.⁵⁸ Lastly, because these objects were machines, sensitivity to “technological” (and economical) developments in the world could contribute the image of “up-to-date Ottoman house.” However, it is hard to claim that these three elements turned into reality as expected.



Bir dikiş makinesi her kamelya için lâbüd ve elzem olduğu herkesçe malumdur. Hakiki *Singer* dikiş makinelerinin bütün alemde en alası oldukları dahi malum-u âhmedir. Alman makinenin hakiki *Singer* dikiş makinesi olduğuna emin olmak için onları mahsusen *Singer* kumpanyasının subelerinden istira etmeli.

Her türlü dikiş makinesi mağazası. Yirmi seneden beri... Avrupa'nın en güzel fabrikalarından çıkma en güzel dikiş makinelerini getirmiş ve iplik iğne gibi birçok mevad daha celp ettirmiştir. Mezkur mağazamızda fazla etime (yiyecekler) pişirmeye mahsus makineler, et kesmek ve kıymak için Amerikan makineleri, ütüler vesaire dahi bulunur. Her türlü dikiş makinesinin tamirati dahi teminat verilerek yapılır.

Dikiş makinesi alacak olursanız *Naumann* fabrikasının Galata'da, rıhtım üzerinde gümrük karşısında Hüdavendigar Hanı'nda kain umumi mağazayı ya da Beyoğlu'nda Doğru Yol'da 185 numaradaki şubelerini ziyaret etmeden karar vermeyiniz. En ufak bir mukayese ve tecrübe ile anlarsınız ki *Naumann* dikiş makineleri dünyanın en iyi ve en ehven makinesidir.

Figure 4.24 Sewing machine advertisements in Ottoman press.

Source: *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 1 December 1898 (left). *İkdam*, 8 July 1898 (middle). *Salname-i Servet-i Fünun*, 1911 (right).

⁵⁷ M. Shatzmiller, *Labour in the Medieval Islamic World* (Leiden 1994), 358-359.

⁵⁸ D. Quataert, *Workers Peasants and Economic Change in the Ottoman Empire 1730-1914*. (Istanbul: Isis, 1993), 90.

Singer was the first company which opened a store that offered this particular product in 1904, but the first Singer sewing machine was sold in Istanbul in 1886.⁵⁹ Immediately after the inauguration in the Ottoman market, Singer dealerships started to open in other cities in the Empire as well.⁶⁰ Singer's success primarily stemmed from its innovative marketing strategy based on providing easy long-term credit for the purchase of an implement which was very much in demand, but beyond the immediate cash reach of a family.⁶¹ Machines were sold directly to the customer by the company's own salaried agents. Singer salespersons marketed the product even in the rural areas, thus they offered financing to those who were not able to purchase sewing machine with cash. In addition to Singer, other brands like Naumann, as well as imitation products entered the market. In the Ottoman capital, the well-known French department store of *Orosdi-Back* was the local depot of *Singer*.⁶² According to an estimation by Paul Fesch, in 1907, some ten thousand American and German-made sewing machines were owned in Istanbul.⁶³ Stores and firms asked their potential customers to visit their stores and compare different brands. This offer also suggested a shopping path in the city.

⁵⁹ From company's history see <http://www.singer.com.tr/icerik/Kurumsal/Default.aspx?ID=1>. Retrieved October 28, 2013.

⁶⁰ Uri M. Kupferschmidt, The Social History of the Sewing Machine in the Middle East in *Die Welt des Islams*, New Series, Vol. 44, Issue 2 (2004), 195-213.

⁶¹ Donald Quataert also sees a break-through in Singer's marketing success around 1900 and equally emphasizes in this connection its monthly payment system. Donald Quataert, *Manufacturing and Technology Transfer in the Ottoman Empire, 1800-1914* (Istanbul: Isis, 1992), 15.

⁶² Uri M. Kupferschmidt, *European Department Stores and Middle Eastern Consumers. The Orosdi-Back Saga* (Istanbul: Osmanlı Bankası, 2007).

⁶³ Paul Fesch, *Constantinople aux Derniers Jours d'Abdul-Hamid* (Paris: M. Rivière, 1907)



Figure 4.25 Orosdi-Back’s Istanbul branch in Ömer Efendi Hanı.

Source: Uri M. Kupferschmidt, *European Department Stores and Middle Eastern Consumers. The Orosdi-Back Saga* (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası, 2007).

Sewing machine advertisements proved that there was quite a competition between brands and stores. An 1898 Singer advertisement in *Tercüman-i Hakikat* suggested that “everybody confirms that a sewing machine is a necessity and requirement for all ladies. It is also commonly known that original Singer is the best of sewing machines. In order to make sure you are buying the original brand you should purchase them from one of the Singer Company branches.”⁶⁴ The firm invited Istanbulites to its branches in Beyoğlu, Galata, Sultanhamam, and Bayezid and listed their addresses. In another advertisement in *İkdam*, Corci Kolaridi [sic] department store announced that they were offering sewing machines manufactured “in the most wonderful factories in Europe for twenty years.” Customers would also find there sewing supplies like threads, pins and needles and alike. Beside sewing machines of various brands Corci Kolaridi [sic] sold “American machines” such as meat grinders, cooking devices, irons...

⁶⁴ *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 1 December 1898.

Company also promised guaranteed maintenance and repair of the machines that they sold.⁶⁵ Another firm in Karaköy sold German *Naumann* sewing machines. The firm invited its prospective customers to its central office in Karaköy and to the branch in Beyoğlu, Doğru Yol for comparison. Advertisement confidently suggested that “[y]ou would understand with a quick comparison (*mukayese*) and experience (*tecrübe*) that Naumann sewing machine is the best and the cheapest machine in the world.”⁶⁶

The popularity of the sewing machine defined a shared device between an upper-class lady and a woman from one of the traditional areas of Istanbul, triggering a new sort of socialization that extended the boundaries of spaces that sewing machines were used. With the use of sewing machines that cut down the time and effort put into sewing, women could sell what they sewed. This created an “invisible economy” that has continued ever since, enabling both urban and rural women to earn additional income from the privacy of their homes.⁶⁷ In addition to becoming a source of income, having the common know-how for the activity of sewing not only created an environment for exchange but also a common language: fashion.

Women magazines were already speaking this language even in the last decade of the nineteenth century by publishing tailor’s patterns for women, men and children. With the availability of patterns to the public, it became possible for the lower classes to become a part of the fashionable world – both as its producers and consumers. Of course,

⁶⁵ *İkdam*, 8 July 1898.

⁶⁶ *Salname-i Servet-i Funun*, 1911

⁶⁷ E. W. Fernea (ed.), *Middle Eastern Women and the Invisible Economy* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998). Also Z. Kamalkhani, *Women's Islam, Religious Practice Among Women in Today's Iran* (London, New York: Kegan Paul International, 1998), 158-159, and E. Mine Çınar, “Unskilled Urban Migrant Women and Disguised Employment: Home-working Women in Istanbul, Turkey,” in *World Development*, vol 22 (1994), 369-390.

accessibility to particular luxury textiles continued to define class differences, nevertheless the notion of fashion started to enter Ottoman women's daily life.



Figure 4.26 Tailor's pattern for a dress in popular media.

Source: *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, 31 August 1895.

As Kupferschmidt suggested sewing machine may have functioned as a catalyst to the rise in the formal home away-from-home employment of women in the Ottoman Empire, at least where it existed, and on a small scale.⁶⁸ In other words, the availability of machines led to the development of a new home industry such as sewing socks and

⁶⁸ Uri M. Kupferschmidt, "The Social History of the Sewing Machine in the Middle East" in *Die Welt des Islams*, New Series, Vol. 44, Issue 2 (2004), 206.

As noted, not only the introduction of these new objects, big and small, but also instructions about their use were at the forefront of some publications. In some cases advertisements themselves, as Frierson claims, undertook this mission: by using depictions of the goods, these ads were educating their clients about, for instance, proper ways to use new kitchen furniture and appliances.⁷⁰ *Kemal Ömer Tuhafiye Mağazası* was one of the stores that included illustrations of the goods that they sold, however the advertisement text did not contain any instructive knowledge, instead, the stress was on the education of owner Kemal Ömer who was an alumnus of the School of Commerce. “The most honest (*namuskar*) trading establishment (*ticarethane*) of the city,” the store offered variety of goods from cosmetics and oral hygiene products to gloves, underwear, liquor sets and silverware which an Ottoman individual could require in his/her everyday life. Thus, diversity of goods was embodied in the multifaceted character/personality of contemporary Ottoman individual, even the owner himself, who cared about his personal hygiene, cloths, knew how to eat, how to behave in public therefore required the gloves, cufflinks, stockings, and so on.

⁷⁰ Elizabeth B. Frierson, “Cheap and Easy: The Creation of Consumer Culture in Late Ottoman Society” in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922 : An Introduction*. D. Quataert (ed) (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000).



Figure 4.28 Photographer Ali Sami's (Aközer) home around 1900s from his own camera. Family members in their "new fashion" outfits and newspapers in their hands.

Source: Collection of Engin Çizgen. Cited in Nancy C. Micklewright, *Personal, Public, and Political (Re)constructions: Photographs and Consumption*, 276

4.3 A Healthy Home

Ah... Sıhhat
Bir nes'esi kalb-i nalekarin
Bir kahkahaya ederse icbar
Ey derd... Belası cism-i zarin
Bir çehre-i sum-i gam-medarin
Eyler de beni zebun u naçar
Karşımda sen iftihar edersin

Makbule Leman⁷¹

Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete published a poem of Makbule Leman, one of the readers of the magazine in 1896, pointing out an interesting take on an otherwise rational concept:

⁷¹ *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, 16 April 1896, 1-2.

health. The poem was appropriately called “*Ah... Sıhhat*” [Ah... Health] and stressed the importance of health in a very flowery language: poetic also didactic.

Makbule Leman seemingly suffered from an illness and she poetically begs for good health. As interesting as it was to write a poem for good health, what was even more striking was a response letter from another female reader of the magazine: after a brief introduction about the significance of good health and well-being, Ms. Emine Semiye wrote how impressed she was when she finished reading Makbule Leman’s poem: “we could not read this sad piece (*eser-i hazin*) without crying.” Health as a notion that could provoke humane emotions like pity and empathy, successfully bonded two ladies who did not know each other.



Figure 4.29 “Saliha goes to school. She sweeps under her bed. She opens her window [ventilates her room].” (Saliha mektebe gider. Karyolasının altını süpürür. Penceresini açar).

Source: Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye* (Istanbul: Garoyan Matbaası, 1334/1914-1915), 11.

This take on health and hygiene was to find its reflections at home too. By the turn-of-the-century, home for a considerable sector of Istanbul residents started to look different from their parents' homes. On the one hand, with its functionally separated rooms, new domestic objects, hygienic requirements and with the new matrons who were equipped with science and knowledge, the home became more open and mundane. On the other hand, it became more pressured and problematic like the lives that it harbored.

However, one thing was clear: the home had to be clean. It was also clean before but what promoted at the time was cleanliness instructed by “hygienic” principles and was based on the medical perception after Pasteurian germ theory. Discursively, hygiene was an inseparable part of the identity of the civilized, socially responsible Ottoman: not only did this notion define the central concern of urban reforms implemented during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but also it helped Ottoman citizens to develop social sensitivities.⁷² The notion of hygiene began transforming domestic space with very similar sensitivities.

4.3.1 A Healthy Home for a Healthy Body

Concepts of health and hygiene suited very nicely to the determination of domestic environment for the Ottomans. A home economics textbook described features of a healthy home for a healthy body to live in and work. The author suggested an architecture that responded directly to hygienic concerns:

⁷² It is no coincidence that the social responsibility policies went hand in hand with the social help programs during the Hamidian period. (Nadir Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2002). Developing social sensitivity towards those in need regardless of their religious and ethnic origins started to be listed as the one of the characteristics of Ottoman identity. This kind of discursive construction was supported by policies and conveyed via textbooks such as *Malumat-ı ahlâkiye*.

“If a building faces north, it is exposed to cold and cannot receive ample sunlight. Buildings should face east. In the morning a bright light penetrates into our room and tells you: ‘wake up and prepare for your work, working is health!’”⁷³

Textbooks helped establishing pedantic information in response to major hygienic concerns such as proper orientation, providing light and fresh air, humidity, vermin and insects. Architectural recommendations in regards to sanitary concerns were circulated after the big fire in Pera region in 1870. The municipality made *kargir* (masonry) construction obligatory.⁷⁴ As opposed to wood construction of the traditional houses, masonry construction was supposed to create hygienic domestic spaces in addition to being the solution for fire hazard. In the republican period, the assumption that “wood houses are unsanitary” entered primary school textbooks. In a textbook for middle schools and first year of high school, authors suggested that; “wood houses are less sanitary than stone and brick buildings. Dangerous vermin such as mice, harmful insects such as bedbugs and fleas can easily inhabit and reproduce in the ceilings and under floors of such wood buildings. Additionally, airflow can occur between dried and cracked wood flooring. For this reason, recently concrete (*beton*) buildings started to be built. In such sanitary buildings floors are made out of materials such as ceramic tiles (*çini*) and cement (*çimento*) that are impenetrable (*gayrikabili nüfuz*). Whitewashing walls frequently is also a sanitary method.”⁷⁵

⁷³ “binanın yüzü şimal cihetine nazır olursa soğuğa maruz olur ve çokça güneş almaz. Şarka metuce olmalıdır. Sabah olunca pencerelerimizden odamıza nüfuz eden parlak bir ziya gözlerimize çarparak size: “haydi kalkınız, işinize hazırlanır [sic.]. Çalışmak sıhhattir!” *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, 144-145. Emphasis mine.

⁷⁴ Z. Çelik. *The Remaking of Istanbul*, (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1986), 46.

⁷⁵ Ahmet Refik and Mehmet Emin, *Teşrih Fiziyoloji Hıfzıssıhha* (Istanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1929), 297.

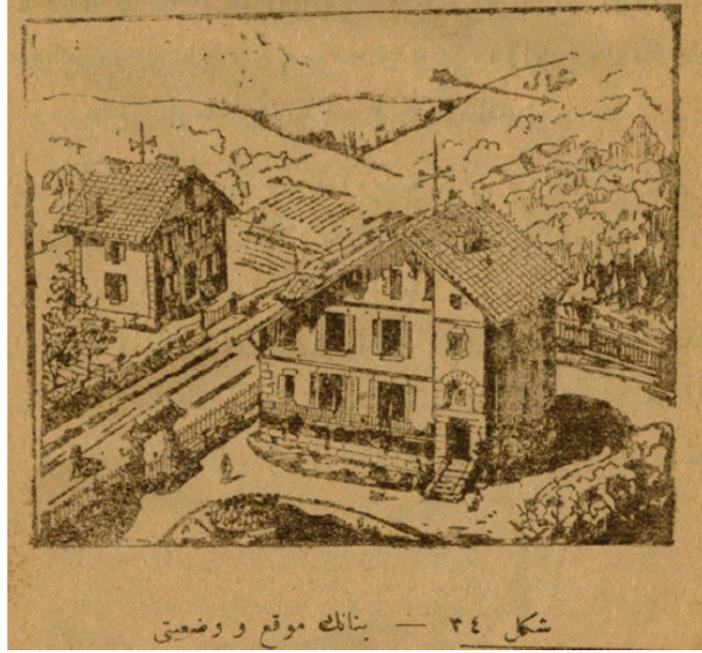


Figure 4.30 Proper orientation of a house.

Source: Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye* (Istanbul: Garoyan Matbaası, 1334/1914-1915), 144.

Whatever the construction method was, a house was to be built by following certain principles. Two versions of *İdâre-i Beytiyye* (one for middle and one for highschools) included “instructions” for a healthy home, for instance by preventing diseases by staying away from humidity:

“To make houses hygienic, there should be a basement [floor] underneath the residences and floor level should be elevated a couple feet from the ground. Houses without basement are always humid. Inhabitants who live such homes for years catch sicknesses like rheumatism, pleurisy, rheum, bronchitis and even tuberculosis.

To protect our homes from humidity, rain water should be drained with gutters from the roof to the ground; even the water that is used for dishwashing should be poured to the holes away from the building. Manure and trash should not be let to pick up [anywhere] around the house.”⁷⁶

⁷⁶ “Sihhi olmak için hanelerin altında bodrum bulunmalı ve zemin kısmı topraktan birkaç ayak yüksek olmalıdır. Bodrumsuz evler daima rutubetli olur. Böyle rutubetli hanelerde senelerce oturanlar romatizmaya, zatülcembe munkalb olan nezleye bronşit ve verem illetine müptela olurlar.

The location of the house also needed to be selected accordingly by finding a lot away from a still water source and one needed to take into account rainwater drainage warned Ali Rıza.⁷⁷ He added in the same home economics textbook: “Rooms should absolutely face east; with the sun rising, sunlight and its warmth should be taken in through windows... In addition to its help isolate the humidity in the house, making a house’s windows as big as possible also helps getting rid of thousands of harmful microbes that live in humidity, as proven by new scientific discoveries.”⁷⁸



Figure 4.31 The “metal” bedframe ads in press. Left: “if you are looking for healthiness and cleanliness use this bed. Very elastic and strong. It is recommended by medical experts and accepted by hospitals.

Source: *Nevsal-i Milli*, 1911 (left). *İbret*, 16 June 1872 (right).

Evlerimizin rutubetten muhafazası için damdan oluklar vasıtasıyla yağmur sularını temeşe boşalmasına meydan vermemeli ve evde kullanılan bulaşık sularını dahi mecralarına haricdeki çukurlara salıvermelidir. Evlerin etrafında gübre ve süprüntü yığınları bulundurmamalıdır. (Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, Garoyan, 144-145).

⁷⁷ Ali Rıza, *Kızlara Mahsus İdâre-i Beytiyye*, (Istanbul: Karabet Matbaası, 1321/1904), 10.

⁷⁸ Yapılan odalar mutlaka şarka maruz olup güneşin tulûyla ziya ve hararetinin pencere camlarından içeriye aksi lazımdır... Evin pencerelerinin geniş ve büyük kıt’ada olması hararet-i şemsin daha ziyade dahile intişârini tehsil (kolaylaştırma) ettiğinden evlerdeki rutubetin izalesi hususundaki hizmetinden başka kesfiyatı hazeren fenniye dahi hararet-i şemsin rutubet tesiratyyla yaşamakta olan muzır sıhhat binlerce mikroplar mahv ve itlaf edildiğini isbat etmiştir [sic]. Ali Rıza, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, 7-8

Although the aim was to introduce proper and contemporary ways of home management, the author of the textbook seemed to consider existing physical conditions and traditions: “Some houses have only *harem*, some are divided into two flats (*daire*) named *harem* and *selamlık*. *Harem* is devoted to occupation of all family members, while *selamlık* is only for men. As noted earlier, flats have separate rooms, sofas [hall?], pantries, auxiliaries, etc.” Nevertheless, it was quite apparent that the home was loosely connected to its traditional origins; it became a place that was shared with harmful germs, microbes and alike, unless the necessary precautions were taken. A mattress advertisement read: “If you are looking for health and cleanliness, use this mattress. It is exceptionally elastic and sturdy. It is advised by all medical practitioners and is accepted by hospitals.”⁷⁹ Thus, domestic objects, in this case, beds and spaces where people slept were the subjects of “science of medicine” and hygiene. Therefore, these goods were promoted with advices from doctors, hospitals and other medical institutions.

4.3.2 A knowledgeable Woman or Educating Housewives

Both textbooks and popular magazines, like *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, targeted women when it came to matters of home management and aimed to educate girls from young ages: “Every girl should start to learn the characteristics of a good housewife when she is very young, since she will always have a home that she will take care of and ornate regardless of her status.”⁸⁰ Women were expected to fulfill daily cleaning of the house, budget home expenses, know about diseases and their remedies as well as proper diet, all of which now required scientific knowledge. Women needed the scientific knowledge

⁷⁹“Sıhhat ve temizliği ararsanız bu somyayı kullanınız. Fevkalade lastikli ve sağlamdır. Bilcümble etubbâ tarafından tavsiye edilmiş ve hastaneler tarafından kabul edilmiştir.”

⁸⁰ *Kadın Yolu*, 12 August 1334, 3. *Nevsal-i Milli*, 1911.

but, as Hatice Refik noted, women's education was for being a good housewife: "Now we attribute great importance to women's education (*tahsil-i ilim ve irfan*). They now occupy the position of being wife as a knowledgeable woman."⁸¹ A home economics textbook summarized the duties of a girl and indicated that the house is the domain of religious, scientific and moral realms. Thus, fulfillment of these requirements was a religious, scientific and moral duty –of women:

"Cleaning should be continuous in a house. Thinking that things will get dusted again and neglecting the cleaning and sweeping a room everyday is a big mistake for a young lady. If cleaning the house is neglected just for one day, next day one can write on the dust layer that would cover the furniture: Daughter of this house is lazy!

Cleaning in a house should be complete. Cleaning only visible places is not enough, dust bunnies in the [invisible] corners should also be cleaned. Not paying attention to dust is a service to letting the microbes live in the rooms that we occupy. Keeping clean and neat: the plates and cups that we eat and drink with; clothes we wear and take off; beds where we sleep and wake up, in short [keeping clean and neat] all household items is a religious, hygienic and moral duty."⁸²

The educated ladies were responsible for the hygiene and cleanliness of their homes as well as protecting the family members from illnesses. From 1880s on, women and their daughters were expected to know about "protection of health" (*hıfzıssıhha*) and "domestic health care" (*ev hıfzıssıhhası*), "home medicine" (*tababet-i beytiyye*) and "home pharmacy" (*ev eczahanesi*): "smart house matrons (*ail e reiseleri*) make particular amount of various medications in their homes available. In addition to making them

⁸¹ "Şimdi kızlarımızın tahsil-i ilim ve irfanına ehemniyet veriliyor. Onlar zevcelik mevkiini, malumatlı bir kadın olarak işgal ediyorlar." Hatice Refik, "Kadın-Zevce," in *Kadın Yolu*, 13 August 1925, 7.

⁸² "Bir evde temizlik daima olmalıdır. Ertesi günü yine tozlanacak diye hergün bir odayı süpürüp temizlemekte ihmal etmek bir genç kız için büyük bir kusurdur. Bir evin temizliğinde bir gün ihmal edilirse ertesi günü eşyayı kaplayacak toz tabakasının üzerine parmakla şu yazı yazılabilir: 'Bu evin kızı tenbeldir.' Bir evde temizlik tam olmalıdır: yalnız göze görünen yerleri temizlemek kifayet etmez kıyıda köşede toplanan takım takım tozları da alınmalıdır. Bu tozlara ehemniyet vermemekle, oturlan odalarda hastalık mikroplarının yaşamasına hizmet edilmiş olur. İçinde yeyip içtiğimiz kapları, giyip çıkardığımız çamaşırları, yatıp kalktığımız yatakları velhasıl evimizin tek mil eşyasını daima temiz ve tertipli bulundurmamak dini, sıhhi ve ahlaki vazifemizdir. Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, 31.

available, they should know which medication is cure for which malady, how they are used and pay attention to the instructions on medications. Medications should be kept away from children.”⁸³

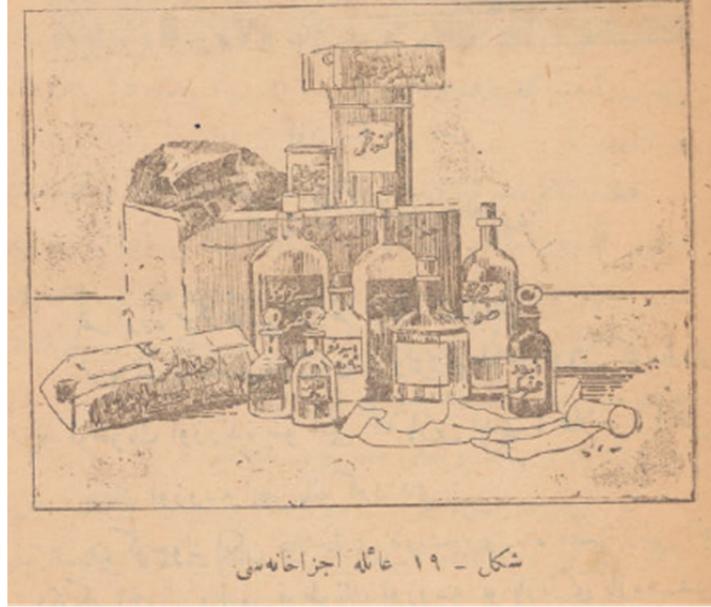


Figure 4.32 Family pharmacy (Aile eczahanesi).

Source: Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, (Istanbul: Hilal Matbaası, 1334/1915-1916), 100.

According to the same textbook every household should have in their medicine chest “ether, laudanum (afyon ruhu), boric acid, phenylic acid, ethyl alcohol (90°), sublimate, boric Vaseline, iodine, hydrophilic gas (medicated gas), *coton hydrophile*, bandages, linseed oil, arnica, blister, hygienic gauze and lint.”⁸⁴ Some of the medication such as sublimate, laudanum and boric acid solution are considered poisonous today,

⁸³ Akıllı aile reisleri evlerinde az çok muhtelif ilaçlar bulundururlar. Evde ilaç bulundurmakla beraber herbirinin hangi derde deva olduğunu ve nasıl kullanılacağını da bilmeli, ilaçların üzerindeki yazılara dikkat etmelidir. İlaçlar çocukların ellerine geçmeyecek bir yerde bulunmalıdır. Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, 100.

⁸⁴ “Lokman ruhu, afyon ruhu, asit borikli su (1000’de 40), asit fenikli su (1000’de 20), ispiroto 90 derecede, sublime, vazelin borike, tentürdiyod, gaz idrofil (eczalı gaz), koton idrofil (eczalı pamuk), sargılar, keten tohumu yağı, arnika, canfes yakısı, temiz sargılar ve bezler.” Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, 100-101.

however the suggested medication is designated to intervene scientifically to any possible health problem inside and nearby the home.

Although the domestic realm seemed to be left to women, instructions were mostly written by male teachers or translated from other languages. Production of pedantic knowledge was heavily a man's job; however with the inauguration of schools that aimed raising women teachers in 26 April 1870, women also began to participate in the academic aspect of the production of knowledge. Increasingly more female writers produced texts that stressed the significance of housekeeping, although their voice did not differ significantly from their male counterparts as exemplified in this warning by Emine Kamil: "Housekeeping is closely related to principles of science and technology. We cannot benefit from social progress (*terakkiyat-ı ictimaiyye*) unless everyone is managed with a proper method and principle. Therefore, home management, which is a very important job, cannot be left to a woman who is ignorant and inexperienced."⁸⁵ Homes continued to be arenas of gender encounters in which pedantic knowledge was translated into practical.

4.3.3 Rationalizing Housework or Science of Tidiness

The educated women were supposed to carry out their duties in a scientific way by using the knowledge that they learned in the school. As has been discussed, women were not only responsible for their own personal hygiene and body care, but also for the domestic hygiene and proper diet. In addition to opinions and discussions about hygiene, textbooks

⁸⁵ "Bir evi idare eden kadının vazifesinden daha vasi' tehsil ve malumata ihtiyaç gösteren vazife pek azdır. Çünkü aile işleri bütün ulum ve fünun esasiyetiyle alakadar bulunur. Herkesin bir esas ve usul dairesinde idare edilmediği takdirde terakkiyat-ı içtimaiyyeden de istifade edilmis olmaz, Bunun için pek mühim olan ev idaresi cahil ve tecrübesiz bir kadına tevdi edilemez." Emine Kamil, "Ev İdaresinin Ehemniyeti," in *Kadın Yolu*, 20 August 1925, 3.

and magazines for ladies and children included instructions about systemized cleaning (e.g., adequate methods for cleaning rooms), ventilation of homes, sanitation of kitchens, toilets and bathrooms, as well as doing the laundry, organization of closets and drawers and furnishing the home.⁸⁶



Figure 4.33 A neat closet, toilet furnishings, pantry.

Source: Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye* (İstanbul: Hilal Matbaası, 1334/1914-1915).

Among the domestic spaces one was particularly significant: the kitchen. A home economics textbook advised girls to keep the kitchen clean, even cleaner than any other room: “Kitchen is for cooking meals, and always has to be kept very clean. One should be very careful about that the gears that are used in the kitchen for food preparation such

⁸⁶ Besim Ömer, *Sıhhatnüma-yi etfâl, yahut, Validelere nasihat*, (İstanbul: A.M. Şirket-i Mürettebiye Matbaası, 1886). Hüseyin Remzi, *Aile Hıfzıssıhhası*, (İstanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1320/ 1904-1905). Ali Rıza, *Kızlara Mahsus İdare-yi Beytiyye*, (İstanbul: Karabet Matbaası, 1904). Ali Rıza, *Kızlara Mahsus Hıfz-ı Sıhhat*, (İstanbul: Karabet Matbaası, 1899).

as boilers, pots, pans, colanders, scoops, pitchers, etc. and objects to put food in like copper dishes should always be tin-glazed and plates always clean.”⁸⁷

A simple enough task like furnishing the room, even picking curtains had certain objectives now, those that were greater than “mere aesthetics.” The illustrations below show two examples: on the left a healthy window and an unhealthy window. A “healthy window” was to let enough light and air into the room and the curtains had to cooperate. In the war against dust, heavy drapes were discouraged. The image on the right shows the importance of furnishing for a good sleep: one should sleep in a bed without curtains in front of an open window. But the details told more: for instance, the bed had a metal frame which was believed to harbor less dust, absorbed no humidity. Accordingly it accordingly was cleaner than wood, and surely more hygienic than the unhealthy bed shown in the picture with the heavy drapes that prevented the airflow and harbored dust.

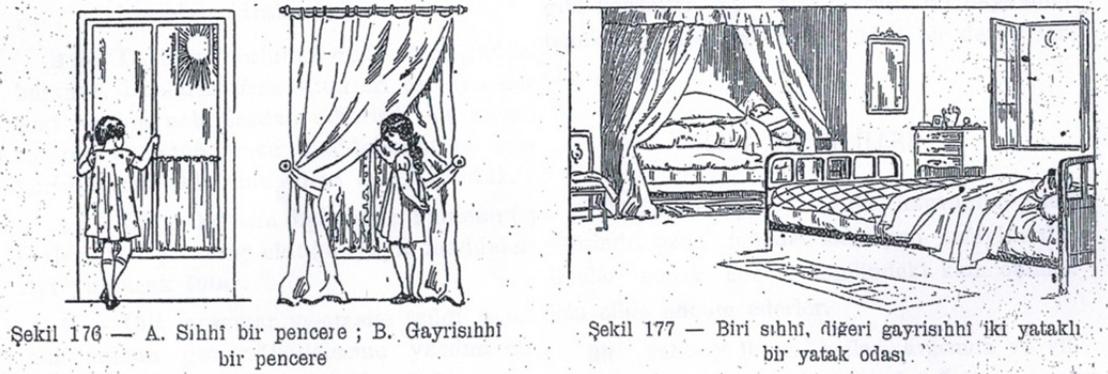


Figure 4.34 Contrasts between healthy and unhealthy... Excessive cover, curtain now are considered unhealthy. Curtains are unhealthy (left) since they block the sunlight. Similarly bed net which would prevent circulation of the air is shown as unhealthy example (right). Window is open in the nighttime.

Source: Ahmet Refik and Mehmet Emin, *Teşrih Fiziyoloji Hıfzısıhha* (Istanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1929), 301-302.

⁸⁷ “Mutbah yemek pişirmeye mahsus olup gayet temiz tutulması lazımdır. Mutbahda isti’ mal olunan kazan, tencere, tava, kevgir, kepçe, masrapa ve saire gibi yemek tabhına mahsus olan kaplarla yemek konacak sahanlar, lengerlerin daima kalaylı ve tabakların temiz bulunmasına pek ziyade dikkat olunmalıdır.” Ali Rıza, *Kızlara Mahsus İdare-yi Beytiyye*, 13.

Products for new homes targeted women who indeed took housekeeping very seriously and were well-equipped with the scientific principles of time. For instance an Istanbul store marketed washing machines with these words: “we advise that you use this machine since it is quite essential for ... large mansions, big apartments.” Besides upscale residences, the advertisement suggested that the use of washing machines was proper at schools, hotels and hospitals, in other words in institutions that had hygienic concerns.

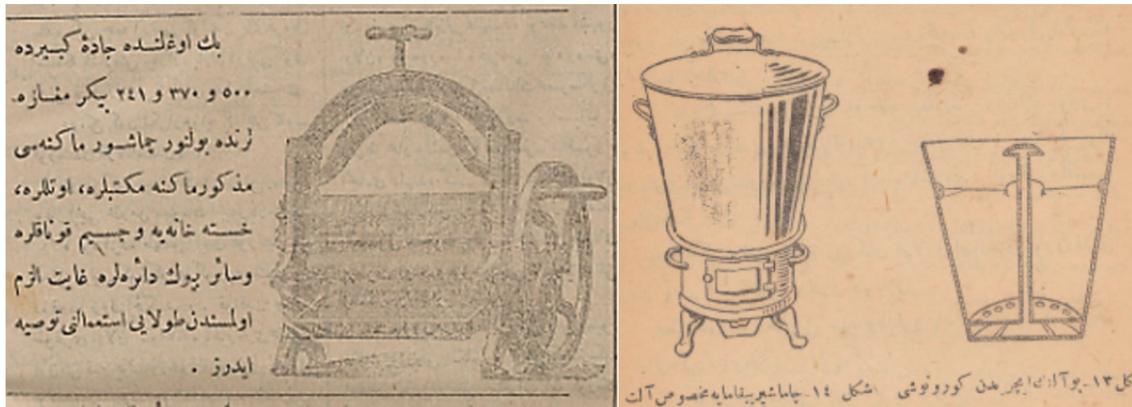


Figure 4.35 Advertisement of washing machine: “We advise consumption of this most necessary machine in schools, hospitals and mansions.” (left) and introduction of this device in a school textbook: “a device is for washing laundry” (right).

Source: *Tercüman-i Hakikat* 23 February 1899(left). Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye* (Istanbul: Hilal Matbaası, 1334/1914-1915), 67.

Those who did not live in mansions or were not wealthy enough to afford a washing machine were instructed about how to do hygienic laundry using various devices. For instance, Nazım’s home economics book introduced a washing device, explained how it functioned and how to use it. “Instructions” narrated a story: Nezihe, daughter of the house, asked her mother: “Why don’t we have that device?” Mother replied: “No need to make that expense now. Instead of that device we are going to use a

copper boiler.”⁸⁸ After all, a good housewife also had to be thrifty. The book included tips about doing the laundry and pointed out to another aspect of thriftiness: “Laundries that were whitened quickly with chemicals are damaged and torn. Definitely avoid using the substance called chloride in your laundry. If your clothes, which are washed in laundries especially in cities, torn quickly, there is no doubt that laundryman uses chloride to make his/her job easier. Wash your laundry by hand especially for thin and gentle clothes. Change your clothes frequently, this would well serve both for your health and your budget.”⁸⁹



Figure 4.36 Advertisement of Babbitt’s Cleanser.

Source: *Nevsal-i Milli*, (İstanbul: Arstun Aşarduryan ve Mahdumları Matbaası, 1330/1911).

⁸⁸ Nazım, (Garoyan), 68.

⁸⁹ “Zahmetten sakınıp kimyevi ecza ile çabucak beyazlandırılan çamaşırlar çürümeye parçalanmaya mahkumdur. Çamaşırdaki klor denilen maya kullanmaktan katiben ihtiraz ediniz. Şehirlerde çamaşırcılara toptan verilen o güzel çamaşırların az zaman zarfında çürüyüp yırtıldığı görüldüğü zaman hiç şüphe etmemelidir. Çamaşırcı işini kolaylaştırmak için klor kullanmıştır. Kullandığınız ince ve narın nazik çamaşırlarınızı kendiniz yıkayınız. Çamaşırlarınızı sık sık değiştiriniz, hem sıhhatinize hem de kesenize hizmet etmiş olursunuz”, Nazım, (Garoyan), 70.

A widely sold, American product *Babbitt's Cleanser* was responding exactly to this concern and more.⁹⁰ It not only promised its clients hygiene but also protection from the negative effects of harmful chemicals: “the easiest, cheapest and most harmless way to clean and make them shine: *Babits klinsir*[sic.] is a powder that is free from any acidic substances; cleans marble, glass, mirror, wood surfaces, kitchen sets, all sorts of goods that are made of copper, iron, ceramics easily and makes them shine brightly. Usage instructions are written on the box in every language. It can be found in every grocery store and its price is 2 kuruş everywhere.”

4.3.4 Hygienic Architecture

Modernist architecture that had been theorized during 1920s had an intimate flirt with medicinal science and hygiene. Theorists of modernist architecture such as Le Corbusier owed a lot to metaphor of healthy body when he described his model of “modernist architecture:” white washed walls were the visible declaration of inherited medical principles of sanitation. Roofs were left flat to create room for daily exercises and sunbathing. And the entire body of building was to be raised above columns to maximize green space on the ground floor.⁹¹

As discussed in the previous chapter, masonry building was promoted as healthy and safe construction method. The necessity of optimal sanitary conditions in a person's life and how a person could maintain these conditions were among topics that were

⁹⁰ Advertisement read as follows: “Temizlemenin ve parlatmanın en kolay ve en ucuz ve en zararsız yolu: Babits klinsir [sic] hamızdan(asit) ari mevaddan mürekkep bir tozdur ki mermerleri, camları, aynaları, tahtaları, mutfak takımları ve bakırdan, demirden, çiniden, elvasil her nevi maddeden mamul esyalari sühûletle temizler ve parıl parıl parlatır. Suret-i isti'mali kutulu [sic.] üzerinde her lisanla yazılmıştır. Her bakkalda bulunur ve kutusu heryerde 2 kuruştur.”

⁹¹ Reference here is to Le Corbusier' famous five points, see , Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture* (New York: Payson & Clarke, 1927). First published in 1923.

repetitively discussed in medical books. In some of them new ideas such as roof gardens were introduced to Ottoman readers. Besim Ömer in *Nevsal-i Âfiyet*, claimed that as civilization progressed people got busy with many things and were obligated to live in cities with minimum exposure to natural/healthy physical conditions such as fresh air and light.⁹² In order to reverse this unhealthy urban life into a healthy, enjoyable life, he proposed roof gardens (*damlarda sayfiyeler*) by showing examples of several applications in European cities.⁹³ He claimed that this way of using roofs was quite common in western cities; one who would visit any western city could witness that orange, lemon trees were grown on top of buildings which not only did re-connect with nature but also created healthy conditions by exposing them to direct sunlight and air.⁹⁴

In the Republican period, physicians and urbanists continued to grasp the notion of health as an inseparable part of the urban layout. Istanbul had several appointed medical doctor mayors in the republican period as well. In 1933, physician Server Kamil described hygienic city as follows: “city’s development with the hygienic organization (*teskilat*) occupies a primary position in a nations’ level of civilization.”⁹⁵ According to him, the buildings of a city that are built on a healthy site should be freestanding and in gardens. Apartment life should not be preferred, facades should be formed in accordance with climatic conditions, and building heights should be in proportion with street width.

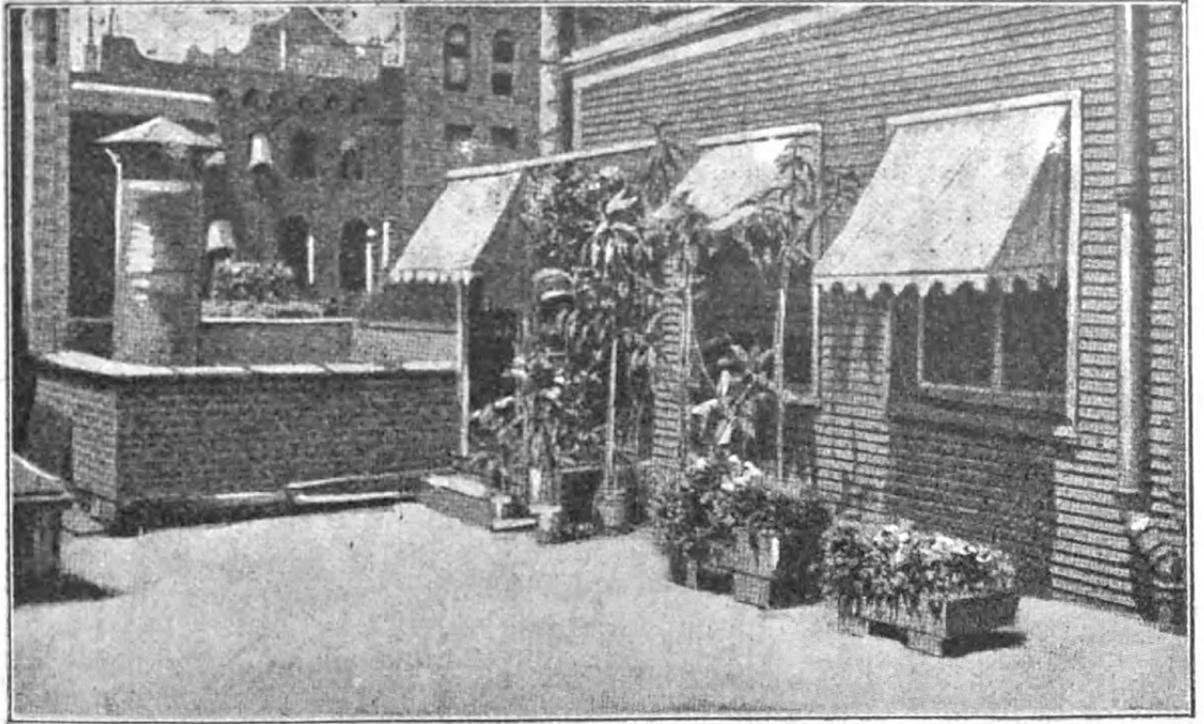
⁹² Besim Ömer, “Damlarda Sayfiyeler,” in *Nevsal-i Âfiyet*, 4. kitap (Istanbul: Matbaa-yı Ahmet İhsan, 1322/1906).

⁹³ Besim Ömer, *Damlarda Sayfiyeler*, 346.

⁹⁴ Besim Ömer, *Nevsal-i Âfiyet*, 350.

⁹⁵ “Sıhhi şehirler, içinde oturanların sıhhi ve ruhi ihtiyaçları imkan dahilinde taahhüt altına alınmış memleketler demektir. Onun içindir ki milletlerin medeniyet seviyelerinde şehirlerin sıhhi teşkilat itibarile tekamülü en ön safhayı isgal eder. Bir şehrin sıhhi ihtiyaçları fertlerden teşekkül eden kümelerin ihtiyaçlarından doğar.” Dr. Server Kamil B. “Sıhhi Bir Şehir Nasıl Olur?” in *Sıhhat Almanacağı: Cumhuriyetimizin Onuncu Senesini Kutlarken Hekimlerimizin Halkımıza Armağanı*, Mazhar Osman Uzman (ed), 1933.

Otherwise, lower floors of buildings may lack air and light required for health.⁹⁶ Thus, the city and the city life was to be shaped considering modern principles of sanitation according to Server Kamil, which is a pattern often repeated in the discourse of “modernist” architecture and urbanism around the same time.



آوروپاده داملرده صیفیه

Figure 4.37 Gardens on rooftop in Europe.

Source: Besim Ömer, *Nevsal-i Âfiyet*, 4, kitap (Istanbul: Matbaa-yı Ahmet İhsan, 1322/1906), 348.

⁹⁶ Dr Server Kamil, *Sıhhi Bir Şehir*, 854.

Medical doctors seemed to be volunteering in healing not only the ill-stricken body, but also the sick urban environment. The literature on healthy urban setting heavily intersected with the medicinal sciences. As repeatedly stressed by physicians, living in healthy environments would also create healthy generations which in turn prepare a healthy future for the whole nation and that laid a foundation to be legitimized for these discourses to be built upon.

CHAPTER 5

OPERATION: CITY

“To make Istanbul a contemporary city, it needs to be demolished and rebuilt”¹

Significant social and physical changes that nineteenth-century Istanbul witnessed pervaded many layers of urban space. A *New York Times* correspondent reported that the city “has changed wonderfully. It is far cleaner, but it has lost its Oriental character and strangers like it less.”² The transformations observed by the *New York Times* reporter were brought about not by the governmental modernization reforms alone, but more significantly, by the citizens who seemingly shaped themselves as the individuals of a modern world in a complicated web of acceptances, negotiations, and contestations.

The ultimate goal that was repetitively pronounced was to make Istanbul a “contemporary” city: a city that housed, fostered, and nurtured civilization. Just like the body or the home of a civilized modern individual, the urban space was to be inhabited by fit and clean residents who used the products of a “new life.” Not only that: the city itself had to be healthy and clean and embellished with those products of the “new life.” It needed to be the embodiment of civilization in flesh and blood, just like Namık Kemal imagined it in responding to those who doubted it:

Civilization creates palaces out of marble. Can death not enter those sturdy buildings? Civilization creates gas on streets at nights. As long as we have God’s sun () Civilization brings about ships and trains. Why does a man who contents himself with a shed and a small lot need to go places three hundred hours away and stay fifteen days on sea?

Yes, masonry buildings cannot endure death. But they endure fire and collapsing.
() Yes, there is no grace in abandoning one’s family and look for fun on streets

¹ Cemil Topuzlu, *Yarınki İstanbul*, (Istanbul: Kenan Basımevi, 1937).

² “Real Life in the Orient,” *New York Times*, June 20, 1876.

at night. But where there is gas one can have six or seven more hours to work or shop and by way of this lengthens his life. And those who do travel by train or ship to places a couple of hundred hours away or float a couple of days on sea go all the way to the other side of the world and bring back the necessities of life, back to their fellow citizens.”³

5.1 Working Out: Exercise and the City

“Healthy person is a happy person”: this motto was quite popular among Ottoman citizens and it was illuminative about the perception of the health for a person who lived in a dynamic transitional urban space like Istanbul. As dynamic, and perhaps as fragile as the human body, urban environment was also imagined by Ottoman intellectuals as a healthy and active body. Dr. Rıza Tevfik titled his article in *Nevsal-i Âfîyet* as “Life is Movement” with reference to Aristotle’s concept of movement (*kinēsis*).⁴ About a decade later Selim Sırrı was also going to write a piece with the same title.⁵ Ottoman intellectuals enthusiastically devoted themselves to introduce the notion of movement into the lives of Ottomans, as it meant for them adapting to the dynamism of the era and to strengthen the bodies to endure harsh times.

The significance of dynamism was stressed constantly in textbooks and popular publications by highlighting its close relationship with good health. As a home economics textbook for high school students pointed out, humans were meant to move, they inherently needed to be mobile: “They cannot grow [by themselves] where they are, like trees do.”⁶ Textbook included an illustration showing ladies in excursion with their children along the Bosphorus shoreline.

³ Namık Kemal, “Medeniyet”, *İbret*, Sayı 84, 1 January 1873.

⁴ Dr. Rıza Tevfik Bey, “Hayat Hareketidir” in *Nevsal-i Afîyet*, (İstanbul: Alem Matbaası, 1315/1899), 185-194.

⁵ Askeri Eskrim ve Jimnastik Muallimi Kolağası Selim Sırrı, “Hayat Hareketidir,” in *Asker*, No 4, (1324-1908), 193-198.

⁶ Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*. (İstanbul: Garoyan Matbaası, 1334/1915 or 1916), 155.

Green areas nearby streams, the Marmara Sea, gardens, recreation places (*mesire yerleri*), had been utilized by Istanbulites for pleasure for many centuries. Istanbulites had often been going out to enjoy outdoors, however the illustration that the textbook included was completely different in terms of the nature of going out. As Hamadeh shows by using the concept of *décloisonnement*, Istanbul's green landscapes, the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn were transformed into places of leisure and pleasure in the eighteenth century, which also triggered the change in perception of experiencing the city and shaped the relationship between physical environment and individuals.⁷ However, in the nineteenth century gardens and parks exemplified a particular transition from leisure to an activity that embraced both leisure and a medicinal agenda for staying healthy. Thus, parks and green areas, on the one hand, started to be perceived as spaces for sports or excursion that one could benefit from for her/his good health. On the other hand, parks acted as rehabilitating instruments to improve the physical quality of the city itself.



Figure 5.1 An illustration from a textbook showing ladies in excursion with their kids by the Bosphorus. Text reads: “human are not created to grow [by themselves] where they are like trees (İnsanlar ağaçlar gibi oldukları yerde b^ymek iⁿ yaratılmamışlardır).

Source: Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, (İstanbul: Garoyan Matbaası, 1334 [1915- 1916), 155.

⁷ Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008).

5.1.1 Surgeon's Knife

Like the human metabolism, which requires being in motion to continue its vital activities, cities were also in motion. In this case, it was Istanbul: its fabric was changing, its borders were expanding and the city was becoming more populated than ever with its almost 875,000 inhabitants in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The metaphor of the city as a body consisting of various functional organs played a significant role in the architectural and urban discourse.⁸ In the nineteenth century the city's ill body was the object of surgical transplants, such as the creation of green lungs to clean filth: city parks were meant to play a purifying, hygienic and educational role.⁹ John Nash's Regent Park in London, for instance, was based on this park-as-lung principle.¹⁰ Similarly, Haussmann referred to surgical metaphors and terminology when he proposed his solution to heal the pathologic problems of sick Paris: *éventrement* of the central quarters of the city by cutting open the tangled streets, cleaning up the tumors from urban tissues and so on.¹¹ Like Paris, London or Berlin, Istanbul too needed surgery for its "sick-parts." Narrow, winding streets were straightened, widened, the city was cleaned, sanitized and had new green lungs to breathe with.¹² As medical doctor Besim Çimer claimed in his article: "large gardens are equivalent to lungs, cities breathing the

⁸ As particularly established, for example, by the work of both sociologist Richard Sennett and architectural historian Manfredo Tafuri, the body became a useful tool to emphasize the architecture's sociocultural location within the urban context. Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: the Body and the City in Western Civilization* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994). M. Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1976).

⁹ Anthony Vidler, "The Scenes of the Street: Transformations in Ideal and Reality 1750-1871" in S. Anderson (ed) *On Streets* (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1978). Also see M. Zardini, G. Borasi, et al. *Imperfect health: the medicalization of architecture* (Montréal: Lars Müller Publishers, 2012).

¹⁰ Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization* (New York: Norton, 1994), 325. First publication 1976.

¹¹ Georges Eugène Haussmann, *Mémoires du Baron Haussmann, Grands Travaux de Paris III*, (Paris : Victor-Havard, 1893), 54.

¹² Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986).

organs. The more the number of these gardens, the more deeply and regularly breathe the city; accordingly, the more sound and strong become the activities and lives of its residents.”¹³ Similarly, Cemil Paşa wrote in his memoirs pointing out the intrinsic connection between his profession and the importance of parks/gardens: “Because I am a doctor, as soon as I became the mayor, I thought of creating gardens for the public, but especially for the children to get some fresh air.”¹⁴

Interestingly enough, although not uniquely in Istanbul, some of these surgical transplants were executed by actual surgeons.¹⁵ A perfect example is Cemil Paşa who was originally trained as a doctor and surgeon, and later became the mayor of Istanbul in 1912. Cemil Paşa is known for achieving to stitch an accidentally torn artery during a breast carcinoma operation, which was the first known successful surgical intervention to the artery.¹⁶ Cemil Paşa’s approach to the “ill” or “dysfunctional” tissues of the urban texture was as precise as his operations.¹⁷ One type of intervention was organizing circulation: Kemeraltı Caddesi in Karaköy and Alemdaroğlu Caddesi that connects Sultanahmed to Sirkeci became insufficient to accommodate the heavy traffic of the city with their 25 feet widths. Alemdaroğlu Caddesi was redrawn as a direct link to Gölhane Parkı, thus these “clotted arteries” were extended to 60-65 feet width during the

¹³ “Geniş bahçeler büyük şehirlerin akciğerleri, aza-i teneffüsiyeleri hükmündedirler, bunların adedi ne kadar çoğalırsa şehir de o kadar bol ve muntazam teneffüs eder ve sükkân ın şehrin hayat ve faaliyeti de o kadar kavî ve müşeyyed olur.” Besim Ömer, *Nevsal-i Âfiyet*, 4. kitap (Istanbul: Matbaa-yı Ahmet İhsan, 1322-1906), 354.

¹⁴ Cemil Topuzlu, *İstibdat-Mesrutiyet-Cumhuriyet Devirlerinde 80 Yıllık Hatıralarım*, (Istanbul: Gökten, 1951), 132.

¹⁵ For instance, see Annmarie Adams, *Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, Houses, and Women, 1870-1900*, specifically the chapter “Doctors as Architects” for the involvement of doctors in such matters.

¹⁶ Cemil Topuzlu, *80 Yıllık Hatıralarım*, 273-278. Zafer Toprak, “Cemil Topuzlu,” in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*. (Istanbul: İstanbul Tarih Vakfı, 1994). Cemil Topuzlu, later, presented this case in the Moscow Twelfth International Congress of Medicine in 1897 and the method was taught in medicinal textbooks. See: Moscow Twelfth International Congress of Medicine Scrapbook, Crerar Ms 23, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

¹⁷ Cemil Topuzlu, *32 Sene Evvelki, Bugünkü, Yarınki İstanbul*, (Istanbul: İlk, 1944). Cemil Topuzlu, *80 Yıllık Hatıralarım*.

administration of Cemil Paşa. Similarly Voyvoda Sokağı in Galata and Şehit Muhtar Bey Caddesi in Taksim were widened. In 1911 fires destroyed 2400 buildings in Aksaray, 111 buildings in Beyazıt and 334 in Balat. Next year in 1912, 885 buildings were burnt down in another fire. Urban tissues that were scarred in famous Istanbul fires, like İrçir, Beyazıt, Aksaray were “patched.”¹⁸ A new large square was opened between Hagia Sophia and Sultanahmed with the removal of undesired elements from the tissue: the large debris of a fire and shanty structures, which were used for residential and commercial purposes, occupied this area. By cleansing removing unsanitary elements, the area was transformed into a healthy public space. In some cases Cemil Paşa did not hesitate to sacrifice even functioning pieces for the larger good. In addition, much like preventive medicine, in order to maintain healthy conditions, the municipality developed various strategies: for instance, Cemil Paşa established the department of gardening to protect plants in green areas.¹⁹

Since the conditions of existing parks did not satisfy Cemil Paşa’s expectations, he contributed to the creation of green lungs for the city: “there were no public gardens that the public can get fresh air. Public could not benefit from Taksim and Tepebaşı Gardens since they had entrance fees. Çamlıca Garden in skıdar was looked dilapidated (*virane*) and was only good for grazing of sheep flocks.”²⁰ Under his administration an area that was called Gıhane Square, a section of Topkapı Palace, was converted into a public park becoming the first public park in the Istanbul peninsula (historic district) and one of the largest in the city with its 24-acre area.²¹

¹⁸ Cemil Topuzlu, *80 Yıllık Hatıralarım*, 202-203.

¹⁹ Osman Nuri Ergin, *Meccelle-i Umûr-i Belediyye*, (Istanbul: Istanbul Belediyesi, 1995), 1989.

²⁰ Cemil Topuzlu, *80 Yıllık Hatıralarım*, 111.

²¹ İelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, 70.

Cemil Paşa explained how he had to do political maneuvering to get the land from the state and then how he cut centuries-old trees and demolished retaining walls of old palace in order to open large path created in accordance with the plan prepared by palace's head gardener Monsieur Deruan [sic.] in his memoirs.²² Even the military barracks that were built in the Abdülhamid period were torn down; not as a necessity of design but to get rid of the “ugly appearance” (*çirkin manzara*) they had.²³



Figure 5.2 Istanbulite women in Cemil Paşa's Fatih Park, c. 1915s.

Source: *NTV Tarih*, issue: 47 (December (Istanbul: Doğuş Yayın, 2012).

As mentioned, the concept of public parks was not new for Istanbul: During 1860s public parks entered the agenda of Istanbul's municipal administration. Taksim Garden and Tepebaşı Garden, planned around 1864, were the first public parks in Istanbul. Both were relatively small in size and with their designs reflecting Beaux-arts

²² Cemil Topuzlu, *80 Yıllık Hatıralarım*, 133-134.

²³ Cemil Topuzlu, *80 Yıllık Hatıralarım*, 134.

principles they functioned as urban ornaments rather than public spaces. Taksim Garden, much-advertised breathing space for the dense urban fabric, was completed in 1869. As Çelik noted this park was a result of Pera residents' consistent and insistent pressure on the municipality (Sixth District Administration).²⁴ However, Muslim women were not allowed to walk or ride in carriages in Taksim Garden.²⁵ Cemil Paşa's administration did not prohibit women from parks and this triggered harsh criticism of conservative circles. Some even named Gülhane Park the "Cemil Paşa's brothel."²⁶ Minister of War Enver Paşa warned him with a sharp official note and asked him to end women's use of the park together with men.²⁷ Reactions were so harsh that the municipality had to step back and limit women's entry to the park to particular days only after negotiations. Fatih Park in Istanbul peninsula and Doğancılar Park in Beşikdar, other parks that were built by Cemil Paşa, also witnessed extensive usage of woman. Both parks were located in the older neighborhoods of the city which were occupied by mostly middle and lower-middle classes. Compared to Gülhane Park, they served to neighborhoods that were considered relatively more "traditional."²⁸ Other doctors such as Besim Ömer also thought that parks would be the only spaces for moving and exercising that could rescue Muslim women from being motionless and living without being exposed fresh air and sunlight in their homes: so "pale kids" and women that turned "yellow as beeswax" would be able to "clean their blood by breathing pure air."²⁹

²⁴ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, 69.

²⁵ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, 70.

²⁶ Zafer Toprak, *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*.

²⁷ Cemil Topuzlu, *80 Yıllık Hatıralarım*, 136.

²⁸ Cemil Topuzlu, *Eski Şehremi Cemil Topuzlu'nun Başından Geçenler* (İstanbul: Milli Mecmua Basım Evi, 1939). *Cemil Topuzlu, Operatör Cemil Paşa Hatıraları* (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1945).

²⁹ "Kadınlar için hareket ve idman yeri, seyir ve tenezzüh mahali olabilir ki bunun sıhhat-i milliyece haiz olduğu ehemmiyet vâreste-i izahtır. Dar evlerde, izbe gibi odalarda kala kala benizleri uymus çocuklar,

Cemil Paşa's understanding of public park had societal agendas attached to pragmatic qualities of parks. As an article dated 1914 explained "everybody appreciates Mayor Cemil Paşa's effort to turn Istanbul into a city and its inhabitant into a civil society."³⁰ This agenda differentiated his surgical interventions, which resulted tearing down precious historical structures and trees and even walls of old palace from the previous projects although some of which were as large scale as Cemil Paşa's projects. Demolition or surgical cuts were to heal the city accordingly society and maintain this state. In order to do this, he founded gardener's department and institutionalized cleaning works. Maintaining inhabitants' health also required relying on medicinal agendas including excursions and exercise.

5.1.2 Parks for Health

Istanbul's first public park Taksim Garden was created as breathing space by transportation of the existing Christian cemeteries to Şişli, another neighborhood of the city.³¹ Another regulation ruled redevelopment of a cemetery in Soğukçeşme for as part of the construction of tramlines in 1910.³² Cemeteries posed big challenges for most nineteenth century cities and had to be transported elsewhere in many occasions.³³ Thus building parks included rehabilitative agenda aiming to transform the unpleasant function of the fabric into a pleasant one. Parks also symbolized the implementation of the

balmumu gibi sararmış kadınlar buralarda saf hava teneffüs ederek kanlarını temizlerler. Besim Ömer, *Nevsal-i Âfiyet*, 4, kitap (Istanbul: Matbaa-yı Ahmet İhsan, 1322/1906), 354.

³⁰ H.S., "İstanbul ve Şehremini Cemil Paşa (Cemil Paşa'nın İstanbul Halkını Medeni Bir Cemiyet Haline Getirmek İçin Çabaları)" in *İçtihad*, v. 4, no. 87 (Istanbul: Abdullah Cevdet, İçtihat Matbaası, 2 Kanunsani 1329-15 January 1914), 89.

³¹ BBA, Idare, Hariciye, no. 4665.

³² Osman Nuri Ergin, *Meccelle*, 2447.

³³ For London see Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets, and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

municipal agenda that was based on scientific of hygienic principles both on the urban scale by healing sick parts and for the inhabitants of it by following medical advises.

As Abdullah Cevdet, MD, later suggested, certain social behavioral patterns on urban scale accompanied these public spaces. For instance, walking in the morning was considered very important for health. Cevdet advised morning walks for ladies, referring to the French hygiene expert Dr. Tronchin: “People used to wake up early in the morning and went to Park Versailles for excursion. People of virtue would discuss new fashions and new trends there. Elegant, short robes, shoes without heels were preferred.”³⁴ His advice for Turks was to go to “parks of Sarayburnu, G lhane and Sultanahmed” for morning walks. Cevdet found Taksim and Tepebaşı Gardens small though, so he pointed out the need for new parks and gardens in Istanbul for these excursions.³⁵



Figure 5.3 sk dar public garden.

Source: Servet-i F h n, issue: 258.

³⁴ Abdullah Cevdet, *M kemm l ve Resimli Adab-ı Mua eret Rehberi* (Ankara: Yeni Matbaa, 1927), 136-137.

³⁵ Abdullah Cevdet, *Adab-ı Mua eret Rehberi*, 139.

Çamlıca Garden, a large green hill in the Asian part of the city is a good example to see how park usage started to be linked with good health, although Cemil Paşa did not consider this garden as a proper urban park. Çamlıca Hill began to be utilized for recreational purposes as early as the seventeenth century. Between 1867-1870 part of this landscape was transformed into a park and opened to public use with the name *Çamlıca Bahçesi* (Çamlıca Garden) in May 1870.³⁶ Çamlıca was frequently mentioned and narrated in Ottoman literature. Namık Kemal (1840-1888) in his 1876 novel *İntibah* (Awakening), described Çamlıca as reflection of paradise on earth. Main characters Ali and Mahpeyker met in Çamlıca regularly. While Namık Kemal narrated a picturesque landscape, another novelist Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem (1847-1914) in his 1896 dated *Araba Sevdası* (The Carriage Affair), known as the first realist Turkish novel, described Çamlıca as a meticulously planned “excellent park in all aspects,” with its plants, trees, gazebos for musical orchestras, cafés as well as its users. People rushed to this large green field on Fridays and Sundays (official off days at the time), not only from nearby neighborhoods like Kadıköy, Beşikdar, Beylerbeyi, but also as Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem noted from the farthest regions and such a large field was filled with women in fancy dresses and men in latest fashion coats, shoes and expensive accessories. Since the novel narrative was retrospective, the author stated that Çamlıca Garden was not as lively at the time as it was in 1870s.

³⁶ This park is known as Millet Park today.

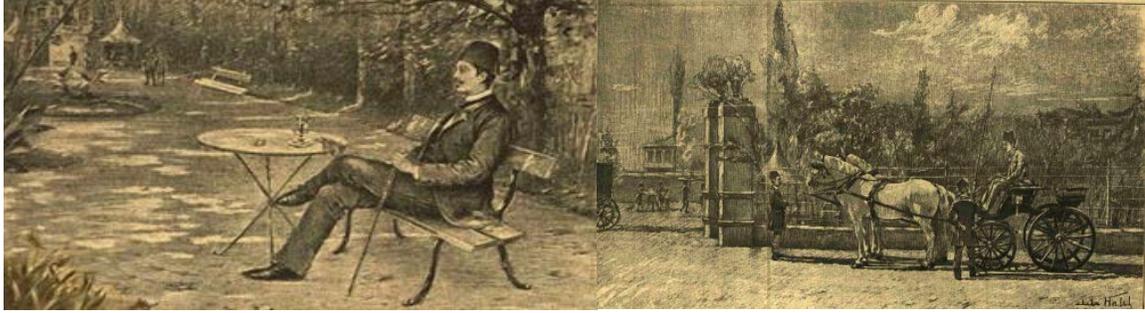


Figure 5.4 Illustrations from the novel “The Carriage Affair.” Main character Bihruz Bey in Çamlıca, which was depicted as geometrically planned landscape with planted axis for excursion as well as benches, tables, ponds.

Source: *Servet-i Fünun*, issue: 262 (left), 259 (right).

Halide Edip (1884-1964), a very influential Ottoman woman writer, on the other hand, had a completely different take on the Garden. She stressed its wealthy users’ social statuses: to her, it was environment for high society. From Halide Edip’s perspective, Çamlıca was in “colors of loneliness and isolation.”³⁷ Contrarily, Ahmet Hamdi (1901-1962) in his *Beş Şehir* described this area as a place for outdoor excursions of all classes. Çamlıca once was preferred over Kağıthane, a traditional recreation area by the Golden Horn, however, later it started losing its popularity and became *démodé* and people tended to make daily trips on Sundays for picnicking to the now-more-“hip” Bıyıkada.³⁸ Not surprisingly, the authors’ narratives of the park were in line with their world views’ ideologies’ expectations. For instance, while Halide Edip observed a recreation space only accessible to a particular sector of the society, in Ahmet Hamdi’s narrative, Çamlıca of his childhood was quite nostalgic.

³⁷ Halide Edip Adıvar, *Memoirs of Halide Edib* (New York, London,: The Century co., 1926).

³⁸ Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Beş Şehir*.



Figure 5.5 Newspaper advertisement of picnic sets sold in Baker Stores.

Source: *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 29 May 1899.

Picnicking in such recreational areas seems to have been a popular activity since the eighteenth century as discussed by Hamadeh and according to accounts of the time it remained as such.³⁹ Accordingly, advertisements of picnic sets and camping goods appeared in daily media around the same years. Nevertheless, it is hard to trace whether these specific goods were actually utilized in the city parks as part of the recreation or not. Picnic sets were not advertised as recreational goods, but as “all kinds of necessary goods for expedition” from hammocks to inflatable and portable beds, bottles to washbasins and bathtubs.⁴⁰ The same ad noted: “Baker stores supply the whole expedition equipment that Red Crescent Help Company purchased during the last Greco-Ottoman War.”⁴¹ These were perhaps in demand in case another war broke out or acquired for long travels. However, the language of the advertisement suggested that the

³⁹ For instance, Ahmet Hamdi wrote that Bıyıkada was a very popular picnicking area. See Ahmet Hamdi, *Beş Şehir*.

⁴⁰ *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 29 May 1899.

⁴¹ “Sefere mahsus elzem her nev’i eşyalar kamilen bulunur: yani sefer karyolaları, çantalar, sandıklar, çadırlar (hamaklar), sefer için su şişeleri, ve yemek takımları ...lastikli bezler, hava ile dolu lastikli yataklar, yastıklar, leğenler, banyolar, vesaire vesaire. Son Yunan muharebesi esnasında *Hilal-i Ahmer* imdat şirketinin sefere mahsus almış olduğu eşyanın kâffesini Baker mağazası tedarik etmiştir.” *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 29 May 1899.

introduced goods targeted an urbanite population who lacked any sort of know-how about spending time outdoors because they became too urbanized and lost their ties to the rural.

5.1.3 New Activities for Parks

While parks were becoming part of the cityscape, bicycles entered the lives of the Ottomans, not only as a vehicle for transportation but also as a popular form of recreation.



Figure 5.6 Bicycle advertisements in newspapers. It was not coincidence that both advertisements were published during summer season.

Source: *İkdam*, 14 July 1903 (left). *İkdam*, 27 July 1898.

Ekrem Koşu claimed that the first bicycle came to Istanbul in 1890.⁴² An article appeared in *Nevsal-i Servet-i Fünun* in 1896 reported that “bicycles, which were invented 10-20 years ago in Europe, began to be seen in the resorts (*sayfiye*) of Kadıköy, Fener and Beyoğludere.”⁴³ While companies and department stores were advertising their products in popular newspapers and magazines, bicycle attracted enough interest that merchants in Beyoğlu region imported about ten bicycle models from Europe and

⁴² Koşu noted that he was not able to find the name of the company who imported this vehicle first, however, many companies started to sell bicycles in 1890s. Resad Ekrem Koşu, *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 2818.

⁴³ *Nevsal-i Servet-i Fünun*, 2. Sene, (Istanbul: Alem Matbaası, Ahmet İhsan ve Şürekası, 1312/1896), 82.

exhibited them in their stores. Besides Beyoğlu, which was considered as European part of Istanbul, one could run into a biker in other parts of the city, such as the historic peninsula (Istanbul peninsula), or Maslak or Zincirlikuyu, not to mention the public parks.



Figure 5.7 Bicycle models: Bicycle on the railroad (left), with steam engine (middle) and amphibious bike (right).

Source: *Nevsal-i Servet-i Fûnun*, 2. Sene, (Istanbul: Alem Matbaası, Ahmet İhsan ve Şürekası, 1312□1896), 84, 93, 89.

As reported in *Nevsal-i Servet-i Fûnun*, Kadıköy, Kuşdili and Papazın Çayırı in Fenerbahçe (the area that Şükrü Saraoğlu stadium occupies today) were among favorite parks for bikers with its green, flat field that was used as soccer matches by the British and Ottoman Greeks in 1900.⁴⁴



Figure 5.8 Bicycle races at Papazın Çayırı, 1905. From the personal archives of Mustafa Haluk Sivri.

Source: Ottoman History Podcast.

⁴⁴ This field was leased by *Union Club*, a sports club that was established by the encouragement of Cemil Paşa in 1908, and became İstanbul's first soccer field.

The first recorded unofficial bicycle race was organized even earlier in Tepebaşı Garden in 1893. According to the report of Ahmed İhsan in *Servet-i Fünun*, an enthusiast (*ehl-i zevk*) named Fernand won this race by cycling 120 tours around the park in an hour.⁴⁵ Biking got its fair share in the printed media. An earlier article was published in *Tarik* in 1885 according to which “M□sy□[Monsieur] Tomas Stefans [Thomas Stevens]” came to Istanbul by biking (“velosiped ile”). He moved to Izmit after Istanbul and then arrived in Ankara after a five-day travel. There, he was welcomed by General Mayor (Vali Paşa), several civil servants and over 1000 Ankara citizens.⁴⁶ Although *Tarik* identified the cyclist as American, Thomas Stevens, the first person to circle the globe by bicycle, was a British, who was born in Berkhamsted, England in 1854. Stevens rode a high-wheeled bicycle, also known as a penny-farthing or Ordinary. Istanbul leg was nearly half way of his entire journey, which started in San Francisco in April 1884 and ended in the same city in December 1886 as he noted later: “□ I take a retrospective glance across Europe and America, and feel almost as if I have arrived at the half-way house of my journey. The distance from Liverpool to Constantinople is fully 2,500 miles, which brings the wheeling distance from San Francisco up to something over 6,000. So far as the distance wheeled and to be wheeled is concerned, it is not far from half-way□ ”⁴⁷

Stevens wrote about his Istanbul adventure in his memoirs revealing his perception of life there, some of which was repeating the stereotypical look of the time: “Someone has said that to see Constantinople is to see the entire East; and judging from

⁴⁵ Cited in Reşad Ekrem Koçu, “Bicycle,” in *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 2818-2021.

⁴⁶ *Tarik*, 31 August 1885.

⁴⁷ Thomas Stevens, *Around the World on a Bicycle: From San Francisco to Teheran* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Livington, 1887), 105. See also *Harper’s Weekly*, August 30, 1884 for the report on the journey.

the different costumes and peoples one meets on the streets and in the bazaars, the saying is certainly not far amiss. From its geographical situation, as well as from its history, Constantinople naturally takes the front rank among the cosmopolitan cities of the world, and the crowds thronging its busy thoroughfares embrace every condition of man between the kid-gloved exquisite without a wrinkle in his clothes and the representative of half-savage Central Asian States incased in sheepskin garments of rudest pattern.”⁴⁸



Figure 5.9 Thomas Stevens with his penny-farthing in San Francisco on his return from the travel around the world.

Source: California Historical Society, FN-19729.

As a cyclist, sidewalks of Istanbul seemed quite challenging to Mr. Stevens. He pointed out not only these challenges but also offered a glimpse of the activities on a sidewalk: “The sidewalks of Constantinople are ridiculously narrow, their only practical use being to keep vehicles from running into the merchandise of the shopkeepers, and to give pedestrians plenty of exercise in jostling each other, and hopping on and off the curbstone to avoid inconveniencing the ladies, who of course are not to be jostled either off the sidewalk or into a sidewalk stock of miscellaneous merchandise. The Constantinople sidewalk is anybody’s territory; the merchant encumbers it with his wares

⁴⁸Thomas Stevens, *Around the World on a Bicycle*, 104.

and the coffee-houses with chairs for customers to sit on, the rights of pedestrians being altogether ignored; the natural consequence is that these latter fill the streets, and the Constantinople Jehu not only has to keep his wits about him to avoid running over men and dogs, but has to use his lungs continually, shouting at them to clear the way.”⁴⁹

Although Mr. Stevens found biking on the sidewalks of Istanbul quite difficult and caricatured the daily activities on them, bicycle seems have attracted immense local interest. Biking on streets and sidewalks was not going to be regulated for a long time. Biking in parks was another story: Although during the 1860s, people enjoyed riding in carriages in public parks, with the 1913 Regulation for the Public Gardens (*Umumi Bahçeler Hakkında Talimatname*) riding any sort of cart, automobile or animal, and biking were banned.⁵⁰ The regulation introduced opening and closing hours and advised walking from the right side of the path, thus also “suggested” proper manners. Pinning or distributing any sort of advertisement, exhibiting and selling goods, begging, playing music, performing acrobatics (*hokkabazlık*), bootblacks, bringing table or chair from outside, changing the places of existing benches, walking pets, breaking lamps, picking up flowers, damaging trees and other properties were among forbidden activities in these parks.⁵¹

More interestingly, as understood from articles on bicycle, biking was often narrated either as recreational activity or a spectacle but rarely as an exercise. For instance, in an advertorial of strength pills, the reporter is surprised when he meets a 75-year-old biker only to find out that the old man is energetic because of the supplement

⁴⁹ Thomas Stevens, *Around the World on a Bicycle*, 106.

⁵⁰ Ergin, *Mecelle*, 2127. Twelfth line prohibits riding carriage and biking inside the park except the main road.

⁵¹ Ergin, *Mecelle*, 2126-2128.

pills he takes, but not because he regularly exercises with bike. The main message of the article, surprisingly, was the opposite of what would be expected: that the old man would even do tiresome activities such as biking that he should not be doing.⁵²

5.1.4 Sea Baths

Swimming, or rather going to the sea, was another activity like biking that was vaguely situated between recreation and exercise. Just like the perception of nature was transforming, existence in or relationship with nature was also changing. In addition to enjoying pleasant views and thanking god for his benefaction, using nature in some way for being healthy started to be one of the daily practices. Emerging public beaches and swimming can be perceived as one of these practices. Although Istanbul is surrounded by sea, up until the second half of the nineteenth century, swimming was a male-activity and it had to be practiced outside of residential areas, and was considered a lower class recreation.⁵³ Sea baths, structures that aimed to create enclosed spaces for getting into the water, however, did not merely emerge in the nineteenth century: Evliya Çelebi reported sea baths in Istanbul even before the seventeenth century. However, during 1830s the number of sea baths and their popularity increased drastically.

⁵² “Bisiklet hakkında bir mülakat,” in *İkdam*, 4 July 1898.

⁵³ Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*. See also Burçak Evren, *Istanbul'un Deniz Hamamları ve Plajları* (Istanbul: Inkılap, 2000), and Süleyman Beyoğlu, “Osmanlı Deniz Hamamları,” in *Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları Dergisi*, issue: 5, 2004, 53-73.

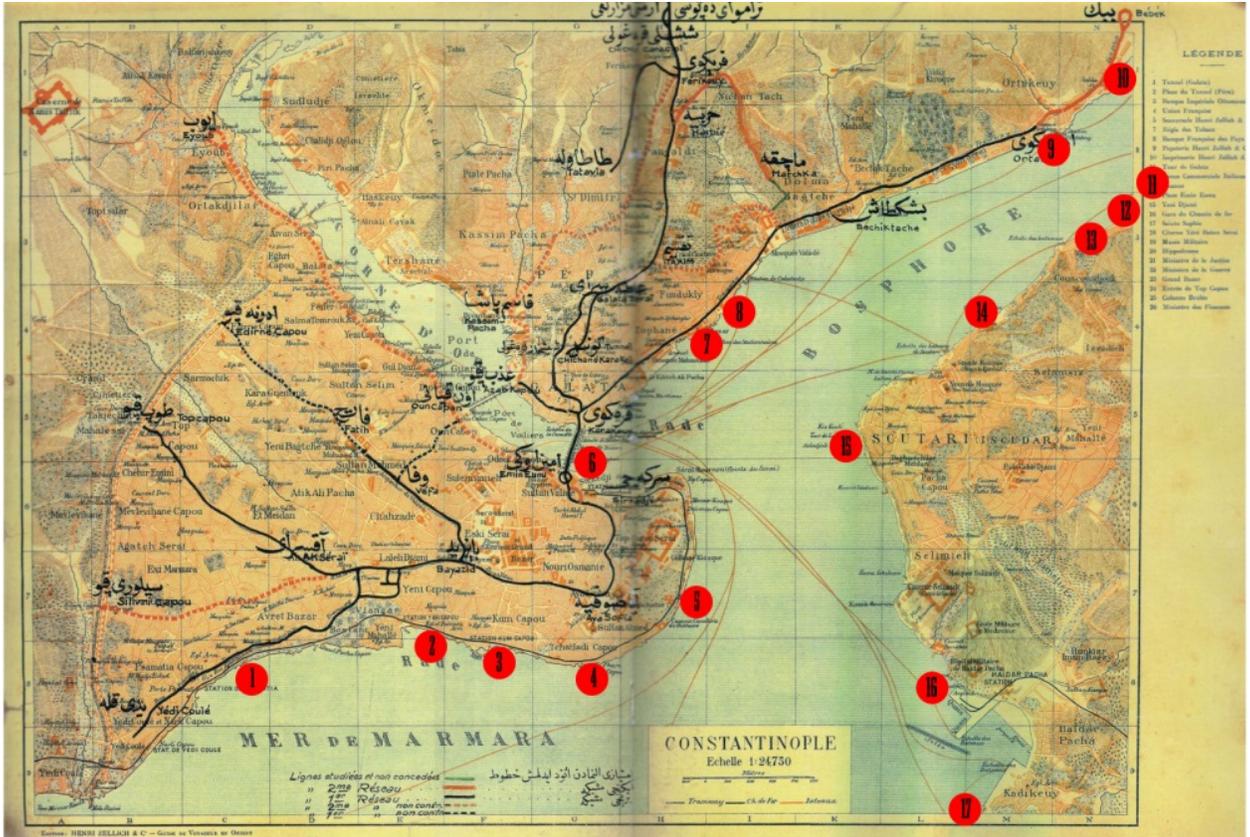


Figure 5.10 Some of the sea baths operating at the turn of the century and their links to public transportation. Bold black line shows the tramlines and the dots sea baths. 1. Samatya, 2. Yenikapı, 3. Kumkapı, 4. Atladıkapı, 5. Ahırkapı, 6. Galata Koprısı, 7. Salıpazarı, 8. Fındıklı, 9. Ortaköy, 10. Kuruçeşme, 11. Kuleli, 12. Çengelköy, 13. Beylerbeyi, 14. Beşikdar, 15. Salacak, 16. Moda. There were also other sea baths that were located out of this map in Yeşilköy, Bakırköy, İstinye, Tarabya, Beşikdere, Yenimahalle, Beykoz, Paşabahçe, Fenerbahçe, Caddebostan, Bostancı, Kartal, Maltepe, Pendik, Tuzla.

Source: Map: Henri Zellich & Cie (ed.), *Guide du Voyageur en Orient*, 1925.

Nevertheless, the quality and quantity of these structures were way away from satisfying the demands of Istanbulites. In 1870 *Şehremaneti*, (the Municipality) which was responsible for operating and regulating these facilities, decided to establish 26 sea baths (five for women and 21 for men) in Kadıköy, Adalar and Boğaziçi.⁵⁴ Two years later number of sea baths became 62 in total, 28 of them were for women and 34 of them

⁵⁴ BA, Şura-yı Devlet (SD), Bahriye, Nr. 2/12, Lef 1-9.

served to men.⁵⁵ Especially in the European side a tram line served the sea baths on the shoreline. Nevertheless it is difficult to claim that residents took public transportation to go to particular sea bath outside of their neighborhoods, they most likely use the ones that were close to their in their living area.

A sea bath was an enclosed, wooden platform built just above the sea level that offered the benefits of the sea not only to males but also to Istanbulite ladies. As journalist Fikret Adil in his newspaper article narrated, going beyond the walls of these structures was “strictly forbidden for women. As a matter of fact, only a few women knew how to swim anyway. Women, who could swim, turned inside the bath by swimming either breaststroke or sidestroke.⁵⁶ Equipment like dried gourd was offered as a precaution to both women and men who could not swim.⁵⁷

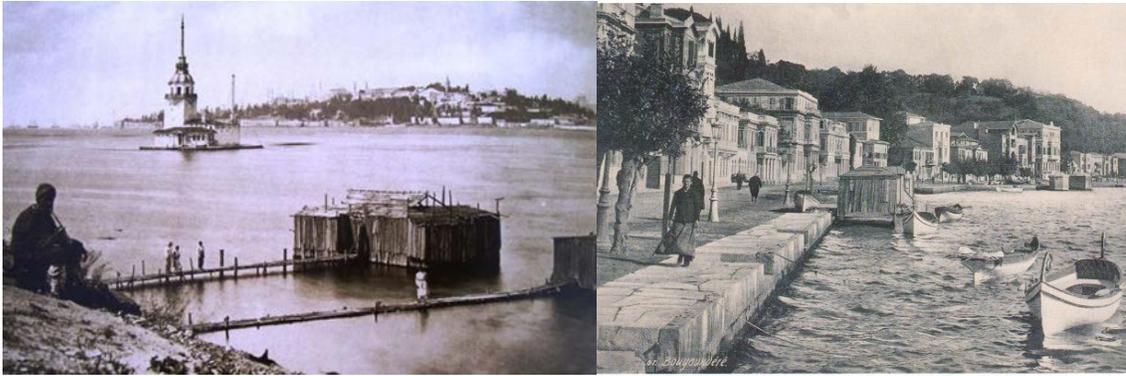


Figure 5.11 Sea baths for public use in Salacak, İstanbul, c. 1875 (left). The postcard shows a private sea bath in Beşiktaş, İstanbul, c. 1900 (right).

Source: Photo: Kargopulo (left).

⁵⁵ BA, A. MKT. SD, Nr. 15/15, Lef, 1-3.

⁵⁶ “Hamamlarda dışarı çıkmak kadınlar için katiyen yasaktı. Zaten yüzme bilen kadın yok gibi bir şeydi, bilenler kurbağalama veya yan yüzer, havuz içinde dört dönerlerdi. ...En makbul yüzme çift kulaç, en makbul atlama çömlek kırma idi” Fikret Adil, “Deniz Hamamından Plaja” in *Tan*, 9 August 1941.

⁵⁷ Burçak Evren, *İstanbul’un Deniz Hamamları ve Plajları*, 60. See also Süleyman Beyoğlu, *Osmanlı Deniz Hamamları*, 53-73.

These were mostly public facilities and the municipality strictly regulated them; however, there were also private baths that were located in front the wealthy *yalis* (waterfront mansions).⁵⁸ Although municipal regulations did not specify minimum dimensions for public sea baths, generally speaking the larger ones measured about 40 *zi̇ra* by 24 *zi̇ra* (approximately 35 m x 20 m). The depth, however, was specified: 2 *arşın* (approximately 1.5 meters) for public baths and 1.5 *arşın* (1.2 m) for private ones.⁵⁹ Similarly, the municipality determined locations of these facilities. For instance, between baths for women and men there needed to be a certain distance that would assure that men could not hear ladies' voices. A police boat constantly patrolled the area between the two structures to keep potential peeping Toms out of women's facilities. Every bath had its own officers called *çavuş* (literally sergeant, but had no military connection) who were appointed by *Şehremaneti* and these officers were responsible for controlling the facility and the people who used them.⁶⁰



Figure 5.12 One of the very few pictures that show inside of a sea bath for women. The rope was there for those who could not swim.

Source: Burçak Evren, *Istanbul'un Deniz Hamamları ve Plajları* (Istanbul: İnkılap, 2000), 52.

⁵⁸ Both private and public baths had to satisfy municipal regulations. For regulation of Sea baths see Ergin, 2142.

⁵⁹ Ergin, *Mecelle*, 2142 and 2144.

⁶⁰ Ergin, *Mecelle*, 2142-2144.

The growing number of sea baths shows that getting into sea quickly became a part of the urban life, at least in summertime, even though swimming was not primarily performed as a sport. Sea baths proved to be spaces for social gathering and relaxation in hot summer days; nevertheless, they were promoted primarily as a health requirement in many sources. Some textbooks wrote about the benefits of cold water (recommending water temperature for swimming between 15° and 25° Celsius) for regulating the circulation of blood, pores of the skin and the muscular movement that stems from swimming.⁶¹ Others warned about the risks associated with taking cold baths in the sea immediately after meals and advised waiting at least three hours.⁶²

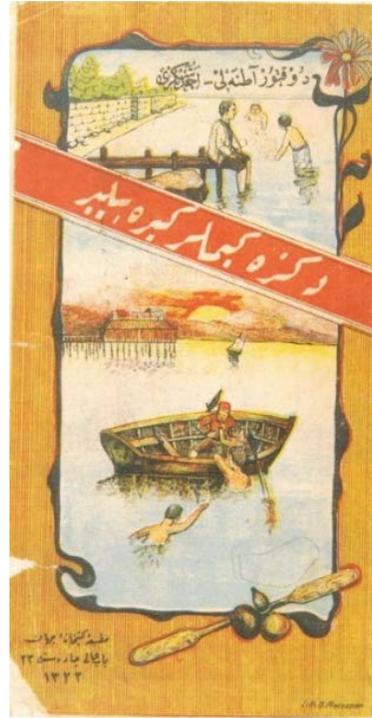


Figure 5.13 Cover of Dr. Ahmet Şükrü's book *Who Can Go into Sea?*

Source: Adanalı Doktor Ahmet Şükrü, *Denize Kimler Girebilir?* (Istanbul: Matbaa-ı Kıtıphane-i Cihan, 1322/1906).

⁶¹ Nazım, *İdâre-i Beytiyye*, (Garoyan), 155.

⁶² Ahmet Refik and Mehmet Emin, *Teşrih Fiziyoloji Hıfzıssıhha* (Istanbul: Kanaat Kıtıphanesi, 1929), 301-302, 306.

Medical doctor Ahmet Şükrü in his 1906 dated health book *Denize Kimler Girebilir? (Who Can Go into the Sea?)* highlighted the same point as well: “Going into the water with full stomach is certainly not allowed.”⁶³ Responding to the question he posed in his book title, he recommended sea to anybody older than seven and younger than forty-five years. Sea bathing, according to the author, was good for all sorts of diseases such as depression, anemia, skin conditions, swollen tonsils, and even eye pain. It was relaxing for people who lived in the city for a long time.⁶⁴ Advised time to spend in the water was limited to 8-12 minutes for men and 4 minutes for women. However, Ahmet Şükrü warned: one should get into water slowly; jumping immediately into water is not healthy. Also one should not walk around the shore and spend too much time under the sun. He also suggested avoiding rocky surfaces for swimming, and utilizing spots that do not get wind directly but receive sunlight uninterruptedly. Because “sun, like sea, is life.”⁶⁵

Although people have long utilized sea in some way or another, the introduction of sea baths packaged as a scientific and medical remedy for staying healthy and as a cure was an extension of the rationalization of such practices. However, neither biking nor going to sea seems to have been major parts of institutionalized exercise like gymnastics did.

5.1.5 Institutionalizing Exercise

Medical doctors and training experts aimed to establish movement in daily life and they transformed personal training into something that one can learn from books by basing it

⁶³ “Denize tok karnına girmek katiyen men olunur.” Adanalı Doktor Ahmet Şükrü, *Denize Kimler Girebilir?* (Istanbul: Matbaa-yı Kütüphane-i Cihan, 1322□1906).

⁶⁴ Adanalı Doktor Ahmet Şükrü, *Denize Kimler Girebilir?*, 57.

⁶⁵ “Deniz gibi güneş de hayattır.” Adanalı Doktor Ahmet Şükrü, *Denize Kimler Girebilir?*, 48.

on science beginning with the second half of the eighteenth century. Accordingly, children studied it in schools, they practiced it and sports were systemized and institutionalized.

In the Ottoman Empire, gymnastics started to be a part of the curriculum in 1863, first in the military schools and then in civil high schools with the 1869 Regulation of Public Education (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi*). The first book on exercise “Gymnastics Training in Gardens and Salons” (*Bahçe ve Salonlarda Cimnastik Talimi Yahut Sihhatnuma*) was published by Nazım Şerafettin Bey in 1886 (see Chapter 3). In 1872 *The Imperial Yachting and Boating Club*, a watersports club was founded. The first president of the club was retired British Admiral Hobart Paşa [Augustus Charles Hobart Hampten].⁶⁶

At the turn of the century sport clubs opened in different parts of the city. For example, *Moda Football and Rugby Club* was founded in 1896 in Kadıköy. The majority of the founding members of this club were young British sportsmen. Establishing a sports club for Muslim Turks was not as easy as it was for foreigners. *Hamidian* regime saw any kind of youth organization a potential risk for the regime and banned them. Thus, the first football club, founded in 1901 with the name of *Black Stockings* again in Kadıköy, turned out to be quite an adventure for its young founders: Fuad Hüsnü Bey (Kayacan), a student in Naval Academy (*Bahriye Mektebi*) and Reşat Danyal Bey, a civil servant in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Hariciye Nezareti).

Fuad Hüsnü Bey and Reşat Danyal Bey had to pick an English name for their team in order not to attract attention of famous spies (*hafiyeler*) of the *Hamidian* regime. All

⁶⁶ Atıf Kahraman, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Spor* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1995), 638.

Muslim-Ottoman *Black Stockings* gathered secretly for training.⁶⁷ They barely completed their first match on October 26, 1901 in which they played with a Greek team⁶⁸ from Istanbul (and lost 4-1) when the police forces came to the field and arrested the majority of team members. Reşat Danyal Bey was sent to exile in Tahran. Fuad Hüsni Bey was able to flee from police raid after the match but he had to stand in court later with the accusation of “training by kicking a ball and establishing two goalposts with Greeks wearing the same outfits” however, he was not found guilty by the judge.⁶⁹

Sports gears and equipment gradually would later begin to appear as ordinary objects of material culture. In parallel to increasing publications on organized sports and sportive games during 1910s and 1920s, many stores started to market sports goods.⁷⁰



Figure 5.14 Sports equipment in Baker store.

Source: *Servet-i Fünun*, 2 September 1926.

⁶⁷ Black Stockings and other teams did not live long. However, Beşiktaş (1903), Galatasaray (1905) and Fenerbahçe (1907) were all founded in the same time period in Istanbul and are still active and the most popular three sports clubs in today's Turkey.

⁶⁸ The name of the team is not specified. However, we know that *Panianios*, *Apollon*, *Pelops*, *Evangelidis*, *Elpis* were among sports clubs that were founded by the Greeks at the first years of the twentieth century. Among these, *Panianios* is still active in Greece.

⁶⁹ “Karşılıklı kaleler kurup, Rumlarla aynı elbiseleri labis oldukları halde, top endahı ile talim icra etmek” Cem Atabeyoğlu, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Cilt 2, (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1994), 260.

⁷⁰ Spor meraklılarına spor için lazım olan şeylerinizi almadan bir defa mağazamızın spor şubasını ziyaret ediniz. Spor şubemizde sağlam raketler, tenis topları, futbol topları vesaire her nevi malzeme mevcuttur. Her halde mağazamızı bir defa ziyaret sizi müstefit eder. Daima yeni yeni spor eşyası geliyor Beyoğlu'nda Doğru Yol'da 370 Numarada. Baker Mağazaları.”

Although the 1913 Regulation for the Public Gardens limited the spaces for excursions and informal exercises, sports tended to be seen more than a significant health requirement. Exercise and personal training, and accordingly sportive organizations were mostly reflections of unofficial and non-governmental initiatives even though official institutions promoted personal training. This tendency was reflected in the advertisements of some stores as they promoted sports equipment as seen in Figure 5.14. While such products garnished storefronts, the city started to foster new activities as it was equipped with new products itself.

5.2 Re-inventing the Outside: City and Products

While the changing meaning of recreation blended new forms of socialization with modern health advisories, new products transformed the nature of urban activities, both consumption-wise and recreation-wise. With the availability of coal gas, for instance, lighting fixtures and posts began to extend the hours that people could spend outside which in turn affected the city's social life. The illumination of streets and public places increased the variety of commercial activities and extended nighttime hours that Istanbulites enjoyed outdoors.

Istanbul streets had been illuminated since 1856. The first building that utilized this new technology was Dolmabahçe Palace built under the reign of Abdülmecid (1839-1861). Nearby regions like Beyoğlu and its streets benefited from the gashouse that was built for the palace and were illuminated.⁷¹ Beginning in 1857, Galata, Beşiktaş, Beyoğlu, Yüksek Kaldırım, Karaköy, Tophane, Pangaltı, and Harbiye started to use coal gas from Dolmabahçe Gashouse for streetlights. Talimhane and Saraçhane in 1861 and

⁷¹ Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, *Eski Zamanlarda İstanbul Hayatı* (İstanbul Kitabevi, 2001), 216.

Beşiktaş region in 1864 started using this technology.⁷² However, one gashouse alone was not enough for all İstanbul streets. City administration continued to spread out the project of illuminating İstanbul's streets for many years to follow. In addition to Dolmabahçe Gashouse, Yedikule Gashouse opened in 1873 to provide gas to the İstanbul peninsula (Fatih and Bayazid region) and Kadıköy Hasanpaşa Gashouse, built in 1891, started to function as the gas distributor for the Asian side of the city. By 1914, a total of 8,742 lampposts were illuminating İstanbul's main avenues, streets, residential and administrative buildings.⁷³



Figure 5.15 Humor on street illumination in *Karagöz*. The caricature depicts the lamppost as a part of everyday routine, however criticized the level of light that was provided by these illumination devices. These cartoons and caricatures satirized municipal applications but at the same time they showed reactionary reflexes of society through humor.

A caricature in *Karagöz* depicted two people who crashed into each other. Dialogue between them read as follows: “- Man! Are you blind? Don't you even see this enormous lamppost?

-I see lamppost but its light is so dim that I cannot see you.”

Source: *Karagöz*, 2 September 1908.

⁷² Mehmet Mazak, *Gündelik Renkleriyle Eski İstanbul*, (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2009), 126-127.

⁷³ Mazak; Osman Nuri Ergin, 2611-2616.

An agreement in 1913 signed by Mayor (Şehremini) Cemil Paşa, Minister of Finance Rifat Pasa and Banker Oktav Bezanson [sic.] and Engineer Lui Boer [sic] legislated transferring the operating rights of Dolmabahçe Gashouse to *Beyoğlu-Yeniköy Türk Anonim Gaz Şirketi*. This private enterprise founded by Bezanson and Bouer was awarded the contract for distributing coal gas in Beyoğlu and Yeniköy municipalities. This job was done by *Şehremâneti* since 1874 according to three pre-designated categories for illuminating public spaces (*tenvîrât-ı umûmiyye*): primarily (*evvelen*) illuminated areas were existing and planned roads and cul-de-sacs (*turuk-u umumiye ve cikmaz sokaklar*), plazas (*meydanlar*), excursion and recreation areas (*tenezzüh ve teferrüc mahalleri*), parks and squares (*isko'erler*).⁷⁴ Secondly, public restrooms (*bevlhaneler*) and municipality's advertisement areas (hours of lighting and turning off of the lampposts in the specified areas were same as the lampposts on the streets). Third tier included places that would be illuminated by municipality or government (*hükûmet*) on special days (*eyyâm-ı mahsûsa*).⁷⁵ The contract also obliged the company to give a number to each lamppost and to maintain them regularly, and if necessary, to repair broken parts immediately.⁷⁶ The Company also had to provide required arrangement in case *Şehremâneti* would ask relocating existing lampposts or increasing the number of them, also could decide on form and style of illumination devices such as posts, columns

⁷⁴ "İstanbul şehrinin Beyoğlu ve Yeniköy Daire-i Belediyeleri dahilindeki mahallerine havagazı tevzi ve icrası hakkında mukavelename ve şartname. Ergin, *Mecelle*, 2599. Between facility's completion in 1853 and 1874 the state was holding the operating rights of Dolmabahçe Gashouse. In 1874 these rights were transferred to the municipality.

⁷⁵ Ergin, *Mecelle*, 2611.

⁷⁶ Ergin, *Mecelle*, 2613. The company also had to provide required arrangement in case *Şehremâneti* asks relocating existing lampposts or increasing their number, also could decide on form and style of illumination devices such as posts, columns and parasols (*fener, sütun ve paraçol*). However the right of affixing advertisement/announcement of lamppost belonged to *Şehremâneti*. Ergin, *Mecelle*, 2612.

and parasols (*fener, sütün ve paraçol*).⁷⁷ However the right of affixing advertisement/announcement on lampposts belonged to *Şehremâneti*.

5.2.1 Illuminated Interiors

While the municipality was in charge of controlling the illumination of streets and important buildings, gas and in some cases electricity was increasingly getting utilized in interior spaces. After the introduction of this technology gaslights and fixtures began being marketed almost immediately. Daily media and periodicals often published lighting devices. These “newly innovated” (*nev icad*) objects, besides the promise of bright nights, offered economy to their potential clients.

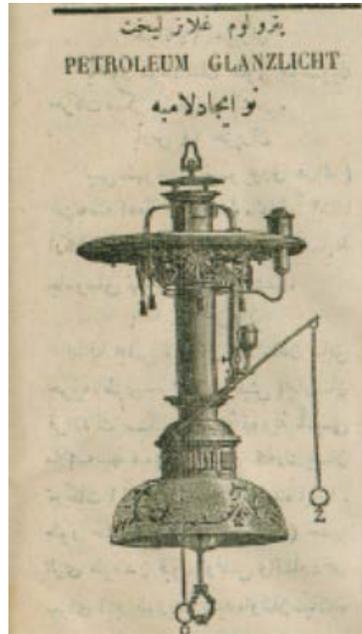


Figure 5.16 Advertisement of *Petroleum Glanzlicht*.

Source: *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 16 June 1896

⁷⁷ Ergin, *Mecelle*, 2612.

An advertisement of Petroleum *Glanzlicht* firm in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* read: “Invented by the famous gas company of Berlin, this award-winning lamp functions with 164 gram gas and lights up to 17 hours. It does not require a wick. Its luminosity is 140 CP (*mum*).”⁷⁸ Although the advertisement did not describe potential places of use, the lamp was marketed for public spaces like restaurants, breweries, salons, factories as well as for residences in Germany. Economy in gas consumption was another highlighted feature of these devices.



Figure 5.17 Advertisements of *Continental* (left) and *Lux Company* (right).

Source: *Nevsal-i Milli*, (Istanbul: Arstun Aşarduryan ve Mahdumları, 1330 [1914]).

Another company, *Continental*, introduced pressure and non-pressure lamp models for different purposes.⁷⁹ While non-pressure lamp lantern was recommended for offices and living rooms (salon) of homes because of its easy-to-use technology, pressure

⁷⁸ “Berlin şehri meşhur gaz şirketi tarafından icad olunup mezkur lamba Berlin, Paris, Brüksel şehirlerinde madalya almış olduğundan saatte 164 gram gaz ile idare olunur ve on yedi saat yanar ve fitile ihtiyacı yoktur. 140 mum kuvvetinde olduğu ilan olunur.” *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 16 June 1896.

⁷⁹ “Amerikan lambaları: tayzikiyle dahili ve harici istimal için. İşbu lambalar tayziksiz ve suret-i istimali çok kolay olduğundan salonlara, yazıhanelere tavsiye olunur.” *Nevsal-i Milli*,

lamps were advertised for larger spaces like, schools, hospitals, barracks, hotels, and restaurants. Lux company, in addition to gas lampposts, advertised gas stoves for domestic purposes such as lighting and heating (*tenvir ve teshîn*). The company, which was “famous for the durability, simplicity and reliability of its products in the whole world,” noted that it had 3,000 lamps in Turkey with satisfied customers.⁸⁰

Lighting fixtures for interiors extended the operating hours of companies and entertainment facilities, which gave Istanbul residents (exclusively men) the opportunity to spend longer hours outside their homes if they wanted to. Entertainment spaces such as bars, casinos, restaurants offered long night hours. Theatrical performances and cinema started to become a part of Istanbul’s nighttime culture. Beyoğlu district was the center of such entertainment and consumption culture:



Figure 5.18 Advertisement of Grand Musée Winter.

Source: *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 14 July 1892.

⁸⁰ “Lüks Kumpanyası “bütün dünyada sağlamlık, sadelik, intizam ile tarif etmistir. Müşterilerinin memnuniyeti dahilinde Türkiye’de 3000 lambaya maliktir.” *Nevsal-i Milli*,

For instance, Petit-Champs Theatre exhibited Grand Musée Winter's show, “the largest museum in the world.” The exhibition opened at 9:30 am and closed at 11:00 pm and showcased wax statues of historically important figures, “plaster models (şekiller) based on the science of anatomy[dissection]” (*fenn-i teşrih*), as well as pictures of the world's largest metropolises and various panoramas.⁸¹

With longer operating hours and illuminated interiors, most importantly the availability of new technologies brought new activities for mass entertainment: Sponeck Birahanesi (Sponeck Beerhouse), for instance, screened movies in 1897 to attract customers.



Figure 5.19 Movie theatre posters: Elhamra Theatre (left), Kemal Bey Theatre (right).

Source: “Elhamra Sineması İstanbul’un en şık, en kibar temaşağâhı en büyük, en muhteşem filmleriyle Ramazan geceleri bütün his ve sanat meftunlarının mevid-i mülakaü (buluşma yeri), odalıdır.” *Süs*, 12 April 1924 (left). “Mutlaka Görünüz! Kemal Bey Sineması’nda 10 Nisan Cumartesi gününden itibaren dört günde dört gece (Toska) (Françeska Bertini) tarafından Pazartesi, Salı günleri hanımefendilere de ikişer matine.” *Diken*, 8 April 1920.

⁸¹ “Tepebaşı’nda kain peti-samp [petit-champs] tiyatrosunda dünyanın en büyük müzesi. Bu müze alçı ve balmumu ile bir suret-i fevkalade yapılmış her nevi heykellerden maa’da fenni teşrihe müteallik ve alçıdan yapılmış şekiller vardır. Vintir müzesi namıyla meşhur olan tarihçe pek mühim bazı zevatın heykelleriyle akvam-i muhtelifeden efradından her birinin ayrı ayrı numuneleri vardır. Paris Sirk-i Umumiyesi ile dünyanın en büyük şehirlerinin resimleri ve daha sair panoromalar vardır. Her gün alafranga sabah saat on buçuktan akşam onbire kadar açıktır.” *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 14 July 1892.

This was the very first open-to-public and commercial-- movie screening in Istanbul, even though the cinema was a known technology. The first movie theater in Istanbul was *Pathé*, a branch of the very famous movie company *Pathé Frères* by Sigmund Weinberg in 1908 on the site of an open-air theater in Tepebasi that was destroyed in a fire only a year after its inauguration in 1889.⁸² Designed by Ottoman-Greek architect Patrokli Campanaki [sic.], the movie theater had 1200-people capacity and was opened on January 30th, 1908 with the name “Cinema Theatre *Pathé Frères*.” From 1908 up until 1942, Pathé was used as a movie theater under different managements and names and had to compete in serving to Istanbul’s entertainment lifestyle along with other theaters that blossomed around the same vicinity in Beyoğlu.

In addition to movie theaters there was also the nightclub scene. Frederick Bruce Thomas opened a series of celebrated nightclubs in Turkey including the very famous Maxim. Thomas, an African-American from Mississippi seeking his fortune overseas, established a successful entertainment business in Russia in 1899. Following the Bolshevik Revolution he had to move to Turkey in 1919 where he had to start over.⁸³

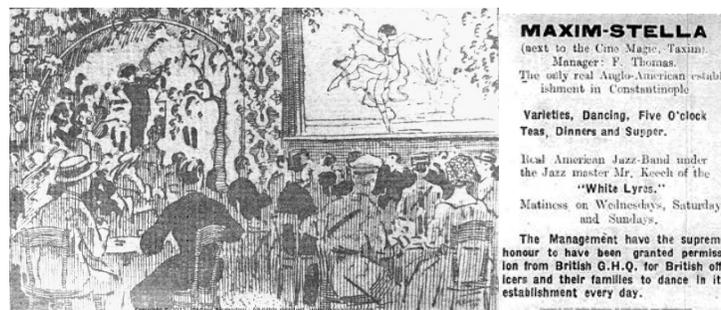


Figure 5.20 An image of Frederick Thomas’s first venture in Constantinople in 1919. Belly dancer in a skimpy outfit is on the stage, a band to the left, and civilian and Allied military customers at tables.

Source: V. E. Alexandrov, *The Black Russian*. (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2013).

⁸² Burçak Evren, “Pathe Sineması” in *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*.

⁸³ Vladimir Alexandrov, *The Black Russian*, (New York: Atlantic, 2003).

Maxim introduced Jazz music as its predecessor did to the Russian audience in Moscow. However as understood from the regularly published advertisements of Frederick Thomas's nightclubs in the *Orient News* (the British military newspaper published in Constantinople during the Allied occupation of the city), its target audience was Europeans -who lived in the city or soldiers of occupation forces- rather than local groups. Nevertheless varieties, [belly] dance shows and even decoration (depicted in illustrations) seemed that Maxim aimed to blend in the "exotic" oriental atmosphere with the feature of American jazz bands and the new genre they performed.

5.2.2 Shopping as Leisure

The emerging entertainment culture was an extension of the increasing dynamism of the streets during daytime as well. Shopping and outdoor activities that accompanied shopping (such as eating, drinking), and the very act of occupying public spaces transformed the social and cultural environment of the city. First, being outside required that an individual fulfilled particular responsibilities, such as being clean and well-dressed, behaving appropriately, which eventually contributed to and benefited from the consumer culture.

One of the most significant physical consequences of this transformation was arcades built along the *Cadde-i Kebir* in Beyoğlu. Narmanlı Han near Tünel section (1849), Elhamra Pasajı (1830s) and Şark Pasajı (1840s) in the Galatasaray region were among examples of this new building type. Building of arcades accelerated especially during the redevelopment process after the Great Pera Fire of 1870. Built either side of the street during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries these arcades enlarged the spaces

reserved for pedestrians and accordingly the shopping experience by providing large glazed surfaces for stores both inside and out. As Walter Benjamin observed arcades also generated “modern” interactions and a new type of people, the *flâneur*, who went out just for strolling.⁸⁴

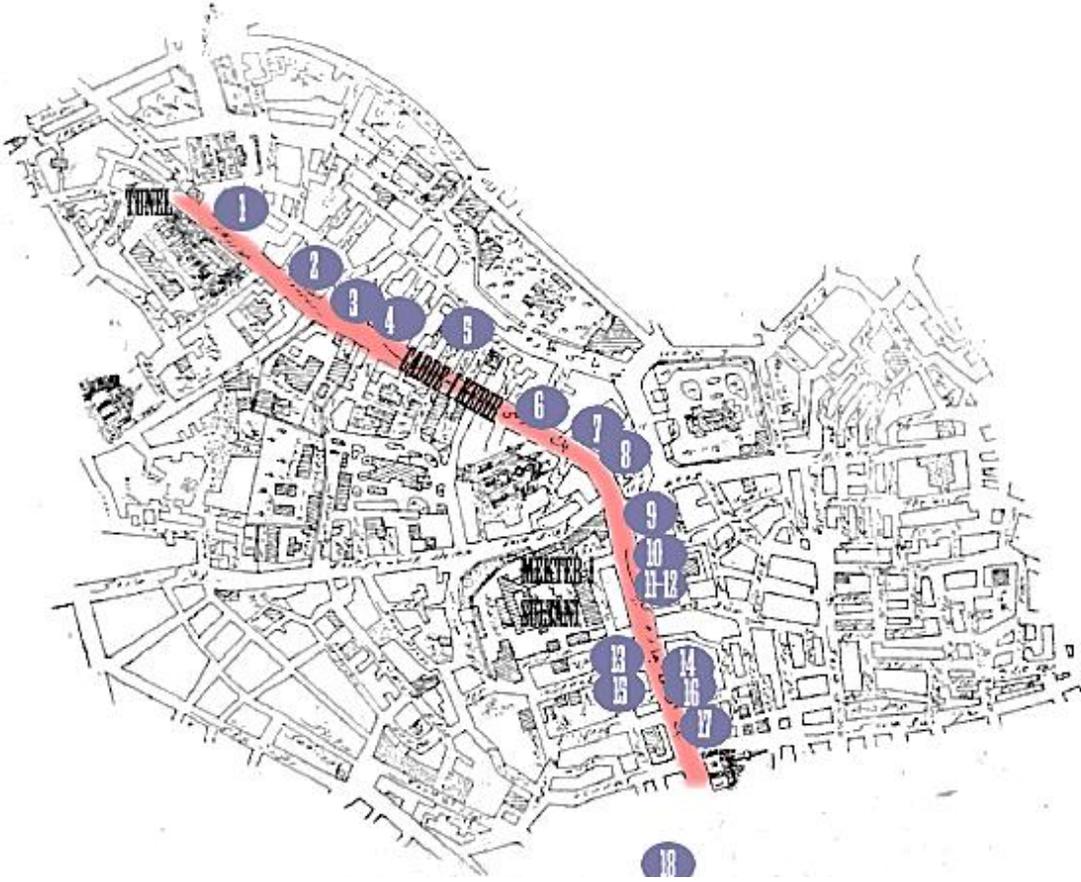


Figure 5.21 Map of Beyoğlu district. Red line indicates *Cadde-i Kebir*. 1. Tünel Pasajı, 2. Narmanlı Han, 3. Şark Pasajı, 4. Suriye Pasajı, 5. Petit-champs Pasajı, 6. Elhamra Pasajı, 7. Hacco Pulo Pasajı, 8. Aznavur Pasajı, 9. Lütfullah Pasajı, 10. Avrupa Pasajı, 11. Çiçek Pasajı, 12. Tokatlıyan Pasajı, 13. Atlas Pasajı, 14. Halep Pasajı, 15. Anadolu Pasajı, 16. Emek Pasajı, 17. Rumeli Pasajı, 18. Afrika Pasajı.

Source: Mühendis Necib Bey, 1918 (map).

⁸⁴ W. Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, Benjamin, W. and R. Tiedemann (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1999), 21-22. First publication 1982.

Flâneurs of Beyoğlu were not necessarily like their Parisian counterparts in terms of their social and intellectual background, tastes, and consumption habits. However, the tendency toward mundane pleasures seemed to be the common motive in both contexts. As understood from memoirs and literary works, Ottoman *flâneurs* tended to be young male students with their canes or umbrellas in hands who were quite excited about the “westerner” activities in the region, as well as upper class families that came with their carriages. Ahmet İhsan narrated how Beyoğlu was filled with people from different sectors, how cafes, theaters and arcades got packed, especially on Fridays and Sundays.⁸⁵

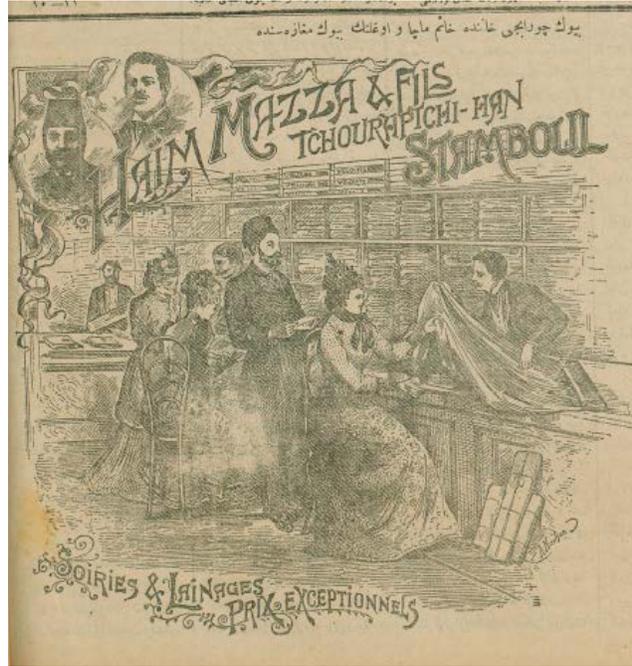


Figure 5.22 Advertisement of Haim Mazza stores.

Source: *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 10 November 1896.

⁸⁵ Uğur Tanyeli claims that first *flâneurs* of Istanbul appeared in Şehzadebaşı-Direklerarası axis in Istanbul Peninsula, see Uğur Tanyeli, *Rüya, İnşa, İtiraz: Mimari Elestiri Metinleri* (Istanbul:Boyut, 2011), 413. Ahmet Rasim, *Muharrir, Şair, Edip* (Istanbul: 1924). See also Ahmed İhsan, *Matbuat Hatıralarım (1888-1923)* (Istanbul: A. İhsanMatbaası, 1930).



Figure 5.23 Advertisements of textile stores.

Source: Left: *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 28 October 1889. Right: *Nevsal-i Milli*, (Istanbul: Arstun Aşarduryan ve Mahdumları, 1330/1914).

On the other hand, the more conservative Muslim Turks considered Beyoğlu as the center of degeneration and prostitution, publisher Ahmet İhsan wrote: “My grandmother, like other women of her time, did not count the other side, Galata and Beyoğlu, as part of our country. When she heard that I had gone to Beyoğlu with my aunt’s son, she wailed: they have taken the boy to *Frengistan*.”⁸⁶ Some boarding schools such as *Darülşafaka High School*, which Ahmet Rasim attended, banned their students from going to Beyoğlu. Ahmet Rasim narrated how the school principal gathered them before vacation days and lectured about immoral deeds of Beyoğlu and “he would order not to cross the bridge for Galata or Beyoğlu. Even if you are from there, do not wander around the back streets of the area, do not go to theatres or cafes with music, wear your

⁸⁶ Ahmet İhsan, *2 Matbuat Hatıralarım*, 5. *Frengistan* means Western countries, specifically Europe.

jackets buttoned up and your trousers belted up round your waists, do not carry bundles or large packets in your hands.”⁸⁷

It was not only Ahmet İhsan’s grandmother and the principal of Dar-ı Şafaka High School that was critical of Beyoğlu, the neighborhood’s quarter’s immoral features were blamed by many. A high rank civil servant Ali Rıza Bey, who worked as the director of the Fish Exchange (*Balık Hali*) for a long time, wrote about Beyoğlu as follows in his memoirs:

“Casinos, nightclubs decorated with lust-provoking pictures, low-class cabarets (*baloz*), caf chatants opened daily in Galata and Beyoğlu and they were open until morning. The attraction of our youth to *alafranga* increased. They had gotten very used to consuming champagne, cognac, absinth, whisky and to bottles containing liqueurs with various fruity and flowery aromas and decorated with gilded labels. The brothels, full of local and foreign women, increased day by day. Especially Carnival times produced a stream of idle drifters (*avareler deresi*) who flowed over to Galata and Beyoğlu. Mansion carriages and hired carriages transported the young men there with all their speed (*kem l-i s r’at*), splashing mud (*zifos*) in all directions. It became customary for people to pack the ballrooms (*balolar*) and the nightclubs (*gazinolar*) and to stay there until dawn. The decked-out girls of the brothels mesmerized minds with the scent of lavender that they put on and allured hearts with their vivaciousness. With the incentive of love and affection, and the provocation of jealousy, men thus became capable of anything. This led to many disasters one after the other. Even worse, an important section of our people were caught up by evil of the gambling, which spread its tentacles into every part of Istanbul. Rich young men dedicated their capital, servants their wages, the mass of artisans and laborers their earnings to the merrymaking of Galata and Beyoğlu.”⁸⁸

Beyoğlu, maliciously, offered entertainment to all sectors of the society. Ali Rıza Bey blamed this Beyoğlu-centered immorality for the deterioration of hereditary characteristics of Turks: for instance, the famous “Turkish strength” that was once admired by westerners existed no longer. “Our brave lads (*babayiđit*) were eaten away

⁸⁷ Ahmet Rasim, *Muharrir, Şair, Edip*, 13-14.

⁸⁸ Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, *Eski Devirlerde İstanbul Hayatı*, Ali Şükrü Çoruk (ed.) (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2007), 191. This book compiles memoirs of Ali Rıza Bey that were published in various newspapers between 1921 and 1925.

and destroyed by gonorrhea and syphilis” and consequently “our country became home to a generation of sick men.”⁸⁹

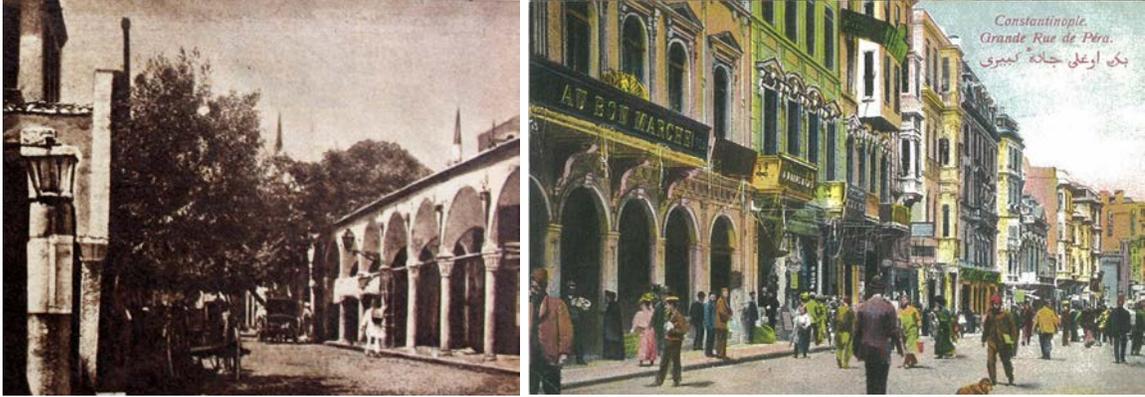


Figure 5.24 *Direklerarası* (left) and Beyoğlu, *Cadde-i Kebir* (right) around 1900. The so-called “traditional” and “new” entertainment foci, respectively.

Source: *Hayat*, 4 March 1960 (left). Postcard (right)

In spite of all these “vicious” features, Beyoğlu continued to be the main shopping region of the city and attracted many. A curious observation would be that the entertainment and leisure became more centralized compared to a century ago when it was much more scattered. Kağıthane, Gıksu, Çamlıca as leisure landscapes, or Direklerarası, Şehzadebaşı as relatively traditional entertainment centers with shadow puppet shows, *tuluat* (improvised) theater and *kanto* music (songs that sung between the acts and plays) continued to be popular; however Beyoğlu started to stand out among others.⁹⁰ This is not to say that Beyoğlu offered “a foreign” culture, as claimed, to Istanbul. On the contrary, it was such an important part of the city that most Istanbulites, even those who did not frequent the area, had to deal with the reality of Beyoğlu, the

⁸⁹ Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, *Eski Devirlerde İstanbul Hayatı*, 191.

⁹⁰ In Ottoman Empire, like the terminology of seamanship, the terminology of music and theater was adopted from Italian. In the argot of the improvisational theater of Istanbul the stage was called “sahano,” backstage was referred to as “koyuntu,” and songs as “kanto.”

stories, legends and rumors it generated: some mocked Muslim Ottomans who behaved like Europeans; others saw the material culture that the area represented as a requirement of the time. Evident of this understanding was horror stories that were published in popular media. *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* reported one in which “a Madame” who squeezed her corset more than necessary suddenly fainted while she was travelling in a carriage in Beyoğlu. There was a lesson to be learned here: “ladies should learn from this and keep their bodies away such a dangerous thing [corset].”⁹¹ It was not coincidence that this incident happened to a “Madame” in Beyoğlu. The message was beyond a warning against the dangers of using corset; it was about criticizing a particular behavior, an object and a lifestyle with all its implications by describing it in a context that harbored these kinds of undesired behavioral patterns and people. Thus, the centrality of Beyoğlu did not only stem from the department stores, theaters, *café-chantants*, and bistros that it housed but also from being a discursive reference.



Figure 5.25 Maynard Owen Williams, *Movie Posters*, Istanbul, 1928s.

Source: *National Geographic Archive*.

⁹¹ “Hanımlarımız bundan ibret alsınlar da vücutlarını bu tehlikeli şeyden muhafaza eylesinler.” *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, 16 September 1895, 6.

5.2.3 Posters/Ads

Advertisements can be the indicators of vibrant commercial and social life in an environment. Competing images and attractive slogans can also tell story about the cities. John Orlando Parry's iconic London Street view depicts such agglomeration of activities that London once housed. This watercolor painting with the artist's meticulous attention to details of typography and the layering of the posters and depiction of few urban characters such as pickpocketing kid in front of an officer, included clues about London's vivid, at the same time uncanny, daily life in the nineteenth century.



Figure 5.26 John Orlando Parry, London Street View, 1840 (left). Maynard Owen Williams, *Movie Posters*, Istanbul, 1928.

Source: Grove dictionary of Art (left). *National Geographic Archive* (right).

An image from Istanbul, dated 1928 (around the time of the acceptance of new Latin alphabet), conveyed a similar feeling. These posters reflected the diversity of alphabets and typography with Arabic, Latin, Armenian and Greek scripts as well as the diversity of activities they announced. Commercial advertisement started, however, couple decades ago and the development of the sector went hand in hand with limitations

and in some cases prohibitions. During Abdülhamid's regime all publications had to receive approval from the Management of Publications (*Matbuat Müdürlüğü*) that was established as one of the departments of the Ministry of Public Education (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti*) in 1862, which gradually institutionalized the censorship in the Empire.⁹² As such, bringing the draft of a newspaper to this department and applying edits recommended by officials was the normal routine for all publications, be it periodicals such as newspapers and magazines, or be it books. Advertisements and commercial publications were also subject to approval from the same office.

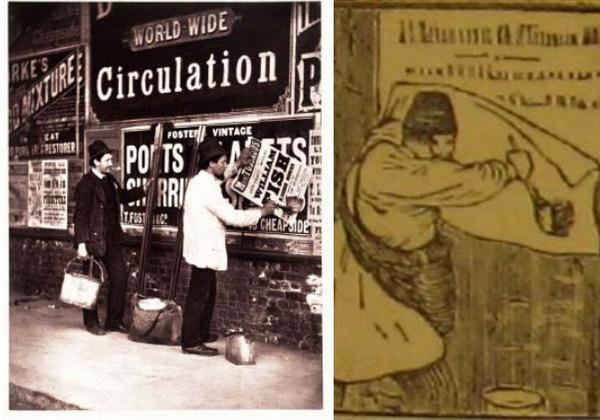


Figure 5.27 An ongoing street advertisement business in London: workers affixing posters on walls, 1870s (left). Instructions on “affixing posters with the starch dough” in a textbook. (right).

Source: J. Thomson and Adolphe Smith, *Street Life in London* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1877), 22 (left). . Dr. Tefvik Şükrü, *700 Resimli İlm-i Esva*, (Istanbul: Mekteb-i Funun Harbiye-yi Sahane Matbaası, 1906-1907), 99.

Publishing expanded immensely during the last quarter of the nineteenth century in the Ottoman Empire in spite of the censorship and other difficulties. A variety of publications were available to Istanbulites, some were even specialized on different

⁹² Fatmagül Demirel, *II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Sansür*, (Istanbul: Bağlam, 2007), 43-48.

subjects. Magazines for women, for children, magazines on hobbies such as philately as well as journals dealing with literature or philosophy were only a few among them. There was also a growing demand for newspapers. According to Faroqhi, this demand was the major driving force that made the publishing business viable in the Empire as opposed to the European context where publishing houses long had preceded the emergence of newspapers.⁹³ The beginning of the publication of a commerce yearbook, *Annuaire Oriental*, in 1868 (during the same Hamidian period) and the developing printing industry revolutionized print advertisement in the Empire. Published by Cervati Brothers, *Annuaire Oriental* included advertisements of all sorts of foreign and domestic products. In addition to yearbooks, brochures and posters became more widespread. Department stores, nightclubs, cabarets, cafés, theaters of Istanbul, commercial products, furniture, and medications appeared not only in the magazines, newspapers through advertisements but they were also in circulation via brochures and posters alike.



Figure 5.28 Ahmet İhsan & associates, color pictures, advertisements, stocks and stamps that the latest technique of art of printing.

Source: *Servet-i Fünûn*, 16 May 1907.

⁹³ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 169.

Commercial advertisements with colorful images and slogans promised life-changing products and competed with each other with the support of technology of the printing press. In printed media, the printing press itself was also advertised. In *Servet-i Fünûn*, publisher Ahmet İhsan advertised products of their printing house: “color pictures, advertisements, stock certificates and stamps that are the products of the latest developments in the art of printing.”⁹⁴

On the other hand, the fifth article of the 1911 Regulation of Public Gardens (*Umûmî Bahçeler Talimatnâmesi*) forbade affixing --printed or painted-- any kind of signboard, advertisement or photograph on the inside and outside of public gardens' walls, on structures in the parks or on trees.⁹⁵ The same regulation banned the distribution of any kind of documents, newspapers, and advertisements inside public parks. The only exception was documents and advertisements published by *Şehremâneti* (the Municipality).⁹⁶ This was a testament to the local governments interest in controlling the message sent out in these seemingly popular venues.

Advertisement kiosks further stressed the importance given to regularizing ads and signs. In 1913 *Şehremâneti* issued a directive regarding the job description of Directorate of Committee of Science (*Heyet-i Fenniye Müdüriyeti*) that listed building advertisement kiosks (*ilân köşkleri*) among the woks of Architecture and Landscaping

⁹⁴ “Ahmet İhsan ve Şürekası Sanat-ı tab’ın son terakkiyatı renkli resimler İlanat, hisse senedatı, pullar” *Servet-i Fünûn*, 16 May 1907.

⁹⁵ “Bahçenin hariç ve dahil duvarlarına ve müstemilatına ve ağaçlarına ve mevaki-i sairesine matbu ve gayr-i matbu levhalar, ilanlar ve fotoğraf vaz ve ilsaki memnudur.” Ergin, *Mecelle*, 2126.

⁹⁶ Article Six: “6. Madde: Bahçe dahilinde matbu ve gayr-i matbu her türlü evrak ve gazete tevzi ve fîruhtu memnudur. Yalnız hükümet ve Şehremanetine ait evrak ve ilanat bundan ma’fuvvdur.” Ergin, *Mecelle*, 2127.

Branch (*Mimâri ve Garsiyât Şubesi*) of this management.⁹⁷ It seems that the municipality, while regulating distribution and affixing advertisements and signboards, did not forget spaces for these ads and signs on streets and public places which not only standardized street advertisements but also gave the opportunity to easily control their content since with the introduction of these systems the content inevitably went through official mechanism.

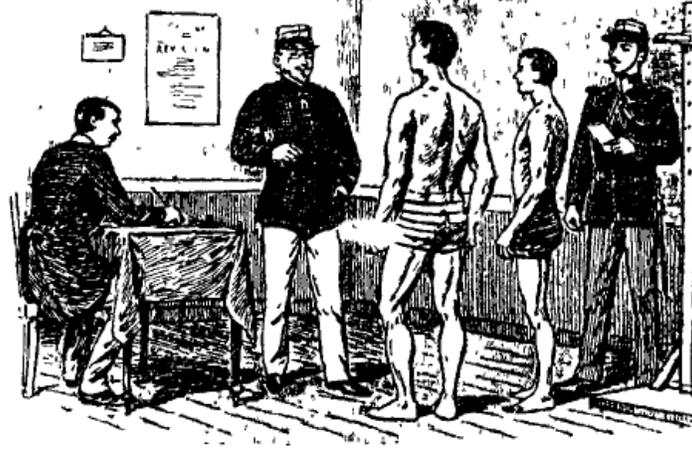
As *fin-de-siècle* Istanbul turned into a place that its ever-growing population spent more and more time out in the city with the help of new technologies, imported goods, consumer products and their commercial representations also became a part of the city. The Municipality tried to regulate this circulation while also dealing with new problems. A group of experts, specifically doctors, were going to diagnose these problems, and in some cases they were going to attempt to heal them.

5.3 Total Clean-out: City and Hygiene

Using health as an analogy in grasping urban problems has a long history. In doing this, the countryside was often constructed as the city's binary. French writer Louis-Sébastien Mercier's description is quite typical: Mercier had described in 1783, the "corrupted atmosphere" of Paris, charged with its impure particles and trapped within the high and narrow street walls of the poor quarters. Its "infected exhalations" contrasted the pure air of the countryside, all of which were denied to the city dweller by virtue of the cadaverous odors of the cemeteries and the lack of sunlight and ventilation.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ "...caddeler ve salonlarda inşa olunacak ilan köşkleri, belediye kavaslarına ve polis memurlarına mahsus kulübeler" Ergin, *Mecelle*, 2071.

⁹⁸ Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Tableaux de Paris vol.1 (Hambourg: Virchaux & Compagnie, 1871)*. See also Vidler, 68.



برقرعه مجلسنده آجیق هواده وکنیش بربرده یاشایان برکویلو ایله
 هواسز یرلرده چالیشان ودائما قابالی قالان برعمله بی آیرمق پک
 قولایدر : کویلو کنج و صاغلام ، عمله چلیمسز وضعیفدر .

Figure 5.29 In a military recruitment office. Comparison of physical developments of a peasant from countryside and a worker from the city.

Source: Besim Çimer, *Nevsal-i Âfiyet*, 4. kitap (İstanbul: Matbaa-yı Ahmet İhsan, 1322/1906), 323.

Ottoman context was no exception: similar comparisons had been frequently made in popular-scientific medical in the nineteenth century. In medical *annuaire*, *Nevsal-i Afiyet*, for instance, Besim Çimer noted: “ It is easy to differentiate a peasant - who lives in a vast open countryside-from a worker- who works in an enclosed, unventilated space: peasant is young and strong, worker is feeble and weak.”⁹⁹ (Figure 5.29) So, Istanbul’s urban environment was diagnosed as sick by a medical doctor. As discussed in Chapter 5.1, while physician-mayors such as Cemil Paşa offered surgical

⁹⁹ “Bir kur’a meclisinde açık havada geniş bir yerde yaşayan köylü ile havasız yerlerde çalışan ve daima kapalı kalan bir ameleyi ayırmak pek kolaydır: köylü genç ve sağlam, amele çelimsiz ve zayıftır.” Besim Çimer, *Nevsal-i Âfiyet*, 4, kitap (İstanbul: Matbaa-yı Ahmet İhsan, 1322/1906), 323.

interventions directly to the city's body¹⁰⁰, others promoted sports and exercise to be integrated to the lives of Ottomans to heal them. All of these combined, there was an increasing understanding that considered city and its atmosphere as the part of the scientific domain, a domain that considered itself analogous to medicine in its urge to treat diseases. The notion of hygiene appeared on the forefront as a result of this changing perception of the city and expectations from it. Therefore, the "hygiene of the city" came as a notion that had many aspects. On the one hand, it required municipal works like establishing an infrastructure for sewerage, providing clean water, collecting garbage, etc. On the other hand, it required conscious individuals who would *demand* these municipal actions while keeping themselves and their physical environment clean. Both the municipality and institutionalization of cleanliness went in hand in hand and started transform Istanbul residents' expectations from their physical environment.

5.3.1 Municipality as Systemic Rehabilitation

Şehremaneti (the Municipality) of Istanbul was established in 1855 under the reign of Abdulmecid (1839-1861). The French organization *prefecture de la ville* was taken as a model and adapted for this establishment. The Sultan appointed the *Şehremini* (Mayor). Two deputies and a city council consisting of 12 representatives were responsible for the municipal work. Representatives were not necessarily official personalities: they were mostly drawn from various strata of the population and its trade and commercial guilds. The *Şehremâneti* was given the responsibility for the regulation and collection of taxes, construction and repair of roads, cleaning as well as general improvements to the city.

¹⁰⁰ Also Physician-mayors such as Lütfü Kırdar and Fahrettin Kerim would later patronize quite controversial projects like those of Cemil Paşa.



Figure 5.30 View of municipal building in Beyoğlu □Photographed by Abdullah Fr□res.

Source: Abdul Hamid II Collection, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C.

With the municipal regulation (1858), existing city government was transformed into Municipal Prefecture. Under this Prefecture, the city was divided into 14 districts (daire). The first municipal region was, not surprisingly, Beyoğlu and this region was named after Paris□famous □and the fanciest- *sixieme arrondissement* as *altıncı daire* (sixth district) after the 1857 6th District Municipality Regulation (6. Daire-i Belediye Nizamatı) and 1858 General Regulation about Beyoğlu and Galata districts (Devair-i Belediyeden 6. Daire İtibar olunan Beyoğlu ve Galata Dairesinin Nizam-ı Umumisi).

In 1868, after a new municipal regulation (*Dersaadet İdare-i Belediye Nizamnamesi*), Istanbul was once more divided into the previous fourteen districts. The goal was “to embellish and regularize the city as a whole” (*umumen şehrin tezyinat ve tenzifatı*) by strict control of building methods, regularization of the roads and the quays,

and construction of water and sewage lines.”¹⁰¹ The new municipal government and its constituent district organizations had extensive duties and powers that ranged from the maintenance of public health to ensure the accuracy of weights and measures.¹⁰²

Since the new municipal organization was responsible both for local legislation and execution, it had a significant power on urban life and this created more vivid interaction between municipality and the inhabitants of the city. The hygiene of the city was among the primary duties of both the Municipality and the residents, expected to be fulfilled.

5.3.2 Institutionalizing Cleaning and Garbage Collection

Şehremâneti officially took the responsibility of cleaning the city in 1854. In order to coordinate cleaning of streets and garbage disposal throughout the city *Şehremaneti* established a cleaning department, hired personnel for the garbage collection (*tanzifat ameleşi*) and ordered garbage carts for this job in 1868. The Municipality also purchased animals to be worked for cleaning of the city: in 1883 animals (horses, mules, donkeys) that were used for cleaning works was 251; this number increased to 440 in 1893, 320 of which were drawn to cart, the rest were used in narrow streets that carts were unable to enter.¹⁰³ However, in some cases stables that were established to house the animals used

¹⁰¹ Ergin, *Mecelle* 1616-1617

¹⁰² A larger list of municipal services is as follows: all matters regarding the construction and maintenance of buildings and streets, laying drains, and water conduits, and embellishment and cleaning of the markets, lighting streets and public buildings, the provision of public transformation, the maintenance and extension of the quays, the procurement and storage of supplies such as coal, wood, construction materials, and food, the embellishment and maintenance of hotels, cafes, theaters, and other public gathering places, the safety of vehicles, the accuracy of weights and measures, the enforcement of price and quality regulations, the maintenance of public health, and provision of public facilities for orphans, invalids, and indigents. Ergin, *Mecelle*.

¹⁰³ BOA, Y.PRK.SH, nr. 4166.

for urban hygiene created unhealthy conditions themselves.¹⁰⁴ Specialized inspectors were hired to strictly control all equipment, animals, workers, and the work they did. These inspectors, if they witness any malfeasance, were obliged to report to the management to execute punishments that including warning, rebuking.¹⁰⁵ Inspectors, too, were subject to similar punishments, in the case of determination of malfunction.¹⁰⁶

Not every district had equal amount of success under municipal administration. For instance, the *Sixth District* had a relatively successful job organization: municipal administration of the *Sixth District* gave out cleaning works by contract, and created three hierarchical categories among streets according to their importance. While streets in the first category were to be swept everyday, it was done once a week for the streets in the third category.¹⁰⁷ However, other regions of the capital such as Eminönü or Fatih did not have regulated cleaning or garbage collection services.

Other regions on the other side of the Bosphorus started to get their garbage collected after legislation of municipal regulation in 1868 as well. Uniformed workers with two wheeled carriages drawn either by a mule or a horse were collecting garbage from residential neighborhoods such as Kadıköy and brought them to the designated areas outside the residential areas. In Kadıköy, it was old stone quarries in Fikirtepe-Uzunçayır region.¹⁰⁸ Disposing garbage and sweepings to the sea, nevertheless was a general application in the neighborhoods located by the shore.

¹⁰⁴ Cemil Topuzlu, *80 Yıllık Hatıralarım*, 108-109.

¹⁰⁵ See 1913 regulation on duties of *heyet-i fenniye* and *memurin-i fenniye*, Ergin, *Mecelle*, 2084. Especially article 23.

¹⁰⁶ Ergin, *Mecelle*, 2082.

¹⁰⁷ Ergin, *Mecelle*, 1313. Cemil Paşa also mentions this uncoordinated service; see Cemil Topuzlu, *80 Yıllık Hatıralarım*, 109.

¹⁰⁸ Sevim Budak, “Köprü”, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul 1993.

Although cleaning was institutionalized in 1860s, Istanbul had no “scientific” municipal cleaning department until 1913 when the Directorate of Committee of Science (*Heyet-i Fenniye Müdürlüğü*) was established under Cemil Paşa administration. In addition to cleaning works, this committee was also responsible for illumination, construction, repair, architecture and gardening works as well as preparation of maps, issuing regulations and legislating them.¹⁰⁹ Directorate of Scientific Cleaning-Sanitation (*Nezâfet-i Fenniye Müdürlüğü*) was the third of the five branches (*şube*) of this committee and the first manager of this department, quite consistently with the claim of the institution, was an engineer, Mühendis Selahaddin Bey.¹¹⁰ The department aimed to execute cleaning works regularly all over the city. Cemil Pasa and Selahaddin Bey, devoted a lot of energy and budget to Istanbul’s sanitation: streets were being cleaned at nights; animal-drawn carts were purchased and actively worked for garbage collection. Stables were constructed for animals working for this and inspectors (*tanzifat müfettişleri*) regulated the work.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Ergin, *Mecelle*, 2062.

¹¹⁰ Other four branches were Tetebu’ât ve Tatbîkât Şubesi (investigation and application), Turuk ve Me’âbir Şubesi (roads and engineering), Mimârî Şubesi (architecture), Makina ve Sanâyi Şubesi (machinery and industry). Ergin, *Mecelle*, 2062.

¹¹¹ Ergin, *Mecelle*, 2081-2087.

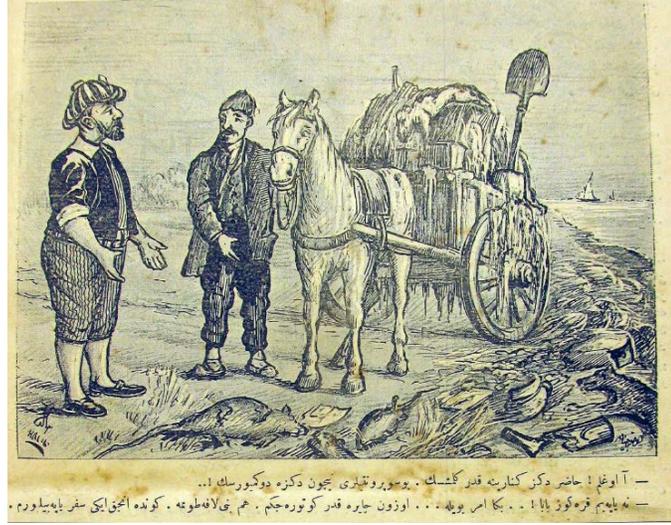


Figure 5.31 “A weird cleaning in Kadıköy” (*Kadıköy’de bir garibe-i tanzîfât*).

The caricature satirized garbage collection methods of the municipality: Karagöz asks the cleaning worker:

“- Son! Why don’t you drop these sweepings to the sea while you already came by the seashore?” The worker depicted with a horse-drawn carriage he uses for garbage collection responds:

“What can I do Father Karagoz? This is an order, I should bring these to Uzunçayır, do not keep me busy, I can only do two rounds a day as it is.” The caricature shows the shoreline lined with trash, dead animals, etc. because of the insufficient service.”

Source: *Karagöz*, 6 July 1910.

In spite of hiring staff, purchasing animal and equipment and many regulations in order to create proficient service garbage collection had always been insufficient. Cemil Paşa who served as Mayor twice complained about these situations. In a speech he gave in 1913 said that: “as you know cleaning is the most expected [service] from municipality. Unfortunately this service remained quite primitive. Considering this fact we made regulations□ ”¹¹²

¹¹² Cemil Topuzlu, *80 Yıllık Hatıralarım*, 112-113.

It looked like some aspects of what Namık Kemal wrote three decades ago had not changed a lot: “Dirtiness of homes and neighborhoods are always in sight. There are streets in Istanbul that are impossible to cross because of dog carcasses and accumulation of all sorts of filth. There are places in the provinces where sewerage runs through main streets. However, we do not have to wait for the future to get rid of all this dirt. (□) On the other hand, our houses are not better than our streets. Will the government clean everyone’s home too?”¹¹³



Figure 5.32 A postcard shows a street sweeper and famous stray dogs of the city. Editor: Max Fruchtermann, c. 1910s.

Source: Publisher A. Zellich Fils.

As Namık Kemal implied the residents needed to take responsibility for urban cleaning as well, starting from cleaning in front of their houses. Istanbul’s residences

¹¹³ Namık Kemal, “Nüfus”, *İbret*, Sayı 9, 25 June 1872. “Mahalle ve hanelerin pıslığı pek göz önünde olan şeylerdendir. İstanbul’da sokaklar vardır ki köpek leşlerinin ve sair bin türlü mundarlıkların istilası cihetiyle bir taraftan bir tarafına geçilmez. Taşrada memleketler vardır ki lağımaları en büyük caddesinden akar. Hâlbuki bu müzahrefatın defî için istikbali beklemeye mecbur değiliz.(...) Fakat hanelerimiz de sokaklarımızdan pek aşağı kalmıyor.Herkesin evini de devlet mi tathir etsin?” For changing meaning of the foul see Alain Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986).

were located at the very center of the network of laws and regulations. The inhabitants of the city voluntarily executed control services. In order to provide appropriate service, in 1889 city administration legislated a decree that enforced all occupied residences, stores and all kinds commercial facilities to pay taxes (*Rûsûm-i Tanzîfiyye*) for contribution to cleaning expenses. According to this decree, municipal districts were responsible for collecting taxes monthly.¹¹⁴ Tipping the municipal workers as they were collecting domestic trash was also common and “unofficial” application, which later would be banned by Cemil Paşa.¹¹⁵

Civil contribution to cleaning of the city was not limited to paying cleaning taxes. Under the impact of the serious of regulations in the cleaning of the city, Istanbulites also filed petitions to notify local administration and in some cases central government of occurring problems. For instance, a document from the Ottoman archives shows the involvement of neighborhood residents in urban hygiene by appealing to the Municipality. The Ottoman Government received a petition in 1892, October 14th about unmarried male porters who lived in the sheds built by “a certain Bedros in the backyard of Safiye Hanım’s coffeehouse.”¹¹⁶ The complaint was about the odor caused by the sheds and the violation of public health. Interestingly enough, the petitioners did not focus on the fact that these were single men – a group that was strictly controlled in Ottoman Istanbul as one would expect-, who did not fit into the family-centered character of the neighborhood.¹¹⁷ Both might have been more predictable complaints in the traditional Turkish social context. Rather, according to their neighbors, what was

¹¹⁴ Ergin, *Mecelle*, 2010.

¹¹⁵ Cemil Topuzlu, *80 Yıllık Hatıralarım*, 109.

¹¹⁶ BOA, DH.MKT., 23 R 1310[1892], 2020, 38.

¹¹⁷ For the change of the notion of crime in the city during the eighteenth century see F. Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul: 1700/1800*. (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2010).

disturbing about these bachelors was not their social, but their physical “abnormalities,” their hygiene habits. Another such document mentioned how neighborhoods became sensitive about their shared environments. This document was an official response of the government to petitions complaining about trash and odor and ordered hygienic measures in particular boroughs (*semt*) in Uskudar.¹¹⁸

5.3.3 Germ and the City

Establishment of offices that were devoted to improving Istanbul’s hygienic conditions did not appear in 1910s abruptly. The obsession with health, hygiene and body itself existed for couple decades and it was a response to “real” and serious health issues: Istanbul experienced several cholera epidemics, like any other metropolis of the time as a part of the international network.

As soon as Louis Pasteur established the germ theory in 1875, which radically changed medical and sanitary theory and practice, a commission of doctors from the Empire was sent to the Pasteur Institute in France to study microbiology, parasitology and zoology during the reign of Abdulhamid II.¹¹⁹ Since a group of European doctors pointed Istanbul as the reason of many epidemics that struck major European cities, Istanbul played crucial role: the city hosted a very important medical meeting, *International Sanitary Conference* in 1866.¹²⁰ It was a part of the international

¹¹⁸ BOA, DH.MKT., 23[R 1311[1893], 162, 5.

¹¹⁹ After the commission returned to Istanbul, one of its members, Zoeros Pasha, was appointed as director of the laboratory that was opened in at the Medical School. It was called Dersaadet Da’ül-kelb ve Bakteriyoloji Ameliyathanesi (The Istanbul Rabies and Bacteriology Laboratory). Ekrem Kadri Unat, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bakteriyoloji ve Viroloji* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Cerrahpaşa Tıp Fakültesi Yayınları, 1970).

¹²⁰ Cem Emrence. “Alınan Koruyucu Önlemler ve İstanbul’da Kolera Salgını (1893-1894)”, in *Tarih ve Toplum*, Ağustos 1999, issue:188, pp. 46-51. See also Mesut Ayar, *Osmanlı Devletinde Kolera: İstanbul Örneği (1892-1895)*,” (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2007). See also Nuran Yıldırım, *A History of Healthcare in Istanbul : Health Organizations, Epidemics, Infections and Disease Control, Preventive Health Institutions*,

conference series, started in 1851 in Paris that aimed to prevent epidemics under the light of new hygienic theories. In response to a devastating cholera epidemic of 1893, a public health commission (*Hıfzısıhha-ı Umumiye Komisyonu*) was formed. Under the administration of *Sehremini* (Mayor), this commission with its medical doctor members started to implement precautions to prevent the epidemic from spreading. Istanbul was a quite significant node of international medicinal network: after the 1893 cholera epidemic, the Commission “invited” experts from Europe (such as French bacteriologist, Deputy Inspector-General of the Sanitary Services of France Dr. Andr  Chantemesse) who prepared reports about the reasons and solutions regarding preventing both the spread (*tahdid-i mazarrat*) and elimination of the disease (*s rat-i imha*).¹²¹ When Chantemesse, who adopted Pasteurian principles of germ theory, visited Istanbul with Pasteur’s approval, he observed the following: “The population of the three suburbs- Stamboul, Scutari, Galata-Pera-reaches nearly a million inhabitants. During the season of summer the people eat abundantly of all sorts of raw fruits, and their drink consists in the main part of pure water, or water reputed as such, taken from the different standpipes (*fontaines*) by which the town is supplied. The sewers are not numerous, and they are badly contrived; many of them, and these amongst the most important, are in such a state of dilapidation”¹²² The immediate danger according to the doctor was the quality of the water intended for human consumption. He diagnosed that: “it is in the presence of such

Hospitals, Medical Education (1st ed.).(Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi : Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture).

¹²¹ Ergin, *Mecelle*, 3220.

¹²² A. Chantemesse, “The Epidemic of Cholera at Constantinople in 1893,” in *The Practitioner, Volume 53*. (London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1894), 68.

imperfect hygienic conditions and of an incomplete urban sanitary organisation that cholera last made its appearance.” He added: “its origin is still unknown.”¹²³



Figure 5.33 “A winter view in Aksaray Boulevard (Aksaray caddesinde kış manzarası). In this caricature, city’s inadequate drainage system was satirized with the picture of flooded street view. Interestingly, Aksaray is not one of the areas such as Pera, Beyoğlu or Galata that were considered as European quartier; this area was wealthy but relatively traditional. However, Ottoman ladies are visible with their umbrellas and “modern”attires in the background.

Source: *Gramafon*, 20 March 1909.

Poor infrastructure, lack of sanitary organization, unhygienic quality of water and its distribution were among major reasons of cholera outbreaks in Istanbul. Since building new infrastructure with proper sewerage and water conduits was a long and expensive process, Dr. Chantemesse had chosen to concentrate on disinfection. However, “there were no disinfecting stations, no stoves, no staff accustomed to practice disinfection, no sufficient information as to dealing with suspected cases; and only fatal attacks of cholera were with certainty heard of.” Thus he asked for “the establishment in the suburbs of Scutari, Stamboul, and Pera of three disinfecting stations like those in the

¹²³ Chantemesse, *The Epidemic of Cholera*, 69.

Rue de Recollets in Paris.”¹²⁴ Chantemesse suggested that Ottoman administrators hire M. Mondragon, the superintendent of the disinfecting service of the municipality of Paris, to establish disinfection stations and to undertake the theoretical and practical instruction of the staff that would work in these stations.¹²⁵ Everything from disinfectors to special uniforms, from pumps and sprays to their ingredients was specified.¹²⁶

Besides Mondragon eminent medical figures such as Dr. Mah□ and Dr. Nicolle of the Pasteur Institute also worked with the Ottoman Government. Dr. Nicolle was appointed as Professor of Microbiology at the Imperial School of Medicine. Additionally, Dr. Adolph from Vienna wrote a report on water sources of İstanbul and Edirne; Mösyö Amrik [sic] from Munich University visited the city for a similar purpose while M□sy□ Belle [sic] was working on establishment of sanitation facilities for the disinfection processes.¹²⁷

As Dr. Chantemesse also pointed out, one of the essential matters was educating the society if one wanted to keep Istanbul away from such life-threatening diseases as cholera. Municipal medical staff and press should constantly recommend population that “no water which had not been boiled should be used for any purposes of food supplies.”¹²⁸ While there was an effort to establish the principles of modern hygiene, practically and discursively, the existence and popularity of traditional and folk medicine

¹²⁴ Chantemesse, *The Epidemic of Cholera*, 78.

¹²⁵ BOA, Y..PRK.BŞK., 24/Ca/1311[1894], 34, 10. For Mondragon’s services in Istanbul see also Ergin, *Mecelle*, 3221.

¹²⁶ The disinfectors were supplied with a special uniform, with pump apparatus for dealing, by sprays of perchloride of mercury, with the walls and floors of apartments, with various stuffs, also with milk of lime and chloride of lime for application to privy-pits. In the absence of steam apparatus, soiled mattresses were burned; whilst linen which was in comparatively small bulk was plunged for an hour in a receptacle filled with an antiseptic fluid. Chantemesse, *The Epidemic of Cholera*, 78.

¹²⁷ Cem Emrence. “Alınan Koruyucu Önlemler ve İstanbul’da Kolera Salgını (1893-1894)”, in *Tarih ve Toplum*, Ağustos 1999, issue:188, 46-51.

¹²⁸ Chantemesse, *The Epidemic of Cholera*, 78.

practiced in the urban realm posed another problem: it was to be replaced by modern medicine, and it was to be replaced immediately.

5.3.4 Promoting Modern Medicine

In order to change the perception of public about sanitation and health in favor of modern medicinal sciences, the elimination of existing folk medicine methods was also in the to-do-list of city administration. In popular publications traditional healers were condemned for causing crippling, deterioration of health and death habitually. In addition to the “injurious and imperfect services they provided,” they were blamed of being deceitful and generating unmerited earnings. For example, Basiretî Ali Efendi talked about quack physicians and medicines prepared by these ill-informed counterfeit healers. The author himself had lost his four year old daughter, previously diagnosed with scarlet fever, due to alternative treatment of a “fake Jewish doctor,” who was recommended by women neighbors.¹²⁹ Like counterfeit doctors, traditional healers, charm writers (*muskacı*), and enchanters seemed quite strong rivals of scientific measures that had been taken by central administration. Ali Rıza Bey narrated how desperately the services of these superstitious healers were demanded by ordinary people: in the 1865 cholera epidemic, many people by requesting services of these “fake experts,” hung enchanted horseshoes above their doors, inserted charms inside the window and door frames where they thought disease would enter their homes.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Basiretçi Ali, “Şehir Mektubu” in *Basiret*, no: 1585, 25 July 1875, 20. For compilation of Basiretî Ali Efendi’s newspaper articles, see Basiretî Ali Efendi, *Istanbul Mektupları*, Nuri Sağlam (ed) (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2001).

¹³⁰ Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, 58.

While charms were doing their job to keep disease away from home, products for domestic use such as Niagara Water Filter relied on scientific facts of the time to keep agents “microbes” that did not use doors and windows to pervade homes: despite attempts in cleaning the city water, the existence of water filters, appropriately named Niagara, point out to at least some concern about the quality of the water. It was for anyone with its “reasonable price” according to its advertisement, and could “rectify even very bad quality water [supplied] and clarify its cloudy color.”¹³¹ These products helped solve certain problems as a part of the domestic–personal domain when urban–public precautions lacked.

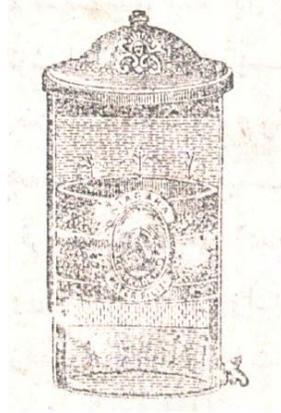


Figure 5.34 Water filters promised their potential customers to control hygienic conditions in their homes.¹³²

Source: *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 13 July 1887.

It was not only the central government that was bothered by unscientific street healers. A petition from the archives requested that Ottoman government put an end to

¹³¹ *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 13 July 1887.

¹³² “Consuming unclean water can be life threatening (*memati mucib*). To be free from these dangers everyday, Niagara Water Filter is advised. If you think of purchasing, please visit our store and take look at the device. Since the price is quite reasonable everybody can buy it. This filter can rectify even very bad quality water and clarify its cloudy color. Because it never gets broken it is advised that every household have it.” *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 13 July 1887.

one of the longstanding traditional practices, street dentistry in Istanbul. Open air dentists who “roam around in the markets pulling teeth and giving treatments” to patients in the middle of the street were, according to this petition, “exposed to dust and dirt in the street, spreading disease as they put their fingers and the forceps they are holding into everyone’s mouth without cleaning them (*parmaklarını ve elindeki kertepeni bila tathir her kesin ağızına ithal ile telkih-i emraz etmekte*).” Not only these dentists were hygienically faulty, but also they disrupted the urban order according to the petition. Thus, in the name of maintaining public health and safety, this practice was absolutely forbidden once and for all.¹³³



Figure 5.35 Istanbul’s women street sweepers in 1921.

Source: Demetra Vaka, *The unveiled ladies of Stamboul*, (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), 7.

¹³³ BOA, ZB 603-19.

Germans and microbes could be very dangerous as experienced by cholera epidemics: the solution was modern hygiene under the guidance of modern medicine which gradually would break traditional perceptions and transform established patterns. Finally in 1913 with the Directorate of Scientific Cleaning/Sanitation (*Nezafet-i Fenniye Müdürlüğü*) sanitization of the city had been institutionalized. This institutionalization process claimed to be inclusive of all society so that during WWI, this department hired women cleaning workers who carried their “inherent cleaning skills” outside their home and to a professional level. As Istanbul born Greek-American Demetra Vaka wrote in her memoirs after her visit to Istanbul in 1921; “□ I was confronted with a sight which made all the changes I had hitherto noticed seem tame and commonplace. Turkish women, with uncovered faces, and clad in gray trousers, were sweeping the streets. They were almost the only street-cleaners of the Ottoman capital, as I learned afterwards, and if one took the pains to bestow attention upon them, as they bent over their hard task, one saw that many of them were young and had pretty faces.”¹³⁴ Although extraordinary war conditions mandated the recruitment of women labor, this was quite revolutionary for a Muslim society of the time that traditionally used woman labor only in the service of other women. This took women out on the street, legitimately in public space.

¹³⁴ Demetra Vaka, *The Unveiled Ladies of Stamboul* (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), 9.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This dissertation is a product of my long time interest in narratives on modernization and process of modernization itself. Narratives of modernization, be it a historical survey or literary work, are inherently “modern” that make them problematic as any modern topic could be.¹ They produce different modes in the notion of modernity as they attempt to describe the “modern condition” depending on the way they tell the story. They hence underline the slippery and constantly changing nature of modernization (just like what fascinates authors and lead them to narrate it in the first place).

Dwelling on the notion of multiplicity of modernization narratives, I started to think about reading modernization through dynamics of daily life. I was essentially interested in the idea of doing historical research as “reading,” using the term “reading” as de Certeau had suggested in *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Only mine did not result in a “silent production,” but “writing” without trying not to lose the spirit of the activity of “reading,” writing a “habitable” text.² I started reading juxtaposed writings of Istanbul and the daily life in Istanbul, carved on its cityscape as an unfinished text that constantly changes its meaning. My study based its fundamental methodology on establishing a cross-referential reading strategy from different texts that turned the research into an inter-textual study. Rather than attempting to re-write the history of the time period, I intended to re-read the texts under the scope of the dissertation by adding my notes on

¹ As Marshall Berman optimistically described, narratives of modernization, be it a historical survey or literary work, are inherently “modern” and are not free from the same problem. Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982).

² The activity of reading, according to de Certeau, has all the characteristics of a silent production. While reading, the text mutates and becomes “habitable,” like a rented apartment. xxi

them to analyze the subject matter, namely everyday life.

One particular theme in modernization narratives that stood out was the direct connection drawn between objects and modernization. I asked: “are some objects inherently modern?” or “is it the production of the knowledge of these objects that tie them to modernization?” This question brought up another question: how did the late nineteenth century “consumers” relate to objects and their textual knowledge that were available to them? Another question followed: if we had the privileged position of actively reading (consuming), why couldn’t they?

These questions and how they relate to modernization or to use a fashionable term of the time Europeanization led me frame the problem with an inclusive, but not prohibitive notion: “new life.” A term that was used at the time by Ziya Gökalp, “new life” was broad enough to contain all the *changes* I wanted to talk about. It also allowed looking at pieces of everyday life and come up with a narrative that is analogous to its fragmented nature.

Change did not occur instantly in Istanbul, but its speed and consequences altered tremendously in different layers of the society each of which left their own marks in the second half of the nineteenth century. I do not grasp the change as a result of a particular sector’s modernization project, nor do I categorize discursive and behavioral outcomes hierarchically or as binaries.

Daily life, by its very nature, harbors and embraces change any given time. It is an ever-transforming field that destroys the dynamics it itself created before. Going back to the problem of modernization, what kind of change can be regarded as modernization is a crucial question. What makes the change brought about by modernization distinguishable

is the attempt to make sense of that change. This is what I refer to as rationalization in the title of this dissertation.³ What I mean by “making sense of change” does not require a certain level of awareness of the surrounding world. Explaining the process of modernization with level of awareness inevitably results in excluding social classes that have actively and significantly contributed to the process.

Another point I tried to make throughout the text was that discursive outcome is not limited to verbal outcome; it has important practical and spatial dimensions. For instance, as I demonstrated in Chapter 5, coding parks as places of public health cannot be separated from the discursive production regarding the modern body. Loading parks with a health program and defining as one of the places that women can use outside of home unveils the spatial qualities of this production. It must be emphasized again that the active discursive production on parks is not limited to writings of Ottoman intellectuals regarding parks. On the contrary, reactions against the way these parks were coded, using it in unexpected ways, all sorts of gossip, hearsay about parks are direct parts of the production and shape the meaning of the park. This meaning is not fixed; it is ever-changing. Another good example is the case of the middle-class women of nineteenth century Istanbul. On the one hand, they were one of the primary subjects of material consumption habits; on the other hand, they became objects of a coding as modern hygienic bodies within certain spatial dimensions.

As much as I was scrutinizing the relationship between discourses and practices, I was only partially interested in providing physical evidence of the kind of changes discussed in this study. I argued that traces of these changes were apparent in the

³ Although rationalization implies a consistency that is ironic, it includes irrational discourses and conflicting meanings in the Ottoman context, much like other contexts.

transformation in the production of knowledge of objects. Showing physical evidences of the change though would be a marvelous inquiry for further studies.

In this dissertation, except brief mentions, I have not discussed two social groups: non-Muslims and Westerners living in Istanbul at the time. Two groups that make up to 56 percent of Istanbul's population according to the 1885 Census and two groups that are incredibly diverse. With the discourses they produced and lives they lived, their role in this story is another venue for multiple further studies.

Overall, these are topics for study in further inquiries. The main contribution of this dissertation is two-fold: first, I explored the change in daily life within its specific spatial context. Space is not taken here as a mere container or backdrop, but a primary actor, a transformative agent, which is also evident in the structure of the dissertation that is based on spatial scales. Modern space —meaning space that is occupied by modern individuals—, or on a larger scale modern city, has always been dynamic and difficult to describe. However, in the name of creating a consistent story, scholarly narratives --as a continuation of academic tradition-- had not necessarily described its dynamic and elusive aspect. Second contribution of this study is the attempt to capture this ever-changing and evanescent nature of the subject matter in the narrative of this dissertation.

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL LITERATURE SOURCES

Annuaire Oriental
Çocuklara Mahsus Gazete
Falaka
Gramafon
Gürbüz Türk Çocuđu
Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete
İbret
İçtihad
İkdam
Kadın
Karagöz
Meraklı Gazete
Osmanlı Genç Dernekleri Mecmuası
Servet
Servet-i Fûnun
Seyyah
Şehbal
Tercüman-ı Hakikat
Türk Kadın Yolu
Yeni Mecmua

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