TRANSFORMATION OF RESIDENTIAL INTERIORS IN THE MODA DISTRICT OF İSTANBUL, 1930s-1970s

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_____

(Title and Name)
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

_____

(Title and Name)
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

_____

(Title and Name)
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Tomris Elvan Altan _____
(METU, ARCH)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Lale Özgenel _____
(METU, ARCH)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Meltem Gürel _____
(Bilkent University, ARCH)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Namık G. Erkal _____
(TED University, ARCH)

Asst. Prof. Dr. Umut Şumnu _____
(Başkent University, IAED)

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name : Pınar Sezginalp

Signature :

ABSTRACT

TRANSFORMATION OF RESIDENTIAL INTERIORS IN THE MODA DISTRICT OF İSTANBUL, 1930s-1970s

Sezginalp, Pınar
Ph.D. Department of History of Architecture
Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Tomris Elvan Altan

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The aim of this study is to analyze how the spatial character of the interior residential space transformed in the district of Moda in İstanbul together with the urban and architectural context as an outcome of the social transformation during the 20th century. The focus is on the period from the 1930s to the 1970s in order to evaluate the transformation within the researched interior residential spaces with reference to the contemporary process of modernization experienced in Turkey. The larger scope of the study is thus to contribute to the historiography of interior architecture in the country by documenting and evaluating the residential interiors in Moda with the use of the archival and literary sources as well as the information gathered from interviews.

The study initially examines the production of the residences in Moda, presenting how the pattern of the district transformed from orchards and traditional houses to single-family houses and apartments. The roles of the actors behind this production is also discussed to understand firstly the architect-designed single-

family houses and apartments for rent built between the 1930s and the 1950s, and secondly the flat-ownership in apartment blocks built mostly by contractors between the 1960s and the 1970s. The landowners and occupants are also presented as significant actors of this production to understand the social identities of families in Moda. The examination of the production of the residences holds importance in understanding not only the shaping and the latter transformation of both urban and architectural pattern of Moda, but also the social status of families in order to evaluate their daily lives that affected the formation of interior residential spaces. Based upon this examination, the main body of analysis in this study focuses on the interior spaces of the residences in Moda, for which the spatial allocation, use of space and social status of inhabitants of the residences will be evaluated. In order to understand the effect of the modernization process in their transformation from the 1930s to the 1970s, the interior spaces are analyzed in relation to the changes in the notions of publicity and privacy experienced in the interiors; the spatial changes that affected domestic management; and the various types of displays of the materialization of the social status of families/owners of the houses as reflected in the accessories, features, furniture and fixtures used.

Keywords: Modern architecture, residential interior space, 20th century houses, İstanbul, Moda district

ÖZ

İSTANBUL MODA BÖLGESİ KONUTLARININ İÇ MEKAN DÖNÜŞÜMLERİ, 1930LAR-1970LER

Sezginalp, Pınar
Ph.D. Department of History of Architecture
Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Tomris Elvan Altan

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Bu çalışmanın amacı konut iç mekanının mekansal karakterinin İstanbul'un Moda bölgesinde 20. yüzyıl boyunca devam eden sosyal dönüşümün sonucu olarak kentsel ve mimari bağlamla birlikte nasıl dönüştüğünü analiz etmektir. 1930lardan 1970lere uzanan zaman dilimine odaklanarak, Türkiye'de deneyimlenen güncel modernleşme sürecine referans veren araştırılmış konut iç mekanlarının dönüşümleri değerlendirilecektir. Çalışmanın genel kapsamı, Moda'da bulunan konut iç mekanlarını, yapılan röportajlardan edinilen bilginin yanında arşiv ve yazılı kaynakların da kullanımıyla belgeleyerek ve değerlendirerek, ülkenin iç mimari tarih yazımına katkıda bulunmaktır.

İlk olarak Moda'daki konutların üretimini inceleyen bu çalışma, bölgenin örgüsünün bostanlar ve geleneksel konutlardan müstakil evlere ve apartmana nasıl dönüştüğünü sunar. Konut üretiminin arkasındaki aktörlerin rollerini de tartışmak amacıyla öncelikle 1930'lerden 1950'lere inşa edilen mimar-tasarımlı müstakil evler ve kira evleri/apartmanları, daha sonra da 1960'lar ve 1970'lerde

müteahhitlerce inşa edilen apartman bloklarındaki kat mülkiyeti durumu anlatılır. Bu konut üretiminin incelenmesi yalnızca Moda'nın kentsel ve mimari örgüsünün biçimlendirilmesini ve sonraki dönüşümünü değil, aynı zamanda konut iç mekanlarının biçimlenmesini etkileyen günlük yaşamı değerlendirirken ailelerin sosyal statülerini anlamak için de önemlidir. Bu incelemeden yola çıkarak, çalışmanın analizinin ana kurgusu Moda'daki konutların iç mekanlarına odaklanır ve mekan konumlanımı, mekan kullanımı ve kullanıcıların sosyal statüleri değerlendirilir. 1930'lardan 1970'lere kadar devam eden dönüşümü modernleşme süreciyle ilişkilendirerek anlamak için, iç mekanlardaki değişim, deneyimlenen kamusallık ve mahremiyet kavramlarıyla, evsel yönetimi etkileyen mekansal değişimlerle ve, konutlardaki kullanıcıların/ailelerinin sosyal statülerinin sergilendiği mobilya, aksesuar ve armatürler gibi çeşitli şekillerdeki temsili metalar ile ilişkilendirilerek analiz edilmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Modern mimarlık, konut iç mekanı, 20. yüzyıl evleri, İstanbul, Moda bölgesi

This thesis is dedicated to my parents Şule and İrfan and my brother Emre,
Who taught me to accomplish only the good…

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim and Scope of the Study

Recent years have been witnessing an extraordinarily rapid process of demolishment and construction in the urban context of cities in Turkey. Demolishing the old, erasing the past from the panorama of cities, and constructing new – which lacks the elegant aesthetics, and the architectural and spatial qualities of the old – have resulted in a noteworthy nostalgia about past times. This study is about the earlier phases of this process, a reflection on how the 20th century experienced a similar kind of transformation in urban and residential scale.

Moda is the case study area of this thesis, examined as exemplary of such a transformation[1] experienced in cities in Turkey throughout the 20th century. Located in the Asian side of İstanbul, it is a district of Kadıköy that has been considered as the heart of the Asian side for many centuries as it was the first settlement area on this side. The population of Moda had been consisted of mostly non-Muslim families until the end of the 19th century. Afterwards, many Muslim people who had links and relations with the Ottoman dynasty and the offices of the Empire also preferred residing in Moda.

[1] Please see Figures 1.1a and 1.1b for the location of Moda in greater İstanbul.

Moda not only presents such a multi-cultural character in historical perspective, but also holds a significant place for the Turkish Republic that was founded in 1923. Moda Deniz Klübü (Moda Sea Club) was the first Republican symbol of the district, which was established on April 8, 1935 by the command of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the new state. It is told that when Atatürk was in a sea trip in his yacht (named *Ertuğrul)* in 1927, he realized the beauty of the location of the Moda cape and the beautiful shore, and wished that there was a sports club in this very location.[1] Atatürk referred this district as the "face" of the Turkish Republic in the 1920s and the 1930s, and reflected his wish that it would become the "shore" of the Republic with its sports, especially sailing, facilities. Hence, the Moda Sea Club was established to act as the center of sports for the young people of the Turkish Republic. Its location is next to the shore, in the most southern point of the Moda cape, which makes it more emphasized metaphorically, as the main artery of Moda, *Moda Caddesi* (Moda Street), also ends next to the club (Figure 1.1a, Figure 1.1b). Besides its standout signification and location, the Moda Sea Club was also a meeting venue of socially upper-class families, symbolizing the identity of the majority of the population who used to live there during the early Republican period.

In the historical development of Moda, the Moda cape, especially the part between the Yoğurtçu Park and the Moda shore had initially been preferred as a settlement area around 658 BC by the Phoenicians.[2] Moda and the larger Kadıköy area began to be settled by the Ottoman Turks around 1350; however, it experienced a significant change in settlement pattern from the Tanzimat era onwards, i.e. the "westernization" period of the Ottoman Empire that transformed the daily life of especially the "elite". Non-Muslim minority families and Ottoman Turks started to settle in Moda by the end of the Tanzimat era, which was an era of reforms that repositioned the non-Muslim

[1] Anonymous. (2010) Dünden Bugüne Moda Deniz Klübü. Portakal Basım, İstanbul, p. 13.

[2] Ibid., 15.

minorities in the empire.[3] Those minorities were mostly in trade business and consisted of French, Italian and British residents of İstanbul with Catholic descent and Armenians. A settlement pattern of old masonry *köşks* and *konaks*[4] created the architectural identity of Moda in the context of the late Ottoman period as a result of this multicultural environment.

These *köşks* and *konaks* were the mansions of both non-Muslim and Muslim families.[5] They mostly consisted of three floors, where two or three generations of families lived together. Each floor could be occupied by one family or, in some cases, more. In most cases the living areas were shared; and if not, each family had their own living area –the *sofa*.[6] A *köşk* or *konak* that was occupied by a Muslim family signified that this family was coming from a wealthy background, whereby the father or the grandfather who often worked

[3] Zürcher stresses out the position of especially the Christian communities in the society in his book. See: Zürcher, Erik. J. (1993) *Turkey: A Modern History*, I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., London, p. 56.

[4] For the architectural definition of *köşk* and *konak,* see: Eldem, Sedad Hakkı (1984) *Turkish Houses Ottoman Period*, Türkiye Çevre Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı, İstanbul. However, the types of houses defined as *konak* and *köşk* by Eldem differ from the old residences of Moda in terms of their formative approach. It should be noted that the adressing of the mentioned old residences in the district of Moda has changed in time. In the old postcards of the nineteenth century these houses were namedas "villa"s, i.e. Villa Chernaud, most possibly derived from the use of the Italian families (Figure 2.3d). During the interviews and in the novels used as references in this study, the houses were named as *konak* and/or *köşk*, without defining any certain architectural approach. Throughout the study, these houses will be named as how the interviewees and the majority of the district of Moda referred to them; i.e. as *konak* and *köşk.*

[5] More statistical information about the daily-life cycle and the household characteristics of the Ottoman Elite in those *köşk*s and *konak*s can be found in: Duben, A. & Behar, C. (1991) *İstanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880-1940,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. In addition, it should be noted that, especially in the turn of the 20th century, not only the district of Moda but also İstanbul was a city of people with diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds: the largest portion of these people were Greek, Armenian and Jewish who diffused in the social life with the Muslim portion of the society (Ibid., 7).

[6] Not only *köşk* or *konak*s of İstanbul, but also the apartments built in the last quarter of the 19th century included *sofa* as well. For more information about the new apartments of the period as exemplified in the case of the Galata district, see: Öncel, Ayşe Derin (2010) *Apartman: Galata'da Yeni Bir Konut Tipi*, Kitap Yayınevi, İstanbul.

for the Ottoman administrative offices had saved a large amount of gold. This seemingly legendary information that was obtained from most of the interviewees in this study and is significant in terms of understanding the social status of the Moda district; having camels to carry their gold, or their children to play with them, signify a well-off family.[7] Those were the families who bought or built either a *konak* or *köşk* when they first moved to the district of Moda.

Moda has been identified with upper-class families not only in the Ottoman but also in the early Republican period; especially from around 1930 onwards that forms the starting point of the chronological focus of this study, the elite chose to live here, purchased land and commissioned architects to build modern houses that would fit in with the new and modern life style of the Republic. Only after the 1960s, the financial status of the dwellers of the district started to change with new migrations when upper-middle- and middle-class people also started to mix with the Moda population of the upper-class. The population of Moda in the 1960s and the 1970s, hence, built apartments or owned flats in apartments, a dwelling type which became the main type of residences at the time, changing the settlement pattern in the district into a dense urban context until 1980, i.e. the ending point of the chronological focus of this study that thus covers the early Republican and the mid-twentieth century periods.

It should be noted that the phrase "*Modalı olmak*", which means that a person has his/her roots in Moda being born to a family who have already been residing there, is very commonly used with honour; and most importantly, this phrase explains how the people in Moda have been keen to be identified with the upper-class/high society in their relation with the "old". It is taken granted here that "old" is a wide term that is used for the total collection of old memories, childhood memories and the way that daily life spent in Moda in the past.

[7] Those families were amongst the interviewees.

The aim of this study is to analyze how the character of interior residential space transformed in Moda together with the urban and architectural context as an outcome of the changes in daily life, i.e. the social transformation, during the 20th century, which provides the ground to discuss what was lost during the process and remembered as significant for the identity of the population in Moda. The focus is on the period from the 1930s to the 1970s, a small portion of a larger scope, with the aim to evaluate the mentioned transformation within the researched interior residential spaces with reference to the process of modernization process experienced in the country during the 20th century. As Duanfang Lu stated, "to think the modern is to think the present, which is necessarily caught in *ever-shifting social, political and cultural cross-currents*".[8]

The larger scope of the study is thus the history of interior architecture in Turkey during the 20th century written by focusing on the residences built in Moda. It analyzes the interior residential space in relation to the urban and architectural transformation of Moda during the modernization process that affected political and social transformation in Republican Turkey, hence decoding the interior from the perspective of the social identity of the actors involved in its production.

It should be noted that the "interior space" has not been sufficiently studied in architectural historiography in Turkey. The lack of extended research on interior space has caused the difficulty of providing the conceptual frame of this study, which thus benefited from a wider perspective developed by studies on modern architecture in Turkey to draw its general scope of analysis.[9] On the other hand, the existing limited literature on modernization

[8] Lu, Duanfang (2011) *Third World Modernism: Architecture, Development and Identity*, Routledge, Oxford, p.3. Emphasis by the author of this study.

[9] For the related significant sources on modern architecture in Turkey, see: Alsaç, Üstün (1976) *Türkiye'deki Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemi'ndeki Evrimi*, KTÜ Baskı Atölyesi; Altan Altan Ergut, E. & İmamoğlu, B. (Eds.) (2010) *Cumhuriyet'in Mekanları Zamanları İnsanları*, Dipnot Yayınları, Ankara; Aslanoğlu, İnci (2001) *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı,* ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Basım İşliği, Ankara; Batur, Afife (1983) Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türk Mimarlığı. In Belge, M. & Özüakın B. (Eds.)

and housing production in Turkey with a focus on the interior space that has covered issues such as the history of furniture design, the designers who were involved as the actors of the making of the interior space, the meaning of the usage of the features of domestic and/or residential interior space in relation

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Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi (Vo. 5, pp. 1380-1413). İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul; Batur, A. (2005) *A Concise History: Architecture in Turkey during the 20th Century*. Mimarlar Odası, Ankara; Bozdogan, Sibel (2008) Art and Architecture in Modern Turkey: The Republican Period. In Kasaba, R. (Ed.) *The Cambridge History of Turkey Volume 4: Turkey in the Modern World* (pp. 419-471). Cambridge University Press, Cambridge; Bozdoğan, Sibel (2001) *Modernism and National Building*, University of Washington Press, Washington; Bozdoğan, S. & Akcan. E. (2012) *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History*, Reaktion Books, London; Bozdogan, S. & Kasaba, R. (Eds.) (1998) *Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*. Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul; Cengizkan, Ali (2002) *Modernin Saati*, Mimarlar Derneği 1927 and Boyut Yayın, Ankara; Bayar, Ç. & Babacan, N. K. (Eds.) (2000) *75 Yılda Türkiye'de Planlama / Kentleşme, Koruma Politikaları ve Mimarlık*, Mimarlar Odası, Ankara; Gürel, Meltem Ö. (Ed.) (2016) *Mid-Century Modernism in Turkey: Architecture across Culture in the 1950s and 1960s*, Routledge, New York; Güzer, Abdi (1996) *70 Sonrası Mimarlık*. Mimarlar Derneği, Ankara; Holod, R. & Evin, A. (Eds.) (1984) *Modern Turkish Architecture,* University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia; Kezer, Zeynep (2015) *Building Modern Turkey: State, Space and Ideology in the Early Republic*, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh; Kortan, Enis (1971) *Türkiye'de Mimarlık Hareketleri ve Eleştirisi, 1950-60*, ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, Ankara; Kortan, Enis (1974) *Türkiye'de Mimarlık Hareketleri ve Eleştirisi, 1960-70*, ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, Ankara; Nalbantoğlu, Gülsüm (1989) *The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish Architect*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley; Özer, Bülent (1964) *Rejyonalizm, Universalizm ve Çağdaş Mimarimiz Üzerine Bir Deneme*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, İstanbul; Sey, Yıldız (Ed.) (1998) *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, Tarih Vakfı, Istanbul; Sözen, M. & Tapan, M. (1973) *50 Yılın Türk Mimarisi*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul; Sözen, Metin (1984) *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı (1923-1983)*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, Ankara; Tanyeli, Uğur (2007) *Mimarlığın Aktörleri: Türkiye 1900-2000,* Garanti Galeri, İstanbul; Vanlı, Şevki (2006) *Bilinmek İstenmeyen 20. Yüzyıl Türk Mimarlığı: Eleştirel Bakış*, Şevki Vanlı Mimarlık Vakfı Yayınları, Ankara.

For the related significant sources on modern architecture, see: Colquhoun, Alan (2002) *Modern Architecture*, Oxford University Press, Oxford; Curtis, William J. R. (1987) *Modern Architecture since 1900*, Phaidon, Oxford; Doordan, Dennis P. (2002) *Twentieth Century Architecture*, Harry N. Abrams, Inc. Publishers, New York; Frampton, Kenneth (1980) *Modern Architecture A Critical History*, Oxford University Press, New York and Toronto; Goldhagen, S. W. & Legault, R. (Eds.) (2002) *Anxious Modernisms. Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*, The MIT Press, London; Ockman, Joan (Ed.) (1993) *Architecture Culture 1943-1968*, Rizzoli International Publications, New York; Sharp, Dennis (2002) *Twentieth Century Architecture: A Visual History*, The Images Publications, Australia; Sharp, D. & Cooke, C. (Eds.) (2000) *The Modern Movement in Architecture, Selections from the DOCOMOMO Registers*. 010 Publishers, Rotterdam; Tafuri, M. & Dal Co, F. (1976) *Modern Architecture*, H. N. Abrams, New York.

with modernization and industrialization, and spatial allocation types of houses, help to further develop the discussion of this study.[10]

1.1. Method of the Study

The analysis of the study is the result of the examination of 37 residences in total that were built during the different decades of the period from the 1930s to the 1970s, signifying the changes in the residential context of Moda. Out of the 37 residences investigated, 14 houses were demolished, one remained as a project, and the rest 25 are still standing (Table 1.1, Figure 1.2).

In order to situate these residences in their urban context, the district of Moda is initially studied by investigating the old and new zoning maps. Nonetheless, the major focus of this investigation is not to analyze the urban characteristics in detail, but to provide the general historical and urban context in order to

[10] For the related significant sources for the formation of the discussion in this study on modernization and housing production of the Republican period, see: Akcan, Esra (2012) New House: Representative Affinities. *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and the Modern House (pp. 52-76).* Duke University Press, Durham and London; Akcan, Esra (2012) New Housing: The Ideal Life. *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and the Modern House* (pp. 76-93). Duke University Press, Durham and London; Yıldız, Şebnem (2002) *The Image of the «Ideal home»/Modern House in Popular Magazines during the Post-World War Two Period in Turkey*, Unpublished MArch Thesis, Middle East Technical University, Ankara. For the studies that mainly used the theme of domesticity and the place of furniture in modern residences of the period, see: Cengizkan, Ali (2002) Yabancılaşma Nesnesi olarak Banyo: Modernizm, Tüketim Toplumu ve Banyo Kültürü. In *Modernin Saati* (pp. 143-157). Boyut Yayın, İstanbul; Gürel, Meltem Ö. (2007) *Domestic Space, Modernity, and Identity: The Apartment in mid-20th Century Turkey*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Graduate College of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; Gürel, Meltem Ö. (2008) Bathroom as a Modern Space. *The Journal of Architecture*, 13:3, 215 - 233; Gürel, Meltem Ö. (2009) Consumption of Modern Furniture as a Strategy of Distinction of Turkey. *Journal of Design History,* Vol. 22- 1, p. 47 – 67; İnce, Yasemin Güney (2005) Spatial Types in Ankara Apartments. *Proceedings, 5th International Symposium on Space Syntax*, Delft University of Technology, Vol I, 623-634; İnce, Yasemin Güney (2005) *Appropriated 'A la Franga': An Examination of Turkish Modernization Through the Lens of Domestic Culture*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan, Michigan; Şumnu, Umut (Ed.) (2013) *Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Mobilya*, TMMOB İçmimarlar Odası, İstanbul. Finally, for the spatial approach of the apartments in İstanbul, see Öncel, Ayşe Derin (2010) *Apartman: Galata'da Yeni Bir Konut Tipi*, Kitap Yayınevi, İstanbul.

understand the production of the residences accordingly and to evaluate their interior spaces with reference to the frame of analysis provided.

Investigating the old zoning maps in comparison with the new ones made the residences more legible in their historical and urban context. The "old" shows the empty plots, or the plots of the former old residences. It is the exact depiction of the condition of the land before the construction of the "new" and the "modern". In this study, the traces of these plots related to the residences were firstly gathered from the maps drawn by Necip Bey in 1918. In addition, fire insurance maps of Goad drawn in 1906, with the insurance maps of Pervititch, drawn around 1937 and 1938, helped to trace the condition of the plots and the residences, either constructed or not.[11] Lastly, the zoning map of the Kadıköy district, drawn by the Kadıköy Municipality in 1971, has been be the main guide to place the residences and chase the status of their plots in previous years.[12]

[11] Necip Bey was employed as *İstanbul Şehremaneti Harita Şubesi Müdürü* (Head of the Mapping Office of greater İstanbul Municipality) between 1914 and 1918. I hereby reflect my gratitude to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Namık G. Erkal for providing me the map of Moda district drawn by Necip Bey, which is archived in *Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi*. British civil engineer Charles E. Goad prepared the fire insurance maps of greater İstanbul, from Pera and Galata district to Kadi-Keui (Kadıköy). The maps of Goad can be reached from https://archnet.org/publications/10288 under the documents of *Vol III: Plan d'Assurance de Constantinople* (Last accessed 28.06.2017). Pervititch (Jacques Pervititch), on the other hand, prepared the Insurance maps for *Türkiye Sigortacılar Daire-i Merkeziyesi* (Head Office of Insuranes of Turkey) between 1922 nd 1945. These two maps were very helpful to point and compare the density of the urban pattern as well as the locations and plots of köşks and konaks of these times. For more information on the maps drawn by Pervititch, see: Sabancıoğlu, Müsemma (2003) Jacques Pervititch and His Insurance Maps of Istanbul. *Dubrovnik Annals,* Issue: 7 , 89-98.

[12] The current zoning map is not permitted to be handed over by the officers in the Zoning Department of the Municipality. However, the officers informed me that the current one was prepared with exactly same zoning mentality, showing the street names and all the other details regarding the buildings like floor numbers, door numbers, etc. They also mentioned that if a building had been demolished after 1971, which was most likely the case, the next one was built over it within the same borders of the plot.

In addition to tracking the change of urban pattern by examining the maps, other visual information were also collected and supported from articles in newspapers and weekly magazines on daily-life and architectural issues related to Moda, as well as novels about the period of concern. Especially magazines on daily-life of the early Republican period were helpful as they promoted the "new" and "modern" ways of living to the society who was eager to learn and apply them. In these magazines, not only the new morals and ethics of the period were represented, but also interior features and furniture were presented as the practical and new way of decorating the "modern" interior space. *Yedigün* (Seven Days) and *Modern Türkiye Mecmuası (*Magazine of Modern Turkey) were the main resources on that manner.

Yedigün, for example, was a popular publication of the early Republican period, established by Sedat Simavi, and published between 1939 and 1946. It was widely read for the sake of living up-to-date with the "modern" ways of daily life. Aside from the question of "how to live modern", the context of modern spaces was also a popular topic. Ideal houses were presented to readers: Aesthetical notion of the readers were being updated with illustrations and photographs from the interior spaces furnished with modern furniture and features. Apart from the architectural promotion, lives of Hollywood stars, celebrities, royal families from United Kingdom to Iran were some of the topics of this periodical, which were presented in order to make people catch up with the contemporary fashion. Such periodicals, like *Yedigün,* were used as important sources for the research of the study as well.[13]

Novels and autobiographical writings on Moda and the life of Moda provided valuable information about both the "old", presented as the aesthetical and

[13] This study will not endeavor the meanings of the promoted images and photographs of ideal home during the modernization period. For a broader perspective on the historiography of this context, see: Yıldız, Şebnem (2002) *The Image of the «Ideal home»/Modern House in Popular Magazines during the Post-World War Two Period in Turkey*, Unpublished MArch Thesis, Middle East Technical University, Ankara.

reminisced pattern of life, and the "new", the undesired.[14] The context of *köşk* and *konak*s were captured via the novels written about the pre-Republican period. Those helped to depict the daily life via the quotes, inner-voices and the descriptions by authors. Especially those authors who lived in Moda for many years were providers of the most helpful autobiographical literary resources. Müfid Ekdal, who wrote the most on Moda, is the main resource for the old settlement that consisted of *konak*s and *köşk*s. There were some cases for which the photographs in his books did not match the exact plots in the maps; however, his writings helped to learn about the life and occupation style of "old" Moda. Deniz Kavukçuoğlu, İzel Rozental and Orhan Türker are the other authors whose works provided depictions of not only the "old" Moda, but also Moda in the last year span of this study.

Regarding the historical context and the visual resource of the old settlement pattern of Moda, most of the photographic and verbal resources were gathered from the anthology book of the St. Joseph College and the historical book of the Moda Sea Club.[15] The St. Joseph College is a private middle and high school, which was founded by the French frères in the last years of the 19th century. Best known with its disciplined and high quality education in French, this school is one of the symbols of Moda, along with the Moda Sea Club and the Moda Seabath. Most of its graduates continued their education in the best universities of Turkey and abroad. After their university education, most of them became successful and acknowledged businessmen or academicians; many of the intellectual celebrities of Turkey are graduates of

[14] The reasons behind the indication of the "new" as the "undesired" can be gathered from the descriptions and details in the following chapters, related with the interviews and other resources.

[15] Anonymous. (2010) Dünden Bugüne Moda Deniz Klübü. Portakal Basım, İstanbul; Serezli, Demir Alp (2002) *Saint Joseph'in Öyküsü*, Apa, İstanbul. I hereby forward my sincere thanks to Bülent Arkunlar for his kind interest to this study and handing me the book of the Moda Sea Club as a gift, and also providing the connection to the editor of the St. Joseph College anthology book, Mehmet Avni Arıduru.

the St. Joseph College as well. To have a son[16] being educated in the St. Joseph College meant that the family had a comparably high income. The school has an archive of photographs both from the interior of the school, and the panoramic photographs of Moda, which are used in the research. In the following chapters, the transformation of the urban pattern of Moda can also be traced via the images from this photographic archive.

Apart from the anthology book of the St. Joseph College, the book about the Moda Sea Club holds a great importance in this study. The book provided many photographs of and historical data about Moda, which also helped to gather the traces of the transformation of the settlement pattern in the district.

Having examined the historical and the urban context of Moda, the study focused on the architecture of the early Republican and mid-twentieth century periods that defined the chronological focus of the study. In this stage of the study, the cases of residences to be analyzed are determined according to the results of archival research and interviews.

The first source to collect information on the case studies was the *Arkitekt* journal. Being the first architectural publication of the Turkish Republic that was published from 1931 onwards, *Arkitekt* not only publicized but also documented contemporary architecture. It continued to be published until 1981 under the editorship of architect Zeki Sayar, covering various types of buildings from residences to public buildings. Buildings that were published in *Arkitekt* became examples to be followed by a wide group of professionals, i.e. architects and contractors. *Arkitekt* holds a great deal of importance for the investigation of early Republican residences. The style of representation of the residences in published drawings and photographs, the style of the

[16] The St. Joseph College only accepted male students. In 1988 female students began to be accepted to the school. This is the reason of referring to only "sons" of families.

descriptions of these residences, and the actors behind the production and use of these residences could be collected from the pages of the journal.

The second source of information on the case studies was the Salt Galata Archive. The documents here only provided the photographs of residences, which were given by the occupants to Salt Galata to be included in the digital photographic archive of the organization, under the title of "Households and Families". In that archive, information about two families who lived in the residences in Moda can be collected - namely Day family and Biret family, both known with their upper-class backgrounds. The photographs of the interior spaces, especially the living rooms, of their residences provided the answers to how an upper-class family occupied space in terms of furniture choice, and how they accessorized the interior space. Not only the interior space but also the way of clothing and representation of the occupants held importance in regards to this research.

Among all the research means, the main sources of information about the residences analyzed in this study are the interviews held with their owners or occupants who spent a major part of their lives in Moda. The former or current occupants of several residences in Moda helped to gather the most of the information about the cases. Zeynep Zaloğlu Ayman (*muhtar* of Moda Caferağa *mahalle*)[17] was the key informant, who provided connections and links with several people in the district. Besides, Sedef Eğilmez Susmuş was also the person whose close network provided links to people related to the most important cases of this study. People who were interviewed are the ones that were mentioned by them as the reputed residents of Moda.

In the initial planning of these interviews, it was not foreseen to have such deep and emotional outcomes. These were semi-structured interviews held on

[17] Regardless of their area in extent, cities of Turkey are structured with neighbourhood communities (*mahalle*). Each *mahalle* has its own publicly-elected *muhtar* who runs the administrative works and neihborhood activities both in coordination with and free from the greater city municipalities.

autobiographical and personal memory resources. Spatial and memorial attachment to the "old" and sometimes, unfortunately, "demolished" residences brought out the melancholia in most of these interviews. This can be evaluated as the display of the nostalgia of the interviewees - no matter which year their residence was built, and no matter how many years they spent living in the district of Moda.[18] It should be noted that the recollections gathered for this study reflect personal life experiences in the memories of the interviewees – the autobiographical memory. Whatever the experience and the memorial recollection in this study is, it should not be forgotten that the notion of the "past" is usually used as a medium of instruction to present and future generations. This need of handling the past as a medium is derived from the association of memory and the narrative. In short, the details of personal stories in interviews are gathered via narrations, which cannot be solely factual of what is experienced in the past. Robinson claims that autobiographical memory is not only a record; yet, it is a resource.[19] Especially the comparably elder interviewees of this study provided the most valuable autobiographical memory findings used to construct a collective past about the settlement pattern of Moda along with its transforming ambiance.

When it comes to personal memory, Brewer draws attention to several different terms used to identify this concept. It has been defined as "true memory" by Russell in 1921, "retrospective memory" by Furlong in 1951, "event memory" by Ayer in 1956, "occurent memory" by Smith in 1966, and finally, "personal memory" by Locke (1971). Unlike the autobiographical memory, personal memory is defined as only a particular section from the

[18] Similar to the context of the focus and the condition of the interviewees of the study, Hilde Heynen also uses the concept of "nostalgia" when she describes the new readings on the perspectives of "modernity" in the writings of Marshall Berman and tells that there is nostalgia about "what is irretrievably lost". Heynen, Hilde (1999) *Modernity and Architecture: A Critique,* MIT Press, Massachusetts, p. 13.

[19] Robinson, John A. (1986) Autobiographical Memory: A Historical Prologue. In Rubin, David C. (Ed.). *Autobiographical Memory* (pp. 19-24). Cambridge University Press, New York, p. 23.

past of an individual.[20] The individual cannot refer to a specific date, yet it can be considered that memory refers to experiences at a unique moment. Personal memory, in the words of Brewer, has a very strong belief value that individuals carry with them. In order to give an example related to this study, it can be said that: "Interviewee A could not forget the long cheerful summer days spent in the Sea Bath of Moda when she had just graduated from the middle school", or, "Interviewee B talked about the nights when she watched the full moon in the attic of the residence, whose interior she personally designed herself when she was at the threshold of becoming an adult". As Brewer claims, personal memory is a way of contribution for autobiographical memory.[21]

Interviews held for this study should be considered as semi-structured. They are tape-recorded and designed as face-to-face interviews. This type of interview is considered to set the interviewees freer during the flow of the question-and-answer session. The reason of the face-to-face method for this research was to meet the interviewees in their local environment. That could allow them to be more open, more comfortable, let know about the researcher in depth while their answers were being recorded. McIntyre also suggested that the face-to-face technique collects the higher response rates in this type of interviews.[22] The interviews were nothing but fruitful, by giving the chance to experience all the descriptive information and emotional reactions to the past and on-going transformation of both social and spatial pattern of the residences, streets, and the settlement pattern of Moda.

It was planned to have an open framework of questions, without any specific focal point about Moda and the daily life of the interviewees. Most of the

[20] Brewer, William F. (1986) What is Autobiographical memory?. In Rubin, David C. (Ed.). *Autobiographical Memory* (pp. 25-49). Cambridge University Press, New York, p. 34.

[21] Ibid.

[22] McIntyre, Lisa J. (2005) *Need To Know Social Science Methods*, McGraw-Hill Companies, New York, p. 167.

interviews lasted much longer than foreseen, as the interviewees were eager to tell more about the past, and their experiences. The shortest interview lasted about an hour and the longest three hours. Another reason for the extraordinary length of some of the interviews is the company of other people along the interview. Most of these people – usually a close friend or a person within a close network of the interviewee - wanted to accompany the researcher to hear what the interviewee would ask about and to get support for the memorial recollections that the interviewee shared. That made the atmosphere of the interviews very cozy, which can also be considered as beneficial for the results: As the ambiance of the taping made the interviewees feel more "valuable" and "celebrity-like", in addition to their friendly personalities. As the time went by, they became more comfortable while answering the questions and telling stories regardless of the interview. Although the interviews were time-consuming, they are very valuable for the study as each sentence or gesture presented clues for finding answers to the research questions.

The direction of the interview was structured by the questions; however, the order of the interview questions did not force any specific focus about Moda. At the very beginning of the interview, the author explained the study, described the aim, and, then clarified the aimed outcome of this study. Firstly, the interviewers were asked about their personal and demographic data – i.e. age, place of birth, sex, profession, and current residence. These questions are usually believed to warm up the interviewee before the main perspective of interview questions, as they are "easy to answer and allow the interviewee to get in the interviewing mindset".[23] What Parr noted about memory is the fact that it is "dynamic and largely ungraspable".[24] This study provided semi-structured interviews; yet, sometimes the majority of the questions in one

[23] Zorn, Ted (2009) "Designing and Conducting Semi-Structured Interviews for Research", http://home.utah.edu/~u0326119/Comm4170-01/resources/Interviewguidelines.pdf (Last accessed on 24.06.2017)

[24] Parr, Adrian (2008) *Deleuze and Memorial Culture: Desire, Singular Memory and the Politics of Trauma,* Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, p. 1.

interview may remain unanswered. The reason was, as mentioned previously, the high level of emotions during the interviews related to the nostalgia of the old times of the focus district of this study. Therefore, the ungraspable essence of memory may be reflected through the answers of the questionnaire. Again, supporting the relation between memory and unanswered questions, Parr notes that memory "affirms how we live our lives today and tomorrow: defensively or joyfully".[25]

Questions were prepared in order to understand the main atmosphere of the stated time span along with rupture points of the lives of the interviewees who lived or currently live in Moda. In order to grasp both historical context and a personal and/or private aspect of spatial occupation within the time span of occupation in Moda, interviewees were asked questions about their domestic life in their residences, daily-life outside their residences, the time spans of each residence that they occupied, the location of these residences, the time span of the electronic devices that they were using or they had used in the past along with the brand names and locations of stores of those devices, the reason why they chose Moda for living, and alike.

It must be noted that not all the interviewees could provide all kinds of information that were asked from them. One could answer 70% of the questions whereas the other 50%. While one interviewee provided information about a demolished residence along with its properties, the other could provide more about the interior space of the residence that was not demolished. This variety was not an obstacle for a general collection about the framework, as this research is not considered a statistical one. Yet, the answers were very fruitful to provide the depiction of the time span, along with the social status of the families. It must also be noted that the age of the interviewees ranged between 53 and 90: A fact showing the reason of information variety, since personal memory gets defected as time goes by.

[25] Ibid., 1.

The professions of the interviewees are also a key to grasp the spirit of the "new", "strong", and "modern" Turkey: A business-partner of one of the highly referred wide ranged construction company of Turkey which had extensive works internationally (age 90), a mathematical engineer who worked in the most referred ceramic fixtures company and retired (age 61), a painting artist who ran an atelier in the district of *Bebek*[26] (age 65), a medical doctor who had her own diagnosing office in her house, visiting to the residences of many families in Moda for health problems (age 89), a pharmacist who still has his own pharmacy in the heart of Moda for many decades, handed over from his pharmacist father (age 84), and alike. Doctors, engineers, academicians; those were the modern faces of new Turkey, raised by their parents either in the early Republican or the mid-twentieth century period. Higher education was an important common concern to these families in order to endure their high intellectual status in next generations as well.

Along with the representations of the residences of Moda collected from *Arkitekt*, the manually drawn plans by the interviewees had an important impact on the investigation of the plan typologies and the use of space of the occupants in their residences. After each interview, the interviewee was asked to draw the plan of the residence he or she talked about during the interview. They were informed how helpful it would be for this study to hold historical evidence with their drawings. *None* of the interviewees hesitated to draw something – besides, each of them were eager to give a hand to this research with their drawings. Some of those had high quality drawing quality, some could only provide the allocation of the interior spaces, and some of the interviewees could not remember the exact locations or reflect their memories through a pen and a paper. No matter what, all these spatial-representations are precious and held a great outcome for this study. A hand drawing done by the occupant of a demolished house was even more meaningful for an architectural history research like this, as the

[26] *Bebek* is a neighborhood in the European side of Istanbul, mostly known by high priced residences and high society members of its neighborhoods.

representation will pass to other generations in the future. The reader will sure enjoy the beautiful pattern of the collection of these drawings. These drawings will provide the foundation to go further in understanding the transformation of the interior spaces of the case residences in Moda.[27]

In addition to the photographic collection gathered from the *Arkitekt* journal, the Salt Archive and other literary resources, the interviewees also provided important visual documents like photographs of their residences. Old photographs of their masonry *köşk* and *konak*s were dated photographs, whereas the photographs taken in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s either in the interior or the exterior of residences are used as the reliable evidences to signify the transformation of spaces.

1.2. Structure of the Study

The main focus of this study is to reveal the transformation in the interior space of residences, and read those smooth transformations with reference to the social changes through the decades after the establishment of the Republic experienced within the modernization process of daily life. Aiming to make readers understand the results of this modernization through the residences built in Moda, the study informs thoroughly about the stories and backgrounds of these residences. Not only in the smaller perspective of an interior residential space, but also the larger perspective of the historical context related to politics and regulations about housing within the time span of this study are presented: The aim is to capture the exact atmosphere of the time span that help to understand the points of transformation in residential space.

[27] This type of an analysis could not be found in psychological studies. Therefore I think that gathering manual drawings from personal memory resources - current and former occupants of a certain interior space of a residence - could be a forerunner for this kind of research.

Following the explanation of the aim, scope, method and the structure of the study in Chapter One, Chapter Two will examine the historical context of urban and architectural modernization of the Turkish Republic. As the geographical frame of the study is the city of İstanbul, the chapter aims to provide a wider perspective upon the modernization program in İstanbul chronologically, focusing firstly on the early Republican period from the 1930s onwards, and secondly on the mid-twentieh century period through the 1970s. The most significant remark of early Republican period in terms of architectural and urban transformation of İstanbul was the Program of Prost. For the period of the 1950s towards the 1970s, the aims set by contemporary governments such as the new codes on urban and architectural development are presented. In addition to that, September 6th and 7th, 1955 Demonstrations will be mentioned in this chapter, as they became the most effective catalyzers that changed the social – therefore urban and architectural - pattern of Moda as well. This investigation of the larger scope of the transformation of the city along with the political and social developments in Chapter Two will continue with the examination of how the contemporary modernization program affected Kadıköy by focusing on the district of Moda with its residential context until 1980. Politics of urban and architectural transformation along with the housing regulations will act as guides to understand each change over the residential context in Moda and Kadıköy. In short, Chapter Two will be presenting the historical context of the urban and architectural transformation within the modernization program within time span focus of this study.

The production of the residences in Moda will be presented in Chapter Three. In the first part of Chapter Three, the residential building production of Moda, from orchards and traditional houses to single-family houses and apartments will be presented in detail, by exemplifying the cases investigated in this study. The second part of Chapter Three will be presenting the roles of the actors behind this production that can be followed chronologically. Firstly, the architect-designed single-family houses and apartments for rent built between

1930s and 1950s will be shown through the information about landowners and occupants to understand the social identities of families in Moda. Secondly, the flat-ownership in apartment blocks that were built between 1960 and 1970s will be discusses by presenting the constructions of contractors mostly, in addition with few examples of architect-designed apartments. Concluding the building process and actors of the residential production is going to be made in the end of the chapter. This chapter holds importance in understanding of the shaping and the latter transformation of both urban and architectural pattern of Moda, as well as being a base to show the social status of families in order to evaluate their daily lives that affected the formation of interior residential spaces.

The interior space of residences in Moda is analyzed in Chapter Four. Plans will be the guides for the aim of the chapter: To present the spatial allocation and use of space of the residences to evaluate the effect of the modernization process. In the first part of the Chapter Four, the idea of the interior residential space as reflected in the publications will be discussed in order to provide a ground for the latter parts. The second part of Chapter Four will be focusing on the reflections of social status on the interior space, by evaluating the spatial allocation and use of space. The plans of the residences are going to be the main resources for understanding how the interior spaces of the residences transformed, and how this affected the notion of publicity and privacy experienced in the interiors. Domestic management, examined in service areas and rooms of maids, will be the focus of analysis here. Lastly, the materialization of the social status of families/owners of houses will be analyzed by examining the accessories, features, furniture and fixtures used. Only one residence among all the cases stands out with its particular plan in this research, the residence of Necla Erk. Its plan along with its logic of allocation of spaces will be examined thoroughly as a separate subchapter. The third part of this chapter will be summarizing the discussions developed about the transformation of the interior residential spaces in Moda from the 1930s until the 1970s in terms of the context and the use of space.

The Conclusion chapter discusses the resulting arguments of the analysis of the interior residential spaces in Moda, emphasizing the details in the change of daily lives as people of the district chose to move from traditional houses to modern singe houses or apartments.

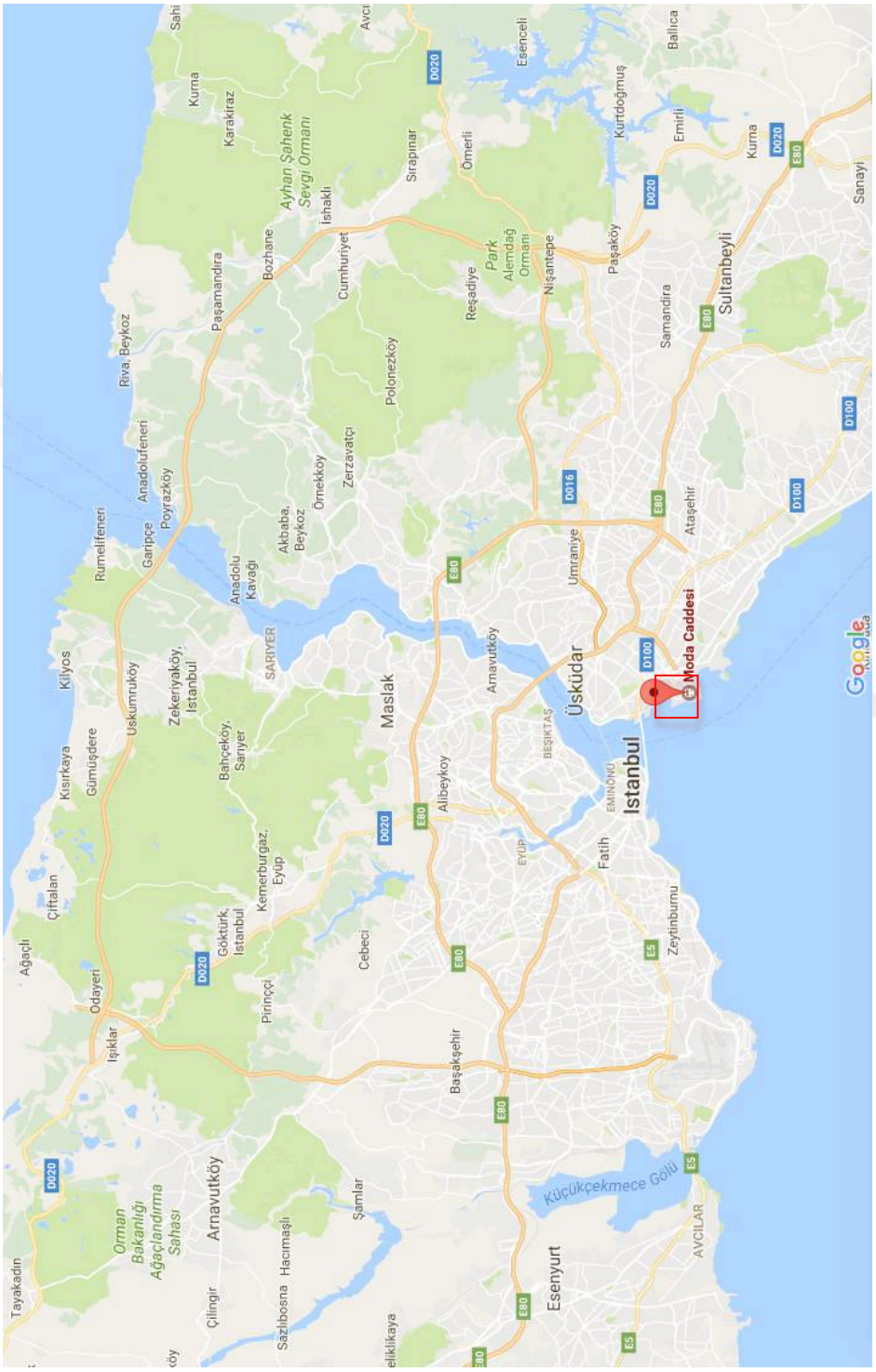


Figure 1.1a. *Location of Moda District in greater İstanbul*
Source: maps.google.com (Last accessed on 05.06.2017)

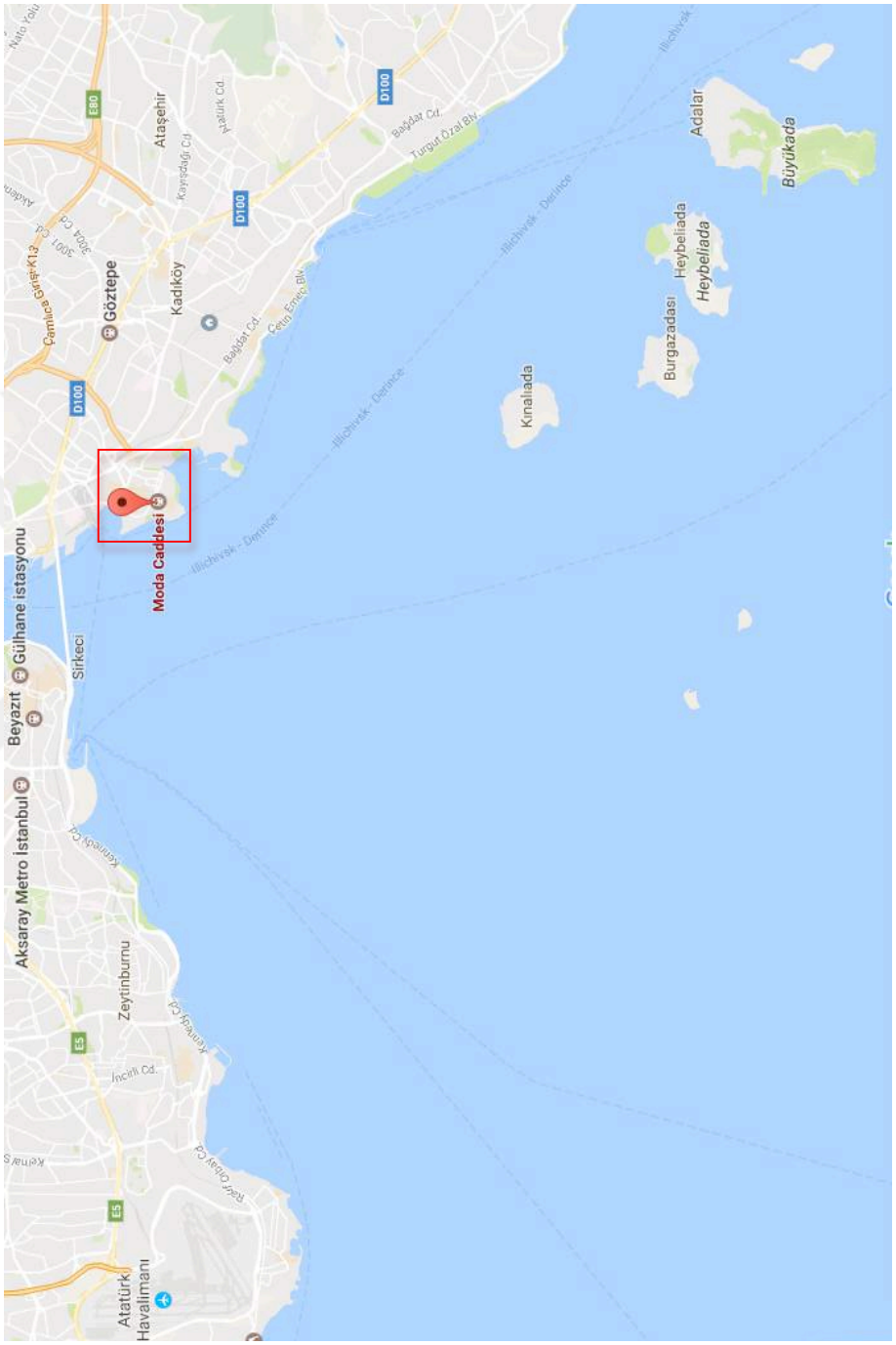


Figure 1.1b. *Location of the Moda District in greater İstanbul*
Notice the islands in the south.
Source: maps.google.com (Last accessed on 05.06.2017)

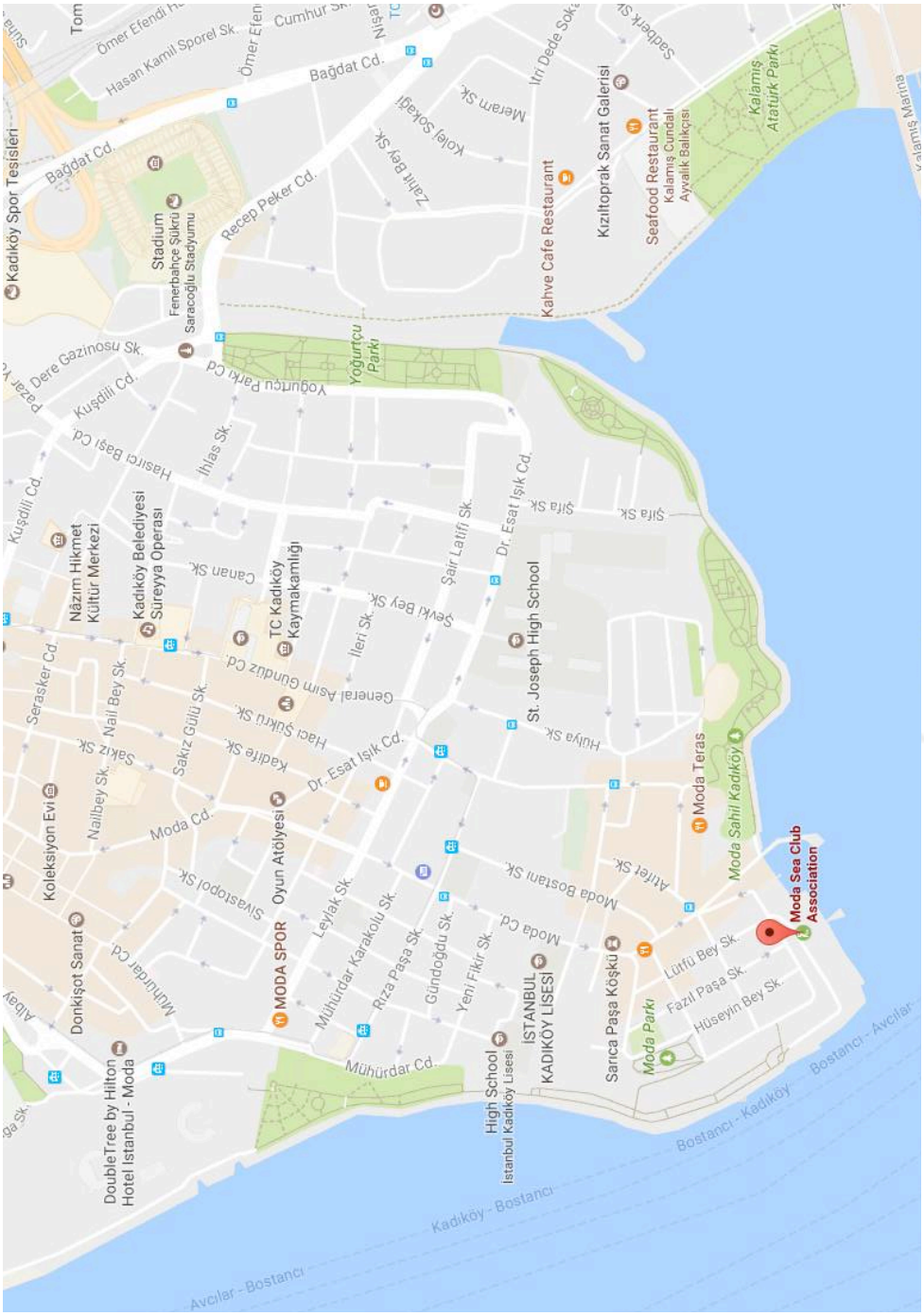


Figure 1.1c. *Location of the Moda Sea Club*
Source: maps.google.com (Last accessed on 05.06.2017)

#	Residence	Interviewee/Source	Year Built	Status	Address	Architect	Contractor	Residence Type	Plans	Photographs	Entrance Hall	Sofa Type Living Room	Salle-a-Manger	Seperate Entrance for Domestic Management	Room for Maid	Ventilation and Daylight Shaft	About	Year Previous Residence Demolished	#
1	Dr. Sani Yaver Villa	Arkitekt	1932		-	Zeki Sayar	-	Single Family House	+	+	Grand	-	+	+	+	-	It was located on Rızapaşa plot, on Mühürdar Street.	NA	1
2	İhsan Bey Residence	Arkitekt	1933		Cemal Süreya Sok. No: 38	Faruk Galip	-	Single Family House	+	+	Small	-	+	+	-	-	It was located on Rızapaşa plot. Architect noted:"In the conjunction point of Duvardibi and Karakol streets" (Duvardibi ve Karakol sokaklarının köşe kesişiminde). Location was found via investigating the maps of Pervititch.	NA	2
3	Sıdıka Haydar Hanım Residence	Arkitekt	1933		-	Faruk Galip	-	Single Family House	+	+	Grand	-	+	+	+	-	It was located on Rızapaşa plot, on Mühürdar Street.	NA	3
4	Seza Apartment	Arkitekt	1933		-	Sırrı Arif	-	Apartment	+	+	Grand	-	+	+	+	+	It was located on Rızapaşa plot, on Mühürdar Street. Architect noted: "On the conjunction point of Mühürdar and Moda Streets." (Mühürdar ve Moda Caddesi Kesişimi). Yet the exact adress could not be found.	NA	4
5	Dr. Kamil Röntgen Apartment	Arkitekt	1933		-	Zeki Sayar	-	Apartment (+Office)	+	+	Grand	-	+	+	+	-	Dr. Kamil Röntgen Apartment was demolished by the owners of the apartment. It was located across Süreyya Opera, on General Asım Gündüz (Bahariye) Street.	NA	5
6	House for Rent	Arkitekt	1935		-	Rebii Refik (Gorbon)	-	Apartment	+	+	Grand	-	+	+	-	-	It was located on Rızapaşa plot, on Mühürdar Street.	NA	6
7	Doğruman Residence	Rüçhan Sel (71)	1935		Şifa Sokak No: 5	-	-	Single Family House	+	+	Grand	Extra L.V. as sofa	+	-	-	-	It was an apartment for tenants, the owner was occupying the top floor just ike the other tenant houses in this study. The interviewee could not be able to remember many details related to the interior space.	1977	7
8	Fitnat Hanım Apartment	Melih Ziya Sezer (84)	1935		Bademaltı Sok. No: 8	-	-	Apartment	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+		NA	8
9	Prof. Dr. Tevfik Taylan Villa	Arkitekt	1936		-	Zeki Sayar	-	Single Family House	+	+	Grand	-	+	+	+	-	Architect noted: "It is located on the side façade of Moda Children Park." (Moda Çocuk Bahçesi yan cephesi). Yet the exact adress could not be found.	NA	9
10	A Villa in Moda	Arkitekt	1936		Moda'nın Fener'e bakan cephesi	Ziya Kozanoğlu	-	Single Family House	+	+	Grand	-	+	+	+	-	Architect noted: "It is located on the façade of Moda which overlooks to Fener." (Moda'nın Fenere bakan cephesi). Fenerbahçe, east of Moda where the Yoğurtçu Park is located next to Kurbağalıdere Creek. Yet the exact adress could not be found.	NA	10
11	A House for Rent in Kadıköy	Arkitekt	1940		Yenifikir Sok. No: 29	Zeki Sayar	-	Apartment	+	+	Grand	-	+	-	+	+		NA	11
12	A House for Rent in Kadıköyi/Geren Apartment	Arkitekt	1941		General Asım Gündüz Cad. No: 67	Zeki Sayar	-	Apartment	+	+	Grand	-	+	+	+	+		NA	12
13	Cillov Apartment	Zeynep & Volkan Ayman (54)	1945-1950		Yenifikir Sok. No: 25	-	-	Apartment	+	+	Small	-	+	-	+	+	Cillov Aparrtment had a small room between the living room and the ventilation shaft, the interviewees assume that this area might be designed as the room for a maid.	-	13
14	Birgiler Apartment	Arkitekt	1948		-	Leyla & Feyzan Baydar	-	Apartment	+	+	Grand	-	+	+	+	-	Birgiler Apartment was built as a tenant house, where the owner occupied the top floor. It was built for the aunts of Ferzan Baydar.	Uknown	14
15	Draz Residence	Mehmet Draz (90)	1952		Ferit Tek Sok. No: 36	Mehmet Ali Handan	-	Single Family House	-	-	Grand	NA	NA	+	+	NA	This single-family reinforced concrete residence was built after the demolishment of Sabur Sami Bey Köşk, where the family started occupying since 1919.	1950	15
16	Necla Erk Residence	Necla Erk (89)	1954		Yoğurtçu Parkı Caddesi	Muhlis Türkmen	-	Apartment (+Office)	+	+	Small	-	+	-	+	-	They moved to Şayan Apartment in 2000. Konak before has been demolished in 1952.	2000	16
17	Yapı Kredi Apartment	Arkitekt	1954		General Asım Gündüz Cad. No: 24	Zeki Sayar	-	Apartment (+Office)	+	+	Grand	-	+	+	-	-		-	17
18	Marmara Apartment	-	1956		Ferit Tek Sok. No: 18-20	Emit Onat	-	Apartment	-	+	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		-	18
19	Atıfet (Sporel) Apartment	-	1956		Atıfet Sok. No: 18	Emin Onat	-	Apartment	-	+	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		-	19
20	Öz Apartment	Timuçin Arman (71)	1958		Atıfet Sokak No: 3	-	-	Apartment	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	1968'te taşınmışlar. 1960'tan evveldir inşası diye düşünüyorlar.	-	20
21	Cavid Bey Apartment	Bülent Arkunlar (63)	1961		Yoğurtçu Parkı Caddesi No: 36	Cavid Tamkan	-	Apartment	+	+	Small	-	-	-	-	+	Konak before has been demolished in 1959.	2013	21
22	Cimcoz Apartment	-	1961		Ferit Tek Sok: No: 56	Mehmet Ali Handan	-	Apartment	+	+	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		-	22
23	Ak Apartment	-	1964		General Asım Gündüz Cad. No: 21	Zeki Sayar	-	Apartment	+	+	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		-	23
24	Ufuk Apartment	SALT Galata Archive	Unknown		Moda Caddesi No: 159	Unknown	-	Apartment	-	+	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	İdil Biret ve ailesinin konutu. İçmekandan oldukça fazla fotoğraf bulunuyor (Salt Arşiv).	-	24
25	Ihlamur Apartment	SALT Galata Archive	Unknown		Moda Caddesi No: 162	Unknown	-	Apartment	-	+	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	Day ailesinin konutu. İçmekandan oldukça fazla fotoğraf bulunuyor (Salt Arşiv)	-	25
26	Günaydın Apartment	Sevil Enginsoy (53)	1966		Safa Sokak No: 18	-	Unknown	Apartment	+	+	Small	-	-	-	-	+		-	26
27	Tanay Apartment	Ayşe Ülgen (65)	1967		Dr. Esad Işık Cad. No: 67	Lütfi Zeren	-	Apartment	+	+	Small	-	-	-	-	+	Photographs and interview about the old konak are available.	1965	27
28	Ebru Apartment	Sedef Susmuş (61)	1967-1969		Yoğurtçu Parkı Caddesi No: 84	Atay Aliyazıcıoğlu	Halil Kösoğlu	Apartment	+	+	Small	-	+	-	-	-	Photographs and interview about the old konak are available.	1967	28
29	Can Apartment	Hacer Timur (62)	1968		Mühürdar Caddesi No: 89	-	-	Apartment	+	+	Grand	-	-	-	-	+	Can Apartment was built on a plot which was referred as "Rızapaşa Plot" in the early Republican Period. There is a high possibility that this apartment might be built on the slot of the single-family houses of this study.	-	29
30	Sabur Sami Bey Apartment	Mehmet Draz (90)	1968		Ferit Tek Sok. No: 36	Yüksel Umuter	-	Apartment	-	+	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	Sabur Sami Bey Apartment was built after the demolishment of private residence of Draz family, built by M. Ali Handan in 1952.	1968	30
31	Ayalp Apartment	Selami Ayalp (66)	1968-1970		Hacı İzzet Sok. No: 4-6	Mr. Uran (name NA)	-	Apartment	+	+	Small	-	-	-	-	+	Previously located residence was the köşk of the family. Interviewee Selami Ayalp shared that Hacı İzzet Street, where the residence is located, was full with series of köşks before 1970. More information can be found in the interview.	1968	31
32	Moda Apartment	SALT Galata Archive	1972		Nenehatun Sok. No: 14	Sedad Hakkı Eldem	-	Apartment	+	-	Small	-	-	-	-	-	The project has been developed but never been built. Antipa Köşk by C. Pappa built in 1912 is still located on the parcel currently. See Figures - - to follow the correspondance letters and Antipa Köşk.	-	32
33	Manzara Apartment	Gülçin Kori (64)	1976		Ferit Tek Sok. No: 22-24	-	Kemal Kurt	Apartment	+	+	Small	-	+	-	-	+	Slot of Manzara Apartment can be followed via Pervititch Map by spotting Mona Palas and Frederici Apart on the shore side of the tongue. Photographs from St- Joseph College archive can also be helpful to notice the building of this apartment.	-	33
34	Subaşı Apartment	-	1979		Ferit Tek Sok. No: 30	Altuğ - Behruz Çinici	-	Apartment	+	+	Small	-	-	-	-	+	The slot of Subaşı Apartment is adjacent to the slot of Draz family, when the division of plot was made and Mona Palas, Samur Sami Bey, Görey, Büyükhanlı Apartments were built. The exact ownership of the slot of this apartment is unknown.	-	34
35	Yaver Apartment	Hacer Timur (62)	1980		Mühürdar Caddesi No: 105	-	-	Apartment	+	+	Grand	-	-	-	-	-	Yaver Apartment was built on a plot which was referred as "Rızapaşa Plot" in the early Republican Period. There is a high possibility that this apartment might be built on the slot of the single-family houses of this study.	-	35
36	Cumbalı Apartment	Hacer Timur (62)	1980		(Vitol) Belkıs Dilligil Çıkmazı No: 7	Şadi Adıgüzel	-	Apartment	+	+	Grand	-	-	-	-	-	Cumbalı Apartment was built on the plot of the Whithall Köşk which can be spotted on the map of Pervititch (Figure*)	-	36
37	Mine Apartment	-	Unknown		General Asım Gündüz Cad. No: 46	Zeki Sayar	-	Apartment (+Office)	-	+	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	This apartment was reached via the son-in-law of Zeki Sayar, Nurettin Kavcı and source: Cengizkan, A., İnan, D .,Cengizkan, M. eds. (2015). Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek. TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, Ankara.	-	37
38	Kardeş Apartment	-	Unknown		General Asım Gündüz Cad. No: 40	Zeki Sayar		Apartment (+Office)	-	-	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	This apartment was reached via the son-in-law of Zeki Sayar, Nurettin Kavcı and source: Cengizkan, A., İnan, D .,Cengizkan, M. eds. (2015). Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek. TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, Ankara.	-	38
38	Dirlik Apartment	-	Unknown		General Asım Gündüz Cad. No: 38	Zeki Sayar		Apartment (+Office)	-	-	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	This apartment was reached via the son-in-law of Zeki Sayar, Nurettin Kavcı and source: Cengizkan, A., İnan, D .,Cengizkan, M. eds. (2015). Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek. TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, Ankara.	-	39
38	-	-	Unknown		General Asım Gündüz Cad. No: 36	Zeki Sayar		Apartment (+Office)	-	-	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	This apartment was reached via the son-in-law of Zeki Sayar, Nurettin Kavcı and source: Cengizkan, A., İnan, D .,Cengizkan, M. eds. (2015). Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek. TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, Ankara.	-	40

Table 1.1. Map of the Moda district with case study residences located



1 Dr. Sani Yaver Villa
2 İhsan Bey Residence
3 Sıdıka Haydar Hanım Residence
4 Seza Apartment
5 Dr. Kamil Röntgen Apartment
6 House for Rent
7 Doğruman Residence
8 Fitnat Hanım Apartment
9 Prof. Dr. Tevfik Taylan Villa
10 A Villa in Moda
11 A House for Rent
12 A House for Rent (Geren)
13 Cillov Apartment
14 Birgiler Apartment
15 Draz Residence
16 Necla Erk Residence
17 Yapı Kredi Apartment
18 Marmara Apartment
19 Atıfet (Sporel) Apartment
20 Öz Apartment
21 Cavid Bey Apartment
22 Cimcoz Apartment
23 Ak Apartment
24 Ufuk Apartment
25 Ihlamur Apartment
26 Günaydın Apartment
27 Tanay Apartment
28 Ebru Apartment
29 Can Apartment
30 Sabur Sami Bey Apartment
31 Ayalp Apartment
32 Moda Apartment
33 Manzara Apartment
34 Subaşı Apartment
35 Yaver Apartment
36 Cumbalı Apartment
37 Mine Apartment
38 Kardeş Apartment
38 Dirlik Apartment
39 Rıza Bey Plot

Figure 1.1. Map of the Moda district with case study residences located

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF URBAN AND ARCHITECTURAL MODERNIZATION

From the very establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, the aim of the government was to "modernize" the urban context. İlhan Tekeli explains that this process required to develop science and art with a universal perspective, strengthen economy and provide an equalitarian society consisting of liberal citizens.[1] The idea was that the cities of the "new" Turkey could only be modernized by social transformation, and implementing up-to-date urban planning.[2] The radical shift towards modernity was a rupture as the modernization program was consisted of multiple ways of changing the existing social habits. On the other hand, the effects of the traditional culture, which had been formed through centuries, persisted to varying degrees through the slow shift into modernity. That is why the dictum of "becoming western in spite of the west"[3] perfectly expresses the process. As Cengizkan notes about the contemporary transformation, "the period of radical reconstitution of the new was difficult, painful and unfamiliar".

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[1] Tekeli, İlhan (2009) *Modernizm, Modernite ve Türkiye'nin Kent Planlama Tarihi*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 106.

[2] This study focuses on the modernization period from the 1930s to the 1970s. For a broader perspective about the urban development of İstanbul begining with the Byzantine period, see: Kuban, Doğan (1996) İ*stanbul and Urban History: Byzantion, Constantinopolis, İstanbul*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul.

[3] The statement by Ziya Gökalp, quoted by Tekeli, İlhan (2001) *Bir Modernite Projesi olarak Türkiye'de Kent Planlaması,* p. 23.

Spatial strategy had always been the most important issue among the modernization plans of the new government. The mission of the Republic, according to Tekeli, can be thought in two layers: The first layer was converting the country into a "nation-state". The second layer was to plan the cities as "places of modernity" [1] In 1935, during the celebration ceremony of the foundation of the Republic, the founding President Atatürk stated that cities should be the examples of "health, cleanness, beauty and modern culture"[2]. Accordingly, architecture of the new Turkey was also modernized with the design of spacious, well-lit and well equipped buildings in line with the contemporary ideals of modern architecture. In the following chapters of this research, the modernization of cities and architecture will be evaluated by analyzing the formation of interior spaces through the process.

After the establishment of the Republic and the foundation of a "new Turkey", along with the reforms in many fields of social life[3] architecture was also modernized. An example of the pioneering buildings in this transformation was the Bacteriology Institute (Hıfzısıhha Enstitüsü) in Ankara, constructed between 1927 and 1929 by Theodor Jost. Jost applied an important detail on the façade of the building: The concave-formed central entrance of the building has a relief sculpture of a nude woman – who is the Hygene in Greek mythology. This figure was applied to become exemplary for the "new" Turkish women, who were motivated to take on roles in the social transformation of the new Turkey. Bozdoğan and Akcan also refer this detail as "a revolutionary gesture" in creating

[1] Tekeli, İlhan (2009) *Modernizm, Modernite…*, p. 111.

[2] *Belediyeler Dergisi*, Issue no. 6, October 1935.

[3] These included the replacing of the Arabic alphabet with the Latin alphabet, the oriental "fes" with Western hat, etc. Zürcher adress the new Turkish people of the Republic of Turkey as "Europeans" through the Republican reforms that aimed to create a secular and modern nation. See: Zürcher, Erik J. (2005) How Europeans Adopted Anatolia and Created Turkey. *European Review*, Vol. 13-3, 379–394.

the stage for new Turkish woman.[4] In the face of the prohibition of the representation of human figures in Islam, placing a major sculpture of a nude women figure on a governmental building was truly a radical act that symbolizes the contemporary modernization program.

For "modernization", the new government had three major spatial strategies[5]: The first one was to make Ankara the capital city[6]. Shifting the capital from İstanbul, which had been the capital of three empires, was definitely a revolutionary act. The wish of the new government in this act was to build a "true" modern and national capital from scratch – without any links either to the oriental or cosmopolitan identity of İstanbul.

The second spatial strategy of the new government was to weave the land with a "web" of railways[7]. Here, the aim was to provide a network to link every city with railways, in which Ankara would take on the role of a center. This "web" mentality would help strengthen and protect the idea of the "nation".[8]

The third spatial strategy was the choice of "small Anatolian towns" to build new industrial buildings in. Those small towns were mostly located close to the "web of railways", which provided "modern" life style to spread in the country as this third strategy paved the way for the construction of new houses by the state

[4] Bozdoğan, S. & Akcan. E. (2012) *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History*, Reaktion Books, London. About the architecture of this building, see: Kılınç, Kıvanç (2002) *Searching for the Avant-Garde in the Turkish Context: Bacteriology and Chemistry Building of Hıfzısıhha Institute*, Unpublished MArch Thesis, Middle East Technical University, Ankara.

[5] Gül, Murat (2009) *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul: Transformation and Modernization of a City*, Tauris Publishers, London.

[6] Ankara was announced as the capital in October 13th, 1923.

[7] "Demir ağlarla örmek", Tr.

[8] Tekeli, İlhan (2009) *Modernizm, Modernite…*, p. 112.

around Anatolia. By the help of this strategy, urban development towards the villages set to be accomplished; and ideal village projects were developed in the early 1930s to provide "healthy, clean and beautiful" lives there as well.[9]

Although the very initial years of the Republic witnessed the use of a historicist-nationalist style, from the turn of the 1930s onwards, the "new" was introduced in architecture, basically with the touch of a modernist approach in formative language. After a return to stylistic nationalism in the 1940s, a similar transformation was also witnessed in the period following the Second World War with the introduction of contemporary "international style" of modern architecture. This study, on the other hand, will not focus on the changing stylistic approaches but will attempt to evaluate the simultaneous changes in the interior design of the houses constructed during the period from the foundation of the Republic until the end of the 1970s in relation to the contemporary modernization process in Turkey.

This chapter focuses on three main perspectives related to the historical and urban context of İstanbul. The first part will present the urban and architectural modernization program of the Turkish Republic and its reflections in greater İstanbul during the early Republican period. The second part will present the dense progress of a series of transformations in the urban pattern of İstanbul during the post–Second World War period, when Adnan Menderes was the key actor of the radical changes in the 1950s. The last part of the chapter will focus on the research area of this study, Kadıköy and Moda. The residential context of this area during the modernization of İstanbul, as shown in the previous parts, will be discussed here.

[9] Aslanoğlu, İnci (2010) 1930'lar: Türk Mimarisinde Erken Modernizm. In Altan Ergut, E & İmamoğlu, B. (Eds.) *Cumhuriyetin Mekanları Zamanları İnsanları* (pp. 25-31). Dipnot Yayınları, Ankara.

2.1. Modernization of İstanbul until 1950

The Republican regime had to achieve its spatial strategic plans in order to show the power of the new state. As a result of the emphasis on the development of the capital city and the Anatolian cities, İstanbul was not in the center of this radical program of spatial and architectural modernization. İstanbul did not witness major public constructions until the 1940s, when the population of the city had already decreased and it had lost its special central position within Turkey.[10]

During the 1920, there were only small interventions into the urban structure and landscape to transform the urban context of İstanbul. Altan, Akpınar and Akay mention that these transformations were the construction of "squares",[11] which allowed the citizens experience the "new" life together.[12] The main axis of the new İstanbul was planned to be between the historical peninsula where the Beyazid Square was built in 1924, and the Taksim Square, which was built in 1928. The Beyazid Square is the historical conjunction point of the city, where Asım Kömürcüoğlu designed a pool with a fountain for public gatherings. On the other hand, the Taksim Square is the very point that connected various zones of the city: Giulio Mongeri designed the square with landscape arrangements. In order to punctuate the Republican Turkey, as this end point of the main axis deriving from the historical peninsula, which was the signification of the Ottoman Empire, an urge for a landmark of "Republic" Turkey needed. Therefore, Pietro Canonica designed the monument of the Republic[13] at the Taksim Square. Altan,

[10] Gül, Murat (2009) *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul...,* p. 104.

[11] *Meydan*, in Tr.

[12] Altan Ergut, E. & Akpınar, İ. Y. & Akay, Z. (2016) Cumhuriyet Döneminde İstanbul'da Mimarlık. In (Eds.) *Antik Çağ'dan XXI. Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi* (Vol. 8: Mimari, pp. 558-597). İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür AŞ Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 558.

[13] *Cumhuriyet Anıtı*, in Tr. That landmark has been the most common meeting point for people since the date it was placed in the square.

Akpınar and Akay argue that the Taksim square became the true representative of Republican Turkey, once this monument was placed.[14]

During the early Republican period, few significant public buildings that were constructed in İstanbul included the President's Marine Mansion in Florya, 1935; [15] the Karaköy Pier Passenger Terminal, 1939; and the Kadıköy People's House, 1939, which were designed in the new stylistic approach of contemporary modern architecture. Moreover, the modernist approach was also applied in the forms of smaller scale buildings, which were the apartments that were mostly located in the Taksim, Cihangir, Gümüşsuyu and Şişli districts on the European side of İstanbul. The number of "apartments" increased year by year: There were 67 new apartments in 1945, 1025 apartments in 1955 and 1722 apartments by the end of 1955.[16]

The identity of İstanbul had been formed by the traces of the Ottoman Empire, as a city that had welcomed various cultures for hundreds of years: Cosmopolitan is the right word to describe İstanbul's essence. In Gül's words; the dead end streets, riddled-webs of streets, wooden buildings were all taken by the Republic as the symbols of both physical and cultural corruption of the "old" Ottoman system.[17] On the other hand, Ankara was progressing for being the center of the new Turkey, i.e., the secular Turkey, with its modern buildings, large boulevards and

[14] Altan Ergut, E., Yada Akpınar, İ., Akay, Z. (2016) Cumhuriyet Döneminde İstanbul'da…, p. 558.

[15] The President's Marine Mansion, constructed by Atatürk is listed under public buildings because it was occupied as a summerhouse by the presidents after the death of Atatürk, and physically protected as governmental heritage, functioning as a museum at the moment.

[16] Gül, Murat (2009) *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul…,* p. 112.

[17] Ibid., 111.

green areas. All in all, in Ankara, symbols of religious identity such as "minarets"[18] were not dominating the urban landscape, as opposed to the landscape of the majority of Istanbul.[19] In this regard, Ankara was the city of the future; Istanbul was the city of the past.[20]

The Republican reforms had a great impact on architecture and urbanism, which was experienced effectively also in the residential architecture of the period. Similar to the reforms of Atatürk which replaced the *fes*[21] of men with Western hats and discouraged women to wear the religious attire of *çarşaf*, houses of the Republic also changed in their appearance: Houses and/or residences in Anatolia region had wooden frames on their window mullions, which is called *kafes* in Turkish, which can be literally translated as "cage". The *kafes* feature was a visual obstacle for the people in the street to see the interior of the house, but the occupant who was sitting in front of the window could see outside. This feature was used for hundreds of years in traditional houses around the region. In the early Republican period, as the new Turkey was to be "modernized", like welcoming modern clothes in daily life, the kafes feature was no longer demanded for houses. Houses with windows with *kafes* were disfavored and having "apartments", multi-storied modern residences, which provided

[18] Minarets are the tall, mostly free-standing tower-like structures within the mosques, used for calling prayers to the mosques.

[19] Although the literature on modernization of İstanbul often refers it with the pattern of minarets and the dominance of this panoramic view, İstanbul had many districts that were not dominated by the mosques as opposed to the historical peninsula. I strongly believe that the need of underlining İstanbul as the city of minarets was derived from the attempts of progressive changes in its urban context during the early modernization period.

[20] Anonymous. (1943) Ankara Istanbul. *La Turquie Kemaliste*, 47, 37-49.

[21] According to Erik J. Zürcher, replacing the fez (fes) with the Westrn hat was simply constituting the recognition of the superiority of Western culture. Zürcher, Erik J. (1992) "The Qttoman Legacy of the Turkish Republic: An Attempt at a New Periodization" *Die Welt des Islams*, New Series, Vol. 32-2 237-253.

continuous hot water, elevators, and radiators to heat the interior, became popular. The traditional houses were no longer desired, but criticized – as stated by Orhan Pamuk in one of his novels:

> The apartment that I was going to live in the future, which had been built by my grandfather, had no elevators, no radiators, and the rooms were so small; these were quite disappointing for me. [22]

Such a traditional language of residential architecture with wooden structures on façades of buildings was not usually applied on the "new" and modern residential buildings of the early Republican period until the 1940s, when such a traditional-"nationalist" style became popular again in especially the public buildings and to a certain extent in residential architecture, such as in the Birgiler Apartment, designed by Leyla and Ferzan Baydar in 1948, and examined in this study.[23] The language of the early Republican residential buildings was mostly modernist, with modest interventions over the residence design.[24]

The Prost Program

The establishment of the new Turkey brought many needs in order to progress according to the modernization process. Architecture and urbanism were among the key holders of this change, as the appearance of cities was believed to be changed first so that it would show the power of the new state to the public.

[22] The apartment Pamuk describes is located in Cihangir district, which is believed to be built around 1935: "Dedemin yaptırdığı ve yıllar sonra bir dairesinde yaşayacağım büyük apartmanın asansörsüz, kalorifersiz ve dairelerin de küçük olması bende bir hayal kırıklığı yaratmıştı." Pamuk, Orhan (2013) *İstanbul: Hatıralar ve Şehir,* YKY, İstanbul, p. 86.

[23] More information about the Birgiler Apartment can be found in Chapter IV.

[24] Altan Ergut, E., Yada Akpınar, İ., Akay, Z. (2016) Cumhuriyet Döneminde İstanbul'da…, p. 567.

Along these lines, an attempt was also made to transform and modernize İstanbul, for which transportation, hygiene and aesthetics were the three concepts that shaped the program of Prost prepared for this purpose.

French architect Henri Prost (b. 1874 - d. 1959) was chosen by the Parliament for the planning of Istanbul. He arrived Istanbul on May 15th, 1936 and the contract for developing the new urban planning was signed on June 11th, same year. He remained as a city-planner in İstanbul until December 27th, 1950. During these 14 years of time, he worked with many mayors and governors, namely Muhittin Üstündağ (1928-1938), Lütfi Kırdar (1938-1949) and Fahrettin Kerim Gökay (1949-1957). Prost was announced as the city-planner of the city in the early period of the Republican government that aimed to modernize the country. He was totally aware of his responsibility under that regime to change the ancient capital city of Istanbul, and to re-create a new, "modern" city. Prost was chosen for this task, as he had already accomplished city-planning projects in North Africa to modernize the Muslim countries there following their emancipation from colonial rule.[25]

> We need to learn from the techniques of European experts. However, the spirit and outlook of the Turk is higher than what they can attain. We must turn to the young generation of Turkish architects who, bearing the blood and the talent of the Great Sinan, are now walking along a contemporary and logical path. The leaders who wrote nationalism and populism into the principles of the republic must

[25] Henri Prost developed master plan schemes for the urban development of Casablanca, Rabat, Meknes, Marakesh, Fez, Algiers and Tunis in the 1930s, apart from his developments for Lyon and Valence in France. For a detailed insight on the works of Prost before his İstanbul planning period, see: Pinon, Pierre (2010) Henri Prost: From Paris and Rome to Morocco and İstanbul. In Bilsel, C. & Pinon. P (Ed.s) *From the Imperial Capital to Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of İstanbul (1936-1951)* (pp. 15-47). İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, İstanbul.

> commission the architects of the revolution, by whom a modern and national architecture will be born.[26]

The quote above reflects the honest opinion of the architects in Turkey on the prospective actors of the transformation in the country during the early Republican period. While agreeing on the need of education via European-Western architects, the authors were calling the Turkish architects upon the duty for creating this new vision. This quote basically states that the "signature" or the "architects" of change should be Turkish, yet their hand-on practice should be provided and supported via their Western colleagues. 1933, the year this text quoted was written, was the year of the urban planning competition for İstanbul. Despite the general opposition to western architects in the country at the time, Prost was not only a city-planner who had studied and planned "modern" cities in different Muslim countries, but also studied every detail about modernization in Turkey; he was aware of how new Turkey was created by fighting against enemies, and was eager to learn about Atatürk's thoughts and dreams over the newly established country. His articles were translated and published in *Arkitekt,* where he described the urban and geographical condition of İstanbul and praised the reforms of Atatürk at the same time.[27] These articles were the very proof for his broad understanding of the Kemalist ideology. Prost was conscious of the needs and wishes of the new Turkey, as he thoroughly grasped the essence of the contemporary reforms.

Prost preferred working in small scales, rather than performing on the greater city plan.[28] His preference was to create new zoning plans for both historical

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[26] Sabri, B. & Hamdi, B. (1933) Türk İnkilap Mimarisi. *Mimar*, III/9-10 (1933), p. 266.

[27] (1) Prost, Henri (1948) İstanbul. *Arkitekt*, 1948-03-04 (195-196), 82-85. (2) Prost, Henri (1948) İstanbu*l. Arkitekt*, 1948-03-04 (197-198), 110-112. (3) Prost, Henri (1948) *İstanbul.* Arkitekt, 1948-03-04 (199-200), 169-170.

[28] Gül, Murat (2009) *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul…,* p. 125.

peninsula of İstanbul[29] and the newly developing Beyoğlu district; for the rest of the city, he designed separate zoning plans. Prost had the following aims in his zoning-plans over that area:

> i. Getting rid of the buildings, which were circling the historical remains in the area;
> ii. Conditioning the old street-webs in the area via designing new streets;
> iii. Recreating and giving life to old neighborhoods;
> iv. Zoning the city into sections;
> v. Protecting the historical remains, areas and nature of the area;
> vi. Protecting the silhouette of İstanbul, which could be seen from the shores of the Marmara Sea, shores of the Golden Horn, the Beyoğlu district and the shores of the Anatolian side (Gül, p. 135).

In addition to those planning goals, the ideals that Prost desired to integrate to İstanbul were "environmental hygiene" (l'hygiene), "traffic/transportation" (la circulation), and "aesthetics" (l'aesthetique).[30]

Prost did not eliminate the Anatolian side during his time; on January 9th, 1939 he submitted the master plan of Anatolian side for acceptance.[31] Just like most of the parts of the European side, the government did not have any updated versions of the map of the Anatolian side since 20 years; therefore he had worked with the air photographs to solve the urban development of this side. What should be noted here is the fact, which Bilsel also mentioned; streets and avenues of

[29] The Historical Peninsula is mainly consisted of the districts around Eminönü, Sirkeci, Sultanahmet, the Haghia Sophia Mosque and the Topkapı Palace.

[30] Detailed information recollected from the colleagues of Prost in İstanbul and also his significant roles in the re-planning of the city, especially in the historical peninsula can be found in: B Bilsel, Cana (2010) Henri Prost's Planning Works in İstanbul (1936-1951): Transforming the Structure of a City through Master Plans and Urban Operations. In Bilsel, C. & Pinon, P. (Eds.). *From the Imperial Capital to Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of İstanbul (1936-1951)* (pp. 101-164). İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, İstanbul.

[31] Ibid., 133.

Anatolian side with the new residential zones were rapidly appearing that time.[32] There were three major residential districts that Prost investigated: historical Üsküdar, *the new residential development districts in Kadıköy – Moda and Marmara shore,* and, the environs of Haydarpaşa Port (Figure 2.1.a).[33] It is obvious that the production of residences in Moda was noticed by Prost. Moreover, as he combined "Kadıköy – Moda" with "Marmara shore" while naming the districts in Anatolian side, it was naturally one of his goals to connect the shore with walking paths along the sea. In his words, Prost suggested "free access to the shore from any given point" on the Marmara sea coastline.[34]

To conclude, Prost carefully developed master plans for greater İstanbul and several zones. His priority was the European side, which had historical settlements that had Greco-Romaine ruins. His proposal plans in the historical peninsula were realized partially only in the second half of the 1950s – due to the result of the conflicts with the latter parliament, which will be described in detail in next part of this chapter. What Bilsel also mentions about the İstanbul years of Prost was that his existence in the historiography of the urban development in İstanbul could not be omitted and holds a great importance.[35]

2.2. The Transformation of İstanbul, 1950s-1970s

After the elections held in 1950, the Democrat Party came to power. Adnan Menderes, the new Prime Minister, declared in many press conferences that "he

[32] Ibid., 133.

[33] Ibid., 133.

[34] Prost, Henri (1947) Plan Directeur Cote d'asie, Rapport Accompagnant le Plan Directeur de la Rive d'Asie Remis le 6 Janvier 1939. *Les Transformations d'İstanbul (Volume III),* p. 56.

[35] Bilsel, Cana (2010). Henri Prost's Planning Works..., p. 152.

[was] going to conquer İstanbul once again".[36] This quote gave the signals that İstanbul would be facing the major and rapid change into something else, something more "modern". Just like the new capital Ankara, İstanbul would also welcome wider urban interventions under the Democrat Party regime between 1950 and 1960.

The initial act of Menderes and his parliament was to put an end to the responsibilities and the mission of Henri Prost on December 27, 1950. A commission to investigate the works of Prost was established on December 5th 1950.[37] The report of this commission was presented to the Municipality Council on December 26th 1950. With reference to this investigation report, all the members of the parliament were in agreement that the contract of Prost would not be renewed. There were several reasons behind this agreement. Gül argues that an important reason could be that Prost had not educated any Turkish architect or a team of architects during his projects upon greater İstanbul. He should have trained at least one Turkish architect, so that a national colleague would have been informed about his prospects for the transformation of the city.[38] In addition, Akpınar also refers to the de-commissioning Prost period as "the emergence of Turkishness".[39]

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[36] *Havadis Gazetesi,* 27 February 1957, quoted in Gül, Murat (2009) *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul…,* p. 140.

[37] *İstanbul Belediyesi, Genel Meclis Tutanakları*, 5 Aralık 1950, p. 4-5.

[38] Gül, Murat (2009) *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul…,* p. 155.

[39] Akpınar, İpek Yada (2010) The Making of a Modern Pay-ı Taht in İstanbul: Menderes' Executions After Prost's Plan. In Bilsel, C., Pinon, P. (Eds.), *From the Imperial Capital to Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of İstanbul (1936-1951)* (pp. 167-199). İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, İstanbul. In a seperate article, Akpınar also mentions that there were other foreign architects who were called upon by the government to advise on several architectural problems, despite the apparent notion of Turkishness throughout the administration. These foreign architects were Patrick Abercrombie (British town planner), Skidmore-Owings-Merrill-SOM (an American architecture Office that collaborated the major design of Hilton İstanbul in 1951), Hans Högg (German

The initiation of conflicts between Prost and the government actually dates long before his decommissioning. Prost started to be criticized also by some architects in the early 1950s after the new government of the Democrat Party came to power. For example, according to Emin Onat, the important architect of the Republican period and a parliament member of the Democrat Party, the fourteen years of the Proust planning process was only a waste of time, and İstanbul had become uglier in the hands of such un-experienced people.[40] On the other hand, according to architect and urban planner Burhan Arif Ongun, İstanbul was a city that could only be fully understood if one had oriental roots.[41] In addition, architect Abidin (Mortaş) declared that finance, modesty and authority were only provided to foreign architects in the early Republican decades. He went further and claimed that the Turkish architects had been left out and let to have grown up just like helpless and insecure adopted children.[42] At the time, many people were complaining about the priority that had been given to Ankara's planning, and İstanbul's neglected position. According to the Ministry of State and the Official Spokesman of the Parliament Samet Ağaoğlu, "İstanbul had been left to its own Another negative comment came from the İstanbul representative of the

planner), and Luigi Piccinato (Italian planner). Akpınar, İpek (2014) The Rebuilding of İstanbul Revisited: Foreign Planners in the Early Republican Years. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 50, p. 87. Moreover, the book authored by the team of Skidmore Owings and Merrill should also be looked at regarding the topic of town planning and housing in Turkey; Skidmore Owings & Merrill A.E. (1951) *Construction Town Planning and Housing in Turkey,* New York.

[40] Anonymous. (1952, March 12) İstanbul'un İmar Planı Şiddetle Tenkid Edildi. *Milliyet*.

[41] Arif, Burhan (1933) İstanbul'un Planı. *Arkitekt*, 1933-05 (29), 154-161.

[42] Mimar Abidin (1933) Memlekette Türk Mimarının Yarınki Vaz'iyeti*. Arkitekt,* Issue: 1933-05 (29), 129-130. Also see: (1) Mortaş, Abidin (1945) Harp Sonrası İmar İşleri. *Arkitekt*, Issue: 165-166, 191-192. (2) Sayar, Zeki (1938) Hadiseler: Yerli ve Yabancı Mimar. *Arkitekt*, Issue: 1938-02 (86), 65.

Democrat Party Ahmet Hamdi Başar claimed that İstanbul had started to be seen as the "bill of the demolished empire" therefore it was forgotten.[43]

The significant reason behind the critiques of Prost and the consequent demand of deactivating his contract seems to have been related subtly to his closeness and sympathy with the Republican People's Party (CHP), which is the first and only party of the early Republican period. Gül exemplifies the example of the Maçka Park in the European side of İstanbul. Many Democrat Party members and also citizens believed that Prost enlarged this park just for the sake of increasing the financial value of the residence of Governor Lütfi Kırdar.[44] However, when Prost invited to defend himself, he mentioned that the reason why he enlarged the plan of the Maçka Park was not about Lütfi Kırdar. Moreover, he stated that he did not also "find it ethical for İsmet İnönü [the first Prime Minister and the Second President of Turkey] to have a small site [for his own house] in the area of the Maçka Park project".[45] Gül mentions that this triggered a very tense atmosphere during the commission meeting. Even the members who were about to vote for an extension of the contract of Prost changed their minds to say "no".[46] It was all about the highly opposite sides and opinions between the Republican People's Party and the Democrat Party. Only within a non-hesitating and quick decision time, the role of Prost was taken from him. He was no longer the leading actor of the modernization of İstanbul.

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[43] Anonymous. (1952, March 11) İstanbul Bölge Kalkınma Kongresi Dün Toplandı. *Milliyet*.

[44] Gül, Murat (2009) *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul...*,, p. 166.

[45] İstanbul Belediyesi, Genel Meclis Tutanakları, 26 December 1950, s. 9-10. Also see: Anonymous. (1950, December 27) Prost'un mukavelesinin uzatılmaması kararlaştı. *Cumhuriyet.*

[46] Gül, Murat (2009) *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul...,* p. 167.

What followed after Prost in the transformation of İstanbul during the mid-twenetieh century period can be investigated in two different parts: The years between 1950 and 1960, and 1960 and 1980. Among these two, especially the years between 1950 and 1960 were most significant because they witnessed the majority of the transformation applied according to the program of Adnan Menderes, the Democrat Party leader. Those years are considered as the one and only large-scale urban interventions and transformations for in İstanbul: The lightning tear down period.[47] Adnan Menderes had the ambition and motivation of ending the "long run omission" of previous administrations upon İstanbul.[48] İpek Yada Akpınar stresses that the indirect aims of the urban transformation was to emphasize the Ottoman and Islamic heritage.[49] This emphasize on the so-called "national heritage" could be achieved via making the historical mosques of Sinan more visible; "cleaning" the environs of these mosques, and providing a direct visage towards these mosques by the users of motorways and pedestrian roads. The act of Prost to emphasize the Greco-Romain remains of İstanbul was transformed into an act of "displaying the mosques" of İstanbul. According to Akpınar, these were the strategies of the contemporary parliament of Democrat Party: Aiming to win the next elections by winning the hearts of the prospective voters on one side, and to have more positive diplomatic relations with the other Middle East countries.[50]

[47] This term is used by Batur in: Batur, Afife (2005) *A Concise History: Architecture in Turkey During the 20th Century*, Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, Ankara, p. 51-52.

[48] Gül, Murat (2016) Menderes Dönemi İstanbul'unda İmar Hareketleri ve Arka Planı. In (Eds.) *Antik Çağ'dan XXI. Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi* (Vol. 8: pp. 536-558). İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür AŞ Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 536.

[49] Akpınar, İpek Yada (Ed.) (2010) *Osmanlı Başkentinden Küreselleşen İstanbul'a: Mimarlık ve Kent, 1910-2010*, Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, İstanbul, p. 182.

[50] Ibid.

In the field of architecture of the time, the modernist "International Style" became also popular in İstanbul. The most cited example that was built in this style was the Hilton Hotel that was designed by the collaboration of Skidmore Owings and Merrill and Sedad Hakkı Eldem between 1951 and 1955. Despite its dominant modernist language which Bozdoğan and Akcan refer as the "symbol of technical perfection, precision and progress",[51] the Hilton Hotel had many oriental references in its interior spaces as well – which was believed to be done by the help of Eldem who was the local collaborating architect of the project.[52] Furthermore, the interior of the famous "Tulip room" of the hotel had many oriental features such as divan-like seating and oriental accessories. That means, even though the International Style had a great impact in Turkey as in other parts of the world, the post-Second World War period still chose to emphasize traditional identity in Turkey. "Western in technique, national in spirit" was an early republican motto according to Bozdoğan and Akcan;[53] however, a similar approach could still be seen as late as the 1950s.

The Hilton Hotel was the kick-starter for the large-scaled buildings in İstanbul. Following it, many hotels, mostly having similar architectural features started to rise over İstanbul, like *Çınar Hotel*, *Anadolu Kulübü* and so on.[54] The most common architectural features of the International Style were the honeycomb façades, reinforced concrete structures and wide spacious windows. This design approach was also seen in the new residential architecture in the same years as

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[51] Bozdoğan, S. & Akcan. E. (2012) *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History*, Reaktion Books, London, p. 119.

[52] Gürel, Meltem Ö. (2009) Consumption of Modern Furniture as a Strategy of Distinction of Turkey. *Journal of Design History,* Vol. 22- 1, p. 56.

[53] Bozdoğan, S. & Akcan. E. (2012) *Turkey: Modern Architectures…,* p 167.

[54] Zipci, R. & Akın, A. & Ertam, E. (1959) Çınar Oteli. *Arkitekt*, Issue: 1959-04 (297), 132-140. Cansever, T. & Hancı, A. (1959) Anadolu Kulübü Binası. *Arkitekt*, Issue: 1959-02 (295), 45-52.

well. The typology of the mentioned examples of public architecture became exemplary for the residential buildings, which were to be built in varied regions of Istanbul.[55] This stylistic approach was coupled with an increase in the construction of apartment houses from the 1950s onwards; multi-storey housing blocks started to rise in the Fourth Levent Development (1956-1960), the residences in the Atatürk Boulevard in Bakırköy district, the Ataköy Development Phase I (1957-1962) and, Phase II (1959-1964) can be shown as pioneers of this modernist apartment blocks.

The historical context of the housing in general and the apartments in particular built in İstanbul during the post-Second World War period should be further discussed in order to understand the holistic development on housing through the years. During the early republican period, 80% of the population was living in the rural parts of the country. Until 1945, those who had lived in rural areas used to gain their income via agriculture. Yet, modernization brought industrialization and the need for human labor within agriculture lessened in the following years. As a result, the unemployed people and their families in rural areas started to migrate to İstanbul and the other large cities.[56] In order to get an idea about the changing need for housing in İstanbul following these migrants, the population rates are helpful: The explosion of population started with the Democrat Party period in 1950, while the population of İstanbul was only one million in 1950. It increased to three millions in 1970, and to four millions in 1975. [57]

Keyder mentions the difference between the early Republican period and the mid-twentieth century period by using the urban plots: He argues that if a plot

[55] Gül, Murat (2009) *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul…,* p. 208.

[56] Gül, Murat (2016) Menderes Dönemi İstanbul'unda İmar Hareketleri ve Arka Planı. In (Eds.), *Antik Çağ'dan XXI. Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi* (Vol. 8: pp. 536-558). İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür AŞ Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 539.

[57] Keyder, Çağlar (2000) *Küresel ile Yerel Arasında,* Metis Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 174.

was privately owned and there was no public property over it before the 1950s, that very plot would witness the rise of a modern apartment on it by the end of the 1970s.[58] In the documentations of the İstanbul Municipality, it is noted that there were only 67 apartments in 1945, while this quantity was 1025 in 1950, and 1722 in 1955. [59]

Immigration was just a mere reflection of the modernization during the period. The rise in the quantity of the constructions of apartments was the outcome of the change of the law in 1965 as well, provided people to buy "flats" in apartments: *Kat Mülkiyeti Kanunu* (Condominium Ownership Code). Accepted on June 23rd 1965, this enactment was stating: "In an already-constructed building, in the condition that it contains a flat, residence, office, store, cellar, storage etc. that can be separately and solely used, rights of free propriety can be set by the owner or the co-owner of that building."[60] The conditions that the owner of the propriety had to have were, firstly the construction of the building should be finished; secondly, the building should not include only one section – for example, the propriety of a single-family house cannot be divided into co-owners; and lastly, the building to-be-sold by this code should be "fully" built as masonary (kargir). The last part of the conditions obviously shows that the government demanded to dismiss the old residential structures and transform them into multi-storey buildings. Only then, more people would have the opportunity to have residences in apartments. The architectural pattern of Moda was majorly

[58] Ibid., 183.

[59] İstanbul Belediyesi Neşriyatı (1956). *7 Yıl İçinde Vilayet ve Belediyece Yapılan İşler 1949-1955,* İstanbul.

[60] "Tamamlanmış bir yapının kat, daire, iş bürosu dükkan, mağaza, mahzen, depo gibi bölümlerinden ayrı ayrı ve başlı başına kullanılmaya elverişli olanları üzerinde o gayrimenkulün maliki veya ortak malikleri tarafından, bu kanun hükümlerine göre bağımsız mülkiyet hakları kurulabilir." Karahacıoğlu, A. H. & Velioğlu, A. (1965) *(Açıklamalı ve İçtihatlı) Kat Mülkiyeti Kanunu ve İlgili Kanunlar,* Adalet Yayınevi, Ankara, pp. 53-54.

formed of traditional *köşk*s and *konak*s; these were demolished and replaced by new concrete constructions, and the district became one of the most transformed districts of İstanbul along the lines of the new legal arrangement.

This fastened the demolishing of historical buildings in all districts of Istanbul - whether old wooden houses, or other historical remains. Outcome of this change in the regulations in the 1960s was solely demolishing a köşk or konak, and building an apartment that had five to ten storeys, on the plot of the demolished characteristic timber house.[61] Soon the silhouette of the city would be consisted of multi storey apartments. This change in the view was the signification of middle-class families in İstanbul, as the demand upon the apartment flats were mostly by this group of the society. As Keyder also argued, in the 1960s, the preference of the middle-class was to have a flat in a newly constructed apartment, rather than residing in single-family houses.[62] On the middle-class accumulation in the cities and their specific districts, Afife Batur also states that there was a demand at the time by middle-classes for housing, and the buy-and-sell system operated by small entrepreneurs acting as contractors became the main catalyzer to answer this demand.[63]

The modernization program of the Democrat Party in the 1950s introduced a radical transformation in İstanbul: Burak Boysan refers this period as the "take-off" period of urban transformation of İstanbul.[64] Obvious transformation in the urban pattern occurred in the second half of the Democrat Party period. The

[61] Keyder, Çağlar (2000) *İstanbul: Küresel ile Yerel…,* p. 181-182.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Batur, Afife (2005) *A Concise History: Architecture in Turkey During the 20th Century*, Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, Ankara, p. 52.

[64] Boysan, Burak (2010) İstanbul'un Sıçrama Noktası. In Akpınar, İ. Yada (Ed.) *Osmanlı Başkentinden Küreselleşen İstanbul'a: Mimarlık ve Kent, 1910-2010* (pp. 81-95). Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, İstanbul.

strategy of urban planning mainly included the building of large boulevards. Menderes undertook many deconstructions of the old, and re-constructions of the main arters of İstanbul. Major shifts for linking variable zones were the construction of streets (*cadde*), boulevards (*bulvar*) and squares (*meydan*) as follows: Vatan Caddesi, Millet Caddesi, Fevzi Çakmak Bulvarı, Karaköy-Tophane Caddesi, Tophane-Dolmabahçe Caddesi, Barbaros Boulevard, and Karaköy, Eminönü, Beyazıt, Aksaray *meydan*s.[65] The Democrat Party showed in the 1950s the "destructive face" of modernization, which continued in the coming couple of decades of the mid-twentieth century, changing the face of the city with rapid and increased construction and creating an urbanized society. This transformation of new roads, streets, boulevard and squares catalyzed the quantity and pace of the construction of apartments to provide houses for the increasing population of different zones of İstanbul.

September 6-7h, 1955 Demonstrations

The "destructive face" of modernity, as defined by Tekeli should not be taken solely with reference to the spatial planning strategy. The demonstrations and protests held on September 6-7, 1955 provide a case to be discussed in this context. When compared to the years of 1930s and 1940s, the attacks against the Non-Muslim population in Turkey initially decreased after the Democrat Party came to power in 1950. This might be related to the fact that non-Muslim politicians were also elected as the members of the Democrat Party in the parliament: 4 non-Muslim politicians entered the assembly in 1950[66]. No longer after that, however, in 1957, it became obvious to non-Muslim people that the promises that Democrat Party had made for providing the damaged finances

[65] Ibid., 89.

[66] Salamon Adato, Vasil Konos, Ahilya Moshos, Andre Vahram.

caused by the "wealth tax" (or, Wealth Levy)[67] during the Second World War period were no longer an issue for the government after the elections.[68] This created a troubled atmosphere among the non-Muslim people in İstanbul. In addition to that, by 1954, the media had started publishing incorrect and provocative new about these groups, telling that the non-Muslim population was exploiting the Turkish market, industry and economy.[69]

By September 1st and 2nd in 1955, these developments had started to result in deepening the "cracks" among the citizens. Both because of financial reasons, and the behind-the-scenes demand of highly nationalistic politics at the time, the non-Muslim people were announced as "traitor citizens". Many incidents followed: For the reason of "humiliating the Turkish people", citizens beat a Greek Orthodox woman in Eskişehir;[70] in İstanbul, for the reasons of "speaking in Greek", an army officer beat two Greek Orthodox men in a public bus[71]; etc. Such cases show that the non-Muslim people were seen only as "visitors" and second-class citizens in the Turkish Republic. Many nationalist politicians stated that, by the year 1953, which was the 500th anniversary of the conquest of "İstanbul" by the Ottomans, there should not be any Greeks or Levantines in the city.[72]

After the State Radio had announced that the house in which Atatürk was born in Selanik had been bombed in September 6, 1955, many people gathered in the

[67] Burak Boysan prefers using the term "Wealth Levy" while mentioning about the wealth tax, see: Boysan, Burak (2010) "İstanbul'un Sıçrama Noktası"..., p. 103. Also see: Aktar, Ayhan (1996) Varlık Vergisi ve İstanbul. *Toplum ve Bilim,* Issue: 71 (Winter), 97-149.

[68] Güven, Dilek (2012) *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Azınlık Politikaları ve Stratejileri Bağlamında: 6-7 Eylül Olayları,* İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 133.

[69] They even had a nickname for the non-Muslim people: "Exploiters".

[70] *Vatan*; September 4th, 1955.

[71] *Vatan*; September 6th, 1955.

[72] Güven, Dilek (2012) *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Azınlık Politikaları...,* p. 141.

Taksim Square to protest. This gathering accelerated many demonstrations on the İstiklal Street, and many started to throw stones at the stores that were run by non-Muslims.[73] Only within a short period of time, those demonstrators vandalized most of the districts that were known as the residential and the working spaces of non-Muslim citizens.[74] Figure 2.2a shows the official documentation of the quantities of types of spaces and the places of those vandalized and damaged spaces.

Among 4214 stores in İstanbul, 180 of them were in Kadıköy region, where the Moda district is also located. This means that 3 out of 1004 houses, and 3 out of 73 churches in the region were vandalized – similar to the proportions of the non-Muslim citizen in Kadıköy. A lot of damage that could not be healed by time was done to many in Kadıköy, and Moda, as it was the main district where the majority of non-Muslim people in the Anatolian side of the city lived. Figures 2.2b, c, d, e, f, g, h could help one depict the concept of those vandalistic demonstrations. It will be seen that not only the stores and houses and religious places, but also the vehicles of the non-Muslim people were damaged (Figure 2.2f).

According to the reports written by the American Embassy, the events had three targets of destroying the roots of religious centers/churches, the financial roots of the non-Muslim people, and their psychology in order to make these people leave the country.[75] The nationalist strategy of the Democrat Party caused the society refers to the non-Muslims as outsiders. The indemonstrable belief that non-

[73] Anonymous. (2005) *6-7 Eylül Olayları Fotoğraflar – Belgeler Fahri Çoker Arşivi,* Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, p. IX.

[74] Ibid. 4214 offices and stores, 1004 houses, 73 churches, 1 synagogue, 2 monasteries, 26 schools; and apart from those 5317 places varied from factories, hotels and bars have been vandalized according to the documents of Tarih Vakfı.

[75] NARA 782.00/9-1255, USA Embassy, From Istanbul to the State Department, September 9th, 1955.

Muslim families were well off because they were "stealing" the plots of the Turkish business, led the nationalist people in Istanbul destroy all the stores owned by the non-Muslim, mostly Greek Orthodox people. According to the documents of Tarih Vakfı, the Democrat Party parliament paid 60 million Turkish Liras to the citizens whose houses or stores had been damaged.[76]

The events of September 6-7 in 1955 were disappointing and heart breaking for many non-Muslim families, especially the Greek Orthodox ones. Many of their stores were destroyed or damaged throughout greater İstanbul, including those in the Kadıköy district (Table 2.1a). The demonstrators destroyed 4 churches[77] and 2 schools[78] in Kadıköy as well. These events were highly demotivating over the non-Muslim families, and this is why one can talk about a major social rupture after the year 1955. After this year, the very essence of Kadıköy – the non-Muslim families started to move out of the city, even the country (Table 2.1b, and 2.1c). The beaches in Moda were out of order, many stores were closed down, and new constructions replaced their houses in time. Hence, the appearance and the status of Kadıköy started to change permanently.

2.3. The Residential Context of the Moda District

The Moda district is part of the Kadıköy region, which can be considered as the youngest settlement within Istanbul. It only became a part of the physical settlement area of İstanbul in the early years of the 19th century. Before that, during the 15th and 16th centuries, the town had only been inhabited for

[76] Anonymous. (2005) *6-7 Eylül Olayları Fotoğraflar – Belgeler Fahri Çoker Arşivi,* Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, p. IX.

[77] Ayia Efimia Church, Ayia Trias Church, Ayios Ignatios Cemetery Church, Ayios Ioannis Hrisostomos Church. NARA 782.00/9-1255, Report of İstanbul Consolute General, December 1st, 1955; Güven, Dilek (2012) *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Azınlık Politikaları...,* p. 178.

[78] Kadıköy Yeldeğirmeni School, Cafer Ağa School. NARA 782.00/9-1255, Report of İstanbul Consolute General, December 1st, 1955 ; Ibid.

agricultural needs. Two fundamental reasons affected its transformation into a permanent settlement area in the 19th century: The first one is the starting of the steamboat transportation within İstanbul; the second one is the opening of the railway line between Haydarpaşa in Kadıköy and İzmit.

What is essential to know about Kadıköy is that most of its population, especially in 19th century, was consisted of Levantines, i.e. the non-Muslims. According to the population census done in 1882, the percentage of the Muslim people in Kadıköy was 32,26%, which was the least percentage when compared to other towns in İstanbul.[79] The 1906-1907 population results show that the percentage of the Muslim people slightly increased: Kadıköy was then consisted of 44,8% Muslims, 28.45% Greek, 17.75% Armenian, 0.17% Bulgarian, 0.44% Protestant, and 6.16% Jewish population.[80] The Levantines were all well off families, who owned at least one plot of land property in Kadıköy, mostly within the Moda district. These families were usually living in the private residences, namely *köşk*s and *konak*s. The most well known families of the Levantines were "the Whitehalls", who were residing in Vitol Konak in Moda. Other Levantine families who owned a *köşk* and/or *konak* in the district included families such as Dowson, Longchene, Mathieu, Wohl, Charnaud, Landgrabe, Glavani, and La Fontaine. This is why French and Latin Catholic Churches existed, and also an Anglican Church.[81] Lastly, the migration of the British Whitehall family also bore a change in the religious buildings of the district: The "English Church" in Moda, which was built by anonymous architects, in 1868 in Yusuf Kemal Paşa Sokağı for the religious service demand of Whitehall family. By 1870, there were Greek, Armenian and Catholic seminaries in Moda and Bahariye, as well as the Saint-Joseph French

[79] By 1882, this percentage was 32,36% in Büyükdere, 33,95% in Yeniköy and 37.36% in Beşiktaş. See: Akbulut, Rıfat M. (1994) Kadıköy. In (Eds.), *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi.* (Vol. 4, pp. 329-339). Ana Basım AŞ, İstanbul, p. 335.

[80] Ibid. 336.

[81] This Anglican Church has started servicing in 1859 in Moda.

School. The Saint-Joseph School was built in 1870 in Dr. Esat Işık Caddesi, and then was enlarged with an H-form building in 1906-1907.

Apart from the Levantine families, between the years of 1876 and 1909, the forerunners within the administrative employees of the Ottoman Empire built many *köşk*s on the greater Kadıköy area.[82] These can shed light on the higher social status of the Moda district before the 20th century. This is because the financial reach of those who used to live in Moda and Bahariye in the late Ottoman period had been highly set, and this made Moda, and also the other neighborhoods of Kadıköy, create their own "bourgeois" identities. In novels, Kadıköy has many references for its *köşk*s and *konak*s. Mostly referred with their large gardens, the köşks were considered as a "European-type building" in many literal sources: "Their doors are opening wide to the West" *with their furniture and life style.*[83] The father, mother, their children, their grooms and brides, and also the grandchildren occupied these dwellings. This type of occupation can be considered as a "closed" one – as the daily communication with the people outside the family, who resides in other *köşk*s or *konak*s, was rare.

Regarding the urban context of Kadıköy, the first traces of an official architectural planning for the district had been accomplished first after the big fire in 1860, which destroyed approximately 250 buildings. For this reason, in order to prevent the effect of prospective fires' effect on buildings facing the streets, the idea of widening the streets was developed. The "grid" logic had been applied; and a "contemporary town" appearance was aimed.[84] New "linear" streets, having a width of 8 to 10 meters, were constructed in the Kadıköy center. Small town squares were created, by cracking down the corners of the building-islands

[82] Akbulut, Rıfat M. (1994) Kadıköy. In (Eds.), *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi.* (Vol. 4, pp. 329-339). Ana Basım AŞ, İstanbul, p. 334.

[83] *Sergüzeşt*, the novel written in 1888 by Samipaşazade Sezai.

[84] Akbulut, Rıfat M. (1994) Kadıköy *...,* p. 333.

within the market of Kadıköy. This change in town planning had been effective in fire conditions, when compared to the other towns in İstanbul, and Kadıköy was the least affected from the fires when compared to most of the towns in greater İstanbul in the following years.

In addition to the urban change mentioned above by the end of the 19th century, there was another attempt for a new architectural planning in the following years. In the early Republican period, foreign architects were invited to Turkey for entering city and town planning competitions. A competition was also organized for Kadıköy in 1933. During the discussions of this competition, many conflicting, yet interesting opinions were announced. Firstly, German architect Herman Elgötz offered Haydarpaşa as the new port location, while a new commercial area could be built in Haydarpaşa and Kadıköy as well.[85] The second option was from French architect Alfred Agache, whose idea was to build a commercial area in front of the old medical school in Haydarpaşa. Lastly, H. Lambert only offered a road that would conjunct the Yoğurtçu Park area with Üsküdar, which would pass by Moda and Kadıköy.[86] These mentioned suggestions by architects were considered as failures, though, as none of them paid attention to the current pattern and special properties of the greater Kadıköy area. After this competition, there was another planning option for the Fenerbahçe Peninsula; yet again, it was declined – and the name of architect who offered this option has been left anonymous in literary sources.

As mentioned in previously, French architect Henri Prost was employed by the government between 1936 and 1950 for the urban planning of greater İstanbul. Among his plans for the "prospective" İstanbul, he had minor notes on the Kadıköy district, which included connecting the Marmara sea coastline with all

[85] Ibid., 336.

[86] See the Pervititch Maps to locate the Yoğurtçu Park (Figures 3.3a, 3.3b, 3.3c).

the streets that were freshly developing that time. It was quite noticeable that Prost emphasized the European side of İstanbul more in his planning approach. Even though he did not plan any public or industrial buildings in Kadıköy, he did put thoughts on residential settlements, countryside houses / villas and commercial buildings. In the end, what Prost provided for the Anatolian side was only to propose ideas about various problems, and accept the current condition of the site at the time. To sum up, it can be said that, after the great fires in the early 20th century, there were not many significant changes related to town planning in Kadıköy.

On the Anatolian side of İstanbul, Prost aimed to provide wider roads that would serve as the main axes for the transportation points to the Anatolian side of the Marmara seashore. The Bağdat Avenue, the main axis that is parallel to the shore of the Anatolian side, hence started to transform as a wider road with sidewalks in 1941. Not only the squares that Prost developed on the European side, but also the parks and various public gathering spaces were involved in his program. For example, Yoğurtçu Parkı, which is the large green area on the east side of the Moda cape, was rehabilitated and opened to public.[87] What could not be achieved was the rehabilitation of the beaches along the Anatolian shore: The Caddebostan, Suadiye, and Küçükyalı beaches, which became active after 1930. Those were also the public areas where people were usually enjoying the sea and the sun in summer time.

By the year of 1938, architect Sabri Oran, an advisor to the Kadıköy Municipality Planning Office, proposed some ideas for Kadıköy and its neighborhoods, while Prost was dealing with the greater İstanbul plan. Even if the ideas of Onan were

[87] The Yoğurtçu Park was a swamp area and its property has always been a discussion in the municipality of both Kadıköy and greater İstanbul. Tekeli writes that this park was filled and recreated as a park in 1924 (2013: p. 122). Hence, 1924 can be taken as the year of the first opening of this green area to the public. In addition, it should be noted that the soil of the park has never been achieved to be a stable ground, and it was filled and re-created several times– as Necla Erk shared during the interview.

not applied totally, it has been recognized that most of the current planning on the Kadıköy area was a result of his ideas. For example, he suggested to enlarge and recreate the Bağdat Caddesi, and designed housing settlements with gardens at Acıbadem – which, according to Akbulut, were mostly done by the 21st century.[88]

Another effect in the urban history of Kadıköy was derived from the ideas of governors towards urban development of several districts. The period of the years between 1938 and 1949 was when Lütfi Kırdar was the mayor and governor of İstanbul. Kırdar had the will for architectural changes also in the Kadıköy district, although not as much as those in the European side. He planned building a bridge over the conjunction point of the Kadıköy-Üsküdar road and the railways of the Haydarpaşa railway station. Secondly, he planned to construct an asphalted road to Bağdat Caddesi, which would continue until the Kartal region.

What Kırdar planned lastly, probably the most important rupture for the history of architecture of Kadıköy, was the building of Kadıköy People's House (Kadıköy Halkevi), which was designed by Rüknettin Güney and constructed in the Moda district in 1930. Social life and habits started to change rapidly after the People's House, just as the architectural appearance of the district also changed in Kadıköy by the 1940s. People then started using the streets more for social life. Modernization became more effective also by the help of some other fundamental establishments like the public-bus services that started in 1947. This major change urged a need for "larger roads" in greater İstanbul, and after 1950, the Democrat Party government started to enlarge roads, and series of new roads and streets were built in Kadıköy as well. The strategy of urban planning throughout Turkey shifted to building "roads" from building "railways" between the years 1950 and 1960. However, because of the financial crisis of the later 1950s due to the outcome of financial lack derived from the Second World War worldwide, the

[88] Akbulut, Rıfat M. (1994) Kadıköy ..., p. 337.

promised buses could not be provided in many districts of İstanbul. Therefore, firstly "dolmuş" vehicles of private initiative, and then minibuses started to work for the public by the year 1960.[89]This change in the system of transportation was resulted from the constructions of highways and larger roads set in the program of the Democrat Party. Enlarging *Bağdat Caddesi*, the main road between Kızıltoprak and Bostancı, along with a highway project between Haydarpaşa and Pendik, were considered as the most important developments of the program of the Democrat Party in the Kadıköy region.

Making the Fenerbahçe peninsula an island was one of the topics in August 1958 during the Democrat Party government, as it was amongst the proposed plan of Henri Prost during his employment for developing the master plan of İstanbul (Figure 2.1b). However, because of the mentioned contemporary financial crisis, along with many planning projects of the party, this project was cancelled.[90] By the 1960s, Kadıköy was being considered as a sub-metropolitan town. Quantity of commercial and hospitality places increased rapidly in the district. This is why Kadıköy became one of the centers of daily life in greater İstanbul.[91]

> One can consider it as a very nice trip, a pleasure and leisure to watch the people walking out from the steamboats of Kadıköy. One can bump into the most popular gentlemen of İstanbul in these steamboats, as well as many beautiful ladies from *different nations*: Watching those people gives you a feeling of an official ceremony, because one can only see them together in these steamboats. Kadıköy is the foundation both for the modest and the elite people.*[92]*

[89] Tekeli, İlhan (2013) *İstanbul'un Planlanmasının ve…,* Appendix page.

[90] Boysan, Burak (2010) İstanbul'un Sıçrama Noktası …, p. 90.

[91] Akbulut, Rıfat M. (1994) Kadıköy …,

[92] Refik Halit Karay, before the annunciation of the Republic, Source Unknown.

As described in the quotation above, by the early years of the 20th century, just before the First World War, Kadıköy had become one of the most important residential settlements in İstanbul. On the southern point of Moda, the Moda Pier[93] was built in 1917, designed by the prominent architect of the period Vedat Tek, and the municipality increased the sea-trips between the two sides of İstanbul. Akbulut shared the records of the steamboat company in 1911 as 22 boat trips to Kadıköy, and 6 boat trips to Moda, Kalamış and Fenerbahçe.[94] Along with the quotation above from Refik Halit Karay, this statistical information is helpful for the reader to have a picture in mind related to Moda and Kadıköy, and the daily-life routine of people of those districts.

> In the weekends, they would go to *kepçe,*[95] to wander around the districts of Maçka, Nişantaşı, Taksim and Harbiye with their cars, again and again; just because they wanted to meet girls who were studying in foreign high schools just like them, who spend ten days skiing in Uludağ every winter and *spend their summer vacations in Suadiye and Erenköy.*[96]

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[93] *Moda İskelesi,* tr. This building was closed to the sea-trip services in 1985.

[94] Ibid., 335.

[95] Pamuk used that word in order to describe the action of the young Turkish boys who tried to meet with girls to flirt or go out.

[96] Pamuk, Orhan (2013) *İstanbul: Hatıralar…,* p. 290. Mentioned in the quotation above, Suadiye and Erenköy are two districts of Kadıköy, placed along the shore that were being resided mostly through the summer season. However, Tekeli notes that Suadiye, Erenköy, Bostancı, Göztepe and Maltepe – all the other adjacent districts in the Marmara shore - started to be resided all year, begining from the end of the Second World War. Tekeli, İlhan (2009) *Modernizm, Modernite ve Türkiye'nin Kent Planlama Tarihi*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 428. In addition, Pamuk is well known with his ties to well-off environment, which was mostly placed around Nişantaşı and Cihangir area in the European side of İstanbul. He was grown up around these districts. In his novels like *İstanbul: Memories of the City (2015)*, or *Cevdet Bey and His Sons (1982)*, it is legible that most of the well-off families were preferring Kadıköy and its neighborhoods for their summer vacations.

Beaches were organized at Moda, Suadiye, and Erenköy shores in the Anatolian side starting with the 1920s. For over three decades since then, these districts turned into resort places to spend summer vacations, just like mentioned in the quotation above from Orhan Pamuk. As soon as after schools were given a summer break, many families had moved to their summerhouses by the sea in the Anatolian side of İstanbul. Fenerbahçe, Kalamış, Suadiye, and Erenköy were the most preferred neighborhoods for those families.

Those districts started to act as both residential settlements and working places for many people by the beginning of the 20th century. Just before the establishment of the Republic in 1923, Kadıköy had been considered as one of the most improved towns in İstanbul: Most of the governmental services had been provided via the offices located in Kadıköy. Between 1923 and 1926, architect Süreyya İlmen built a movie theater on Bahariye Caddesi, which is now called "Süreyya Operası". This building changed the social life of Moda and Kadıköy - the density and traffic of pedestrians on the roads changed accordingly.

In addition to these changes, electricity had been provided to Kadıköy by 1928. Providing electricity changed the financial plans of the residents and daily life in houses. What Atilla Yücel noted during our interview was that purchasing electrical house devices became a fashion in the late 1950s. To render the social status and the profile of well-off people more in detail, a scene from the novel *Cevdet Bey and His Sons* by Orhan Pamuk would be adequate: The scene takes place in summer time; the family of Cevdet Bey who was living in Cihangir was about to leave for their summer house in the island on the sea of the Anatolian side, just across the Moda peninsula. The maid and the staff of their köşk were wrapping and packaging the refrigerator to carry it to the summerhouse; however, the carriage process was not so handy. The family needed to carry it down to the pier, move it to the steamboat, and then carry it again uphill in the island to their house. This scene is the reflection of the well-off families during the

1950s and 1960s, who did not even have the luxury of buying multiple electrical devices. This information is also received from the interviewees of this research, as most of them who are over 50 mentioned about how high the prices of electronic devices were at that time.

Along the process of modernization and urbanization from the beginning of the Republic until the 1960s, most of the characteristic wooden houses were demolished to be replaced by ”modern” villas that were accepted to answer the needs of the nuclear families better. Kadıköy was also affected by this trend, losing many of its characteristic *köşk* or *konak*s. Most of these new residences were two storied single-family houses, built in large gardens with having views over the Marmara Sea. Another reason to exchange the old houses with new were the fires occurred in Moda in the 1950s when most of the remaining wooden houses were demolished, like Mano Palas, and Moda Palas.[97]

The 1950s had also a memorable impact on the rise of residential constructions in Kadıköy. Kadıköy and its environs on the Anatolian side were in a permanent transformation with increasing population. One of the reasons of this transformation was because of the building of the Port of Haydarpaşa, which provided more power to production and industry. This new port meant new job opportunities for the migrated people.

Just like the Port of Haydarpaşa, many other employment opportunities emerged in the post-Second World War period for the unemployed people who had migrated from the rural areas of Turkey, to find jobs and survive in better conditions. As mentioned previously, this was an outcome of rising

[97] Orhan Pamuk mentions about the famous fires in Istanbul frequently in his book on İstanbul. These fires occured in the 1950s and the 1960s, some of which he witnessed as “the last standing yalıs, konaks and ruined wooden houses were burning” (2013: 200). Not only in the European side, but also in Moda district most of the interviewees mentioned that fires, which were clearly remembered by the people of Moda as the damage, therefore fear were massive.

industrialization within agriculture. All these created a large demand of housing in İstanbul, as the contemporary politics of housing of İstanbul was not planned for the middle and lower-class groups of people. To solve this problem, the Greater İstanbul Municipality started to provide solutions with Emlak Bankası in the mid-1950s, and the housing complex, Emlak Bankası Koşuyolu[98] Residences, were developed in Kadıköy designed by Kemal Ahmet Aru, Sait Özden and Leyla Turgut , between 1957 and 1958.[99] According to Akpınar, the production of these housing developments was to create the "small USA" for the making of the Turkish middle-class families.[100]

As a result, apartment production increased rapidly in İstanbul from the 1950s onwards, and from the 1960s onwards the process accelerated with the flat-ownership system, affecting large-scale demolishment of earlier houses, and the construction of new residences in Kadıköy. Along the railway line that goes parallel to the Marmara seashore, traditional houses had been built in the times of the Ottoman Empire.[101] Those characteristic residences, including the ones in Moda that were mostly the residences of non-Muslim families, had large gardens. During the early Republican decades, single-family houses with gardens started to replace these; and with the new regulation over private property plots that allowed flat ownership in apartment blocks, more and more apartments were built in the post-Second World War period by contractors also in Moda, whose flats were sold to individual families. That was how traditional houses with gardens became the plots of more than four and five apartments year by year. As mentioned previously, by the increase in apartment constructions, most of the families moved to apartment flats from their single-family houses that had been

[98] *Koşuyolu* is a neighborhood of Kadıköy, placed in the east of the central town.

[99] Altan Ergut, E. & Akpınar, İ. Y. & Akay, Z. (2016) Cumhuriyet Döneminde…, p. 573.

[100] Akpınar, İpek Yada (2010) The Making of a Modern Pay-ı Taht..., p. 183.

[101] Keyder, Çağlar (2000) *İstanbul: Küresel ile Yerel...,* p. 182.

demolished in the process. This is how those upper and middle-class families of the time started experiencing the "modern" life as defined in contemporary terms of the Post-Second World War period.

Figures 2.3a to 2.3m show the changing silhouette and architectural pattern of Moda from different angles through years, as well as the old houses built before the 20th century. The pattern of traditional wooden houses slowly disappeared while multi-story apartments increased in time.[102] The most active years of the change in residential identity were between 1955 and 1980.

> … We were now on the Moda Street after walking along the Yeni Fikir Street from the beginning to its end. We should have turned right as the description told. Our romantic walk hand-in-hand was continuing. The *konak*s full with light were the signs that we were in a totally different world. *Many constructions could be seen here as well. Those constructions were discomforting the people who were taking their evening walks; hills of lime, rifts and bricks were making those people to let others pass on the narrow sideways; disturbing their humble and joyful paces.*[103]

Above words of Rozental describes the pattern of Moda during the post–Second World War perfectly. Not only the building constructions, but also the dirt of these became a major part of the silhouette of Moda at the time. The people of Moda were in a great discomfort and anxiety because of the change of the characteristic look. The loss of the traditional and the old had created a kind of melancholia not only in Moda, but also in other districts of İstanbul. Orhan Pamuk

[102] There are several remaining old wooden houses in Moda currently: Neşe Street is full of those houses. Apart from those, Mahmut Muhtar Paşa Köşk, built in 1886 – which is now a lycee in the area; Sarıca Köşk, built in 1903 by Cristine Pappa; Antipa Köşk built in 1912 by Cristine Pappa; House of Fredericis, built around 1880, located on Fazılpaşa Sokak; Mr. Dawson House, built between 1890-1900 by Cristine Pappa; Mahmut Ata Köşk, built before 1900s, located in Şifa Sokak; Agah Bey Köşk, located in Safa Sokak; Rıza Bey Köşk located in Şair Latifi Sokak; and more.

[103] Rozental, İzel (2016) *Moda Sevgilim "Yeniden",* Kırmızı Kedi Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 44.

describes the very feeling that the rise of apartments left on people very well: "Rather than demolishing and destroying; *building a western and modern apartment was a medium of forgetting*".[104] The shores of the Anatolian side, especially Kadıköy, was the area that was witnessing the conversion of the plots, gardens and the single houses that were private property, into "modern" concrete apartments.

Moda was one of the towns in Turkey that witnessed the big accumulation of contractors [105] during the change of the so-called "modernization" and "urbanization" by demolishing the traditional wooden houses and building in their places the new houses with concrete. Until the 1980s, apartment construction continued steadily. Contractors usually sold flats during the phase of the basement construction, before the building was completed in whole.[106] The key to this rapid selling was to pay in installments. And this was why Moda, as other towns of İstanbul, started welcoming middle-class families besides the upper-class families who had links with the Ottoman dynasty or the palace, or old governmental offices. The existence of this hybrid social pattern among the society was achieved by the political strategies of Democrat Party, when the promotion of "beautiful, clean and hygienic" residences was spatially applied as if this kind of promotion had never been applied in the early Republican period.[107] By the 1950s, a legend of the ideal house was presented to middle-class along with the housing production in several regions of İstanbul as mentioned above.

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[104] Pamuk, Orhan (2013) *İstanbul: Hatıralar…,* p. 103.

[105] The contractors of these apartments were mostly from the Northern part of Turkey and rural areas. In daily Turkish dialect, those contractors are referred to as "*Laz müteahhitler* (contractors)", as "*laz*" stands for the ethnic group of people from the Black Sea region. Those who were employed as construction workers by contemporary contractors were usually also from the Black Sea region because contractors preferred to employ those with whom they could communicate easily.

[106] Keyder, Çağlar (2000) *İstanbul: Küresel ile Yerel…,* p. 182.
[107] Akpınar, İpek Yada (2010) The Making of a Modern Pay-ı Taht...., p. 184.

The immigration of most of the non-Muslim families from Moda after 6th and 7th September 1965 demonstrations, the migration of the people from inner Anatolia to the Kadıköy district, the ease in the financial plans of buying new modern residence in an apartment, lotteries of banks that gave away apartment residences and big amount of cash, and, most importantly, the flat-ownership regulation set in the law of 1965 paved the way to a hybrid social pattern in Moda as well.

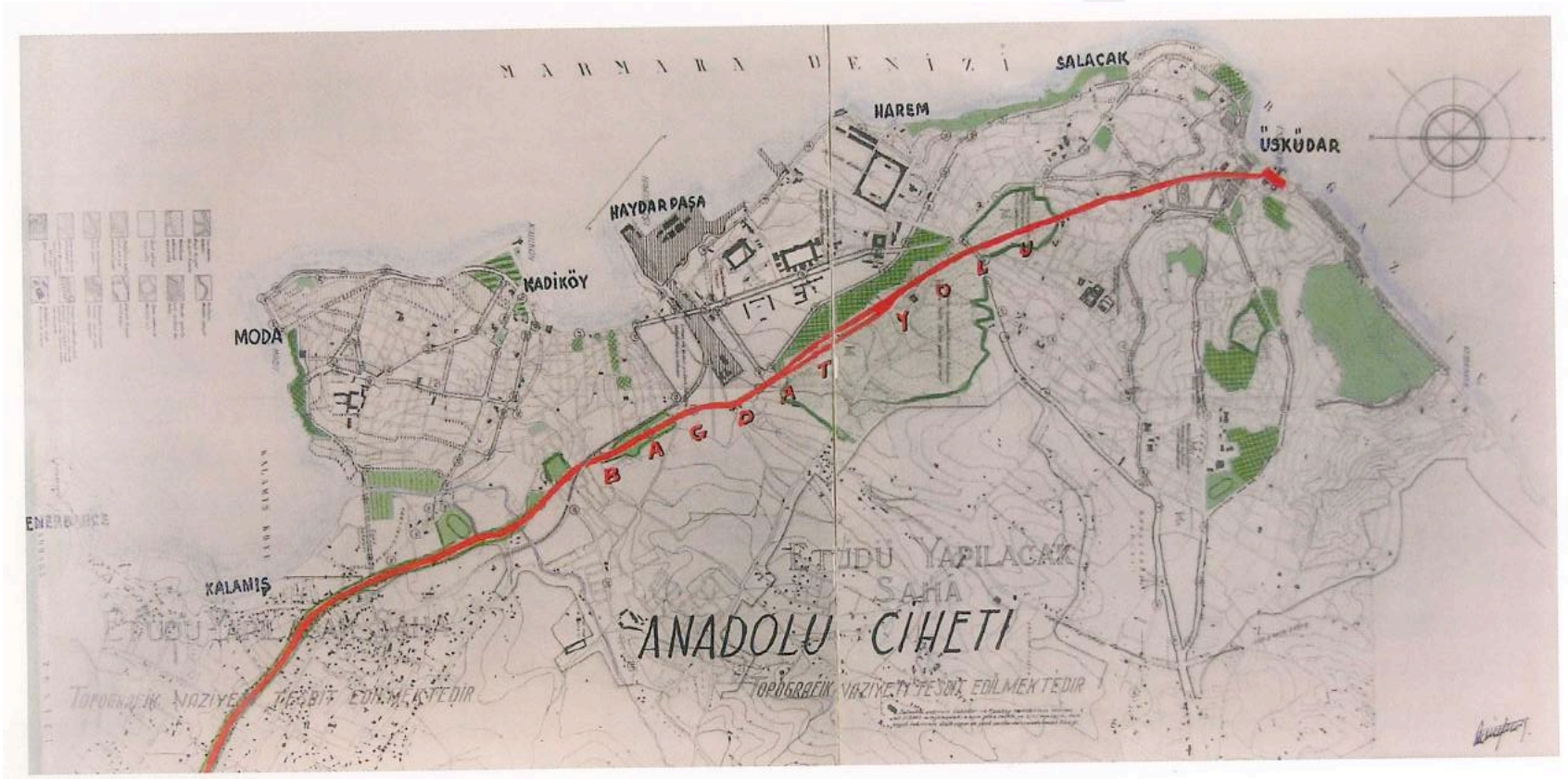


Figure 2.1a. *Development scheme proposal of Prost for the Anatolian Side*
Source: Bilsel, Cana (2010) Henri Prost's Planning Works in İstanbul (1936-1951): Transforming the Structure of a City through Master Plans and Urban Operations. In Bilsel, C. & Pinon, P. (Eds.). *From the Imperial Capital to Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of İstanbul (1936-1951)* (pp. 101-164). İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, İstanbul., p. 134.

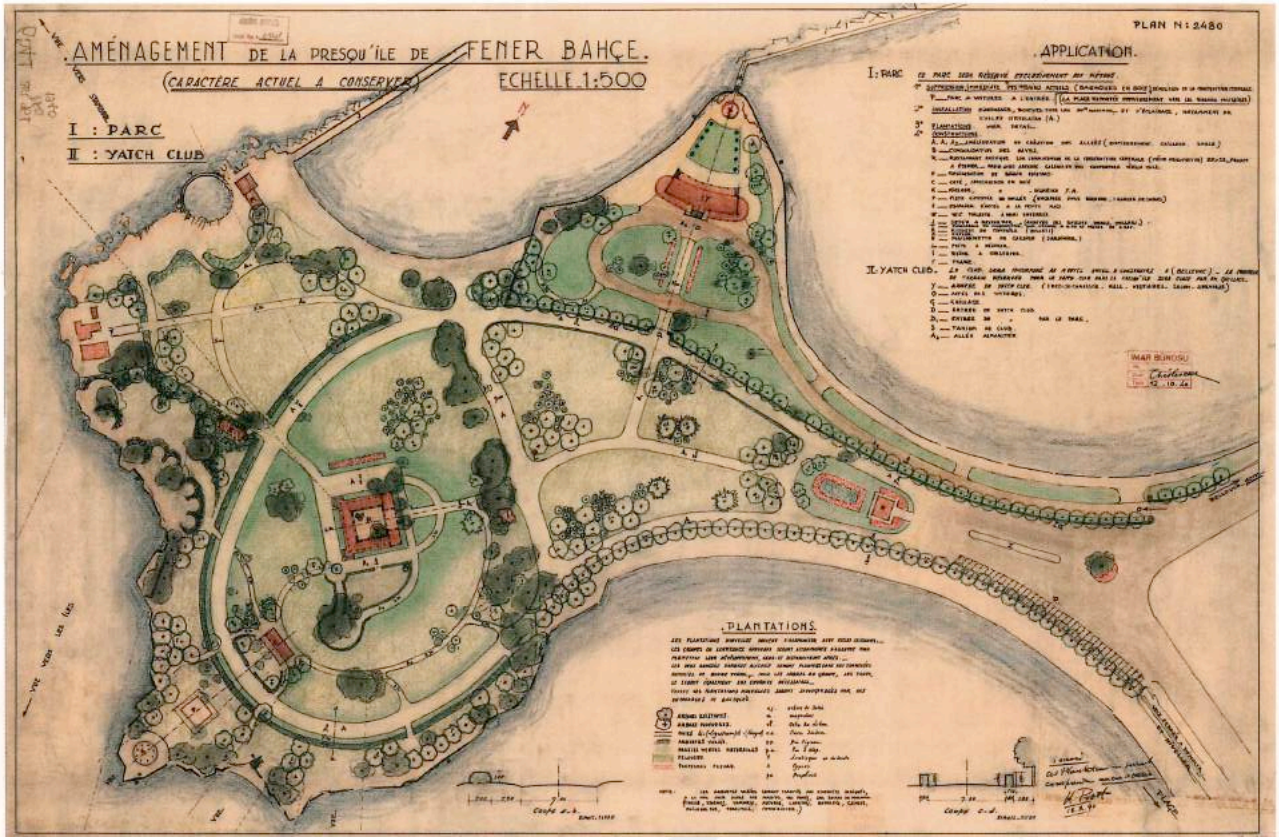
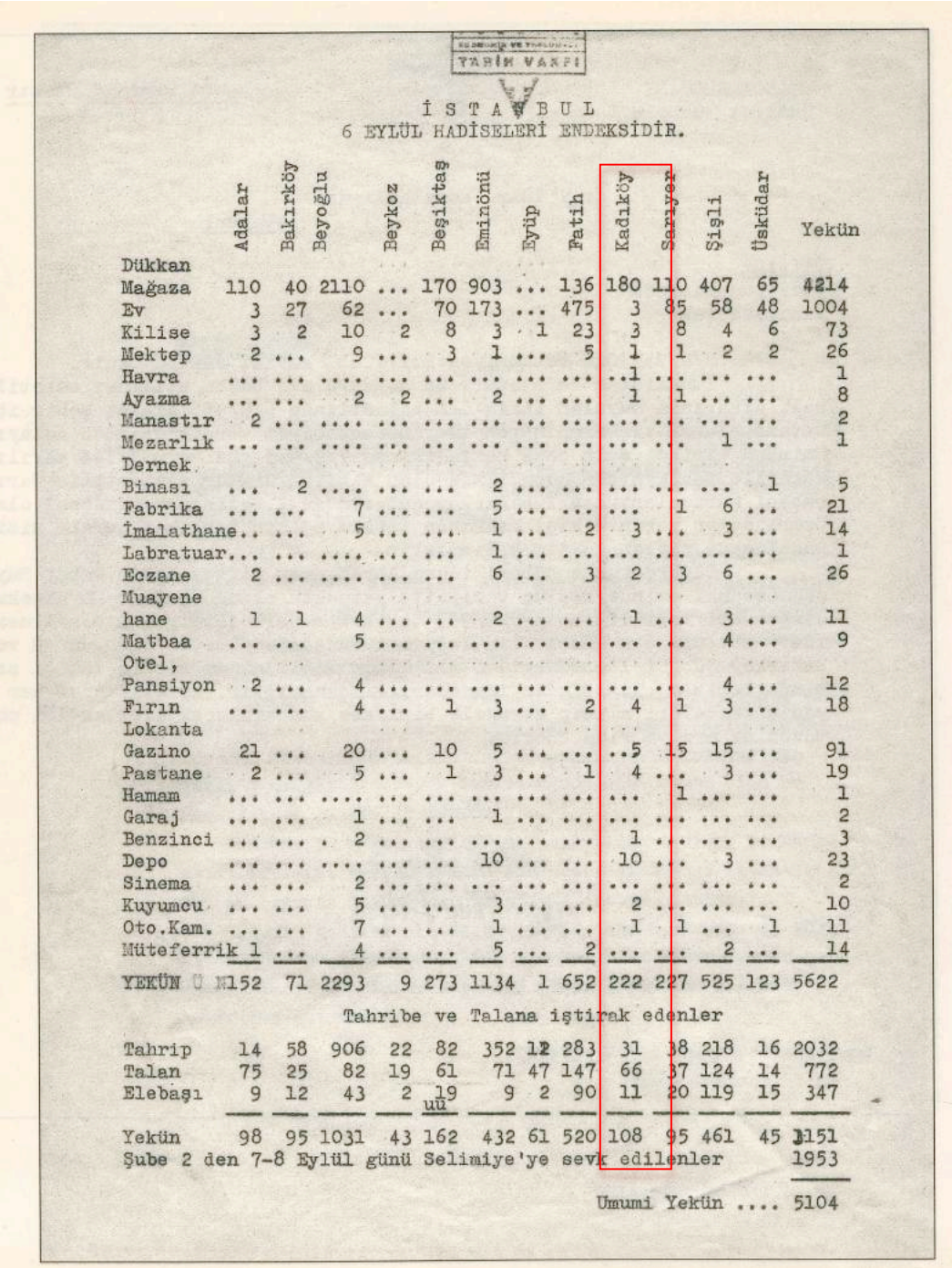


Figure 2.1b. *Development scheme proposal of Prost for Fenerbahçe*
Source: Bilsel, Cana (2010) Henri Prost's Planning Works in İstanbul (1936-1951): Transforming the Structure of a City through Master Plans and Urban Operations. In Bilsel, C. & Pinon, P. (Eds.). *From the Imperial Capital to Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of İstanbul (1936-1951)* (pp. 101-164). İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, İstanbul., p. 137.



TARİH VAKFI

İ S T A N B U L

6 EYLÜL HADİSELERİ ENDEKSİDİR.

	Adalar	Bakırköy	Beyoğlu	Beykoz	Beşiktaş	Eminönü	Eyüp	Fatih	Kadıköy	Sarıyer	Şişli	Üsküdar	Yekün
Dükkan													
Mağaza	110	40	2110	...	170	903	...	136	180	110	407	65	4214
Ev	3	27	62	...	70	173	...	475	3	85	58	48	1004
Kilise	3	2	10	2	8	3	1	23	3	8	4	6	73
Mektep	2	...	9	...	3	1	...	5	1	1	2	2	26
Havra	...	...	....	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1
Ayazma	...	...	2	2	...	2	...	...	1	1	...	...	8
Manastır	2	...	....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Mezarlık	...	...	....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
Dernek													
Binası	...	2	....	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	1	5
Fabrika	...	...	7	...	...	5	...	...	...	1	6	...	21
İmalathane	..	...	5	...	...	1	...	2	3	...	3	...	14
Labratuar	...	...	....	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Eczane	2	...	....	...	...	6	...	3	2	3	6	...	26
Muayene hane	1	1	4	...	...	2	...	...	1	...	3	...	11
Matbaa	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	9
Otel, Pansiyon	2	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	12
Fırın	...	...	4	...	1	3	...	2	4	1	3	...	18
Lokanta													
Gazino	21	...	20	...	10	5	...	...	5	15	15	...	91
Pastane	2	...	5	...	1	3	...	1	4	...	3	...	19
Hamam	...	...	....	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
Garaj	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Benzinci	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	3
Depo	...	...	....	...	...	10	...	...	10	...	3	...	23
Sinema	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Kuyumcu	...	...	5	...	...	3	...	...	2	...	...	...	10
Oto.Kam.	...	...	7	...	...	1	...	...	1	1	...	1	11
Müteferrik	1	...	4	...	...	5	...	2	...	...	2	...	14
YEKÜN Ü M	152	71	2293	9	273	1134	1	652	222	227	525	123	5622
Tahribe ve Talana iştirak edenler													
Tahrip	14	58	906	22	82	352	12	283	31	38	218	16	2032
Talan	75	25	82	19	61	71	47	147	66	37	124	14	772
Elebaşı	9	12	43	2	19 uü	9	2	90	11	20	119	15	347
Yekün	98	95	1031	43	162	432	61	520	108	95	461	45	3151
Şube 2 den 7-8 Eylül günü Selimiye'ye sevk edilenler													1953
Umumi Yekün													5104

Figure 2.2a. *The quantities of damaged and/or ruined working places in several towns of İstanbul after September 6-7, 1955 demonstrations*
Source: Anonymous. (2005) *6-7 Eylül Olayları Fotoğraflar – Belgeler Fahri Çoker Arşivi,* Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 260.





Figure 2.2b, 2.2c. *Demonstrators during the September 6-7, 1955 demonstrations*
Source: Anonymous. (2005) *6-7 Eylül Olayları Fotoğraflar – Belgeler Fahri Çoker Arşivi,* Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 19, 44.







Figure 2.2d, 2.2e, 2.2.f. *Demonstrators, damaged stores and a damaged car belonging to the non-Muslim community the September 6-7, 1955 demonstrations.*
Source: Anonymous. (2005) *6-7 Eylül Olayları Fotoğraflar – Belgeler Fahri Çoker Arşivi,* Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 191, 207, 226.



Figure 2.2g. *Damaged belongings of the non-Muslim community during the September 6-7, 1955 demonstrations.* Note of the photographer under Figure 2.2g states: Hundreds of "very expensive" Süper-Zeiss Refrigerators are lying damaged among washing machines, cameras and mattresses. One refrigerators costs between 2000-5000 TL (1 German mark = 0,62 TL in Turkey)"
Source: Anonymous. (2005) *6-7 Eylül Olayları Fotoğraflar – Belgeler Fahri Çoker Arşivi,* Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 226, 234.

Building Type	Quantity
Stores	180
Residences/Houses	3
Churches	3
Schools	1
Synagogues	1
Workshops of Manufacturers	3
Pharmacies	2
Doctor Offices/ Consulting Rooms	1
Bakeries	4
Restaurants	5
Patisseries	4
Gas Stations	1
Storages	10
Jewelry Stores	2
Car repairing	1
Total	**222**

Year	Quantity of Jewish Immigrants in Turkey
1955	339
1956	1.710
1957	1.911
1960	10.000

Year	Quantity of Christian people in Turkey
1955	270.000
1960	230.000
1965	206.000

Table 2.1a. *Damage index of the events of September 6-7, 1955 in the Kadıköy district*
Source: AESF, Fahri Çoker File. The mistake of the sum was kept as it is made by Dilek Guven, p. 181.

Table 2.1b. *Quantity of Jewish Immigrants year by year*. (top right)
Source: Bali, Cumhuriyet Yıllarında Türkiye Yahudileri, Aliya, Bir Toplu Göçün Öyküsü (1946-1949), s. 370.

Table 2.1c. *Quantity of Christian people year by year*. *(*bottom right)
Source: Data shows the census of the years 1955, 1960 and 1965, collected from Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü (State Institute for Statistics).

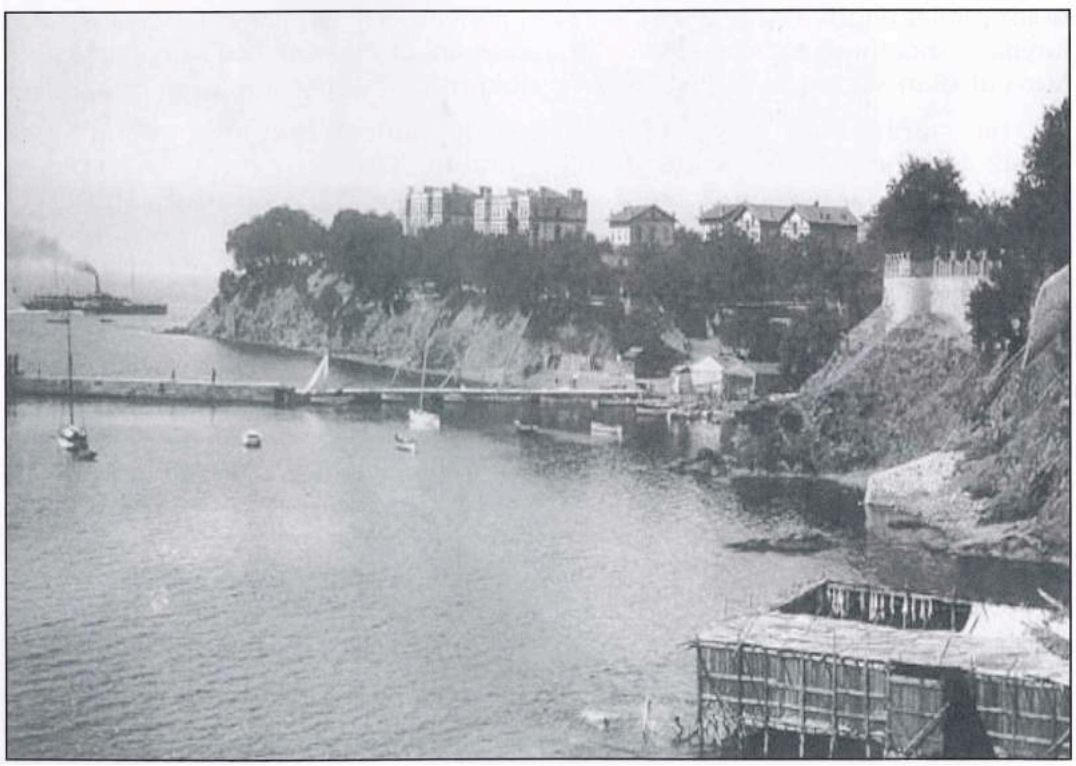


Figure 2.3a. *Photograph of the edge of the Moda shore in the 1900s.* The traditional masonary buildings can be noticed on the edge. Currently, the Marmara and Manzara Apartments are located in that spot.
Source: Anonymous. (2010) Dünden Bugüne Moda Deniz Klübü. Portakal Basım, İstanbul, p. 6.



Figure 2.3b, 2.3c. *Moda in the 1930s.* These panoramic photographs were taken from the roof of the St. Joseph Colllege. Figure 2.3a shows the area between the Yoğurtçu Park Avenue towards Kurbağalıdere, Figure 2.3b shows the area between Moda (Street) towards the Yoğurtçu Park.
Source: Serezli, Demir Alp (2002) *Saint Joseph'in Öyküsü*, Apa, İstanbul.p. 74-75.

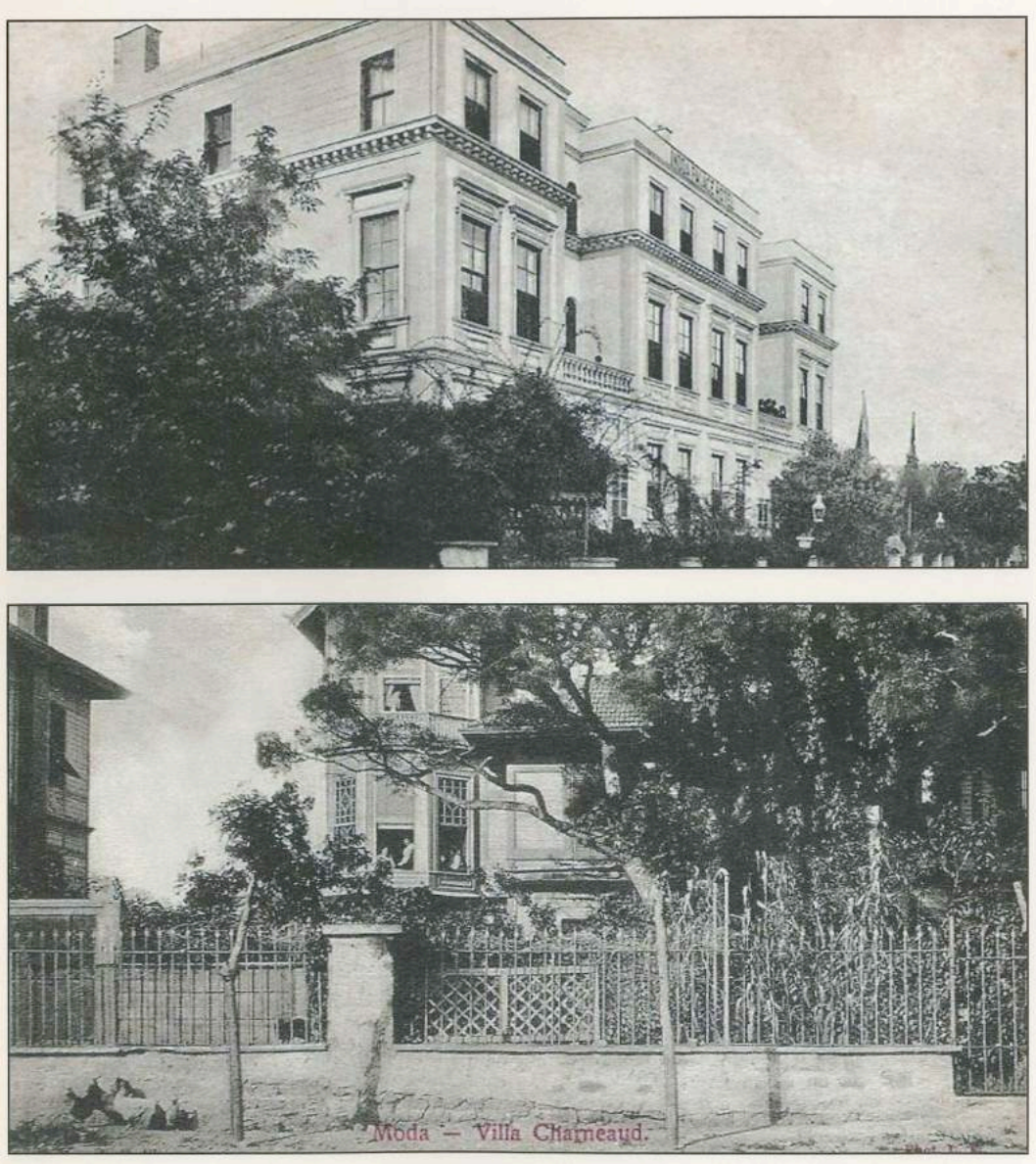


Figure 2.3d, 2.3e. *Photographs of old Moda residences from postcards.* Notice "Moda – Villa Charneaud" at the bottom of Figure 2.3d. Müfid Ekdal noted that this mansion was located on the "rear slot of current Kromer Apartment" which means it was located on either the Hüseyinbey or Fazılpaşa Street on the edge of the Moda district (2004:53).
Source: Anonymous. (2010) Dünden Bugüne Moda Deniz Klübü. Portakal Basım, İstanbul, p. 272.

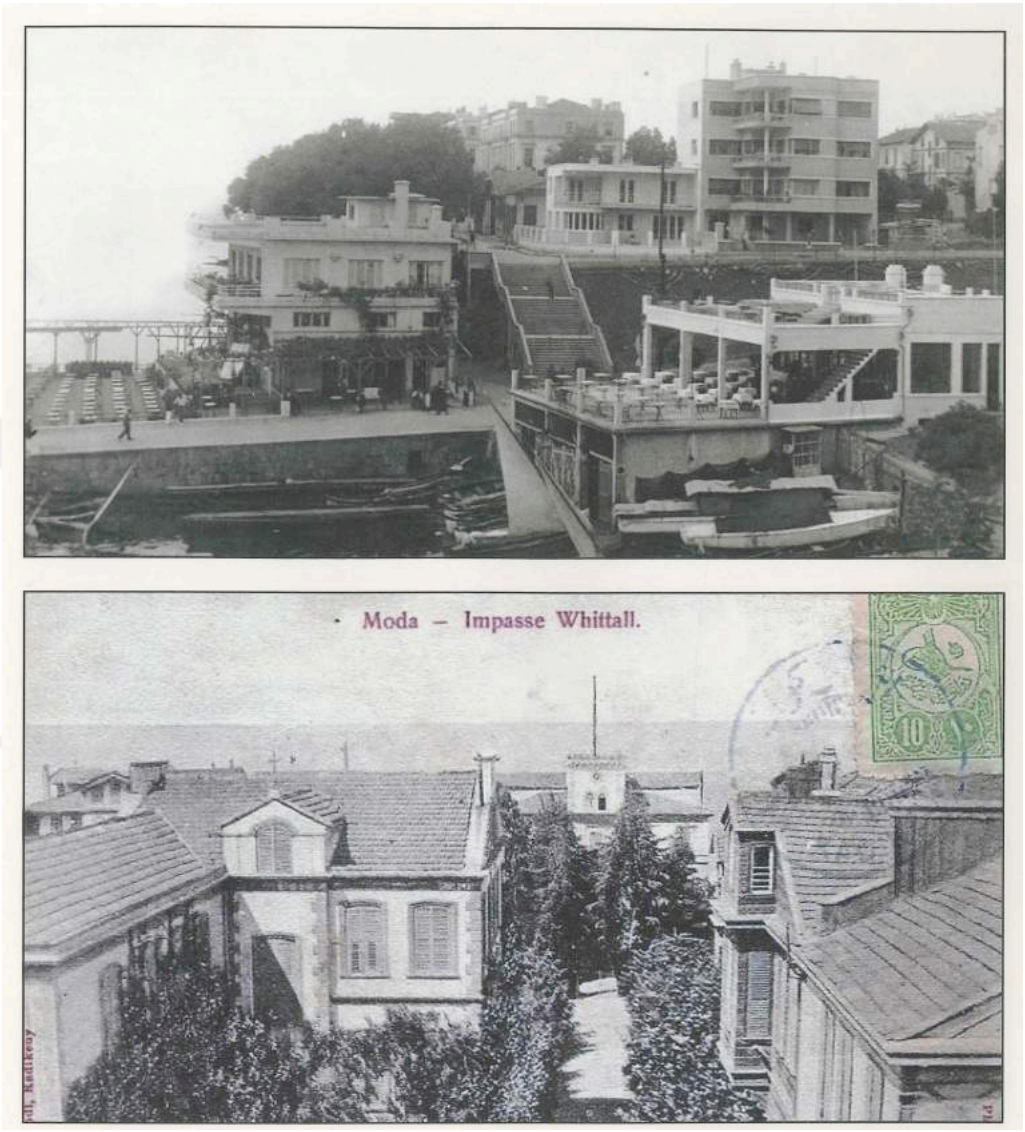


Figure 2.3f, 2.3g. *Photographs of old Moda residences from postcards.* Figure 2.3e (above) captured the very edge of Moda Street, the path to the Pier of Moda and the old Moda Sea Club can be seen. Notice the two or three storied masonary old houses in the background. Also notice "Moda – Impasse Whittall" at the bottom of Figure 2.3f: *Impasse* indicates the dead-end of Whithall, which is currently "Belkıs Dilligıl Çıkmazı". The Whithall family occupied that plot shown in the Figure 2.3f.
Source: Anonymous. (2010) Dünden Bugüne Moda Deniz Klübü. Portakal Basım, İstanbul, p. 271.



Figure 2.3h. *Aerial photograph of the Moda district, 1940s.* Notice the amount of the orchards and gardens in the district melted with the characteristic pattern of masonary houses (k*onaks* and *köşks*).
Source: Anonymous. (2010) Dünden Bugüne Moda Deniz Klübü. Portakal Basım, İstanbul, p. 80.



Figure 2.3i. *Photograph of the transformation of the architectural pattern of Moda, beginning of the 1960s.* Stated under the photograph: "Garden of *Grerd* (Bahçe) *a* conjuncts with Hülya Street (Sokak), and Moda Camii (Mosque) can be seen". The existence of gardens still remains in the beginning of the 1960s. Moda Mosque is still located on Şair Nefi Street.
Source: Serezli, Demir Alp (2002) *Saint Joseph'in Öyküsü*, Apa, İstanbul, p.270-271.

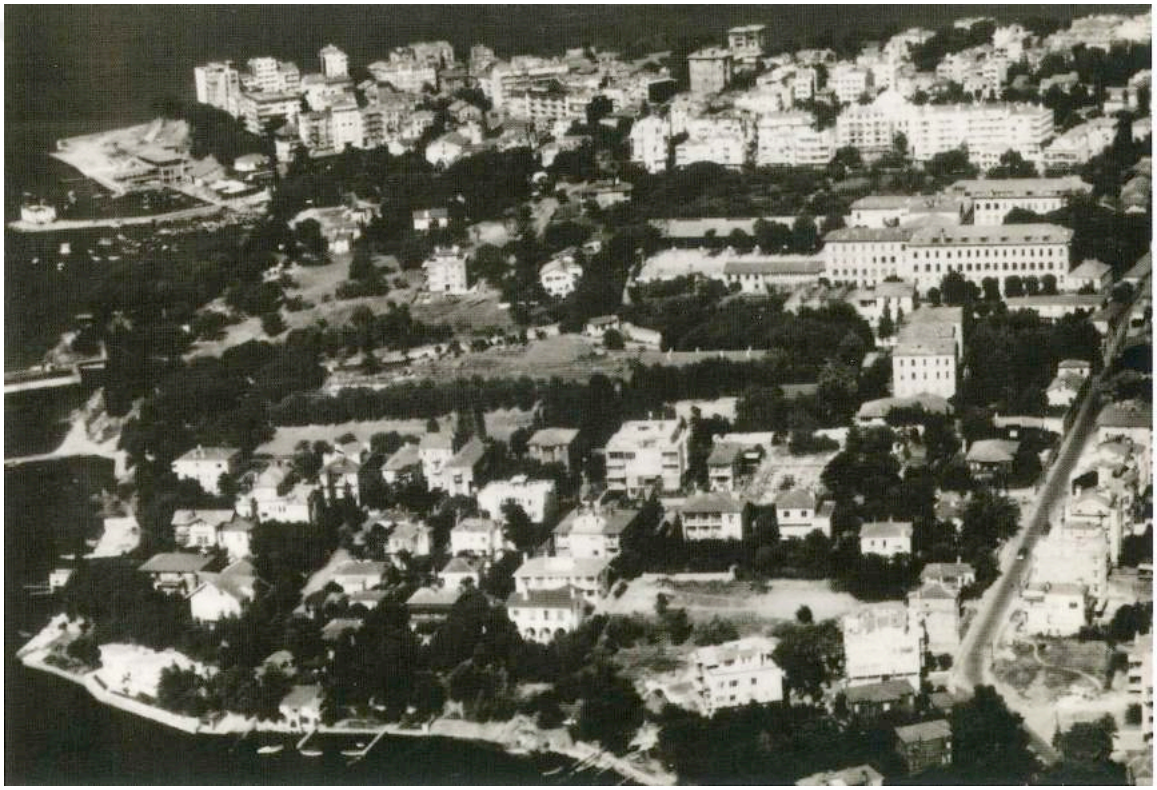


Figure 2.3j. *Aerial photograph of the Moda district, 1970s.* Photograph captures the district starting the Yoğurtçu Park (Dr. Esad Işık Street on the right), towards the edge of the Moda cape where the newly built Marmara Apartment can be spotted. The Manzara Apartment was not built yet. The pattern of traditional houses is more visible on the Yoğurtçu Park side, whereas the shore of Moda started to be "filled" with multi-storey apartments.
Source: Serezli, Demir Alp (2002) *Saint Joseph'in Öyküsü*, Apa, İstanbul, p. 272.

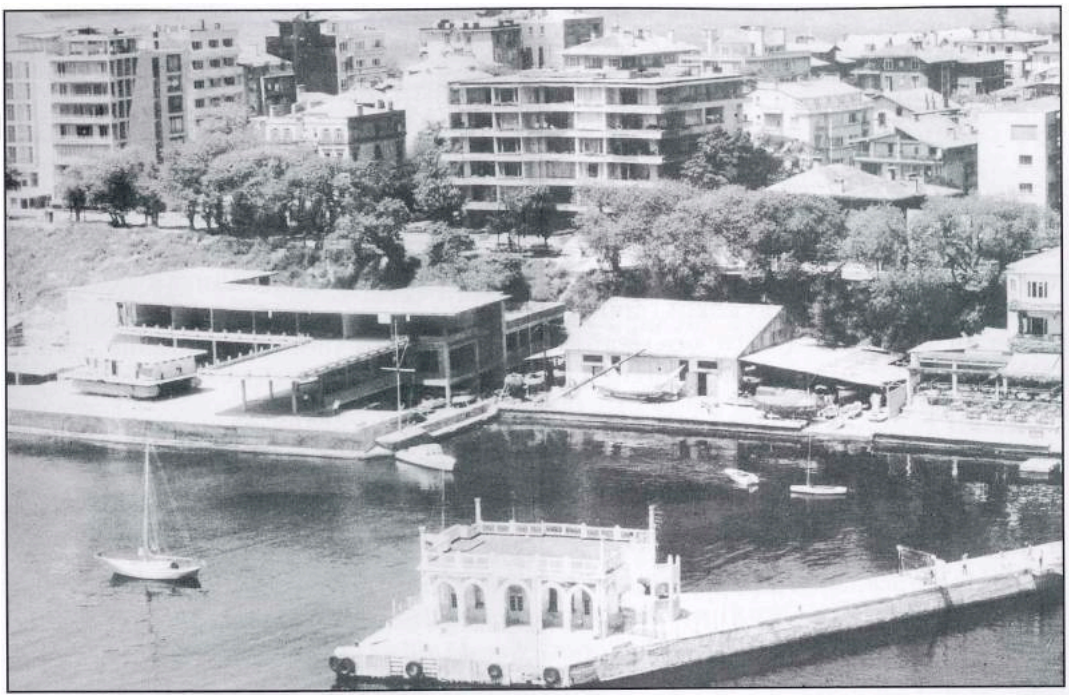


Figure 2.3k. *Photograph of the Moda shore, the 1970s.* Photograph captures the Moda Pier, Moda Sea Club (old concrete version), and the very edge of the Moda shore of the Moda cape where the construction phase of the Marmara Apartment can be spotted. The Manzara Apartment was not built yet, Mano Palas was still giving service. The dominance of the pattern of traditional houses over the district already became less.
Source: Anonymous. (2010) Dünden Bugüne Moda Deniz Klübü, Portakal Basım, İstanbul, p. 91.



Figure 2.3l, 2.3m. *Photograph of the Moda shore, 1990s.* Architectural pattern of Moda is dominated by multi-storey apartments after the 1980s.
Source: Anonymous. (2010) Dünden Bugüne Moda Deniz Klübü. Portakal Basım, İstanbul, p. 90 (above), 207 (below).

CHAPTER III

THE PRODUCTION OF THE RESIDENCES IN MODA

This chapter is going to discuss how the district of Moda transformed into a denser urban settlement by examining the changes in the building process of different types of houses and focusing on the roles of the actors in this process from the early Republican years until 1980. The actors, i.e. the landowners, occupants, architects and contractors, hold a great importance in defining the historical frame of the residential production in Moda. Their identities and approaches defined the character of the district as "modern". The changes in the building process of the Moda district from an area of orchards and traditional houses to single-family houses and finally to apartments will be examined in the first part, along with the history of this settlement. The actors of this production after the establishment of the Republic will be analyzed in the second part of this chapter, by describing the social identities of landowners and/or the occupants, and the designs of architects and the constructions of contractors.

Among the stories of production processes of the houses that were researched for this study, some present problems in evaluation as there could not have been found any information about the exact location; or for those that are known to have been designed by one of the important architects of the "new" architecture in Turkey, there may not be any information about how and why they were demolished later on, or which apartments were built in their places. For some others, architects or contractors could not be determined, as the interviewees could not remember their names. The discussion in this chapter has been

developed on the information gathered from each specific case that are evaluated together to define the general context of the production processes of the residences in Moda.

3.1. The Building Process: From Orchards and Traditional Houses to Single-Family Houses and Apartments

The history of Moda as a settlement, its urban and social pattern, and the daily life of its occupants should initially be presented in order to understand the former urban and social pattern of the district. Moda was a region where mostly the Greek, British, Italian and Armenian families had resided since the late 18th century. The urban settlement developed according to their daily life habits, with the construction of non-Muslim schools and different types of churches. As the decades passed, the people from the bureaucracy of the Ottoman Empire began to reside in Moda as well. Just after the turn of the 20th century, Moda received local immigrants from other parts of Anatolia, and started to be filled with timber and masonry villas and mansions (*konaks*), which were occupied by relatively large families with many siblings. In those houses, large families with one elder couple, their children and grandchildren usually lived together. In the early Republican period, especially from the 1930s onwards, most of these families had a strong urge to move to a "modern" single-family residence and have their own privacy as smaller, nuclear families, rather than sharing daily life with relatives who were practically the "flat-mates" of each other. On the other hand, especially from the 1960s onwards, apartment construction dominated the urban context in Moda as elsewhere in Turkey, whereby families started to leave in their flats.

Necip Bey Map drawn in 1918 (Figure 3.2a) and the insurance maps of Pervititch drawn in 1939 (Figure 3.3a, b, c) depict how the urban pattern of Moda was

mostly consisted of orchards in the beginning of the 20th century.[1] In the map drawn by Necip Bey, it can be seen that the allotment was indicated back then. The pink areas among the green plots of orchards and gardens indicate the plots of the parcels of prospective buildings. It is also visible that the logic of the plan layout of the district of Moda was basically structured withthe facing of the narrow sides of buildings towards main streets, and the streets would end up perpendicularly towards to sea either in the south, the west or the east. Apart from orchards and gardens, the rest of the district was consisted of stand-alone houses with gardens. Those houses were mostly the property of upper class non-Muslim families in the shore side, and the remaining houses were the ones that wealthy and upper class Muslim families resided in. The indication of names of non-Muslim families together with names of Muslim families with Ottoman elite heritage significations (*Paşa*) can be grasped via the representations on those maps. For example, once looked at the Pervititch map (Figure 3.3a, b, c), Devriye Street - the very far street on the south side of the cape - had those stand-alone buildings such as Mano Palas, Frederici Apart, and Moda Palas; on the north, Whithall residences along with Mahmut Muhtar Paşa Konağı, and on the corner of the Moda Caddesi Akif Paşa Köşkü can be found.[2] There are exactly thirty three years time span between the map of Goad (Figure 3.1a-d) and the map of

[1] The density of areas specified as orchards (*bostan* in Turkish) can be seen in the mentioned maps. In addition, the fields (*tarla*) and gardens (bahçe) are also identified. In order to be acknowledged more about the daily life in these orchards and gardens, see: Kavukçuoğlu, Deniz (2010) *Mühürdar'dan Moda'ya Geçmişe Doğru Bir Gezinti,* Heyamola Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 111.

[2] The Frederici family was Italian and the Whithall family was British. The very first house on the first row of houses on the south edge of the Moda shore owned by Frederici and Tubini families (Ekdal, 2004: 44). In addition, Akif Paşa Köşkü is the *konak* of Akif Sarıca, which is still standing and the members of the family still occupying the residence on the Moda Avenue. Akif (Sarıca) Paşa was the medical doctor of the Yıldız Palace in the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid the 2nd. His brother Ragıp (Sarıca) Paşa was the *mabeynici* (ambassador, communication coordinator) of the Sultan (Ekdal, 2004: 63). Akif Sarıca Köşk is currently referred as Sarıca Köşk, and, it was built by Cristine Pappa in 1903 with the materials brought from Europe. For more information on the elite that was consisted from non-Muslim and Muslim families and their houses in Moda, see: Ekdal, Müfid (2004) *Kapalı Hayat Kutusu: Kadıköy Konakları*, YKY, Istanbul.

Pervititch, during which period the allotment could easily be seen to have been defined with the parcels divided by the streets intensely in the latter. Also, with an eleven years time gap between the two, the allotment indicated on the map of Necip Bey became visible on the map of Pervititch, where the pink parcels on the map of Necip Bey changed into the plots of residences. It should be noted that Pervititch noted down "Prost Allotment Project" in each green area, especially the ones close to the shore side where the Small Moda (*Küçük Moda*) was drawn (Figure 3.3a, b, c), In short, the transformation from orchards to gardens were already decided by the planning authority – the main actor of urban transformation, the power of politics. On the urban context within the 1930s, Tekeli quotes from Şanda that "the empty plots, fruit gardens and orchards within the environs of İstanbul were indicated in the plans of Prost. However, the plot speculators purchased these areas. These speculators sold these allotated areas plot by plot to middle-classed families – and small residences and the neighborhoods derived from these residences started to emerge in these districts."[3] Yet, it has not been studied yet in urban planning literature whether these allotted parcels of Moda were definitely transformed into the residential parcels that are owned by middle-class families starting from the 1930s or not. The residences that were studied in this research show that middle-class families started to settle in the district by the end of the 1950s.

The typology of the very first residences in Moda was mostly masonry traditional houses with two or three stories, usually with an attic. Those houses, where large families lived together, were located in large gardens with different types of trees such as those of apricot, apple, and cherry. The interviewees with the age range between 60 and 95 who provided more data for this study mentioned about their memories related those gardens. These help to understand the old habits of daily

[3] The mentioned speculators are the very actors of the housing production in any district. Tekeli, İlhan (2013) *İstanbul'un Planlanmasının ve Gelişmesinin Öyküsü,* Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 160. Quoted by Tekeli, from Şanda, Hüseyin Avni (1941) "Şehre Doğru" *Yurt ve Dünya,* Issue: 18, September.

life that took place in nature - a proud signature of Moda – as most of the interviewees shared.

Remembering these traditional timber houses, the interviewees used the very same sentence during the interviews: "*I always wanted to start living in an apartment as soon as possible*". The reason for this urge was the desire of getting-rid of the old ambiance of the traditional house, where a series of very detailed maintenance work was often needed. For example, Sedef Eğilmez Susmuş shared a memory about how she disliked living in an old house: When she was five or six years old, she used to play marbles with her cousins on the floor of their *konak* on Yoğurtçu Parkı Caddesi. However, they always ended up losing most of their marbles for forever because of the big cracks between the old timber floor finishing pieces. Eğilmez also mentioned that the old timber *konak* was full of moss and mold, which was unbearable to live with for her and her family.

Another example for the urge to start living in a "modern" house can be understood with reference to the *hamam* in old houses. There was not a hot water system in the traditional houses as well as the residences of the 20th century built before the 1950s. Instead, there was a *hamam*, where occupants boiled water in boilers, and then washed themselves on marble seating features. Old type of bathrooms are referred to as *hamam* by many of the interviewees, because of the existence of *kurna*, which is the marble basin, and it holds the very essence of *hamam*, as the place where boiled-water was collected. Many of the older interviewees mentioned about being washed with boiled water by the help of their mothers most of the time. Melih Ziya Sezer shared that he did not use a modern bathroom until their fifth residence where they moved in the beginning of 1950. He told that his mom used to wash him in their house built before 1935 not in a bathroom or even *hamam*, but just in the middle of the living space, i.e. *sofa*.

There are also many references to such daily life habits in Turkish literature. The urge to live a more contemporary or modern life is legible in the poem of İbrahim Minnetoğlu, one of those authors who shared the old memories and made us understand the context of this period:

Eski Konak Yeni Ev/Old Konak New House

Bu taşındığımız ev/ This house we have just moved in
Öyle eski değil./ Is not old
Ne bahçesinde asma çardağı:/ No grape pergola, or,
Ne yosunlu malta taşı var…/ No mossy malta stone
Yeni… Betonarme…/ Fresh new… Reinforced Concrete
Bu ev eski değil;/ This house is not old
Bir muz gibi soyulmuş kabuğundan,/ Teared from its skin like a banana
Bırakıvermiş hatıraları eşyalar…/ Furniture has left the memories…
Şuh bir kadın gibi çıplak,/ Nude like a vivacious woman
Taşınmış yeni eve…/ Moved to the new house
Her şey açık:/ Everything is bare-open
Ne sır saklayan dadılar,/ No nannies who keep secrets
Ne masal dinliyen beşik,/ No cradles that listen to stories
Ne trabzanı var kayacak/ No handrails to slide on
Çoluk çocuk!.../ For the children!
Ne mahzen, ne kömürlük korkuluk,/ No cellar, no coal shed, no scarecrow
Ne de cin peri alır içinde soluk/ Neither fairies to breathe in
Eski konak: şimdi bunak/ Old konak; now dotard
Hatıralarla!.../ With the memories!...[4]

This poem is a special one to picture the transformation of the residential character because Minnetoğlu both praises the nice memories lived in the old *konak* and satirizes the new house in a harmony. He complains about the freshness of the walls by saying that it is ripped from its skin; and also by telling that everything is visually open in the new house like a nude woman. Meanwhile, he is also emphasizing the amount of children in the old *konak* where a large family lived together under the same roof; and also mentions the garden, cellar

[4] Minnetoğlu, İbrahim (1948) Eski Konak Yeni Ev. *Mimarlık*, Issue 2 (5), Türk Yüksek Mimarlar Birliği Yayını, Ankara, p. 33.

and coal storage, which he pictures as filled with supernatural beings like fairies - just like the timber floor finishing of old *konak*, which "ate" the marbles of the Eğilmez children mentioned above.

Probably the most popular novel that reflects the years before the Republican period is "Kiralık Konak", written by Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu in 1922. The main character in this novel was depicted as an ever-complaining person. He was named as Servet Bey, who was not happy living in the konak, which was described as a failure because it was not serving the contemporary needs of the family. Below is a part where he complained about the konak:

> (…) to be honest, I did not have total comfort in this house; I could not find the possibility of being heated during six months of winter; or breathing during six months of summer. So many doors, so many windows! The air flows among the walls in January. It does not help no matter how we furnish, what we do for it. You always feel like you do not belong to this house. I am telling you from the beginning: I cannot understand the meaning of living here like a migrant while there are perfect and new apartments in Şişli. There is no bathroom in this giant house. It takes three days to prepare heating, to burn one ton of wood, to plaster the boiler and to maintain the marble basin every now and then, for that gawky hamam.[5]

[5] "Hem doğrusu, bu evde bir türlü rahat edemiyordum; senelerden beri bu geniş odalarda altı ay kış bir türlü ısmanın, senelerden beri altı ay yaz bir taraftan nefes almanın imkanını bulamadım. Bu ne çok pencere, bu ne çok kapı…Kanunusanide (Ocak ayı) duvarların arasından bile hava işliyor. Nasıl döşesek, ne yapsak nafile. Daima her tarafında sığıntı gibisin. Sana öteden beri söylerim, Şişli'de, o mükemmel ve yeni apartmanlar dururken burada bir göçebe halinde yaşamanın manasını anlayamıyorum. Koca evde adamakıllı bir banyo odası bile yok. O hantal hamamı yakmak için üç gün evvel hazırlanmak, üç çeki (ton) odun yakmak, ikide bir de kazanını sıvattırmak, ikide birde kurnalarını tamir ettirmek lazım geliyor." Karaosmanoğlu, Yakup Kadri (2000) *Kiralık Konak (*56th ed.), İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 154.

As can be seen, the terminology of comfort depicted in the novel signifies the "wish" of experiencing the daily life much easier and more practically – the need of contemporary technical freedom is legible in his words. The experience of long hours to be washed was clearly depicted here. The experience of the interviewees, such as the recollection of Melih Ziya Sezer about the residences he occupied when he was a child can be related to such complaints in the above section of the novel as well.

The modern population of the Republic no longer demanded *köşks* and *konaks*. Throughout the chronological focus of this study that spans the period from the early Republican years to the end of the 1970s, there emerged transformations in the housing production processes in Moda in relation to the political and social changes. The first transformation is from the traditional to the modern houses, which was realized when landowners divided the plot of their traditional houses into many plots for the construction of modern houses or apartments to rent in these lands. By the division of the land, owners gained a large amount of money by selling the houses or apartments, which were built over the empty areas of plots.

The second type of transformation was experienced in the mid-twentieh century when owners of *köşks* and/or *konaks* decided to have an apartment with more flats, and the traditional houses were hence demolished for new constructions. Usually the decision was made as a family, as many siblings, or grandchildren of those siblings occupied the traditional house together. The reason of demolishing can either be to provide the family members with separate flats as well as separate financial incomes; or it can also be because of the fact that the family could no longer afford the maintenance of the traditional house.

To conclude, new modern residences - either as single-family houses or apartments for rent constituted of two or three stories where landowners also

resided. These were built over the empty areas of orchards and gardens, starting with the establishment of the Republic until about the 1950s. The information about whether there was a traditional house in the place of the new modern residence could not exactly be found for most of the cases. Still, archival sources such as the descriptions of houses by their architects published in *Arkitekt* journal also support the idea that the new residences built in the early Republican period were mostly constructed over a divided empty plot, or a single plot with one owner. After the 1950s, the demolishment of traditional houses in Moda accelerated and this welcomed the permanent change of the urban pattern, which began to be formed by multi-storey apartments. Not only the traditional houses were demolished, but also the modern single-family residences that were built in the early Republican period started be erased from the urban context of Moda at the time. The production of multi-storey apartments owned either by one landowner or more continued with acceleration until the 1980s.

3.2. Actors of Production

The changes in the production of residential buildings from traditional houses to single-family houses or apartments for rent started to be seen in Moda after the Republic had been established; and the next stage witnessed in the 1960s the taller apartments of multiple owners in different flats replacing earlier residences. In this transformation of the residential context, which is in line with the modernization of daily life in the country, the production of residences was realized through many actors, significantly landowners and/or occupants, architects, craftsmen, and contractors. This part will examine the social identities and approaches of these actors: The aim is to answer how the architectural pattern of the Moda district was transformed and its urban pattern became denser as traditional houses were replaced by initially architect-designed and then contractor-built residences in accordance with the change of the earlier

upper-class population of the district with the increasing middle-class occupants towards the 1980s.

3.2.1. Single Family Houses and Apartments, 1930s-1950s

From the 1930s onwards, the "empty" plots of Moda, in only some of which traditional houses were located with large gardens, started to be divided in order to build modern residences as single houses or rental apartments by the demand of their owners who were from the upper-class and mostly intellectual families of that time. This process continued until the mid-twentieh century period, when the existing traditional houses began to be demolished this time and replaced with similar modern residences, and the construction of taller apartment blocks began to spread in the district.

The transformation of the early Republican period in Moda during the 1930s was especially witnessed on Mühürdar Caddesi, the main shore street when climbing to Moda from the Kadıköy pier, where many houses began to be built on most of the existing gardens there. In this process, the Rızapaşa plot turned into a very popular area where many upper-class families chose to reside. This plot was divided into many plots and these were sold one by one rapidly. Situated between the Rızapaşa Street and the Tuğlacı Emin Bey Street and having the panoramic view to the historical peninsula of İstanbul and the advantage of the short distance to Kadıköy, which is still considered as the heart of the Anatolian side; most of the families with wealthy financial background preferred to purchase the divided plots from Rızapaşa plot and build their own "modern" residences by the help of popular and well-referred architects.

Among the houses examined in this study, four were located in the Rızapaşa Plot. The first one of those is the Dr. Sani Yaver Villa – *Dr. Sani Yaver Villası*, which was designed by Zeki Sayar in 1932. Situated on Mühürdar Caddesi, the house was

facing the sea fully from Bakırköy to Dolmabahçe, "having the İstanbul panorama fully to itself" in the words of Sayar.[6] The measurement of the parameter of the villa was 20 meters in width and 40 meters in length.

As described in *Arkitekt* by Zeki Sayar, the main actor of Dr. Sani Yaver Villa, the architectural and technical characteristics of the house were as follows: The construction frame was reinforced concrete and the rest was built with brick framework.[7] All the mullions on the façade were of ironwork. What was interesting about this villa is the fact that a craftsman called Ali Bey was commissioned to produce all the window and terrace doors on demand, as several special iron profiles could not be found during the construction of the building. Therefore one of the actors of the architectural pattern of early Republican period can also be considered as craftsmen along with architects.[8] Another information about this villa is the fact that it had built-in radiator system with hot water supply, which was seen only very rarely during the 1930s in Turkey.[9]

The second residence that was built on the Rızapaşa Plot is the İhsan Bey Residence – *İhsan Bey Evi*.[10] This private residence, designed by Faruk Galip, was built in 1933. Its architect Galip noted in *Arkitekt* that there was a visible increase in selling the plots on Rızapaşa, therefore the construction activities increased

[6] Zeki Sayar also noted that the Mühürdar Avenue had a width of 20 meters at that time. Sayar, Zeki (1932) Dr. Sani Yaver Villası. *Arkitekt*, Issue: 1932-05 (17), 131-136. Visuals of this residence can be seen in Figure 4.1a, 4.1b, 4.1c, 4.1d, 4.1e, 4.1f.

[7] *Karkas tuğla,* in Tr.

[8] The problem with such hidden actors as craftsmen is that they were not generally mentioned in sources: Texts about buildings in *Arkitekt* were very short, and architects generally did not mention these other actors.

[9] The years when the houses were demolished are unknown unless indicated.

[10] The images of this residence can be found in Figure 4.2a, 4.2b, 4.2c, 4.2d, 4.2e.

accordingly.[11] The exact location of this residence could have been found by the help of the detailed description with street names that were noted by its architect Faruk Galip in *Arkitekt*. The descriptions and presentations of the projects during the 1930s are mostly not enough to spot the exact locations of buildings. What architects mostly did was only mentioning the street's name, such as "on Mühürdar Caddesi", "on Moda Caddesi" or "on Rızapaşa Plot". İhsan Bey Evi could be found by tracking the address from the insurance maps of Pervititch. The note on the address specified the location as "the corner point where the Duvardibi and Karakol streets conjunct together".[12]

In his own terms, Galip designed the building for state officers (*memur*s). Even though its form resembled a private residence, he used the term "apartment" in the description of the residence in *Arkitekt*: "Although being small, it is an apartment with full comfort in the corner of … ". Having a basement, a ground and an upper floor, and two entrance doors facing each street, it is natural to call this residence a private residence – not an apartment. The title of the description of the house in *Arkitekt* was "ev", is used for a stand-alone residential building. It is possible that in the early Republican period architects could be aiming to promote the residences that they designed by calling them "apartments" if these were multi-storied buildings.

Galip also noted the materials used to emphasize the modern approach of the residence: The foundations of the building were built with concrete; the walls with bricks, and the floors were of reinforced concrete.

The third residence that was built on the Rızapaşa Plot is the Sıdıka Haydar Hanım Residence – *Sıdıka Haydar Hanım Evi*, also designed by architect Faruk

[11] Galip, Faruk (1933) İhsan Bey Evi. *Arkitekt.* Issue: 1933-03 (27), 80-82.

[12] The Sir Apartment is currently in the location of this residence now. Duvardibi Street is now called as the Cemal Süreya Street.

Galip, in 1933.[13] In his article on the house in *Arkitekt*, Galip further explained about the special plot, which was being transformed these years.[14] Galip noted that the very first residence buildings that were built during the last two years (1931-1933) were designed to have maximum three floors, in respect with the thought that the neighborhood was thought to be a residential area. The municipality of the province had not determined the standards of the height of buildings in the streets or neighborhoods. This was the exact reason, for Galip, why, within a short notice during the 1930s, high-rise apartments started to be constructed next to the private residences. Galip further complained about the municipality, which did not define the limits for constructions, so that there occurred a monotonous scene of high-rise apartments with private residences, which lacked aesthetic appearance.

Located on Mühürdar Caddesi, Sıdıka Haydar Hanım Residence had the full panoramic view from Yeşilköy to Cihangir. The precise address of this house could not be located as the descriptions of the architect were not specific. The building was consisted of three floors, and a basement floor. The finishing materials were all wood, including the stairs.

The last residence built on the Rızapaşa Plot in the early Republican period is the Seza Apartment – *Seza Apartmanı*.[15] Architect Sırrı Arif designed this apartment building in 1933. Having five floors including the ground floor, this apartment consisted of five flats. Concrete framework was used for the construction of the building.

[13] The images of this residence can be found in Figure 4.3a, 4.3b, 4.3c, 4.3d, 4.3e, 4.3f.

[14] Galip, Faruk (1933) Sıdıka Haydar Hanım Evi. *Arkitekt.* Issue: 1933-06 (30), 171-173.

[15] The images of this residence can be found in Figure 4.4a, 4.4b, 4.4c, 4.4d, 4.4e, 4.4f, 4.4g, 4.4h.

The modern houses and apartments built in Moda in the sites of the earlier traditional houses or in empty lands from the 1930s onwards were for the upper-class families and well-known figures of the Turkish intellectuals such as rectors, professors, and doctors. The majority of the locations of new constructions of the period were in the most prestigious areas of the cities. For İstanbul, Moda was among such prestigious regions along with Nişantaşı, which is in European Side.

As exemplary of the houses of intellectuals and/or the upper-class families of that time, the Dr. Sani Yaver Villa by Zeki Sayar, as mentioned above, was built in 1933. Yaver was a medical doctor who had been the Turkish representative in international medical congresses in Paris, Copenhagen, Madrid, Berlin and so on. He was one of the five people who formed the Turkish Ear-Nose-Throat Medical Organization.[16] These facts made him a strong historical figure in the medical history of modern Turkey.

Just like Sani Yaver, Prof. Dr. Tevfik Taylan[17] was also a notable figure. In 1936, Taylan decided to have a private residence in Moda to reside with his family. Their house was designed by Zeki Sayar, and built in 1936. Sayar noted that the Prof. Dr. Tevfik Taylan Villa was designed for the needs of a family of five[18]. Taylan was the rector of the İstanbul Technical University between 1944-1946 and 1946-1948

Zeki Sayar explained that the Dr. Tevfik Taylan Villa had “two and a half stories”. The half floor he mentioned was the basement, which consisted of a storage, a laundry room, a room for the maid, a heating center and a den. All these spaces

[16] Türkiye KBB Cemiyeti.

[17] Prof. Dr. Osman Tevfik Taylan, 1886-1976.

[18] Sayar, Zeki (1936) Moda’da bir Villa. *Arkitekt.* Issue: 1936-03, 65-69. Visuals of this residence can be found in Figure 4.9a, 4.9b, 4.9c, 4.9d, 4.9e, 4.9f, 4.9g, 4.9h.

with particular functions do imply the upper-class status of the family: A separate laundry room and a heating center were the fundamental indicators of a modern life style in Turkey at the time, and a room for the maid indicated the upper-class status of the family.

Although the profile of the occupants was not mentioned in the text in *Arkitekt*, "A mansion in Moda" – *Moda'da bir Villa* by Zeki Kozanoğlu was most possibly occupied by an upper-class family with reference to the interior space features and the location of this villa.[19] This mansion was built for a family of five in 1936. Architect Kozanoğlu explained the location[20] as "in the façade of Moda that overlooks Fener, on a corner," and the house had "a panoramic view towards Adalar and Fenerbahçe". This description of the address shows that the house was on the east side of Moda, most possibly closer to Kurbağalı Dere and Yoğurtçu Parkı than Moda Caddesi. The building had a basement floor, a ground floor and an upper floor. The basement floor was only for the service area, including a den, storages and a heating center with the main radiator.

There is one exceptional residence among those, which was owned by an upper-class family. It is the Doğruman Residence – *Doğruman Evi*, whose owner was one of the interviewees of this study, Rüçhan Sel (b. 1945). The house was located on Şifa Sokak. It was built between 1935 and 1937, and demolished in 1977.[21]

The story behind this house is highly interesting for the investigation over the social and financial context of the Moda district. Rasiha and Nail Doğruman, who are the parents of the interviewee, had been living in Kadıköy, Hünkar İmamı

[19] The images of this residence can be found in Figure 4.10a, 4.10b, 4.10c, 4.10d, 4.10e, 4.10f, 4.10g.

[20] Kozanoğlu, Ziya (1936) Moda'da bir Villa. *Arkitekt.* Issue: 1936-09, 245-248.

[21] The images of this residence can be found in Figure 4.7a, 4.7b, 4.7c, 4.7d, 4.7e, 4.7f.

Çıkmazı Street until 1949. Rüçhan Sel told that the house was concrete, and consisted of three floors. The Doğruman family was living together with the landowner in that house. The building had only one entrance door, and the Doğruman family was living on the ground floor and the floor below the ground floor, and the landowner was living on the rest of the floors. The building had only one floor building when it was constructed, probably around 1935 according to Rüçhan Sel. After a certain period of time, before Doğruman family moved there, the previous landowners decided to build another floor to earn money from tenants. Therefore, once Doğruman family became the owner of the house, they had tenants on the ground floor below their residence. This type of tenant housing will be discussed in the following paragraphs of this chapter.

The Doğruman family had been lucky to win the lottery in 1947. The amount of money was surprisingly high for the family, and when they won the lottery, the first idea over how to spend or invest the money was to purchase houses and cars, and many other needs for the family. They searched for many houses to find the one where they could spend the rest of their lives, and ended up purchasing the residence in Şifa Sokak. The reason why they chose Moda was mainly to have a house close to the St. Joseph School where they planned to send their son, who was three years older than Rüçhan Sel in 1947. They decided that their son should be studying in this private high school, which was among the best schools in İstanbul at the time. Therefore, as the house in Şifa Sokak was at a five minutes walking distance from the St. Joseph School, they decided to purchase the house. The whole amount of money was spent with this purchase. By the exact words of Rüçhan Sel, the family could have easily purchased two or three houses in other neighborhoods, showing that Moda was an upper-class family district as the houses here were very expensive.

Although the family purchased the house in 1947, they could not move there completely until 1949. Those two years were the years that they sued the tenants

living in the house to evacuate them. Coincidentally, one of the main actors of history of architecture in Turkey, architect Emin Onat, was the tenant in that house with his wife, G. Hilde Onat.[22] Eventually they left the house and the Doğruman family moved in permanently, until the demolishing of the building.

Emin Onat is mostly known as the architect who designed Anıtkabir, the mausoleum of Atatürk, together with Orhan Arda. If Zeki Sayar, Zeki Kozanoğlu, Sırrı Arif, and Faruk Galip could be considered as the main architects of the early Republican period in Moda, Emin Onat should be mentioned for the mid-twentieh century period. Onat lived in Moda for many years. There is a street in Moda named after him, which is the very street where he designed his own house in 1944, unfortunately later demolished. It was a single story private residence with an entrance higher than the ground, in order to provide a larger storage space below. With its details of timber mullions and the semi-open terrace where the house was opening to, this residence was exemplary of the "nationalist" style of the 1940s that used local architectural elements.[23] While talking with the interviewees and also the other people living in Moda for many decades, the name of Emin Onat is frequently mentioned as the architecture of Moda was started to

[22] During the investigation of the Doğruman Residence, the name of G. Hilde Onat, was first found in the announcement card about the death of Emin Onat, which was prepared by her. The card wrote: "*Ganz underwartet verschied am 17. Juli mein lieber Mann Ord. Prof. Dr. E. h. Emin Onat in seinem 53. Lebensjahr. In tiefer Trauer G. Hilde Onat geb. Heerdegen. İstanbul, den 17. Juli 1961. Şair Nefi Çk. 2/1 İstanbul – Moda".* See: Tanyeli, Uğur (2007) *Mimarlığın Aktörleri: Türkiye 1900-2000,* Garanti Galeri, İstanbul, p. 277. In addition, Dostoğlu and Erkarslan mention that Hilde Onat was Swiss, and adopted a Turkish name (Güzin) after getting married Emin Onat in 1950. See: Dostoğlu, N. T. & Erkarslan, Ö. E. (2013) *Leman Cevat Tomsu: Türk Mimarlığında Bir Öncü, 1913-1988*, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, Ankara, p. 56, 85.

[23] Afife Batur mentions about the residence of Emin Onat as exemplary of the populist and local style of the period: "His own house (Moda, 1944) and the house he designed for his sister just beside it shared the fate of many buildings of the early Republican period architecture. In spite of all the efforts of the conservators, they were torn down by their new owners to build new blocks of flats." Batur, Afife (2005) *A Concise History: Architecture in Turkey During the 20th Century*, Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, Ankara, p. 42.

be discussed with them. An interesting anecdote about Emin Onat is that, as mentioned above in the case of the Doğruman Residence, he was working on the project of Anıtkabir while the Doğruman family was waiting the decision of the court to evacuate him from the house.

Besides the single-family residences mentioned until now, the architects of the early Republican period also designed apartments for the upper-class families of Moda. These apartments were mostly built on the plot of a previous köşk or konak as well as an empty plot – a garden. The first one among those to be examined was designed by Zeki Sayar: the Dr. Kamil Röntgen Apartment – *Dr. Kamil Röntgen Apartmanı*, completed in 1933. This apartment was the first apartment that Zeki Sayar designed. It had five floors including a basement floor for a private parking lot, a coal storage, a heating radiator control center and the flat of the apartment keeper. Except the ground floor, which was used for the x-ray laboratories of the owner who was a doctor, the tenants occupied the rest of the flats. The comfort provided here was defined by Zeki Sayar as follows: This apartment had radiator installation, bell installation for all sections, private telephone line between the apartment keeper and each flat, and air-gas installation, which were all "vital" and "necessary".[24] The apartment was on Bahariye Caddesi, which is the main conjunction street between Kadıköy and Moda. Architect Sayar mentioned that it was exactly on the opposite side of the Süreyya Opera building.[25]

The second residence that was designed with a flat for the owner and those for the tenants was the "A House for Tenants" – *Kira Evi*, by Rebii (Refik) Gorbon. This residence was built on Mühürdar Caddesi in 1935. The formative approach

[24] Selah, Zeki (1933) Röntgen Apartmanı. *Arkitekt,* Issue: 1933-08, 231-236.

[25] The demolishment year of the Dr. Kamil Röntgen Apartment is unknown. The images of this residence can be found in 4.5a, 4.5b, 4.5c, 4.5d, 4.5e, 4.5f.

of the building was thought in regard with the sea[26]: Geographically, Mühürdar Caddesi is a steeped street, which takes one from Kadıköy and to the most southern point of the Moda cape. Thus, the form of the building was decided by Gorbon to have a higher-level from the ground. This decision was also made for the sake of having a basement floor.

The building had four floors except the basement floor. The top floor consisted of a big terrace to enjoy the sea view panoramically. Gorbon also designed a pergola over this terrace in order to provide a relatively equal height with the adjacent building. Additionally, there was a garden, facing the sea façade, which was about seven and a half meters away from the building.[27]

The third example of the apartments for tenants is the Fitnat Hanım Apartment – *Fitnat Hanım Apartmanı*. This was one of the houses whose owner is among the interviewees[28] of this study. This apartment was located in Bademaltı Sokak, and built around 1935. Melih Ziya Sezer told that the building had four floors including a basement floor. The owner was occupying the top floor as in most of the cases, and the tenants rented the rest of the flats. Sezer also told that the top floor had a large terrace.[29] He lived there between 1941 and 1953 with his family.

The fourth example to this type of apartments is "A House for Tenants" – *Bir Kira Evi*, which was designed by Zeki Sayar and built in 1940. The building has not

[26] Refik, Rebii (1935) Kira Evi. *Arkitekt,* Issue: 1935-06 (54), 163-165.

[27] The demolishment year of A House for Tenants is unknown. The images of this residence can be found in Figure 4.6a, 4.6b, 4.6c, 4.6d, 4.6e.

[28] Melih Ziya Sezer, born in 1932. He was born and raised in Moda.

[29] The images of this residence can be found in Figure 4.8a, 4.8b, 4.8c.

been demolished and still stands at Yeni Fikir Sokak No: 29.[30] Sayar described the address as follows: "A conjunction corner that connects Mühürdar and Moda Streets"[31]. The building has three floors and a terrace floor on the top. Each floor has only one flat, which was a conscious decision by Sayar. He further mentioned about this decision, and wrote:

> The areas of the flats are large, and there are many large rooms in each of them, this is why the total cost of the construction is low compared to the cost of the flats. If, each floor had two flats and there were eight flats in total, the total cost would be much higher for this apartment.[32]

Hence, the decision of creating only one flat on each floor was beneficial financially, and it was also more comfortable in terms of daily life occupancy when area per occupant within one flat is considered.

The fifth apartment is "A House for Tenants" - *Bir Kira Evi*, which was also esigned by Zeki Sayar. Built in 1941, this building has not either been demolished and still exists at Bahariye Caddesi No: 67.[33] What Zeki Sayar drew attention in the description of "A House with Tenants", was the difficulty of the plot on the construction areas.[34] Firstly, Sayar mentioned that the plots had highly narrow façades with over-depths. Secondly, he mentioned that there would have been a risk of losing the sunlight by an adjacent building if the latter building might be

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[30] The images of this residence can be found in 4.11a, 4.11b, 4.11c, 4.11d, 4.11e, 4.11f, 4.11g, 4.11h, 4.11i, 4.11j, 4.11k, 4.11k, 4.11l.

[31] Sayar, Zeki (1940) Bir Kira Evi. *Arkitekt,* Issue: 1940-11/12, 241-244.

[32] "Dairelerin sahası geniş oda adedi fazla bulunduğundan binanın maliyetine nazaran rantabilitesi düşüktür. Ayni saha üzerine her katta çift daire olmak üzere sekiz apartıman inşa edilmiş olsaydı bu irad nisbetinin arttırılması kabildi."

[33] The images of this residence can be found in Figure 4.12a, 4.12b, 4.12c, 4.12d, 4.12e, 4.12f, 4.12g.

[34] Sayar, Zeki (1941). Bir Kira Evi. *Arkitekt.* Issue: 1941-42/3-4, 57-58.

constructed before that former building. Lastly, Sayar complained about the inadequacy of the Greater Municipality of İstanbul regulations related to the measurements, especially the depths of the buildings that were located on large streets. This is why Sayar designed the building with concave and convex shapes on its plan, in order not to lose space because of the adjacent building. The building consists of four floors and a basement floor. The ground floor is over the street level; therefore, the apartment entrance is reached via stairs. The construction of the building is of concrete.

The sixth example among the apartments for tenants differs from the others with its transformation of the plot: the Cillov Apartment – *Cillov Apartmanı.* The Cillov family was one of the oldest families of Moda. It is thought that their köşk or konak had demolished after 1940 and this apartment was built on a slightly narrow plot of the plot of that köşk. The apartment was built between 1945 and 1950, and it is still standing at Yeni Fikir Sokak No: 25.[35] It is one of the characteristic apartments that can be seen while wandering the streets of Moda, as the cantilever part of the façade draws attention. This building consists of four floors and a basement floor. The design was specifically thought for the family of two siblings and their grandchildren – as the interviewees Volkan Ayman and Zeynep Ayman mentioned.

The last apartment for tenants is the Birgiler Apartment – *Birgiler Apartmanı*, which was designed by Ferzan and Leyla Baydar in 1948. Leyla Baydar was one of the first female architects after the early Republican period. She graduated from the State Fine Arts Academy in 1945 as a student of Sedad Hakkı Eldem.[36]

[35] The images of this residence can be found in 4.13a, 4.13b, 4.13c.

[36] Being both an academician and a practicing architect, Sedad Hakkı Eldem is one of the most addressed architect in the 20th century architecture of Turkey. His works and place in the historiography of architecture in Turkey can be read in following studies: Eldem, E. & Tanju, B. & Tanyeli, U. (2008) *Sedad Hakkı Eldem I: Gençlik Yılları,* Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, İstanbul; Tanju, B., Tanyeli, U. (2008) *Sedad Hakkı Eldem II:*

This building was built for the in-laws of the sister of Leyla Baydar.[37] They were the occupants on the top floor of the building, and the tenants occupied the first two floors of the building. Unfortunately, the location of the building cannot be specified, as the visuals in *Arkitekt* were not adequate to spot the exact site.

Baydar architects used local references in their design, exemplifying the "nationalist" approach of the 1940s. As mentioned in *Arkitekt* with their own words, they used local materials for the construction.[38] The façade of the ground floor was finished with cut-stones, whereas the façade of the rest of the floors left plastered. What is the most characteristic for the modernist approach in the design of this apartment is that the upper floors had cantilevered structures, which acted as extra spaces: These cantilevered volumes were connected with linear timber elements. Moreover, the roof was also left as cantilevered with details and motives on its finishing that acted as a kind of brise-soleil to the top floor.[39] As Carel Bertream states, the "Turkish House" became a memory-image filled with the outdated and even forbidden ideas into the present during the early Republican period.[40] These elements used in this residence precisely created the form of the building referring to what is known as "Turkish architecture". There is a high possibility that this form could have been an

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Retrospektif. Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, İstanbul; Tanyeli, Uğur (2001) *Sedad Hakkı Eldem*, Boyut Yayın, İstanbul; Tanyeli, Uğur (2007) *Mimarlığın Aktörleri: Türkiye 1900-2000,* Garanti Galeri, İstanbul, p. 162-180.

[37] Information collected from the verbal recollections of Prof. Dr. Gülsüm Baydar, who is the daughter of Leyla Baydar. I hereby share my gratitude to her for sharing this information about the Birgiler Apartment.

[38] Baydar, F. & Baydar, L. (1950) Birgiler Apartmanı. *Arkitekt.* Issue: 1950-07-10 (223-224-225-266), 153-155.

[39] The images of this residence can be found in Figure 4.14a, 4.14b, 4.14c, 4.14d, 4.14e, 4.14f, 4.14g, 4.14h.

[40] Bertream, Carel (2004) Housing the Symbolic Universe in Early Republican Turkey: Architecture, Memory, and "the Felt Real". In E. Bastea (Ed.) *Memory and Architecture* (pp. 165-190). University of New Mexico Press, New Mexico, p. 166.

outcome of being educated with the architectural language of Sedad Hakkı Eldem who was one of the pioneering architects of that approach.

To sum up, upper-class families chose to have private residences as single houses or apartments for rent built in the divided plots of the plots of empty gardens in Moda in the early Republican period, especially in the 1930s, changing the urban and architectural pattern in the district. In this process, house-owners commissioned architects for the design of those houses. As understood from the articles published in the issues of *Arkitekt* during the 1930, many notable figures in the society commissioned mostly well-known architects of the period, such as Zeki Sayar, Sırrı Arif, Faruk Galip, Ziya Kozanoğlu and Rebii Gorbon. They designed the new Moda residences in-demand of the families in the modern approach of the early Republican period

The mid-twentieth century context witnessed a change in the building process of residences in Moda, when new single houses and apartments began to be constructed not only in the empty gardens but also in the place of the traditional houses that were demolished at the time. The house of the Draz family presents an exemplary case for the residential production in Moda within the mid-twentieth century period, in which a "modern" stand-alone private residence was built on a plot that was a part of the plot of a traditional house.[41]

The owner Sabur Sami Draz was one of the well-known figures of Moda during the early Republican period as a famous tradesman. Since 1919, his family had been the occupants of one of the most beautiful köşks built by Christine Pappa. In 1919, after the First World War, Sabur Sami Bey purchased that köşk.[42] The

[41] This house was built in 1952 and demolished in 1968.

[42] Architect Christina Pappa was commissioned to build a *köşk* for the Ezine family, as mentioned by Mahmut Ezine, father of the Journalist Celalettin Ezine. Ekdal, Müfid (2004) *Kapalı Hayat Kutusu: Kadıköy Konakları*, YKY, Istanbul, p. 45.

business of the family did not go as planned in time, especially after the Second World War.[43] This is why the large plot of this beautiful köşk was then divided into several plots and sold to other families. From where one stands on this large plot in the west edge of the Moda cape, two of the Princes' Islands and the Marmara Sea can be viewed panoramically (Figure 4.15).

This is how the Draz family began to reside in a modern, concrete, private house with two stories. Mehmet Draz told that Mehmet Ali Handan was the architect of this private residence, who was commissioned by the father of Mehmet Draz. Mehmet Draz told that Mehmet Ali Handan had a series of intense communication with his father, in order to develop an efficient modern residence designed for the family.[44]

The Draz family lived in the house designed by Mehmet Ali Handan between 1952 and 1968, until the day when it was demolished. After the demolishing of the house, five apartments were constructed by contractors, dividing the plot into smaller plots. Among these five apartments, namely Görey Apartmanı, Sabur Sami Bey Apartmanı, Büyük Hanlı Apartmanı, Kısmet Apartmanı, and Mona Palas Apartmanı, Sabur Sami Bey Apartmanı is the very apartment that is located on the same spot where the earlier private residence of the family had been located. The new apartment was designed by Yüksel Umuter in 1968.[45]

The Necla Erk Residence – *Necla Erk Evi*, was also another example of this transformation from a traditional to a modern house during the 1950s. It is one of the houses whose owner is among the interviewees[46] of this study. The house was

[43] Ibid. p. 47.

[44] The images of this house could not be found during the research.

[45] The images of the Sabur Sami Bey Apartment can be found in 4.30a, 4.30b.

[46] Necla Erk, born in 1927.

located on Yoğurtçu Parkı Caddesi. It was built in 1954, and demolished in 2000. In its current plot *Şayan Apartmanı* stands today.[47]

To understand the history of this residence, one should know more about the former residences on this plot. The plot that this private residence was built on, had been the location of the big *köşk* as can be seen in Figure 3.3, Necla Erk told that this köşk had been built for the grandfather of the mother of her husband. Yet, occupants of this köşk had been only tenants because there was another timber *köşk* behind this plot, which was the main residence of the in-laws of Necla Erk.

For a couple of years during the period of the engagement of Necla Erk and her fiancé, she also lived in the timber köşk behind the main plot. Before they got married, the in-laws decided to demolish the old house and build a new house, also as a new house for the future newly-wed couple. They investigated for a good architect during the years 1952 and 1953, and finally found Muhlis Türkmen, as suggested by friends of friends. At the time, Türkmen was known as a new architect who was designing buildings in the new modern architectural language especially in the Kadıköy district, Erenköy and Göztepe. Later in 1958, Muhlis Türkmen was going to be more well-known with the design of the Turkish Pavillion at the Bruxelles Expo, which was designed in collaboration with Utarit İzgi, Hamdi Şensoy and İlhan Türegün.

On his drafts of the design, Muhlis Türkmen initially aimed to design a three-story building for the family. However, due to the financial and material crisis after the Second World War, they could not find any more iron and cement for the

[47] The images of the Necla Erk Residence can be found in Figure 4.16a, 4.16b, 4.16c, 4.16d, 4.16e, 4.16f, 4.16g, 4.16h, 4.16i, 4.16j, 4.16k, 4.16l, 4.16m, 4.16n.

construction of the third floor.[48] This is why the residence remained as a two-story building, with a basement floor, which was used for the central control of radiator system of the building.

After the completion of the construction, the building was called as "the house of Miners", as the family of the in-laws was miners for a long time. However, the locals in the area started to call it as the "house of Doctor Necla", as Necla Erk started to use the house partly for her medical appointments with patients. The residence was both a private residence and a semi-private space for diagnosing the patients coming from the closeby neighborhoods of Moda and greater Kadıköy.

Along with the Necla Erk residence, the Cavid Bey Apartment – *Cavid Bey Apartmanı*, also holds an importance for this study: Among the residences that were built on a plot that was a part of a plot of a *köşk*, the Cavid Bey Apartment is significant with reference to the details of its building by Cavid Tamkan, as will be explained below.[49] Just like the background of most of the "modern" houses and apartments in the region, a timber traditional house had been located on the plot

[48] Afife Batur mentions about this shortage of construction materials during the 1950s as following: "Begining from the middle of the 1950s, the bottlenecks of the economy under the support and direction of foreign capital and foreign aids started to appear. There were results of the foreign trade deficit and difficulties of payment immediately reflecting on the construction area. Following the decisions of the Ministry of Trade bringing forth limitations on the free import regime, the prices of construction materials rose quickly. In 1952 prices, the price of zinc rose up to 140-150 kuruş (Turkish cent of that time*)* from 42 kuruş; the price of pipes rose up to 500 kuruş from 180 kuruş; the price of tile rose up to 50 kuruş from 28 kuruş and the price of timber rose up to 230 liras from 180 liras. In spite of this, finding materials became a problem due to their being kept in stock." Batur, Afife (2005) *A Concise History: Architecture in Turkey During the 20th Century*, Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, Ankara, p. 51.

[49] Visual and oral information about this building were collected via the recollections of another interviewee, Bülent Arkunlar. The Cavid Bey Apartment was designed and built by his uncle, Cavid Tamkan.

of the Cavid Bey Apartment.[50] The greater Tamkan family of six siblings, one of whom was Cavid Tamkan, used this traditional house until 1956. In 1956, this house was demolished to provide a modern apartment in its place as told by Arkunlar, Cavid Tamkan's nephew. The change of their residence was found necessary because the timber house needed more maintenance day-by-day and as its construction and finishing materials were over-dated.

The construction of the Cavid Bey Apartment lasted for four years - a long time for that period. During the demolishment process, Tamkan and his team found out that the soil was highly alluvial[51]. Hence, technical conditions of that time were not adequate to endure the construction of the apartment quickly, which changed the financial calculations bout the construction cost. There followed long discussions and researches on how to build the apartment safely. Eventually the team decided to pour a very thick layer of concrete over the alluvial soil.

As the costs were higher than expected, some of the designed architectural features of the building had to be given up as well. One of them is the elevator. Even if the building was designed with an elevator shaft, architect Tamkan told the children and other family members that he could not afford purchasing an elevator at the time. Another issue that was given-up was the kitchen features and finishing materials, and low-cost materials like btb was preferred.

The Cavid Bey Apartment was consisted of a basement floor, a ground floor, three floors above this and the top floor that was only a floor with a big terrace. Each floor was consisted of three flats. Tamkan thought about this during the design phase. He foresaw a scenario of each six siblings having two children in the future.

[50] The images of this residence can be found in Figure 4.21a, 4.21b, 4.21c, 4.21d, 4.21e, 4.21f, 4.21g, 4.21h, 4.21i, 4.21j, 4.21k, 4.21l, 4.21m, 4.21n, 4.21o, 4.21p, 4.21q.

[51] It is told by the interviewees that Kurbağalıdere, the creek in front of the Yoğurtçu Park had been used as piers and ports in ancient times, during the Byzantine period. Hence, the alluvial soil could be related to this historical fact.

Thus, this was how the apartment ended up having twelve flats in 1961. The apartment was demolished in 2013.

Among the researched residences, the only one that can be spoken about with certain recollections is the Cavid Bey Apartment. Whole historical data and knowledge could be gathered from the family members of the landowner during the research. The architect of the apartment, Cavid Tamkan, as one of the siz shareholders of the plot of the traditional house, did not need a contractor for the construction and completed the building process himself.

Hence, the main actor of this apartment was Tamkan, who was one of the graduates of the State Fine Arts Academy, educated by Ernst Egli and Sedad Hakkı Eldem, and also worked as a research assistant of Egli that time. Mehmet Ali Handan, Kemal Ahmet Aru and Rebii Gorbon were among the friends of Tamkan, who were in the same design studio in the Academy with Cavid Bey as well (3.4c). He also held a degree of Master of Architecture.

It is believed that Tamkan dedicated himself fully to the construction. What Bülent Arkunlar, his nephew, told is that Tamkan accomplished his best to provide the family a well-designed apartment. The apartment had twelve flats. What Tamkan told his relatives was that his main concern had always been "to solve the traffic within the house functionally".

The Cimcoz Apartment – *Cimcoz Apartmanı* - on Ferit Tek Sokak No: 56, is another example of how a modern apartment was built in the place of a *köşk.*[52] The apartment was designed by architect Mehmet Ali Handan[53] in 1961. The

[52] The images of this residence can be found in Figure 4.22a, 4.22b.

[53] Figure 3.4c can indicate the importance of architect Mehmet Ali Handan among the other pioneering architects like Ernst Egli, Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Leman Tomsu, Kemal Ahmet Aru, Rebii Gorbon, Leyla Hanım (Baydar).

Cimcoz family who had owned the köşk was a well-known family in the Moda district. They were considered as one of the most intellectual families among the non-Muslim families. Salah Cimcoz (1877-1947) was a lawyer and an author who was writing in a humor magazine called *Kalem*. He also attended the Socialist International Congress held in Stockholm in 1917.[54] The British captured him when the Ottoman Empire was defeated in the First World War, as he was one of the members of the Union and Progress Committee (İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti) in power during the final years of the Ottoman Empire. The British took him to Malta, where he stayed as an exile for many years, and after his return he became a member of the new parliament in Turkey from 1931 to 1946. His daughter Emel was married to the sixth president of Turkey, Fahri Korutürk.

As followed in the descriptions of the new residences that were published in *Arkitekt*, new construction had its difficulties: Architects complained about the lack of adequate materials and financial means to support modern constructions. In addition, the complaints about the regulations of the municipality are also legible: Laws about constructing apartments, the newly developing type of houses, was not clear, causing the architects to have troubles in designs during the acceptance of their material preference and the surface of the ground floor of the building.[55]

Until about the end of the 1960s, the landowners of the new residences in Moda can indeed be identified as members of upper-class or elite families, as they had the financial means to have their own lands and houses in a prestigious region of

[54] Ekdal, Müfid (2004) Kapalı Hayat Kutusu: Kadıköy Konakları, YKY, Istanbul, p. 49.

[55] The architect whose problems with the municipalities and building regulations were the most visible was Zeki Sayar. His complaints were visible in his articles in *Arkitekt*. See (1) Sayar, Zeki (1951) Yapı Polisi!. *Arkitekt*, 1951-09-10 (237-238), 157,167 (2) The description of "A House for Tenants", also one of the residences researched in this study; Sayar, Zeki (1941) Bir Kira Evi. *Arkitekt.* Issue: 1941-42/3-4, 57-58.

İstanbul – most likely coming from a family who had been engaged with trade business.

3.2.2. Flat-Ownership in Apartment Blocks, 1960s-1970s

From the 1950s onwards, migration to urban center accelerated with the developing industrialization, and in big cities such as İstanbul population increased significantly. This was how urban land in İstanbul and many other big cities gained financial value. Structure of the society faced changes in this context in terms of "class" with the increase in middle and lower income groups migrating to cities.[56] The demand for housing simultaneously increased. Division of the plots of residences that had been built before the turn of 20th century for new constructions, was the main process for urban development around the 1950s in the country. With the Flat Ownership Law[57] regulated in 1965, which made it possible to own a flat in an apartment block, middle-class families had the opportunity to own their houses. İstanbul was the first of big cities of the period that was promoted with its soil, i.e. as "the city where one finds gold in its soil". Therefore, the number of the apartments in Moda also increased.

This sub-chapter will be covering eleven residences of the period from the 1960s onwards with stories about their designs and constructions, in order to understand the identities of the actors who were effective in these processes. The aim here is to discuss "who" and "what" shaped the latter phase of the modernization of the Moda district.

[56] Batur, Afife (2005) *A Concise History: Architecture in Turkey During the 20th Century*, Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, Ankara, p. 63.

[57] *Kat Mülkiyeti Kanunu*, in Tr.

As witnessed after the Second World War, the production of residences from the 1960s onwards also included cases in which single-family houses or apartments were constructed in the place of a traditional house that had been demolished. At the time, some of the single-family modern houses that had been constructed from the 1930s onwards also started to be demolished and replaced by higher apartments. As a result, the general type of residences of the period from the 1960s onwards was the apartment block that rapidly spread after flat-ownership was legalized.

In this rapid construction process from the mid-1960s onwards, the newly built residences became less qualified in aesthetic and technical terms. The points below, stated under the regulations of the State Planning Organization[58] in 1963, provided the basis of this change in quality:

> i. To provide more housing construction with the very same investment, without increasing the costs over housing more than twenty percent of the total costs, and, by applying pre-cautions.
>
> ii. To provide housing and shelter to a broader mass of people by decreasing the luxury housing construction, and choosing and constructing more houses that are the cheapest public house types, without any health inadequacy.
>
> iii. When landowners build their own houses with rentable flats for families with low income, to reduce the difficulties of the financial reach of those families.

[58] *Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı*, in Tr. The organization was formed in September 30th, 1960.

> iv. To provide the purchasing of plots for those who want to build houses with precautions over all types of gambling of buy and sell.[59]

Despite the last point that emphasizes a cautious approach, the resultant process in contemporary production of residences caused "buy-and-sellers[60] to dominate the field as the developmental plans of the state provided many opportunities for them. This meant that, if a family owned a traditional or a modern house, they could easily agree with a contractor to build an apartment in its place.

At first, the action of buy-and-sell started with the architects. Contractors, who were working along with architects and involved in the process with their knowledge about construction, became in time the major figures in the construction process, while architects began to have secondary roles given by contractors.[61] This period of buy and sell process changed the quality and identity of houses, as the newly constructed apartments began to have a standard and monotonous character: An apartment having as many flats as possible on the same plot of a previous single-family residence caused to this standardization with living rooms facing streets, bedrooms located at the back core of flats, similar type and number of windows on façades, and so on. Hence, as Aydan Balamir states, this was the period of "the modernism of contractors" that

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[59] "Konut yatırımlarına yapılan harcamaları toplam yatırımın yüzde yirmisinden daha çok artırmadan, tedbirler alarak, aynı yatırımla daha çok konutun yapımını sağlamak, lüks konut yapımının kısılması ve sağlık bakımından sakınca olmayan en ucuz halk konutu tipinin seçilmesiyle daha çok sayıda konutun yapımı ve daha geniş bir kütlesinin barındırılmasını sağlamak, sahiplerinin oturacakları evlerle birlikte, düşük kiralı halk konutları yaparak kiranın özellikle dar gelirli ailelerin imkanlarını zorlayışı etkisini azaltmak, her türlü arsa alım – satım oyunlarını önleyici tedbirlerle, ev yaptırmak isteyenlerin uygun fiyatlarla arsa edinmesini sağlamak."

[60] "*Yap-Sat"* in Turkish.

[61] For further information about the residential production process of the actors, , see: Tanyeli, Uğur (2004). *İstanbul 1900-2000: Konutu ve Modernleşmeyi Metropolden Okumak*. Akın Nalça, İstanbul.

expressed the serial and one-language process of the residential production.[62] Moreover, Ali Cengizkan supports the idea on standardization regarding the concept of apartments: Without the usage of the word "standard", he states that, once domesticity started to be experienced in multi-storey "apartments", the meaning and validity of these apartments became nothing beyond physical: The "mold" of these apartment blocks could be found in any part of a city.[63] The context of residences was transformed into being only in the physical world, without having any meaning and attachment.

The process of buy-and-sell naturally affected the architectural and urban environment of Moda as well. As can be seen in the panoramic photographs of the district, the mainstream construction hence produced began to define the urban context more and more each day (Figure 2.3h - 2.3m).

During the production process of residences, the interaction among owners, architects and contractors defined the final products. In cases that included an influential architect, designs of buildings stand out in line with contemporary approaches. In others dominated by contractors, whereby architects could not play significant roles, the final production of houses present standardized results.

On the plot of the old *köşk* of the Tanay family, the Tanay Apartment – *Tanay Apartmanı* was built in 1967, exemplifying a production process of negotiations among different actors of production.[64] As one of the residents in the apartment, Ayşe Ülgen, the youngest grandchild of the Tanay family, told that the family had

[62] Balamir, Aydan (2003) Mimari Kimlik Temrinleri 2: Türkiye'de Modern Yapı Kültürünün Bir Profili, *Mimarlık*, 314, 18-23.

[63] Cengizkan, Ali (2002) *Modernin Saati*, Mimarlar Derneği 1927 and Boyut Yayın, Ankara, p. 144. Emphasis done by the author of this thesis.

[64] The images of this residence can be found in Figure 4.27a, 4.27b, 4.27c, 4.27d, 4.27e, 4.27f, 4.27g, 4.27h, 4.27i, 4.27j.

escaped from the French and the Armenian armies in Adana, and come to İstanbul in 1924. First the grandparents of the interviewee started to live in Şişli in the European side of İstanbul. Once father and uncle Ülgen, who were born in 1918 and 1919, became older enough to start the primary school education, Ülgen grandparents wanted them to go to the St. Joseph School in Moda. This is why the timber *köşk* was bought in 1924, just across the school. The plot of the köşk was the very same plot that Tanay Apartmanı is located currently.

A little while later the grandparents of the interviewee bought the empty plot, which was just adjacent to the *köşk* to its east façade. Ayşe Ülgen told that the reason for this purchasing was to make the feeling in the *köşk* more spacious. This area was used for the storage of coal that time.

Their traditional house was consisted of a basement floor, a ground floor and two floors above those. Through the basement floor the occupants could reach the big garden area where the person who was taking care of the maintenance in the *köşk* had a little hut as well.

After the sudden death of her father Fikret Tanay, the wealth of the family started to lessen, as Ayşe Ülgen told. This is why her grandmother wanted to have an apartment constructed by demolishing the *köşk* and having flats-per-person in return.[65] Although Ayşe Ülgen's mother opposed this, it was agreed afterwards by the support of her uncle as well.

The architect of the Tanay apartment was Lütfi Zeren, who was an instructor in the Department of Architecture in İstanbul Technical University. While planning the new apartment in 1970, Zeren set the new plan by making the apartment located on both plots: The plot of the köşk and the empty plot that was bought as a coal storage. This is why separate flats are not legible in the façade. There are

[65] *Kat karşılığı*, in Tr.

two types of flats in the apartment; one with a big balcony located on the plot of the old timber köşk, and the other without a balcony, located on the empty plot.

A contractor from the northern part of Turkey worked in the construction and negotiated with the family over the interior spatial arrangement of the flats. Ayşe Ülgen remembers him as "the contractor Ekşioğlu". She shared a story about this negotiation: When mother and grandmother of the Tanay family saw the architectural drawings of their future apartment, they did not like the window proportions in the entrance façade. Architect Lütfi Zeren designed a concrete parapet 100 centimeters above the floor finishing in each flat. The main entrance façade faces southwest, absorbing direct sunlight during the day into the living rooms. So, during the construction, the family asked the contractor to make the living room windows as large as possible, i.e. running from floor to ceiling. Eventually, the contractor accepted and made the alterations. Ülgen stated that her mother and grandmother were happy with the result, as the flats do not have other façades facing the south and/or the west. However, this decision kept the flats warmer than planned in the initial design of Zeren. In this example, the owners acted more effectively than the architect and the contractor who remained as secondary actors in the final form of the apartment.

Similar to the actors and the story of the Tanay Apartment, the Ebru Apartment – *Ebru Apartmanı* was also built in 1969 and produced by several actors. Just like most of the other contemporary apartments in Moda, Ebru Apartmanı was also constructed on the site of a former timber traditional house.[66]

The *konak* of the grandparents of the interviewee Sedef Eğilmez Susmuş had been a residence for four families. Eğilmez was born and raised in this building, among with her cousins and uncles. She and her parents occupied half of the *konak*

[66] The images of this residence can be found in Figure 4.28a, 4.28b, 4.28c, 4.28d, 4.28e, 4.27f, 4.28g, 4.28h, 4.28i, 4.28j, 4.28k, 4.28l, 4.28m.

physically, and the rest were used by the other part of the family with many members. Thus, it can be said that the luckiest one was the nuclear family of the interviewee as they had the chance of occupying much more space compared to the others.

Sedef Eğilmez Susmuş remembers that the old building could no longer be used when she was seven or eight. The financial status of the family was not good as before, therefore the family could not afford to maintain the old building. This is why each family started to leave the house for a more "stable"[67] and better place one by one. During the time that those families started to live in other houses, they also started their research about the cost of a "modern" building. Meanwhile the family hired a slightly poor man who was living in the neighborhood for the maintenance of the house. This man lived there for a year or so, and he rubbed all the antiques that had remained from grand-grandfathers one by one without being noticed.

Eventually the *konak* was demolished and the Ebru Apartment started to be built by a contractor named Halil Kösoğlu. What the interviewee told is that this contractor is the very first one in Moda, who was originally from the northern part of Turkey.[68] Architect Atay Aliyazıcıoğlu was commissioned for the design of the apartment. Its construction started in 1967 and completed in 1969. During the interview, it was told that the family of Sedef Eğilmez Susmuş was in contact with Aliyazıcıoğlu to discuss some alterations about the surfaces of some interior spaces.

[67] The interviewee used this particular word to emphasize the concrete and modern residences, which did not bare any damages that have to be maintained by the occupant.

[68] "*İlk laz müteahhit*", in Tr. This phrase "*laz müteahhit*" could be heard in most of the interviews and chats with people who are living in Moda.

The Tanay Apartment and the Ebru Apartment are among the apartments that were built on the plots of traditional houses. The similarity between these two apartments is that both of them were designed by architects and built by contractors. The Tanay and Eğilmez families mentioned that, in the cases where the families, as landowners, were not happy or satisfied about any detail, they were in contact with the contractors, not the architects. Both the Tanay and Eğilmez families were happy with their decisions about the alterations. It was also recalled by the interviewees that the architects did not oppose those alterations either. Thus, it can be said that contractors were the ones who held a close relationship with owners of the old houses.

There are also cases in which important or well-known architects of the period took part and affected the final products. One such example is the residence built on the site of an old house, the Marmara Apartment – *Marmara Apartmanı*.[69] This apartment was designed by Emin Onat and built in 1956. Its location is Ferit Tek Sokak No: 18-20. It is consisted of two massive blocks. In the maps of Goad, Necip Bey and Pervititich (Figure 3.1a-d, 3.2a, 3.3a-c) the locations were noted as private residences, which were most possibly used for hospitality buildings, just like Mano Palas. The location of the Marmara Apartment is very precious, as it oversees all of the islands and the Moda Pier. This point of the Moda Cape is still considered as the "gold" edge of Moda, both because of the prices of the flats and also the unblocked panoramic view that the residences here have. Another residence built in the same year (1956) is the Atıfet (Sporel) Apartment – *Atıfet (Sporel) Apartmanı*.[70] This residence was also designed by Emin Onat, and is located on Atıfet Sokak No: 18. Unfortunately no information about its plot could have been found, but according the photos gathered from the Salt Galata

[69] The images of this residence can be found in Figure 4.18a, 4.18b.

[70] The images of this residence can be found in Figure 4.19a, 4.19b.

archive[71], it is also highly possible that there was a köşk on the plot of the apartment.

Emin Onat was an important name for the Moda district. His signature is not only on residence design here: He was also a member of the administrative committee of the Moda Sea Club for several years starting in 1946, and designed a modern building for the Club in 1956-1957.[72] Unfortunately this modernist building was also demolished. The Moda Sea Club provided space for one of the important local communities, to which Atatürk also drew attention for a young and sportive generation. Atatürk emphasized that people of new Turkey should be strong, assertive and sportive. Therefore, he demanded to have a sea sports and activities center in İstanbul as well, and pointed out Moda as the location where the Sea Club was established to house sea sports activities. The club is still one of the centers of the well-off communities to gather and hold meetings, and hence one of the symbols of the upper-class society in İstanbul.

Zeki Sayar was another important architect in the production of residences in Moda not only during the early Republican period but also towards the 1970s. Sayar designed two modern apartments in the district apart from those mentioned previously. The first one is the Yapı Kredi Apartment, which was built in 1954.[73] It still stands on Bahariye Caddesi No: 24.[74] Sayar designed the building with five stories and a ground floor that opened to street. That section was

[71] These photos are presented in Chapter IV while discussing the interior space of the Ufuk Apartment – Ufuk Apartmanı.

[72] Two apartments, which were designed by Emin Onat, were also constructed between 1956 and 1957: the Marmara Apartment and the Atıfet (Sporel) Apartment (Figure 4.18a, 4.18b, 4.19a, 4.19b). These buildings were and are the very key elements to the current architectural pattern of Moda district.

[73] The images of this residence can be found in Figure 4.17a, 4.17b, 4.17c, 4.17d.

[74] The General Asım Gündüz Avenue is the current name of the Bahariye Avenue. However, Bahariye is still used as it has been accepted by the locals since many decades.

designed for commercial spaces such as stores and banks. The top floor is consisted of a big terrace, just like the building of Sayar on Yeni Fikir Sokak, mentioned in the previous sub-chapter. The second building Sayar designed in the mid-twentieth century period in Moda was the Ak Apartment. This apartment was designed in 1964.[75] Sayar himself lived there until his death. This apartment is also still standing at Bahariye Caddesi No: 21.

The Moda Apartment – *Moda Apartmanı* should also be mentioned as an important example, although it was not constructed. As seen in its project and gathered information about its process, the apartment holds a characteristic importance in many ways: The demanded plot for the apartment is the plot of an important private residence designed by Christine Pappa in 1910; Antipa Köşk.[76] The architect who was chosen by the owner of the plot that time, in 1972, was Sedad Hakkı Eldem, who was one of the leading architects of the time in Turkey. Hence, the design of Moda Apartmanı could shed light onto what was accepted as ideal, or modern, at the time. Many documents and letters found related to this non-built-apartment project in the Salt Research Archive testify the negotiations between the landowner, the contractor and the architect. It is legible that the landowner demanded to earn money by selling the flats of the apartment, yet her ideas of the design could not meet with the ideas of Eldem – possibly the reason why the building could not be constructed in the end.

Among the most notable actors of Moda, Altuğ and Behruz Çinici should also be mentioned. In 1979, they designed and built the Subaşı Apartment – *Subaşı Apartmanı,* on Ferit Tek Sokak No: 32. It is one of the residences that stands out with its aesthetics and efficiently solved interiors, on which a detailed discussion

[75] The images of this residence can be found in Figure 4.23.

[76] The images of the Moda Apartment and Antipa köşk can be found in Figure 4.32a, 4.32b, 4.32c, 4.32d, 4.32e, 4.32f, 4.32g, 4.32h.

can be found in Chapter IV.[77] The fact that an apartment was designed on the edge of the Moda shore by Çinicis, an important couple for the architecture of the time with their designs such as the campus of the Middle East Technical University, is an indication of the level of the upper-class regions in Moda.[78]

On the other hand, apartments constructed without the active role of successful architects presented different stories. The Ayalp Apartment – Ayalp Apartmanı, which is located on Hacı İzzet Sokak, is one such example that was constructed after a timber *konak* had been demolished.[79] Just like the other cases, a large family of siblings had occupied this *konak*. The interviewee Selami Ayalp told about the daily lives in the *konak* and the apartment, which are discussed in the next chapter on the interior spaces. He could not recall the architect and/or the contractor of Ayalp Apartmanı. However, it is for sure that the building construction took place between 1968 and 1970.

Buket Apartmanı, which is on Atıfet Sokak No: 1, was also another similar example, built in the place of one of the twin houses of Mr. Dawson, designed by Cristine Pappa at the turn of the 20th century as many other characteristic houses of non-Muslim families in Moda.[80] By the 1930s there was a German family living in the first house. Later on, in 1965, James Whittall purchased that house and made many restorations. After 20 years, that house was sold to Barış Manço.[81]

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[77] The images of the Subaşı Apartment can be found in Figure 4.34a, 4.34b, 4.34c, 4.34d, 4.34e, 4.34f.

[78] For further information on the architecture of Çinici, see: Tanyeli, Uğur (1999) *Improvisation: Mimarlıkta Doğaçlama ve Behruz Çinici*, Boyut Yayınları, İstanbul; Tanyeli, Uğur (2007) *Mimarlığın Aktörleri: Türkiye 1900-2000,* Garanti Galeri, İstanbul, p. 332-338.

[79] The images of the Ayalp Apartment can be found in Figure 4.31.

[80] Ekdal, Müfid (2004) *Kapalı Hayat Kutusu: Kadıköy Konakları*, YKY, Istanbul, p. 50.

[81] Barış Manço (1943-1999) was a very famous pop-rock singer.

The other house, in the corner of Atıfet Sokak and Yusuf Kamil Paşa Sokak, was sold to Necip Çayser in 1903.[82] His children later decided to divide the equity into portions; eventually, the house was demolished in 1967 and Buket Apartmanı, which has 38 flats, was built in its place by an anonymous contractor.

The example of the Öz Apartment, built by an unknown contractor in 1958, was located on the same row with the Buket Apartment, in Atıfet Sokak No: 3. The Günaydın Apartment, which is located in the east side of Moda, Safa Sokak, can also be a similar example, which was built by a contractor in 1966. The apartment is consisted of a ground floor, three floors and a floor with a big terrace. Lastly, the Ufuk Apartment and the Ihlamur Apartment were the residences that were found at the Salt Galata Archive, yet no information about their plot and actors could have been reached.[83]

All these residences exemplify the spread of apartment construction in the 1960s and onwards in the Moda district, produced by contractors while architects did not play significant roles in the formation of the final products. More than half of the interviewees mentioned the name of Kemal Kurt, who was a leading contractor in Moda that time. Kurt also built Manzara Apartmanı,[84] one of the houses investigated under this study. Interviewees who live or lived in a residence that was built after 1965 were unable to recall the name of the contractors of the apartments when asked. Because of the acceleration of the serial-production of residential buildings accomplished by only contractors, a monotonous pattern of buildings with similar design language grasped the

[82] Ibid., p.51.

[83] The images of the Öz Apartment can be found in Figure 4.20a, 4.20b, 4.20c; the Günaydın Apartment in Figure 4.26a, 4.26b, 4.26c; the Ufuk Apartment in Figure 4.24a, 4.24b, 4.24c, 4.24d, 4.24e, 4.24f, 4.24g, 4.24h, 4.24i, 4.24j, 4.24k; the Ihlamur Apartment 4.25a, 4.25b, 4.25c, 4.25d, 4.25e, 4.25f.

[84] The Manzara Apartment is on Ferit Tek Sokak No: 22-24. It was built in 1976, after the demolishment of Mano Palas.

dominance in Moda after 1965 (Figures 2.3b-2.3m). The residential production was mostly done through the idea of "designing/constructing as much as more flats/residence per apartment" for the contractors and the landowners to earn more money.[85] This was the exact time period where the spacious entrance halls and transitional spaces decreased in surface, although, this issue will be explained in Chapter IV in detail.

3.3. Final Remarks

This chapter presented how the actors participated in the production of residences in the Moda district: Which parameters accelerated the construction and building of a residence; what triggered the transformation from a köşk or konak to a single-house or an apartment; who the actors were in demolishing of an old residence and the construction of a new one; and how the urban and architectural pattern of Moda hence transformed were attempted to be answered in cases of variable types of residences.

In the early Republican period, the housing production was only building private residences for the upper-class families with engineering and medical backgrounds and/or intellectual families with academic backgrounds. In the drawings of these residences, the term of "a house of family of …" phrase was generally used, indicating the number of the children as well: This was the new face of the Republic of Turkey with nuclear families occupying their own spaces in new residences made from concrete and other new materials.

Zeki Sayar, Faruk Galip, Sırrı Arif, Rebii (Refik) Gorbon, Ziya Kozanoğlu and Leyla and Ferzan Baydar were the architects that shaped the new architectural pattern

[85]For a reading on the contractors, see: Balamir, Aydan (2003) Mimari Kimlik Temrinleri 2: Türkiye'de Modern Yapı Kültürünün Bir Profili, *Mimarlık*, 314, 18-23 in the following website:
http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=26&RecID=260

of Moda slowly. Contractors were not mentioned in contemporary publications about these buildings. The house typology of Moda started to be transformed by the works of these architects: That slow change made the old köşks and konaks looks "dated". The urge for a modern living, and hence modern residential space, with newly invented or imported technical solutions like heating and piping systems were promoted and demanded by the people who could afford them. Thus, the urban pattern in Moda with traditional houses began to be changed by the construction of two or three story single houses or apartments for rent.

Those who could afford such houses were mainly upper-class families. The idea of them having their domestic realm located in Moda was to share the elite atmosphere of non-Muslim families with already-modernized daily lives, or families with higher financial income residing in their köşk and konaks with the money coming from the late-Ottoman Empire employment. The case with the wealthy families were mostly the grandparents, who were making their children play with gold coins in order to "feed their eyes" figuratively beginning from their childhood.[86]

The head of the nuclear family of the elite, usually the father, was arranging contact with the architect. This negotiation was usually done after buying a plot over a new plot in Moda. Choosing the actor of the construction was easy for the family, as there were only a handful of them. Then, according to the demands of landowners, architects arranged the spatial allocation of residences. Situated very close to the shores of Moda, most of these houses were dominant to the panoramic view towards either the historical peninsula of İstanbul or the islands to the south. Having that large of a view, multiple stories, a garden, employees as the helpers of the house were among the indications of upper-class daily life.

[86] This anectode has been shared via Sedef Eğilmez Susmuş during her interview with the author of this thesis which took place on 4th of October, 2016, in their apartment in Moda.

During the mid-twentith century, especially from the 1960s onwards, political, economic and social transformations affected changes in the production of residences. In the political climate of the 1950s, non-Muslims started to leave the country; and in Moda, the population was changed with the coming of well-off Muslim families. The migration to big cities like İstanbul from relatively smaller cities that started around 1960, and the buy-and-sell regulations that allowed landowners to sell their plot and hire contractors and architects to build new multi-storied apartments for the sake of earning more money were the main political and social changes not only in greater İstanbul but also in Moda, transforming the character of population from upper-class to middle-class families towards the end of the 1970s.

Both the demonstrations in September 6th-7th 1955, and the buy and sell regulations in 1965, the pattern of Moda has gone under series of social and architectural transformations. The non-Muslim ones who immigrated to their home-lands and leaving their properties in Moda, the great immigration from relatively smaller cities started around 1960, and the buy-and-sell regulations which allowed landowners to sell their plot and hire contractors and architects to build a new multi-storied apartment for the sake of earning more money were the main political and social changes not only in greater İstanbul but especially in Moda.

Actors of the housing production during the mid-twentieh century were usually contractors, whose names remain unknown most of the time. The quality of the housing production was also affected in this process in which architects did not play major roles. During the interviews, it was always shared that the aim was always to gain more interior space, whereas façades were not thought thoroughly by contractors. However, landowners were usually happy that they could easily negotiate with contractors to make some alterations.

Positive exceptions also existed among the monotonic apartment blocks built after the 1960s should be noted as well. Those were the works of the architects who were mostly the well-known architects of the period such as Zeki Sayar, Emin Onat, Mehmet Ali Handan, Altuğ and Behruz Çinici, and also Sedad Hakkı Eldem. Some architects like Lütfi Zeren, whose names have not been mentioned in historiography, also worked here, exemplifying the unknown cases that need further studies.

The urban pattern, composed of stand-alone houses of mostly the elite of Moda and the orchards in the beginning of the 20th century, was transformed into plots with apartments towards the 1980s. Streets of Moda, whether small or large, started to get denser with the pattern of multi-storey apartments (Figures 2.3b-2.3m).

With no exclusion, all the interviewees remembered the period before approximately 1965, when everyone was on the streets until midnight, walking along the Moda Street and the Bahariye Street, swimming in the sea at the Moda Bath, spending most of the days with joy and laughter. As the trees were started to be cut, and gardens began to be filled with concrete buildings, all “Modalı” people started to spend more time in their houses. It is inevitable to still add that the owners were also among the actors of the transformation during the researched period, who chose to sacrifice from the quality of life to have more money especially after 1965. The social pattern of the resultant urban context was also different, as the population changed towards the end of the 1970s from upper to upper-middle or middle-class by the migrations.

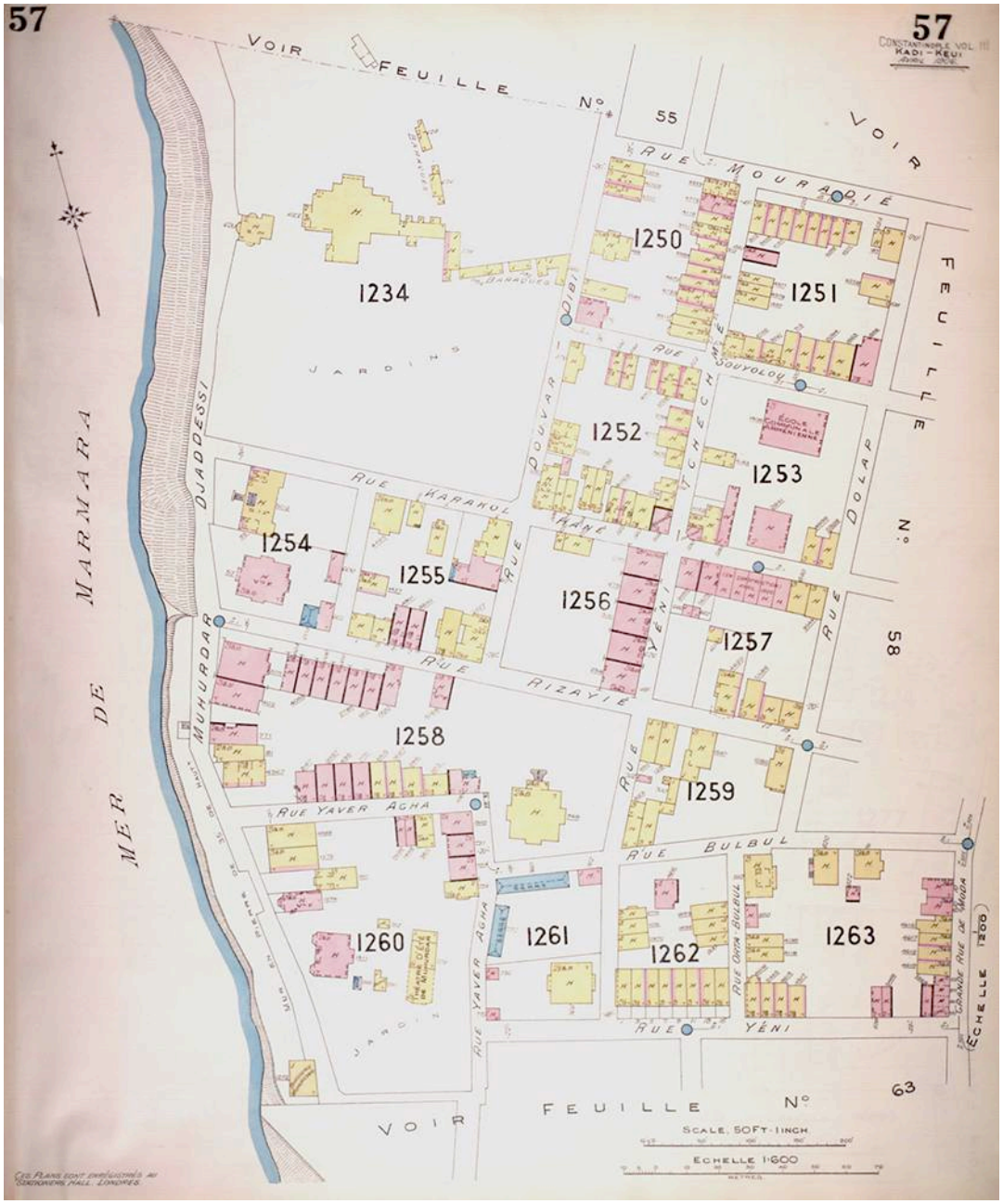


Figure 3.1a. *Fire insurance map of Moda, drawn by Goad in 1906*
Area shown is the north-west part of the Moda cape, which includes Mühürdar Street on the left.



Figure 3.1b. *Fire insurance map of Moda, drawn by Goad in 1906*
Area shown is the south-west part of the Moda cape, which includes Moda Pier on the edge of the cape in the south.

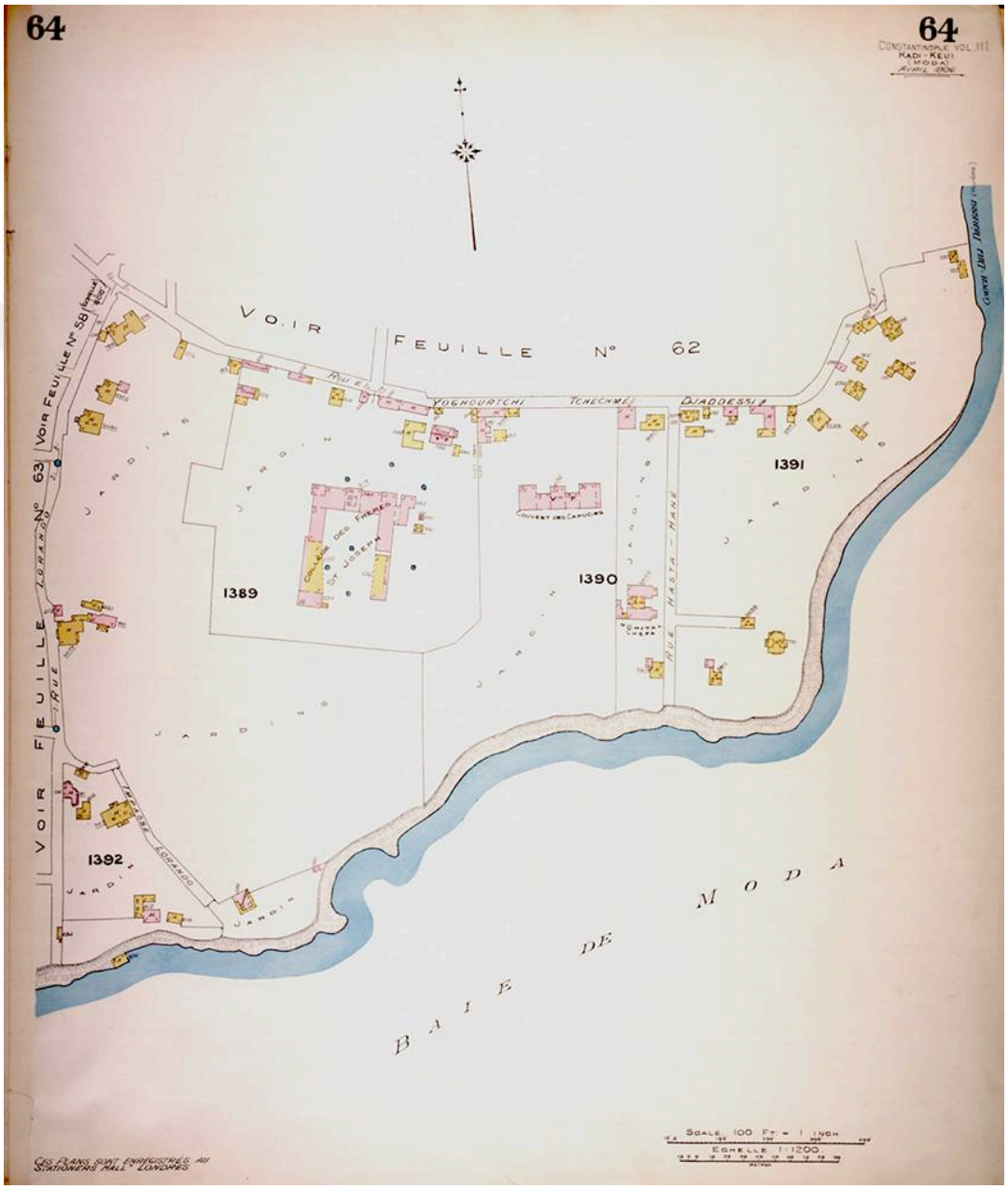


Figure 3.1c. *Fire insurance map of Moda, drawn by Goad in 1906*
Area shown is the south-east part of the Moda cape, which includes St. Joseph College among the "*jardins*"– the gardens. Notice the amount of gardens shown in this map.

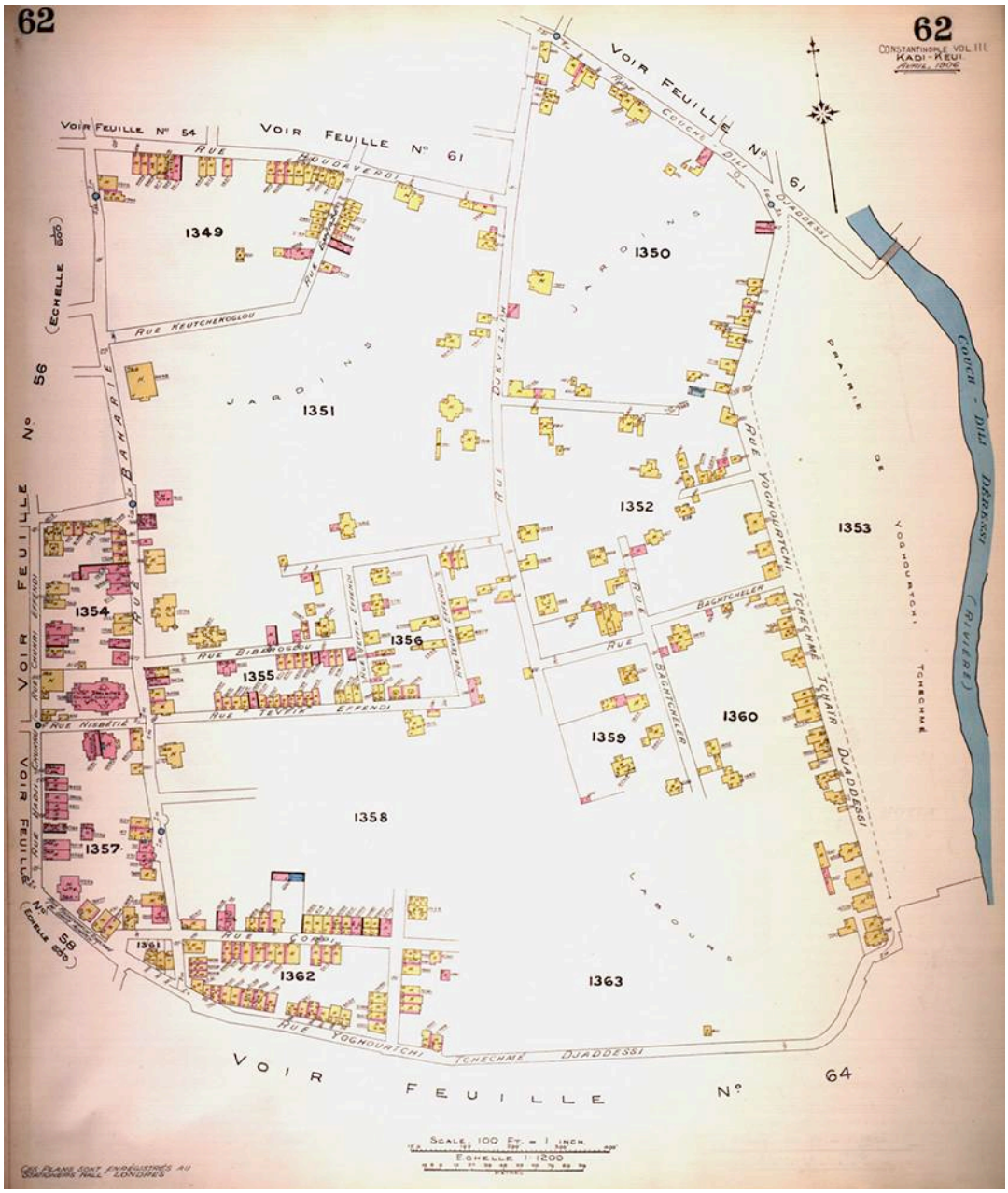


Figure 3.1d. *Fire insurance map of Moda, drawn by Goad in 1906*
Area shown is the south-eat part of the Moda cape, which includes the Yoğurtçu Park Avenue in parallel with the creek. Notice the stand-alone *köşks* and *konaks*. Also notice that the allotment of streets was not applied.

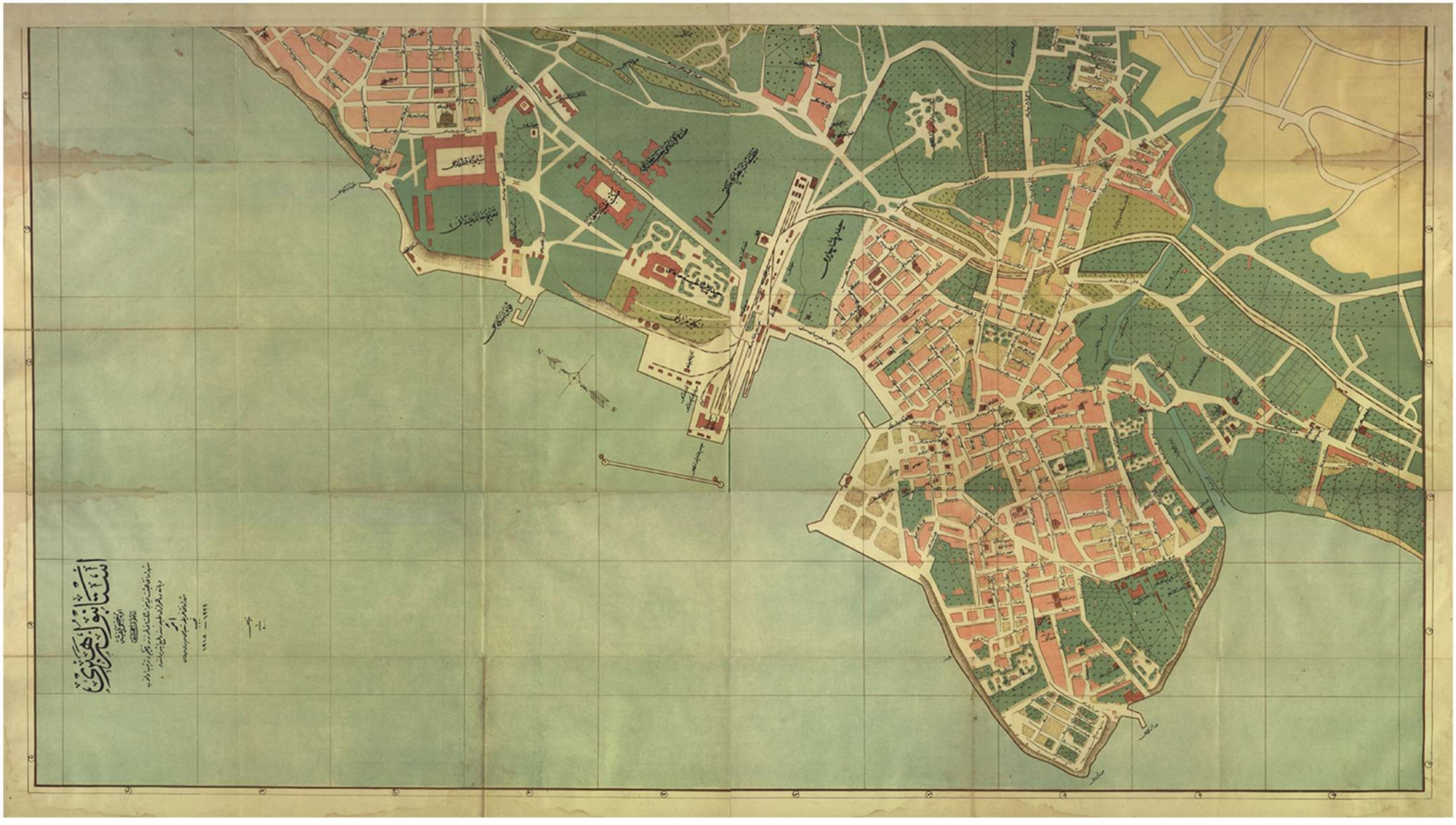


Figure 3.2a. *Map of the Moda cape, drawn by Necip Bey in 1918*
Notice the density of orchards and gardens compared to the areas of traditional houses of Moda



Figure 3.3a. *Insurance map of Moda, drawn by Pervititch in 1939*
Notice the words of *tarla* (field), park, *bahçe* (garden) etc. indicated in the south edge of Moda



Figure 3.3b. *Insurance map of Moda, drawn by Pervititch in 1939*



Figure 3.3c. *Insurance map of "small" Moda, drawn by Pervititch in 1939*

CHAPTER IV

INTERIOR SPACES OF THE RESIDENCES IN MODA

This chapter of the study will examine the residences in Moda through a detailed scope of interior space. Investigations on context, design and use of the interior spaces will be elaborately presented. The idea of 'interior residential space' through the periods of the early Republic and post–Second World War periods will be holding a ground for what was promoted as modern, how the modern items were derived and took their place in interiors, and so on. In addition to this historical context over the interior space, its context and use, the spatial allocation of residences, how these spaces were used, and how the interior space of researched houses of Moda indicates the social status of the occupants will be discussed in this chapter. The aim is to present the way that interior residential space and its extensions as belongings of occupants were shaped in regards of the modernity.[1]

In order to evaluate the interior spaces in Moda between the years 1930 and 1980, the main character of the interior spaces of the residences of "new Turkey" will be presented in the first part of this chapter in order to understand the (trans)formation of the idea of residential space in this context. The representations of the "idea" of a house interior will be investigated with reference to how it was presented in contemporary magazines and other publications, in literature and political discourses.

[1] The word of *modernity* used for emphasizing the indication of "the period of time", "the progress within the time" that was and is spent on being modern. Heynen adresses the "modernity" with its attachment to social and cultural programs, where anything "modern" is always becoming in a non-stop transformation. See: Heynen, H. & Adorno, T. W. (1992) Architecture between Modernity and Dwelling: Reflections on Adorno's "Aesthetic Theory". *Assemblage,* No. 17 (Apr., 1992), 78-91.

The second part of this chapter will evaluate spatial allocation, use of space and social status of occupants by referring to the interviews, the publications in the *Arkitekt* journal and documents in the Salt Galata Research Archive. This part will have three main focuses: The first section will be about living rooms and entrance halls, discussing their identity of being "in between public and private". The second section will be presenting the spaces where domestic management was taken care of by household laborers, such as spaces for cleaning, storage, and food preparation. These will introduce the concept of social status, which will be analyzed in wider focus in the last section by examining its materialization in the use of accessories, furniture, fixtures and other equipment. In short, the design language of the interior spaces in Moda will be focused on in this part: Visual data gathered from the photographs of the interior spaces of residences, oral recollection from both the interviewees and literature works, and, most importantly, the architectural plans that were drawn by the architects as well as the owners during the interviews will be presented to expose the character of the residential interiors in Moda.[1]

The last part of the chapter will be presenting final remarks on the interior residential space in Moda, discussing its transformation from 1930 to 1980.

4.1. The Idea of 'Interior Residential Space'

In traditional Ottoman homes of the nineteenth century, families dined crouching around a large tray (*sini*) set in the centre of what was a multi-functional room. There was neither a dining room, nor a dining table; hands and spoons rather than knives and forks were the eating implements, and food was eaten directly

[1] The images of each case-study residence of this thesis can be found by their number in Table 1.1 throughout this chapter. In example, the Necla Erk Residence is listed with number 16 in Table 1.1, therefore its related visual material will be presented in accordance with this number: Figure 4.16a, 4.16b, 4.16c, and so on.

from the dishes in which it was served.[2] The residential daily life habits of the main core of any family gathering, i.e. dining, described above depicts the culture of the use of residential space in the late Ottoman period, almost 30 years before the establishment of the Republic. This mere picture of the traditional habits helps understand the "radical shift" from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic in terms of the domestic space. The power of the social changes introduced by the new state transformed the daily habits the ordinary family life.[3]

The new Turkey had to have clean, well-lit interior spaces with fine lines of furniture. "Modernization" accelerated with the foundation of the Republic meant *questioning the old habits and escaping from the past* for the creation of a new country. The first clue about the prospective image of the new houses of Republican Turkey was given by Atatürk during one of his speeches: "Each domestic space of the Turks will be examples of health, cleanliness, beauty and modern culture."[4] As mentioned in the second chapter where the historical context of the era was presented, the change was experienced in many matters of daily life, including architecture. The inevitable medium of the representation of the "new Turkey" was architecture, i.e. the lived space, especially the interior, where people lived private lives, spending their daily lives, doing their daily habits, and expressing themselves as the people of "new Turkey". Promotion of the modern architecture and also the new modern interior space of the residences was also done by the series of "National Architecture Seminars" held

[2] Duben, A. & Behar, C. (1991) *İstanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880-1940,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p. 206. The "multi-functional" room mentioned by Duben and Behar is "*sofa*", whose spatial and functional characteristics will be discussed in this chapter.

[3] Ibid., 239. Duben and Behar defines this transformation as a "civilizational shift".

[4] "Türk'e ev bark olan her yer sağlığın, temizliğin, güzelliğin, ve modern kültürün örneği olacaktır." The mentioned speech was given on November 1st 1935. Source: Bozdoğan, Sibel (2001) Modern Yaşam Kübist Evler ve Apartmanlar. *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası: Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinde Mimari Kültür* (pp. 212-259). Metis Yayınları, İstanbul.

by Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Ernst Egli.[5] Egli depicts an ideal picture of the domestic space of the new Turkey: "*A person should occupy his or her home with pleasure and joy. He or she should like the neighbors, the street, and the neighborhood. Only the person who is born, who lives and dwells in a defined place; or who is the child of this defined place with gratitude and honor can be healthy. Therefore the environs and the room should correctly be* shaped, should contain a good window, a good door, a few clean furniture, a nice courtyard; the surrounding and the furnishing of the house should be refreshing, colors, sunlight and shadow should be existing along with the seating features among the green, trees and plants."[6] The descriptions of Egli were signaling the freshness of the modern residence with the fresh air circulation and sunlight that were referred with doors and windows that function at best, green areas to rest under the trees, and most importantly – to the point "clean" furniture pieces with no extensive amounts in the interior. These were the goals of new residential interiors to be transformed from the old setting of the interiors that were built in late nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century.

The documentation of the change of daily life within residences can easily be traced via the literary sources, i.e. the Turkish novels: There was always a depiction with a "wish" of experiencing the daily life much easier and practical, just like in *Kiralık Konak*[7] written by Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu in 1922, mentioned in the previous chapter. To emphasize the no-more-desired oriental

[5] Architect Ernst Egli was one of the pioneer actors of building the new Turkey during the early Republican period. He was one of the most important architects as he acted as the director of the only school of architecture at the time. Most of his works were constructed in Ankara, therefore Egli is usually referred to as the "architect of Atatürk". For further information on Egli, see: Egli, Ernst (2008) *Atatürk'ün Mimarının Anıları: Genç Türkiye İnşa Edilirken: 1927-1940, 1953-1955* (trans. by Güven Göktan Uçar), İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul.

[6] Egli, Ernst (1936) Şehirde Mesken ve İskan Meselesi. *Arkitekt.* Issue: 1936-06-07 (67), 192.

[7] Karaosmanoğlu, Yakup Kadri (2004). *Kiralık Konak,* İletişim Yayıncılık, İstanbul.

ways of daily life during the Ottoman period, Uzunarslan uses the word "Western" in her article. Western way of living in a space was a fast-developed interest. She further says that the admiration towards the "Western" had already developed in the 19th century.[8] In contemporary Istanbul, effects of Baroque and Rococo interiors were seen, as Sultan Abdülaziz promoted the Western, or "European" furniture and decoration during his reign.[9] Şişli district in the European side of İstanbul had welcomed many apartments with high ceilings and Art Nouveau style at the second half of the 19th century. They had contained of "furniture up till their ceilings, crystal chandeliers, Art nouveau style furniture and paintings that covered all the walls".[10] What Yaman says about this choice of furnishing is that this type of decoration was precisely the style that the New Turkey did not want to have.[11] In the following years, Republican Turkey would criticize these excessive decorations in the interiors and want to replace them with more clean-cut furniture.

İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, the leading intellectual of the early Republican period, described the initial concerns of aesthetics considering the houses of the new Turkey as follows:

> To be honest, "furnishing" a house is more difficult than "building" a house. One can find an architect or a craftsman, describe him the imagined house, and the construction works start right after that. However, furnishing a house is nothing like that. It is not so easy to

[8] Uzunarslan, Şebnem (2013) Erken Cumhuriyet'in Mobilyaları. In Şumnu, Umut (Ed.) *Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Mobilya* (pp. 99-108). TMMOB İçmimarlar Odası, İstanbul, p. 101.

[9] Yaman, Zeynep Yasa (2013). Bauhaus ve Söylemleştirilen İç Mekan Anlayışı: Yeni Yaşam, Yeni Dekorasyon, Yeni Mobilya. In Şumnu, Umut (Ed.) *Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Mobilya* (pp. 79-98), TMMOB İçmimarlar Odası, Ankara, p. 87.

[10] These descriptions are collected from an interview with Hikmet Feridun Es and Salahi, on a part about the house of Cimcoz in Moda (Yaman, 2013: 91).

[11] Ibid., 87.

> decide on the interior and the furniture. None of us thinks thoroughly on these matters. When we earn money, we buy lush and cheap furniture, and "fill" our houses with those. Are you paying attention? I am saying, "we fill", rather than "we furnish". These two, to fill and to furnish, are different from each other. Unfortunately, in our country, furnishing a house could not be achieved well enough.[12]

Baltacıoğlu discussed further his hesitations about forming new interiors, asking if a new taste could be born from a new life, or not.[13] He was questioning and complaining that filling the house is not the same with furnishing at the same time he did attach several interior sketches of his own to his book (Figures 4a, 4b, 4c). In these images it can be seen that he is creating ideal rooms for different functions i.e. library, study room, smoke room, room for the newlywed woman.[14]

In addition to Baltacıoğlu, whose profession was pedagogy, architects were promoting the modern interior and furniture in *Arkitekt* as well. 19 years apart, Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Zeki Sayar wrote articles specifically on "furniture". Sedad Hakkı holds the first place to be referred as the first write about furniture in *Arkitekt* in 1931. The article *"Mobilya"* (Furniture) had a very short text where

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[12] This quote from Baltacıoğlu was translated by the author of this thesis. Baltacıoğlu, İsmail Hakkı (1934) *Sanat*, Suhulet Kütüphanesi, İstanbul, p. 209-212. The original text in Turkish: "İtiraf etmeli ki ev döşemek ev inşa ettirmekten daha çok güç bir meseledir. Ev yaptırmak isteyen kimse bir mimar veya bir kalfa bulur, taksimatını aşağı yukarı tarif eder ve yapılan plana göre işe başlanır. Fakat evi döşemek meselesi hiç buna benzemez. Bir ein dahili tazniyatını eşyanın şekil ve mevkiini tayin etmek zannedildiği gibi kolay bir mesela değildir. Vakıa ekserimiz bu inceliklerin hiçbirine ehemmiyet vermiyoruz. Elimize para geçince gösterişli ve ucuz bulduğumuz eşyaları satın alıyoruz, ve evimizi bu eşya ile dolduruyoruz. Dikkat ediyor musunuz? 'Dolduruyoruz' diyorum, döşüyoruz demiyoruz demiyorum. Bir evi eşya ile doldurmak ve döşemek başka başka şeylerdir."

[13] Ibid., 130-150.

[14] For a reading focusing on the gender perspective related to the room for newlywed woman of Baltacıoğlu, see: Baydar, Gülsüm (2007) Room for a Newlywed Woman: Making Sense of Gender in the Architectural Discourse of Early Republican Turkey. *Journal of Architectural Education* (1984-), Vol. 60, No. 3 (Feb., 2007), 3-11.

he mainly complained about the non-existence of joinery makers whose works have quality in Turkey: Eldem was saying "architects should determine the types of furniture that one is going to furnish his or her own house with".[15] With a couple of furniture image attachments to the article, he was promoting the modern furniture, which were designed by him and the architect Abidin (Figures 4d, 4e, 4f). 19 years later in 1950, the title was transformed into "*Mobilya Meselesi"* (The Issue of Furniture) in an article of Zeki Sayar.[16] Sayar also provided images to promote the language of the modern, yet this time images were from the European interior spaces and design objects (Figures 4g, 4h). Suggesting ways of improving the furniture design and industry in Turkey, Sayar actually praised the architects who were designing furniture pieces and complaining about the quality and style of joinery-makers at the same time. 1950, the so-called threshold year between early Republican period and Post – World War period shows that there was a problem in the new Turkey and was still going on. An honest conclusion like this can be made because the publication of two articles is *Arkitekt* – the main architecture publication forum of Turkey of the period, the modern architecture was represented utmost via the actors that hold the importance creating the modern identity of architectural production.

Architect Aptullah Ziya (Abdullah Ziya) was also one of the promoters of the modern language of interior spaces in early Republican period. He did so in 1931 in *Arkitekt*, with a relatively long article when compared to the ones that Eldem and Sayar wrote. The difference of the article of Ziya was the illustrations that he attached (Figures 4i, 4k).[17] These were acknowledging people by showing the actual design unity in spaces with the continuation of the joinery elements in a

[15] Eldem, Sedad Hakkı (1931) Mobilya. *Arkitekt*, Issue: 8, 273-274.

[16] The word "*mesele*" in this title immediately signals a negative meaning in Turkish, which holds the legibility of something that could not be solved yet, a problem. Sayar, Zeki (1950) Mobilya Meselesi. *Arkitekt*, Issue: 03-04, 61-64.

[17] Ziya, Aptullah (1931) Binanın İçinde Mimar. *Arkitekt*, Issue: 1, 14-20.

space. In addition to his sketches and perspectives, Ziya actually attached real-life photos from one of the buildings he designed in Adana, in 1933 (Figure 4l, 4m). The following content of this study will reveal the representations of residential buildings built in Moda; yet, none of them has the zoomed-in photographs of custom-design furniture as Ziya achieved. The unity of the lines, the proportion and the clean-cut language of the furniture hold a great importance to motivate architects and designers in following-up the promoted modern. As a final remark on the writings of Ziya, he stressed the importance of using *local* materials and *local* craftsmen in designing furniture, supporting the national identity of design rather than representing images from European design elements like Sayar did.[18]

Apart from his ideas on how to furnish, the author Muhittin Dalkılıç also wrote a book on the "propriety" for the people of new Turkey.[19] The book included chapters that were mere reflections of the promotion of the new way of life: "From the Old Propriety towards the New", "New Century", "New Life", and "New Family". All those chapters were signifying the ideology of the contemporary way of life, which the Republican government was going to promote for decades. In order to inform the people about "the way" that they should live, there were other issues like "the way" that the houses should look like, and sometimes even "the way" that people should dress. Therefore many periodical publications started to be published to promote the "modern" in several contexts. *Ar* (Art), *Çığır* (Trend), *Ülkü* (The Ideal), *Yeni Adam* (New Man), *Yeni Türk* (The New Turk), *Yedigün* (Seven Days), *Aile* (Family), *Modern Türkiye Mecmuası* (Magazine of Modern Turkey), *Güzel Sanatlar* (Fine Arts) and *Arkitekt/Mimar* (Architect) can be given as examples of these publications. Even most of the names of these publications are indicating the urge for the "new". All these periodicals aimed at especially women of the new Turkey, to teach or to inform them how a "modern" house and

[18] Ziya, Aptullah (1933) Bir Kira Evi. Arkitekt, Issue: 26, 41-44.

[19] Dalkılıç, Muhittin (1932) *Yeni Adab-ı Muaşeret*, Sühulet Kitaphanesi, İstanbul.

interior would look: This can be called the promotion of the "house of the Republic" by all means. There were columns named as "*Ev ve Eşya*" (House and the Furniture) and "*Ev" (House)* in some of these periodicals, showing the new houses with the desired "new look" of furnishing (Figures 4o, 4p). These columns were giving hints about how to furnish the bedrooms, kitchens and living rooms, and so on.

What these periodicals of the early Republic did was a *viral* way of torching people to digest and understand the program of "modernization". How to apply the new way of living towards the interior residential space was the most popular topic in columns and pages by those who were eager to shake the old or oriental spirit from their shoulders. Radical shift towards modernism - and through modernity - was not so sharply certain in the residences, therefore the historiography of this slow progress was also slowly developed in time. As Tanyeli states in the quotation below, the "power" changed the society and its long-used habits. Economic, social, cultural and architectural matters had started to reshape. As mentioned in Chapter II: Historical Context, there were several ruptures that this "power" could contain: The establishment of the Republic, shifting to a multi-party system in the parliament, the Democrat Party regime, which introduced a leap from an urban planner (Prost) to a bureaucrat (Menderes), 6-7 September 1955 demonstrations, 1960 military intervention, the regulations about the slots of owners, and so on.

> (…) The major depression is experienced while historiographying the very "change". *It is not so easy to write history of the evolution and transformation from which what modernization derives*. Because, those changes and transformations are always wished to be remembered as the

> post-historical outcomes of the "power"s, which are considered as "god-like".[20]

One of the first impact and improvement of the government was holding an exhibition in 1930, in order to promote the industrialization all over the country. The exhibition was called "nationalist industrialization" and "national industry sample exhibition"[21]. It was held for fifteen days. As Küçükerman mentions, the very initial discourses about the prospective furniture industry started to be discussed during the 1930s, as seen in this exhibition. The second official emphasis on the need for a major improvement in industrialization was made in the very first "Congress of Industry", which was held in Ankara in 1936. Those years were the heydays of Bauhaus and Cubism, as they literally were the outcomes of the "modernity" that promoted "plain cornered", "smooth", "polished", "comfortable", and "delicately detailed" furniture. [22] The industrialization of furniture in Turkey was going parallel to these modernistic lines.

Another anecdote about the early Republican years could be given about the banks. Beginning with the 1930s until 1975, many banks[23] arranged lotteries in order to encourage people to do savings. As Şumnu mentions, banks were giving away cash and gold firstly; later, the prizes have changed to cars, houses and

[20] Tanyeli, Uğur (2002) Foreword. In Cengizkan, A. *Modernin Saati*, Boyut Yayın, İstanbul, p. 7. The quotation was translated by the author of this thesis.

[21]Anonymous. (1930, April 24) Milli Sanayi ve Numune Sergisi Dün Merasimle Açıldı. *Hakimiyeti Milliye, Cumhuriyet, Vakit.*

[22] Yaman, Zeynep Yasa (2013). Bauhaus ve Söylemleştirilen İç Mekan Anlayışı: Yeni Yaşam, Yeni Dekorasyon, Yeni Mobilya. In Şumnu, Umut (Ed.) *Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Mobilya* (pp. 79-98), TMMOB İçmimarlar Odası, Ankara, p. 89.

[23] *Ziraat Bankası, Sümerbank, Yapı Kredi, Doğubank, Osmanlı Bankası,* and so on. http://usumnu.wixsite.com/ikramiye/ikramiye-suereci (Last accessed 24.05.2017).

residences in apartments.[24] Especially after beginning with 1940 till 1970s, many banks gave away lottery apartments to their clients who deposited a certain amount of cash to their account (Figures 4w - 4z).[25] Winners of these lotteries had the chance to move to new, modern, up-to-date residences. Banks were revealing their identities in newspapers and magazines. What Şumnu also mentions is that the variety upon the social status and financial income of these people were obvious, and it was actually the main purpose of banks by revealing the identities. Apart from the great immigration wave from Anatolia and buy-and-sell regulation in 1960s, lotteries provided a variety among upper-class neighborhoods in İstanbul.

As the need for comfort increased in time, the "new furniture" makers started to emphasize on the "comfort" matter more. Especially during the 1930s, as the joinery and furniture makers experienced quite well with "custom" made design, they started orienting the customers while designing their new furniture. This, again, is an outcome of the means of "modernity": To customize a product for a specific person, or a group of people, hereby a family. This furniture, no matter how expensive or cheap, specified the "quality" of the interiors of the houses.

Turkey was in search for exploring ways of creating its new identity over space and furniture, after the Republic. In those years, Zeki Kocamemi, a painting artist who had been educated in Germany in 1920s moved to Turkey, to teach at the

[24] Şumnu, Umut (2017) "Şimdi Yuva Sahibi Olmanın Zamanı": İkramiye Evleri. In. Erman, T & Özaloğlu, S. (Ed.s). *Bir Varmış Bir Yokmuş: Toplumsal Bellek, Mekan ve Kimlik Üzerine Araştırmalar* (pp. 49-59), Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul.

[25] Whoever had an account would have a chance to win. As Şumnu notes, the banks got in a competition of lotteries at the time, therefore the amount of the lotteries got limited by the Bank Association of Turkey in 1958. Lottery application of the banks was banned in 1975 (http://usumnu.wixsite.com/ikramiye/ikramiye-suereci (Last accessed 24.05.2017)

Fine Arts Academy.[26] It was a chance for him to express his art and artistic knowledge to the art students of the newly born country. Both an academician and a painting artist, Kocamemi had grown an interest on joinery making during his practice. During the years he was instructing in the Academy, he also started running a furniture workshop in Kadıköy. The fact that an academician affiliated with fine arts opened a joinery workshop in the heart of the Anatolian side of İstanbul bears a lot of meaning. It would have been inevitable to be inspired by him and his products for mediocre level joinery makers. What his niece, Nazan Kocamemi Özalp told was that the atelier was in Hasanpaşa, a district to the west of Moda.[27] She shared the information that Zeki Kocamemi had a joiner maker along with himself, and both of them were producing the designs of Kocamemi. Several well-off families who lived in Moda during the early Republican period, demanded furniture for their bedrooms and living rooms, and Kocamemi designed customized furniture for those.

Apart from the artist Zeki Kocamemi, a foreign instructor in the Fine Arts Academy, Marie Louis Süe, is believed to inspire the interiors these years. He was instructing at the Academy as the head of the interior architecture department between the years 1939 and 1945. It is noted by Önder Küçükerman that he lived in Moda, Moda Bostanı Street No: 17, which is why there might be direct or indirect impacts of his design approach upon the houses and the furniture fixtures in Moda and nearby districts these years. It is also noted that the villa called "M. Aznavur" located in Suadiye was designed by him as well. Along with Süe, Hayati Görkey and Zeki Kocamemi made the shift from the Ottoman interior and furniture to the industrialized design easier; and their product design is

[26] Currently known as *Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi*. The Academy (MSGSÜ) was the only school that had a curriculum of fine arts education in Turkey in the early decades of the Republic.

[27] Zeki Kocamemi along with his German wife and son Mahmut Kocamemi, lived in Hasanpaşa, Kadıköy. Private information related to the life of Kocamemi was shared by Nazan Kocamemi Özalp during the interview with her.

believed to initiate the very first notion of the furniture and product design in the design history of Turkey as they were the first furniture designers lectured in the Academy in the early Republican Period.[28]

Lastly, the "decorator" Selahattin Refik Sırmalı opened a joinery showroom in Beyoğlu, İstanbul. He is referred as the very first "joinery master" of the period of World War I, when he opened a factory named "Refik Bey Marangoz Fabrikası" – Refik Bey Joinery Factory. Besides the Art Deco style of his products, he is still being referred to with his language of linking the traditional and the new Turkish. Baltacıoğlu notes that Refik Bey was trying to do his best by designing a product of "comfort" while reaching the "Turkish taste" for the users.[29] This is the most important reason among all that Refik Bey was called upon by Atatürk to furnish the interior of the presidential house located in Çankaya, Ankara.[30]

When it comes to the language of the interior spaces of residences in the mid-twentieth century period: As mentioned in the second chapter on the modernization program of the Democrat Party, beginning with the early 1950s until the 1960s, İstanbul was facing the construction of multi-storey apartments. The traditional and modern single-family dwellings of the Ottoman and the early Republican periods had started to be replaced by those concrete-slab apartments. Those were usually rectangular masses with large windows. In those mostly well-lit and spacious new buildings, the comfort level was upgraded by technology - with the provision of hygienic living conditions and central heating. The

[28] Küçükerman, Önder (2013) 1939-1945 Yılları Arasında Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi'nde "Dahili Mimari Şubesi Şefi" Ünlü Fransız "Art Deco" Sanatçısı Louis Süe ve Türkiye'deki Tasarımları. In Şumnu, Umut (Ed.) *Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Mobilya* (pp. 59-68), TMMOB İçmimarlar Odası, Ankara.

[29] Baltacıoğlu, İsmail Hakkı (1934) *Sanat.* Suhulet Kütüphanesi, İstanbul, p. 209-212.

[30] Yaman, Zeynep Yasa (2013) Bauhaus ve Söylemleştirilen İç Mekan Anlayışı: Yeni Yaşam, Yeni Dekorasyon, Yeni Mobilya. In Şumnu, Umut (Ed.) *Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Mobilya* (pp. 79-98), TMMOB İçmimarlar Odası, Ankara, p. 93.

architectural language of both housing blocks and single houses of this period had the improved examples of modern features in terms of technological progress. As Gürel states; large glazed surfaces, balconies, reinforces concrete load-bearing systems, flat roof terraces, built-in storage units and combined spaces for both dining and living could be found in this period.[31] Regarding the technical capabilities of the series of housing production in İstanbul: Supplying clean drinking water, electricity and central heating can be considered as the outcomes of modernization. These technical services increased the comfort level in residences. Water was connected in 38% of the households in İstanbul in 1950,[32] while electricity could be found in 77% of them.[33]

> What is "style" for God's sake? … They are calling the thrown away furniture; "style", the furniture which were being sold by a member of the dynasty while he is escaping from the palace, …[34]

This is only why Refik Halit Karay describes the word "style" by relating it with the "antique" furniture of the upper class as mentioned above. The mentioned "multi-layered" interior furnishing derived because of this wish to have these antiques. For example, a villa designed by Zeki Sayar between 1936 and 1937 in Kalamış had the eclectic effect in its interior, as opposed to its clean cut "modern" architectural language applied in its formative approach. It can be said that the furniture in the residences of İstanbul was owned by: Firstly, the families of the Ottoman dynasty – usually having close relations with the Ottoman Palaces,

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[31] Gürel, Meltem Ö. (2009) Defining and living out the interior: the 'modern' apartment and the 'urban' housewife in Turkey during the 1950s and 1960s. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 16: 6, p. 705.

[32] Percentages of water supply in Ankara was 39,1% and İzmir 63.3%.

[33] Percentages of electricity supply in Ankara Ankara was 60.7% and İzmir 46.3%. Tekeli, İlhan (1996) *Türkiye'de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konut Sorununun Gelişimi*, Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, Ankara, p. 35.

[34] Karay, Refik Halit (2013) *Bugünün Saraylısı*, İnkilap Kitabevi, İstanbul.

families with broader financial reach. Secondly, furniture was owned by the families with less financial income compared with the first group, usually engineers or busy with a higher governmental job. Those could actually afford buying new furniture. Lastly, families with no income at all, those did not have any furniture but keeping the vernacular-traditional spatial organization.[35] The furniture in the residences of İstanbul, which had been used by the upper class Ottoman families, started to be used by the middle class families of the Republic. Spatial organization of the new residences after the establishment of Republic started to an actual modern identity slowly in these early decades. These are the very first years that the terminology of space began to be spoken differently than before. What Uzunarslan drew attention to was the frequency of the daily usage of the word "room" was increased more often for many different spatial needs such as "living room", "bedroom", "salle-a-manger"[36], and so on.[37] As Afife Batur also stated, the houses of the "modern" times differed from the traditional houses in their use of space that incorporated "unspecified functions" such as dining, sleeping, sitting, and studying.[38] This was only because of the change in habits of usage of the space and furniture, as the western furniture was not practical for the traditional Turkish space.[39] The need for the "modern" was strongly

[35] Uzunarslan, Şebnem (2013) "Erken Cumhuriyet'in Mobilyaları" *Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Mobilya,* Şumnu, Umut (ed.s). TMMOB İçmimarlar Odası, İstanbul, p. 104.

[36] *Salle-a-manger* is the French term for the dining room. During the interviews, interviewees used "salle-a-manger" in order to refer to their dining rooms in the cases when the area was separated from the living room. Preferring to use French terms could also be taken as an indication of desiring to be "Western". In this study, dining room is named as *salle-a-manger* for the cases for which the interviewee used the term.

[37] Ibid., 103.

[38]Batur, Afife (1998) 1925-1950 Döneminde Türkiye Mimarlığı (Turkish Architecture in the Period 1925-1950). In Sey, Yıldız (Ed.) *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık* (pp. 209-234*).* Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul, p. 219.

[39] Uzunarslan, Şebnem (2013) Erken Cumhuriyet'in Mobilyaları. In Şumnu, Umut (Ed.) *Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Mobilya* (pp. 99-108). TMMOB İçmimarlar Odası, İstanbul, p. 104.

expressed in relation to daily life, as represented by the use of such an image of modernity in artistic representations, just like in the opera composed by Cemal Reşit Rey in 1936, "*Lüküs Hayat* (Luxury Life)",

> *Şişli'de bir apartıman, Yoksa her halin yaman* / An apartment in Şişli, you are troubled if you don't own one
> *Nikel –Kübik mobilyalar, Duvarda yağlı boyalar* / Nickel – Cubic furniture, Oil paints on the walls
> *İki tane otomobil, biri açık biri değil* / Two automobiles, one with open top, the other is not
> *Aşçı, uşak, hizmetçiler, Dolu mutfak dolu kiler* / Cook, servant, maids, Full kitchen full storage
> *Hanım gezer, sen gezersin* / Lady of the house is out having fun, you are out of the house having fun
> *Gündüzleri çaydan çaya* / Tea times in the mornings
> *Gece olur davetlisin, ya sineye ya baloya* / You are invited either to cinema or ball in the nights
> *Lüküs Hayat, Lüküs Hayat* / Luxurious Life, Luxurious Life
> *Bak keyfine yan gel de yat/* Mind only your comfort by lying down
> *Ne güzel şey oh ne rahat/* What a beautiful thing, how comfortable
> *Yoktur eşin Lüküs Hayat/* You are unique, luxurious life[40]

Lüküs Hayat holds binary oppositions of the modern and pre-modern period: Clean cut cubic furniture made from nickel used as an opposition to antique furniture with curved details, oil paints over the walls used as an opposition to bare walls that are most possibly wood, apartment in Şişli with full kitchen which is full of food and beverages and domestic laborers used to emphasize a stand-alone residence with a shortage of goods without any laborers. Here it is obviously seen that the life of the upper class was considered as an "ideal": To be comfortable in daily life, to just wander around and not caring about a thing rather than your leisure, socializing without concerns of financial matters, having laborers for domestic management and luxury etc. What was more important in architectural terms for the status of the upper class families in İstanbul can be

[40] Operette lyrics were translated by the author of this thesis.

decoded here by the "apartment" in "Şişli"; an old settlement district that has many art nouveau apartments with high ceilings, often referred with its non-Muslim neighborhoods just like Moda, remaining from the 19th century. Therefore, the evidence from the artistic works of that time obviously showed that the middle-class was then eager to have the furniture and the spatial habits of upper-class people. Just like plots in Moda, several neighborhoods like Şişli started to be denser with modern apartments beginning with early Republican period throughout the mid-twentieth century period as well.

In the early years of the Republic, the quantity of the furniture-makers or the joinery-workers for customized production was really few.[41] Especially after 1945, the urge for owning "custom-made" furniture became popular. People were searching for these furniture makers by putting up ads in newspapers.[42] Ready-made products were only tables, chairs and storage units. Prof. Dr. Kerim Silivri stated that, in the mid-twentieth century period, the majority of the demand for furniture was in Ankara; therefore most of the furniture makers moved to Ankara. The reason behind this majority of the furniture production to take place in Ankara could be because of the public building production there.[43]

The "interior space" of the residential buildings in mid-twentieth century witnessed the introduction of the wider use of western toilets and bathroom fixtures that were applied by the 1950s – the era of the acceleration of the multi-storey apartments. Those fixtures were namely the bathtub, gas-fired water heater, bidet and sink/sink-counters. The early Republican era had had national

[41] Küçükerman, Önder (2013) 1930'lu Yıllarda Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi'nde Bir Kubizm Ustası: Ressam Zeki Kocamemi ve Mobilyaları. In Şumnu, Umut (Ed.) *Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Mobilya* (pp. 35-44). TMMOB İçmimarlar Odası, İstanbul, p. 41.

[42] Ibid.

[43] In 1970, for example, 30.8% of the land of Ankara was owned by the state. See: Uysal, Yeşim (2011) Türkiye'de Mimarlık Üretiminde Devlet Politikaları ve 1950 sonrası İnşa Edilen Kamu Binaları. *Dosya*, 25, 38 – 47.

traces within itself in architectural matters – as mentioned in the second chapter, the national identity had remained while trying to gain the western identity. Therefore, although the houses started to be designed with modernist features to answer the contemporary daily life demands at the time, the features of the interior space continued to have traditional traces as well. For example, the Turkish style toilet were still in use at the time span of this study.

Only by the years after 1960 it can be said that the electronic fixtures like radio, refrigerator, washing machines, electrical vacuum cleaners, television and automobiles started to be more commonly used. Therefore, there occurred an urge to design new furniture fixtures to meet the demands to furnish the new spaces: The industrialization of furniture production in Turkey thus started, accordingly, the residential space transformed accordingly with a slow progress.[44]

To conclude, the references to interior space in historiography of residences and the production of design were issues that were actually discussed, and the goal was mostly *promoting* what the modern was. Welcoming what was considered as luxury to the houses that time was inevitably desired, and it was referred many times within the Turkish literature. Well-educated Turkish designers were following the contemporary approaches in design and space production as also seen in western countries; however, the users did not widely demand such a modern identity yet for their daily lives that would cause them to demand modern furniture. In the Post-Second World War Period, housing production became widespread, and the defining feature of the interior space of contemporary residences was the wider use of modern housing equipment such as electrical devices, which made daily life easier for the people. Spatial allocation and the use of spaces transformed accordingly to the changes that was brought by

[44] The next subchapter of this part of the study will present several examples related to this issue.

the greater power of politics throughout both early Republic and post- Second World War period. The next section of the study will reveal both how the spatial allocation of the residences in Moda was organized and how the social status indications through the use of space and materialization could be read.

4.2. Spatial Allocation, Use of Space and Social Status

This section will cover three main issues to reveal the transformation of the residential space during modernization of Turkey: Spatial Allocation, use of space and social status. *Spatial allocation* will be presented in the first part of this subchapter by analyzing the living rooms and entrance halls of the residences. *Use of space* defines the context of the types of occupation of residential spaces: It can be dining, sitting down on a sofa and relaxing, welcoming visitors, cooking, preparing food, taking a bath, putting the food and beverages to a storage area, etc. Besides individual study, such functions will also be evaluated in relation to the general context that defines the interior space of the houses of Moda. Hence, *social status* will not be covered as a separate section, but it is going to be discussed in relation to the spatial allocation described under the titles of living rooms, entrance halls, and domestic management spaces, as well as to the materialization of social status where accessories, features, fixtures and equipment are evaluated. As a result, the discussion on spatial allocation and use of space will help define the basic social status of the residents of Moda, which is *the upper class* until the later decades of the chronological focus of this study.

As mentioned in the Introduction chapter, each interviewee was asked after the interview to draw the plan of the residence he or she lived in. The majority of the interviewees volunteered to draw the plans manually, without any hesitations about his or her drawing skill or a second doubt. Some of the interviewees had hard times with recalling the spatial organization of their houses. There were variable reasons for this kind of problems in remembering: Firstly, it could be

because of the age of the interviewee, and the fact that many years have passed since the time of their residence in these houses. Secondly, the family of the interviewee may have used many houses, changing their home frequently, as in the case of Melih Ziya Sezer. In addition to length of the period passed since their move out of the house, Sezer has lived in ten houses in total, and the family had occupied five of those before he turned twenty. In addition, there were also some interviewees having problems in drawing, so the plan typologies of those examples have been omitted from index in the Appendix section at the end of the study.

Apart from the data related to the plans of houses collected via the drawings of the interviewees, drawings created by architects or contractors could also be found, though few in number. The source of these architectural representation findings was mostly the *Arkitekt* journal. The descriptive drawings such as plans and sections helped to combine ideas about and reflections on those houses, which were mostly demolished, with only a few exceptions. Only one of the interviewees could provide the original architectural plan of his house prepared by the architect and the contractor. It is the plan of Ebru Apartment, designed by Atay Aliyazıcıoğlu and constructed by Halil Kösoğlu, where Sedef Eğilmez Susmuş and her husband Cüneyt Susmuş are currently residing.

The plans of the investigated residences present several types, changing both according to the year when these residences were built and also to the actors effective in their construction. The reasons for the changes in plan typology can only be pointed out with reference to the historical background of the design and the construction phases, and the official correspondences between the landowner, the architect and/or the contractor: Section of “Final Remarks on the Interior Space in Moda” will be presenting these reasons.

4.2.1. The Public and the Private

This part of the study will be analyzing the spatial allocation of the residences in Moda by focusing on their living rooms and entrance halls as spaces that could be evaluated as between public and private uses practiced in these houses. This analysis will not only indicate the physical transformation of the residences in time, but also provide explanations about the transformation of the uses of such spaces.[45]

People are welcome to the domestic realm in the entrance halls. The entrance hall is the very first interior space that the visitors see: The first gaze of the *outsiders* into the residence occurs in this space. The threshold of the public and the private, then, is the main entrance door of the house: One lets the visitors enter the domestic realm of occupants through it. Once the entrance door is opened, those in the public realm are allowed to become members of the private realm of the residence, albeit only temporarily, for the period of their visit. This act makes particular spaces of the house as the entrance hall *in between* the public and the private.

Transitional spaces of a residence are between the public and the private and occupied only temporarily. Entrance halls are representative of the public, i.e. the social context. In houses in Moda, for example, the way entrance halls transformed in time is representative of the ongoing changes of the power, therefore the society. As Markus and Cameron argue about the power, articulation of the space lets the occupants of that space to be subjected to particular forms of control and lets them grow interactions between the users of

[45] Throughout this part of the study the priority is on the use of "entrance" and "living" areas. However, that does not mean that there is no other space that holds an in-between character with reference to publicness and privacy. Ali Cengizkan, for example, examines the notion of privacy and publicness inbathrooms: Cengizkan, Ali (2002) Banyonun Ailede Herkesin (ama) Mahrem Mekanı Oluşu. *Modernin Saati*. Boyut Yayın, İstanbul, p. 152.

the building.[46] If the entrance halls and living rooms are the temporary spaces for the visitors of these residence, then, they are the mirrors of the power which make the residence to be seen in between the public and private by their nature, and also the exposition of the whole residence in terms of the exhibition of the family, its heritage, background, and the social status, classification among the society. Remembering that the living rooms are actually lose their public identity when it is only occupied by the dwellers of the residence, then, as soon as the outsiders enter the house, there is an inevitable presence of "between public and private" in these rooms as well. It is correct to remind one the quotation of Beatriz Colomina, as she says, "modernity coincides with the publicity of the private".[47]

Although not having as big an impact like entrance halls in the residential space, corridors are the other transitional spaces as they literally link the private spaces of the house with the rest. However, this study will take the entrance hall as the main core of all transitional spaces, as the other similar spaces derive physically from here – the very entrance of the domestic realm. The reason of this limit of the terminology will be legible in further descriptions of the allocation of entrance halls of the houses in Moda.

When it comes to the living rooms, they are significant reflections of social status as spaces where wealth of the residents of the houses is presented with honor. Not only the material hints such as furniture, but also the allocation of the living room and the entrance hall within the house are important to analyze how they reflect this status. This section of the study will analyze how both living rooms

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[46] Markus, T. A. & Cameron, D. (2002) *The Words between Spaces: Buildings and Language,* Routledge, New York, p. 69.

[47] Colomina summarize the notion of modernity to refer to the publicness of the privacy as the representation of the "audience" fact of exhibiting the private. For more insight about the modern interior space, see: Colomina, Beatriz (1994) *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media,* MIT Press, Massachusetts, p. 9.

and entrance halls are the spaces of prestige, by describing the allocation of such spaces and the relation of their locations within residences. Each plan of the residences in Moda will be described and shared in this section of the study, focusing on living rooms and entrance halls as mentioned above. The aim here is to have a holistic idea about the transformation of the interior spaces in residences in the end.

If plans of the houses should be analyzed according to different typologies, the first type can be called as the "sofa-type" for the cases of this research. This typology brings a spatial organization where the sections of the house – from rooms to domestic management areas - are collected around a big space, the *sofa* itself. There is no such place functioning as a corridor in this plan type, as the sofa is basically the key space where the other spaces are opened into. Hence, it can be said that this space gives the residences a semi-public feeling; it is in between private and public.

The sofa was one of the main characteristic spaces of traditional houses in Turkey.[48] In one of his writings on the Turkish house, Sedad Hakkı Eldem analyzes the "Turkish house" during the Ottoman Period and he writes that rooms are opened to the sofa, as if it is a public square. Eldem argues further and tells that sofa is the movement centre of the residence.[49] According to him, sofa

[48] Sedad Hakkı Eldem holds the pioneering architect role not only for the buildings he designed, but also for his contribution to the historiography on the "Turkish house" as he wrote books with several volumes on the topic, even though he never called himself a historian (Tanyeli, 2001:20). In the English version of his book, he refers the sofa as "the hall" (1984: 21,22). Eldem depicts the types of Turkish houses with reference to different types of allocation of the sofas as follows: Plan without a hall (*sofasız plan*), plan with an outer hall (*dış sofalı plan*), plan with an inner hall, (*iç sofalı Plan*), and plan with a central hall (*orta sofalı plan*). See: Eldem, Sedad Hakkı (1984) *Turkish Houses Ottoman Period*, Türkiye Çevre Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı, İstanbul. For a critique of his writings on the "Turkish House", see: Bozdoğan, Sibel (1996) "Vernacular Architecture and Identity Politics: The Case of the "Turkish House". *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 7-18.

[49] Ibid., 16.

was and is both a transitional space and also the space where the dwellers gather around to have daily leisures, like evenings with music and such.

The very first relation of the sofa space with history of architecture of Moda started obviously with the old *köşks* and *konak*s of timber construction. While several interviewees of this research shared their memories of childhood years spent in their *köşks* and/or *konak*s, they were referring to the big sofa area mostly. Some of the families had shared their *köşk* with other families of relatives, and some of them had been the only family using the *köşk*. Each interviewee with this kind of memory recollection described the old residence, emphasizing the sofa as "very big" or "very large".[50] Here, sofa was the space where families got together and surrounded a dining table; or men of families bumped into each other during daily life just before going to work; or women put coats on their children before going outside. There was a sofa in each floor of the old timber houses. Ayşe Ülgen drew plans of their old *konak*, which was located in the very same place with their current apartment on Dr. Esad Işık Caddesi across St. Joseph Private High School. The manually drawn plans help get a clear idea of the spatial organization of the old houses of that time, and also for the understanding of the spatial role of sofas here (Figures 4.27f - 4.27h). Additionally, Sedef Eğilmez Susmuş also drew only one floor of the *konak* of the family and provided photographs from the exterior view of the residence (Figure 4.28i, 4.28j). Looking at a photograph, she pointed out the very middle core of the house and said that this middle section, where the sofa was located, was the only place where families saw each other, where the rooms were opened to. Susmuş not only defined the spatial organization by making the façade legible for the interior, but also defined what the function of sofa was.

[50] This emphasizing of the area and volume of the space with "big" and "large" adjectives can be because of the fact that interviewees were children under the age of ten before their *konak* or *köşk* were demolished. The perception of the area and volume of the space as a memory in childhood transforms continuously by age.

Following these traditional *konaks* and *köşks*, "modern" private residences started to be built after the 1930s in the Moda district, on the plots of well-off landowners. As mentioned in the previous chapter, those private residences were mostly owned by upper class families, who are from the high society of academic world, governmental level or the world of business. Those people demanded private dwellings with modern facilities like electricity, light, central heating and so on. The actors of these dwellings were, as mentioned before, landowners and architects. Descriptive articles written by the architects of these residences, published in the issues of *Arkitekt* journal*: They were placed in the journal because of the reputation of their architects and/or the landowner.* The most important contribution of such articles is that the actual architectural representation of the architect as architectural drawings of residences could be found here in order to understand the spatial organization of the interior, the allocations of the bedroom, living room, wet areas and so on. The residences that were located in Moda and placed in Arkitekt are; Dr. Sani Yaver Villa (1932), Dr. Kamil Röntgen Apartment (1933), Prof. Dr. Tevfik Taylan Villa (1936), Apartment for Rent (1940), Apartment for Rent (1941) by Zeki Sayar; İhsan Bey Residence (1933) and Sıdıka Hanım Residence (1933) by Faruk Galip; Seza Apartment (1933) by Sırrı Arif; House for Rent (1935) by Rebii Refik (Gorbon); a Villa in Moda (1936) by Ziya Kozanoğlu; and, lastly, Birgiler Apartment (1948) by Leyla and Ferzan Baydar. As can be noticed, these residences were being referred with the name of the house owner who demanded a residence on a particular plot. These residences were placed in Arkitekt with the professional or social title of house owners; "doctor", "professor doctor", "*bey*" (gentleman/mister), "*hanım*" (lady/madam) were always used in front of their names, in order to punctuate the upper class status.

When the plans of the houses that were published in *Arkitekt* are investigated, the slow disappearance of *sofa* can be witnessed easily. Among the houses that were placed in *Arkitekt* that were mentioned above, only five of them had a spatial

allocation consisted of a sofa-like space.[51] Yet, in only one of them, Sıdıka Haydar Hanım Residence designed by Faruk Galip in 1933, the word *sofa* was used on its floor plan: It can be seen that the path with levels on the entrance side of the residence lead people to the entrance vestibule (Figure 4.3e).[52] After this vestibule, there is the *sofa*, not defined as a hall by the architect, but as the *sofa*. This preference of the word can also be seen in the upper floor. Galip allocated the living room for visitors, living room for seating and gathering, salle-a-manger and the wet areas to the outer spaces of the house. All mentioned spaces open to the sofa, just as the entrance vestibule. Here, the sofa space is also a core for daily-life spaces, surrounded by the rest of the spaces.

One would expect Faruk Galip to articulate the same space organization approach to his other designs, but he did not repeat the same organization. In Ihsan Bey Residence, designed by the same architect in same year when he designed Sıdıka Haydar Hanım Residence, people were welcome in a small transitional space with the width of 1,4 meters. After entering the house from the entrance for the occupants and visitors, a bedroom – which is most probably a study or a meeting room for the house owner Ihsan Bey - wet areas and the living rooms in opposite sides, which are linked to the corridor (Figure 4.2d). Instead of a larger space that is not a vestibule or a small hall, the architect separated the entrance vestibule and the corridor. This plan typology is repeated in the upper floor as well.

The above-mentioned plan typology of an entrance with a small vestibule in continuation with a long corridor opening to the rooms and wet areas, was also applied by Zeki Sayar. Dr. Sani Yaver Villa by Sayar, constructed in 1932, shows mere similarities with Ihsan Bey Villa. In the main entrance of the residence, there exists the main staircase of the occupants (Figure 4.1e). The corridor connected

[51] The plans published in *Arkitekt* belong to "Dr. Sani Yaver Villa", "İhsan Bey Residence", "Sıdıka Hanım Residence", "Prof. Dr. Tevfik Taylan Villa" and "a Villa in Moda".

[52] "*Giriş*" as noted in the plan in Turkish (Figure 4.3e)

the living room, salle-a-manger, bedrooms and wet areas. Here the small entrance hall and the corridor can be considered as the segments of a decomposed *sofa*.

Zeki Sayar designed another private residence in 1936, Prof. Dr. Tevfik Taylan Villa. The ground floor plan of this villa indicates a different scenario when compared with the previous example, Dr. Sani Yaver Villa. In this case, Sayar separated the main living room from the rest of the spaces by a corridor (Figure 4.9g). The large hall after the vestibule makes one believe in only one scenario where the owner of the house accepts visitors in the living room and dines with them in the adjacent room, the salle-a-manger. The main hall where the stairs rise has dimensions of 4,75 to 5,10 meters, which also indicate that the actors demanded a *grand* welcoming hall. When compared to the vestibules and narrow corridors of previous examples, this hall can be considered as "majestic". Here, Sayar managed the corridor as the private and semi-private spatial separator because the visitors were probably not being allowed to enter this private section of kitchen and office with the indication of the door between the corridor and the main hall. The context of the traditional sofa was hence transformed into a modern welcoming hall, where visitors could actually see and experience the existence of the staircase in this villa.

Also in 1936, Ziya Kozanoğlu designed a private residence, which was published in *Arkitekt* as "a Villa in Moda". In this house, the hall was accessed via several stairs both from the vestibule and the main staircase (Figure 4.10g). Just like Prof. Dr. Tevfik Taylan Villa by Sayar, the separation of the private and semi-private spaces was achieved by the main hall. The library and the living room for the visitors were opening to the hall. The only difference of the design of Kozanoğlu and Sayar is the corridor. The spatial allocation of "a Villa in Moda" did not demand a solution with a corridor Interestingly, Kozanoğlu used the word *sofa* in the upper floor plan. This might be a contemporary habit of architectural dictation on the drawings, as the sofa he drew attention to does not indeed act

like a sofa. Writing the word sofa instead of “corridor” or “hall” brings into focus the essence of the gathering place where spaces are opened. To sum up, even the modern residences of the early Republican years with modern facilities in the interior, the sofa could not totally vanish but continued to exist for some time.

One of the cases of houses whose plan was provided from the interviewee is Doğruman Residence (Figure 4.7e).[53]There was two stairs that connected to a balcony-like path to the main entrance door of the residence: One stair run from the garden, the other from the street. The entrance hall was reached via a couple of stairs, where the door opened to a very long hall, which was defined by the exterior far end wall of the residence. While the plan was being drawn, the neighbors of Rüçhan Sel used the following words and phrases to describe the central space: “Sofa”, “sofa-like”, “very large”, “so large that the large round dining table for six people could easily fit”, and so on. Those descriptions for the central space clarified how they interpreted the main living room with the dining area – or the salle-a-manger as the central space, the *sofa*, where kitchen, wc, bathroom and the bedrooms were opening to. What Rüçhan Sel and her neighbors mentioned during the interview was that the majority of the daily life was spent in this sofa: A spacious and well-lit space where two or more families could spent many days together with their children. The sofa was defined the coziest space in the residence both by the family and the neighbors, because meals with long chats were eaten there. To sum up, if the sofas or sofa-like halls in such cases as the Doğruman Residence are compared with the previously mentioned examples, this example would be the only one with the sofa where most of the daily activities and gatherings took place. The sofas in previously presented cases, on the other hand, were transitional spaces, which the occupants used for accessing to their private spaces or to reach the stairs, or, welcoming halls for the guests.

[53] Figure 4.7e was drawn by Rüçhan Sel. The final version of this drawing of the Doğruman Residence was provided from the recollections of not only Rüçhan Sel but also four of her neighboors from Şifa Street during her occupancy in that residence. Together, they provided the most accurate plan of the residence after five trials.

The interior of the Doğruman Residence had another significant feature with its open-shelf storage system where food supplies could be stored, just like a pantry (Figure 4.7e). Although in this residence, it has been referred to as *kiler* by the occupants, which indicates the local identity of the wood structured shelf system. Kiler was installed on the wall of the bathroom, in the little hall where the restroom was located adjacent to the kitchen. The objective of building a shelf system like that in this house was to get rid of the crowded appearance of kitchen supplies and to place them in one place, which was usually linked with the kitchen to easily access food supplies.

According to the analysis of Gürel, the main spatial feature of traditional houses[54], the sofa, was a part of the apartment until 1960s as well.[55] Some of the literary works related with the Moda district show that the traces related to sofa-type apartments can also be found here. İzel Rozental wrote in his memoir book on Moda as below:

> … There were three bedrooms and a living room in the house where my fiancée lived. The doors of the bedrooms were opening to the living room. Her parents were sleeping in the largest room, while my fiancée and her sister were

[54] I do not use the term "Turkish house" on purpose, because the word "Turkish" attaches nationalist meanings to these buildings without any reference to vernacularity. Emphasizing the fact of the wide lands that the Ottoman Empire once had, Tanyeli also writes that Sedad Hakkı Eldem used the word "traditional" to refer to these houses because of the plurality of local architecture that holds a local identity along with a national validity. See: Tanyeli, Uğur (2001) *Sedad Hakkı Eldem*, Boyut Yayın Grubu, İstanbul, p. 21. For such a critique of the "Turkish House" concept, see Eldem, Sedad Hakkı (1968) *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri,* İTÜ Yayınları, İstanbul; Küçükerman, Önder (1996) *Turkish House: In Search for Spatial Identity*. Touring and Automobile Association of Turkey, İstanbul; Günay, Reha (1998) *Tradition of Turkish House and Safranbolu Houses*, YEM Yayinlari, İstanbul.

[55] Gürel, Meltem Ö. (2007) Domestic Space, Modernity, and Identity: The Apartment in mid-20th Century Turkey. Unpublished PhD Dissertatiton, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, p. 57.

> using the middle room and it was the smallest room where their grandfather used to sleep. The dining table was in the living room. In this organization, the daily-life was passing both in the living room and the balcony.[56]

Rozental also wrote about the interior spatial organization of a flat in Gurup (Grup) Apartment[57], which is located at the corner of Mühürdar Avenue and Yaverbey Street in Moda, on the shore side (Figure 4z). Multi-layered readings and investigations can be derived via his quotation above. What is obviously presented is the fact that the bedrooms surrounded a living room where dinners were had together and the rest of daily life was spent with many gatherings. This is the very foundation of the identity of a sofa. The hint about the apartment completion date can also be found in the quotation: Gurup Apartment was the house of his in-laws when he was engaged to his wife. They got married in 1974 so that means that the house was built before 1974.

The literary sources about the period show evidences that the sofa or sofa-like spaces in residences existed in residences that were built before the 1970s, like in the above case mentioned by Rozental. According to Gürel, as mentioned above, the notion of sofa disappears beginning with 1960s (2007: 58). [58] The interviewees who lived in an apartment also remembered the existence of *sofas* in their houses. Born in 1932, Melih Ziya Sezer had spent his childhood in five different houses in apartments. He shared many memories related to these houses for the research. The strongest memory with him was the lack of hot water and the truth about being washed by his mother in a tank full with boiled water, in the middle of the "sofa" in his terms. Sezer clearly remembered the dates

[56] Rozental, İzel (2016). *Moda Sevgilim "Yeniden".* Kırmızı Kedi Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 119.

[57] Rozental notes that the Gurup Apartment was built after a small private house within a garden had been demolished (2007: 111). That is one of the sharp reflections of the era, where the private houses have been demolished for the sake of more money to landowners and contractors.

[58] Gürel, Meltem Ö. (2007) Domestic Space, Modernity, and..., p. 58.

of the building completions. Those five mentioned residences[59] have been built before 1935 according to his recollections. According to what Sezer mentioned during the interview, all those residences had "sofa-like" big corridors, to which the main entrances of the flats and the door openings of bedrooms were opening.

However, the existence and evolution of the sofa within the apartments should be questioned: How did it evolve or transform in apartments, or, how did it occur in apartments in the very first place? These questions can be answered by presenting the data from both the interviewees and the *Arkitekt* archive as well. The cases in *Arkitekt* are the witnesses of the evolution and the transformation of architecture of modern Turkey, including the residential architecture.

The Seza Apartment, designed by architect Sırrı Arif in 1933, holds an important role in the transformation of the concept of sofa and the hall. Sırrı Arif did not name the hall as sofa in his architectural representations. He used the word *hol* (hall) and *koridor* (corridor) for the transitional spaces of a standard floor in an apartment block (Figure 4.4g). Via a close look to the plan, it can be followed that, when an occupant or a visitor entered the residence, what he or she firstly experienced was the hall area. This hall was accessible to the main living room; to a small room that was directly linked to the dining hall where the buffets were most possibly being exhibited; to the dining room that opened to an office as well as this hall. In the opposite part of the residence, the private realm of the occupants was allocated: Kitchen, restroom, bathroom and bedrooms. Additionally, the dimensions of the hall are 2,5 meters to 6,5-6,6 meters, whereas the width of the corridor is 120 centimeters, the smallest bedroom 180 centimeters and the bathroom is 210 centimeters. It is no doubt that the hall holds a greater importance than those spaces located in the private section.

[59] Due to the preference of Melih Ziya Sezer, the list of the apartments and residences that he lived in are not shared within the Appendix section of this thesis. The interview and details of his residences except the Fitnat Hanım Apartment are not shared in this study.

Therefore, it can be said that the hall both acts as the entrance of the dwelling, and also as the core where the public and the private realms conjoin together in the Seza Apartment.

In the same year, 1933, Zeki Sayar designed the Dr. Kamil Röntgen Apartment. The function of the building was both for the medical diagnosis offices and laboratories as well as dwellings. There were two entrances to the residence (Figure 4.5e); the main entrance for the occupants and visitors was indicated with the two-winged door opening to the entrance hall from the stair shaft of the apartment. The other entrance door, on the other hand, was opening from the wet areas to the stair shaft. The indication of the direction of those two door openings differs as well: One lets you inside the residence, when the other lets you out. The second one was obviously for the household laborers or the house service employers, who helped the landowner with gatherings, dinners and cleaning. The most visible indication for that result is the room of the maid, which opens to the wet area or the service core behind the main staircase of the apartment (Figure 4.5e).

The Dr. Kamil Röntgen Apartment has a slightly smaller hall in the residences when compared to the Seza Apartment designed by Sırrı Arif. The length of the hall is around 5,5 meters and its width is around more than 2 meters (Figure 4.4g). What is similar with the Seza Apartment is that, the hall in this plan is also the core of the conjunction point of the private and the public realms of the dwelling. A corridor, to which three bedrooms and a bathroom opened, could be entered from the main entrance hall. The service core, where the room of maid and kitchen were located, also opened to this hall. It can be said that, not only the private realm of the occupants but also the private realm of the employer working for the residence were separated by the transitional spaces like the main entrance hall and the staircase shaft of the apartment.

Continuing with the works of Zeki Sayar chronologically introduces us interesting finds about the usage of the word "hall" and "sofa" further. In 1940, Sayar designed an apartment on Yenifikir Street, which was referred to as *Kira Evi* (A House for Tenants) in *Arkitekt*. The plan of the residence shows that the architect preferred using words of *hol* (hall), sofa and *koridor* (corridor) separately (Figure 4.11k). Additionally, it can be seen that three living rooms were opening to the main entrance hall; and the bedrooms, the bathroom and the kitchen ere opening to either the sofa or the corridor. When compared with their dimensions, the width of the entrance hall is larger than the width of the sofa. Even though Sayar preferred to use the term "hall" for the entrance hall, this residence confirms the first space where one enters the house can be considered as a sofa as the public part of the residence is allocated around that space: The living room for the visitors (*misafir odası),* main living room for daily use and the dining room. What Sayar referred to as sofa on the plan is the very entrance for the private realm of the occupants (Figure 4.11k).

A year later, in 1941, Zeki Sayar designed another apartment for tenants on General Asım Gündüz Caddesi[60]. This apartment was built on a very narrow plot; therefore, each floor is longitudinal between the main street and the garden in the back. The description of the residence by Sayar in *Arkitekt* verifies the allocation of spaces within the residence: The part of the house on the street façade was for service and visitors, and the back façade part for the bedrooms[61]. It can thus be said that the entrance hall separated the public area, which is the service and visitor area in his words, from the private area. No traces related to a sofa can be found in the plan (Figure 4.12f). The entrance hall was remarked as *hol* just like in the previous tenant house example in Yenifikir Street.

[60] The name of the apartment is Geren.

[61] Sayar, Zeki (1941) Bir Kira Evi. *Arkitekt.* Issue: 1941-42/3-4, 57-58.

Within the case studies of the early Republican period, one of the apartments had an apparent *sofa*: the Birgiler Apartment designed by Leyla and Ferzan Baydar in 1948. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the apartment is a fine example of traditional architectural approach with its structural design on the exterior.[62] Baydar architects applied the traditional norms of designing the interior space and the allocation of spaces as well (Figure 4.14f, 4.14g). The spaces in the residence were allocated around a sofa in the middle. After reaching the main entrance door, the sofa welcomed visitors. Besides the main entrance door, there were five doors opening to the sofa from the service area where wet areas and the room of the maid were located; the study room or the office of the occupant; the dining room; the living room and the core of the private area where the bedrooms were located. The latter door opens to a small hall of private spaces: The bedroom for parents, the bathroom, and the single bedroom most possibly designed for the child. This small hall, as seen in Figures 4.14f and 4.14g, acted like a buffer zone both in acoustical terms and for physical accessibility.

In 1954, Zeki Sayar designed another apartment building in General Asım Gündüz Caddesi, which is still standing: the Yapı Kredi Apartment. Just like in his previous works, here Sayar also designed an entrance hall, which was accessible from five other spaces including the main entrance (Figure 4.17e). However the last door was opening to another small hall, to which the bedrooms and the wet areas opened. Regarding the residences built in the district of Moda, therefore, one can say that even in an apartment plan that was designed in 1954, a large entrance hall acted as a sofa, and, this sofa separated the private spaces from the public spaces in the residence.

As can be investigated in both the apartments and the private residences of the early Republican period, the sofa or the entrance hall were the core elements, providing the fundamental separation between the public and the private areas

[62] See Chapter III for details.

within the residence. After the late 1950s, however, there appeared a visible transformation of transitional spaces in residence design that was mostly witnessed by the decrease in the measurements of the width of those areas in order to provide more space for private areas, i.e. bedrooms. The urge for this need was also because of the decrease in the plot areas, on which the apartments were constructed. Those plots were then sold to the landowners that aimed maximum profit to be gained from the tenants of the new apartments, which were replacing the houses of the landowners.

For example, in the case of the Öz Apartment, which was built in 1958 by an unknown contractor, its occupants and visitors were first welcomed in the living room as the entrance door was opening directly to the living room (Figure 4.20b). During the interview, the previous occupant of the residence Timuçin Arman mentioned that they had a "dysfunctional" living room, as there was no place like an entrance hall or a sofa to welcome the visitors, let them hang their coats or take off their shoes. As can be understood from his expressions and descriptions, the need for an entrance hall was experienced while they were living in that residence. Moreover, what Arman complained about the allocation of the spaces was the fact that the residence had a very large light and ventilation shaft: "larger than the kitchen, slightly smaller than the smallest bedroom" in his own words. When they were asked why they rented the residence and occupied it for four years, the answer, without a hesitation, was that the balcony was at the back, which was the most attractive point of the residence according to them. They had a very big couch-swinger, which was easily placed in the balcony, as the width of the balcony was large enough as to make people refer to it as a big "terrace", as Arman mentioned. Being spacious and nicely ventilated from four points –the front façade with the windows of the living room, the back façade with the balcony, the large light and ventilation shaft, and the small light and ventilation shaft to which the kitchen opened - they had no doubt that this space was worth living there for many years, despite not having a separate hall for the entrance.

The Cavid Bey Apartment, which was built in 1961 by Cavid Tamkan, the uncle of Bülent Arkunlar, had also a similar type of entrance with the Öz Apartment. It should not be forgotten that, although the construction completion date of the Cavid Bey Apartment was 1961, the building was designed several years before, as there occurred an unforeseen delay in its construction.[63] That being sad, the final design approach must have been completed before 1960, as Bülent Arkunlar also stated during the interview with him. The entrance of the residence was located in a hall, to which the bedrooms and the wet areas were also opened (Figure 4.21o, 4.21p). This hall could not be referred to as an entrance hall but as a longitudinal sofa because all the interior spaces could be entered via transiting this space. What one can conclude by comparing the Öz Apartment and the Cavid Bey Apartment is that the actors of both differed by their architectural education: Cavid Tamkan, the architect of the apartment goes by his name was an Academy educated architect, where Öz Apartment was built by an anonymous contractor. Therefore, architectural decisions differed as well: Investigated residence located in Öz Apartment had a direct entrance to the living room, which was the most semi-private and/or public space of the residence; in the other, to the entrance was into a longitudinal hall to which all other interior spaces opened. A direct physical and visual access to the living room from the public realm always created a problem for the occupants, as this made them feel like their private spaces were intervened. In between public and private state of the dwellers were truly invaded, even the existence of main entrance door was not felt strongly by their own words. Therefore, it can be said that the interior design solution of the contractor was not successful, spatial allocation was not effective.

The residences constructed after 1960 generally had main entrances that opened to corridors without any direct physical access to the living room, like in the cases of the Cillov Apartment, 1961 (Figure 4.13b); the Günaydın Apartment, 1966 (Figure 4.26b); the Tanay Apartment, 1967 (Figure 4.27i); the Can Apartment,

[63] Please see Chapter III for details.

1968 (Figure 4.29b); the Manzara Apartment, 1976 (Figure 4.33c); the Yaver Apartment, 1980 (Figure 4.36a); and the Cumbalı Apartment, 1980 (Figure 4.36a). However, there are also some residences where the notion of an entrance hall or a sofa can still be traced – yet this space was now divided by doors both to prevent easy access to the private realm, and also to provide a space for occupants and visitors to take off their coats and shoes, and store those until they would leave the house. That kind of *closed* entrance halls can be found in such cases as the Necla Erk residence, 1954 (Figure 4.16m); the Ebru Apartment, 1969, (Figure 4.28l); and the Moda Apartment, 1972 (Figure 4.32g). The existence of doors in these residences created an obstruction to separate the bedrooms from the living room - just like in the previously mentioned types of residences with sofa or sofa-like halls. Only the Moda Apartment designed by Sedad Hakkı Eldem, had a kind of a sofa from where even the corridor, to which the bedrooms opened, had to be accessed by yet another door.

Doors are under the control of the occupants of residences. Doors cut the direct physical and visual accessibility[64] from one space to the other; just like in the cases mentioned previously. Occupants of houses leave doors open *when necessary*, just as they close them *when necessary* as well. In short, they literally provide less or more privacy as needed. In some cases, the use of space might be divided into two –or more- by the help of doors as well - just like in the cases examined where the salle-a-manger was separated from the main living room by partition walls or doors. In addition, doors also create buffer zones for the eye besides physical accessibility. The well-known theory of Beatriz Colomina reminds that we cannot talk about privacy at the very second when voyeurism

[64] Doors made out of glass or contain glass sections are exceptions for mentioned visual accesiblity.

occurs.[65] This quote can be a remark about the doors of transitional spaces as well, where bedrooms are accessed via a corridor or a sofa.

Doors and partition walls are the control mechanism of access within spaces. From the early Republican years to the period after World War II, the understanding of privacy also changed. Therefore, such moveable elements were transformed or removed from the houses in Moda. The living rooms of these houses initially contained two separate spaces: In a modern Moda apartment of the early Republican period, the dining table and chairs were placed in the space called *salle-a-manger.*[66] *Salle a manger* was usually separated from the living room with a partition, which was built between the beams and columns of the space. This partition was usually a timber framed glass door. The aim of separating these two spaces with different functions was to provide privacy between the dining area and the living area if these two types of uses had to take place at the same time. For example, the gentleman of the house would have a formal meeting in the salle-a-manger and the wife would have her cozy meeting in the sofa or the living room.[67]

Approaching the end of the post-Second World War Period, for the sake of much larger space, four of the families whose houses are examined in this study decided to demount the partitions between the dining and the living rooms, i.e. the Eğilmez-Susmuş family in the Ebru Apartment, the Tamkan family in the Cavid

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[65] Colomina wrote about the relationship between modernity and privacy by referring to the voyeurism in the interior space of the residences that Adolf Loos designed. See Colomina, Beatriz (1994) "Interior" in *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media.* MIT Press, Massachusetts.

[66] Room for eating, literally translated from French to English.

[67] I hereby state my sadness that the example of the use of space might seem mostly gendered. Yet, despite the existence of exceptions, the majority of the women of Turkey gained more power on the household and in the society towards the late 1970s. This will be discussed in Chapter V with the concluding remarks of the whole study.

Bey Apartment, the Ülgen family in the Tanay Apartment and the Ayman family in the Cillov Apartment. Among these, Bülent Arkunlar of the Tamkan family made another change within the living room in Cavid Bey Apartment as well: While getting rid of the partition of the dining and the living rooms, he also demolished the small wet area with a toilet with Turkish style basin, and a small sink, which were adjacent to the wall of the old kitchen (Figure 4.21o, 4.21p). This change was also done for the sake of enlarging the living room, but it was not the main aim for that reconstruction. The family did not prefer having a wet area just next to the living room. Instead, they demolished this wet area and enlarged the kitchen area, which will be described in the next section on domestic household in detail.

To sum up the integrated relation between the spatial allocation, use of space and social status in Moda houses, it could be argued that publicness, or the common occupation of spaces was an important demand in the early Republican period. The living rooms were large n that period: That means that sharing the days and evenings with the family and visitors was an important need at the time. One of the reasons for this can be the old habit of sharing one big mansion with two or three families in traditional *konaks* and *köşks*. The radical change of "jumping" into modern daily life might have left some kind of loneliness and "melancholy" in people.[68]

[68] According to Kristeva, melancholy, in the act of writing, is "undeniably modern". See: Kristeva, Julia (1989) *Black Sun: Depression and Melancholia,* Columbia University Press, New York, p. 12. While writing and indicating the condition of melancholy, the possession of history lies within, Penksy states. Melancholy is itself a dispair and suffering for a loss of meaning and life. Penksy also states that melancholy does not establish a connection between remembering and forgetting. See: Penksy, Max (1993) *Melancholy Dialectics: Walter Benjamin and the Play of Mourning,* The University of Massachussetts Press, Amherst, p. 19, 27. Therefore, in this study, the melancholy is taken as a natural condition of modernity, with references to the loss of what the interviewees once had in their past – without any critiques on the mentioned years of the residences.

It should not be forgotten that in the early Republican Period, the total area of an apartment or a residence on a slot covered more space when compared to those built in the Post – World War Period. As mentioned in Chapter II, the constitutional law regulations regarding to the plots and the buy-and-sell regulation provided a rapid housing production in Post – Second World War period, where the interest of the contractors and demand from architects were to "build more flats" so that the new modern building will have more residences in one flat. As seen in the examples of residences in Moda; i.e. Dr. Kamil Röntgen Apartment, a House for Rent (Geren Apartment), Birgiler Apartment and Cillov Apartment, each flat was consisted of only one residence. Yet, the apartment built during Post – Second World War Period had changed its units, and consisted of several residences (more than one) on each floor. Therefore, new dwellers of these new buildings were experiencing their living within less important in-between-public-and-private spaces: The living room and entrance halls in the Post-Second World War period.

To conclude, the indication of prestige in such large common spaces was becoming less frequent, as the volumes of living rooms and entrance halls got smaller. As the living rooms got smaller, the transitional spaces lost their characteristic volume as well. Here, it must be noted that the living rooms were usually consisted of a dining "area", without any partitions that define that area as a room. Therefore, the use of living room was combined with the dining area as well. Interior residential space that had the sofa and entrance hall both as "transition spaces" and "gathering spaces" beginning with 1930s were transforming and disappearing continuously during the 1970s: What resulted from this loss of volume were larger bedrooms. Larger spaces for the private space in residences were hence demanded at the time. The data from the interviews also emphasizes on the fact that the occupants tend to spend more time by themselves, rather than spending time altogether as a family. Thus,

residences in Moda also became more privatized and compact towards the late 1970s.

The Necla Erk Residence

Exceptional among the cases of this study, the residence of the medical doctor Necla Erk designed by Muhlis Türkmen in 1954 will be mentioned separately in order to analyze further issues of spatial allocation, use of space and social status discussed in this chapter. The residence provides a unique case with its particular plan type among other residences in Moda. Moreover, the Necla Erk residence is the container of both domestic realm of the family, and the space where the professional praxis of the owner takes place; therefore, it also standouts with the use of space among other residences.

A careful investigation of the plan drawn by Necla Erk helps one notice the zones of several types of interiors (Figure 4.16m). The zoning of the interior can be understood by a comparison of the widths of the corridors: The one close to the main entrance door was larger than the one on the side of the bedrooms. Those corridors divided the public from the private. Being perpendicular to the front façade, the physical access of a visitor could only be to the spaces located along the front façade as well. He or she could use the entrance hall - or the vestibule; the hall to which the examination room of the doctor opens; and the longitudinal corridor that opened to both the main living room and the salle-a-manger.

The bedrooms and the main bathroom of the occupants, which included a toilet and a bidet, could only be accessed via a transition from the salle-a-manger. The zone where the salle-a-manger and the main living room were located, was the buffer zone of the private realm from the public realm where the patients were examined in the diagnosis room – the office of Necla Erk.

There were four balconies in the residence. Only one next to the main entrance was accessible by the visitors and the patients. The rest were placed in the semi-private and/or private areas of the house. The one in the kitchen functioned as storage as well, as far as explained by Necla Erk during the interview. The other two balconies could be reached via both the living room or the salle-a-manger, or the bedrooms; hence, these two balconies can be considered as a point of integration for the public and the private.

Necla Erk drew attention to three issues that could sometimes create problems within the praxis of daily life:[69] The first one is the height of the interior spaces. Among the interviewees, Erk was the only one who shared a comment or an opinion on the height of the interior spaces of her residence: This could mean that her residence had the highest ceiling among all the cases. Erk measured the distance from floor to ceiling as 3,25 meters.[70] She remembered many memories about the cleaning ladies' difficulties in cleaning the curtain rails, and the wood piece skirting over those rails.

The second issue was the quantity of the doors within the residence. Erk confessed that she counted the doors one night when she could not fall asleep, and she found out that her residence had 41 doors – including the multiple wings of doors. She was laughing when she confessed that, knowing how peculiar this amount was when compared to the residences of her friends and family. One more time she mentioned that the cleaning and the maintenance of these partition doors was not an easy work to handle with for the household laborers.

Last but not the least, one scenario could make the visitors reach the main bathroom between the bedrooms. As can be seen in Figure 4.16m, the doors of

[69] It should be noted that Necla Erk did not prefer to refer to these statements as complaints, but as "downsides". Erk emphasized her respect and gratefulness to architect Muhlis Türkmen all along the interview.

[70] Interiors of residential buildings, especially apartment interiors, generally have a 3 meters height in Turkey.

the bathroom and the salle-a-manger and the main entrance vestibule were aligned on the same row. This alignment of doors rarely made the visitors gaze the main private bathroom of the residence. As Erk mentioned, however, this was not even a problem for the occupants –her husband and children.

Architect Muhlis Türkmen achieved a highly functional residential design for the residence of Necla Erk, which should be listed within the seminal works of modern architecture in Turkey (Figures 4.16c – 4.16i). This residence included an examination and a diagnosis room; a room for dining – which was connected to both public and private areas; a living room – which was connected to the diagnosis room as well as the salle-a-manger; two large bedrooms – which could be ventilated via large balconies and buffered via the small corridor; a room for the maid – who not only helped maintain the house but also was considered as a member of the family.

Despite the complexity of use in this residence that included an office space, its spaces functioned very well, without any restrictions of circulation. Necla Erk was still having a melancholic expression when she wished to tell everything about this particular residence, having regrets and emotional moments because of the fact that it has been demolished.[71]

The place of Necla Erk Residence in architectural historiography touches on several issues with great importance, and shed light to extensive readings of the state of being between public and private, and solely private. In terms of spatial allocation, architect Muhlis Türkmen solved the interior circulation with his intelligence by no doubt. Necla Erk Residence, being built by one of the phenomenal architects of new Turkey, architect Muhlis Türkmen, hold the

[71] Erk was not aware of the importance of her house for the history of architecture in Turkey, until the point she experienced my reactions to the plan of the house and to the details of every single corner seen in the photographs. (Figures 4.16a – 4.16i)

identical upper-class value just as the residences that had a place in *Arkitekt;* where the houses were being referred by names and professional titles of their householders– in addition to be built by renowned architects of the new Turkey. What make the instant cling of the upper-class label to this residence is firstly the identity of the householder, which is going to be presented in following; the identity of the architect of the residence; and also the historical background of the previous *konak*, that was located in the same slot of Necla Erk Residence which was owned by the family (Figures 4.16a, 4.16b).

The first topic that should be stressed through the lens of architect Muhlis Türkmen is that he solved the spatial allocation in accordance with the need of Necla Erk as a medical doctor of the Moda. What Erk shared during the interview was that, the priority of Türkmen during designing the residence was to provide Erk a diagnosing office – which could be noticed from outside by the consulting patients. What living rooms and salle-a-mangers of other residences, i.e. Dr. Sani Yaver Villa by Zeki Sayar, Birgiler Apartment by Baydar architects, İhsan Bey Residence by Faruk Galip, had was the panoramic and/or dominant view over the Marmara Sea or the streets of Moda. Here, what Türkmen achieved was providing a doctoral office to the householder by sacrificing the pastoral view of Yoğurtçu Parkı and Kurbağalıdere for a dining room.

Another important issue about having the office in the very corner of the residence should be to stress the gender perspective. A highly educated medical doctor, who is a female, rules the view of Moda tongue to the east while doing her profession and healing the consulting patients of Moda. Having the pure reflection of the new Republican woman image (powerful, confident, modern, educated) in the domestic realm with a dominant space where she dedicates herself to healing,

people; aside of being a mother and the householder have too many rich readings on gender.[72]

It must not be forgotten that if this residence was a sofa-type residence like some of the cases of this study, the issue of privacy would have changed. The corridors on the both sides of the residence that created the zoning system and the cores of "use" provided a genius circulation between the spaces, without ruining the privacy or the state of being in between-public-and-private in the living room and sale-a-manger. Therefore, not applying the traditional sofa-like living room in the center of the house while allocating the spaces, and providing an international formative approach to the building make Muhlis Türkmen an international-level architect of that time.

To sum up, the above-mentioned zoning system provided ingeniously melted public and private realms, which did not bring discomfort to dwellers. The separation of the diagnosing room, the living room, and the salle-a-manger with doors let the dwellers have their privacy when necessary. The private core that had the bedrooms and the bathrooms of the family did not have any difference in terms of privacy when compared with the private core of the household laborer

[72] The focus of this study does not cover the theoretical and historical framework of gender issue; yet, Necla Erk and her residence would welcome many extensions on that issue. For significant works on the gendered perspectives of architecture in the Republic of Turkey, see: Gürel, Meltem Ö. (2007) *Domestic Space, Modernity, and Identity: The Apartment in mid-20th Century Turkey. Chapter IV: Women and the Apartment,* Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; Akyol, Ebru (2007) *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Değişen Türkiye'sinde Kadının Değişen Rolünün Konut Kullanımına Yansıması*, Unpublished MArch Thesis, Institute of Natural Sciences, İstanbul Technical University; White, Jenny B. (2003) State Feminism, Modernization, and the Turkish Republican Woman, *NWSA Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 3, Gender and Modernism between the Wars, 1918- 1939 (Autumn), 145-159; Yılmaz, İhsan (2003) Non-Recognition of Post-Modern Turkish Socio-Legal Reality and the Predicament of Women. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 30-1, 25-41. For a main resource on the domesticity and gender terminology within the modernization process regardless of an affilitation to any location, see Heynen, H. & Baydar, G. (Eds.) (2005) *Negotiating Domesticity: Spatial Productions of Gender in Modern Architecture*, Routledge, New York.

where she could have the same view that the family had towards the garden behind. Both cores were solved in respect to the fundamental need of privacy of human being.

4.2.2. Domestic Management

Domestic management covers the works done by the household laborers like cleaning, food preparation, and food and beverage storing. The elite of the Ottoman had always employed household labourers in their *konak* and *köşks*.[73] In the Republican Turkey, this habit remained in the apartments and single-family houses as well. Most of the houses in Moda had the distinct character of including a laborer within the household. Yet, these laborers disappeared in accordance with political and social transformation as well. Although the occupants of houses only saw their workers seldomly, they were the cores of domestic management. Figuratively speaking, these people were the rowers of a ship while the passengers were enjoying the journey yet did not actually recognize the labor at all. They are named as *hizmetçi* in Turkish, which can literally be translated as the one who is in charge of the maintenance of something –or, in short, *the maid* in English.[74] Having a maid in the household was an instant indicator of the high social status level.[75]

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[73] Duben, A. & Behar, C. (1991) *İstanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880-1940,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p. 50.

[74] Before going further, it should be noted that the gender of maids was female in the investigated residences in Moda. The only male laborer mentioned during the interviews was the gardener of the köşk of Ülgen family, where the Tanay Apartment is located currently. Ferhunda Özbay also mentions that if there is a male maid in the house, he was mostly occupying the basement floor or the outbuilding that is located in the garden of the residence, if there is one. See Özbay, Ferhunde (2015) *Dünden Bugüne Aile, Kent ve Nüfus*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 116.

[75] Duben and Behar presented a thorough research on the elite of İstanbul in their book, and they referred to the domestic laborers as "servants". For more statistical information on the indication of domestic labourers within the household, see: Duben, A., Behar, C. (1991) *İstanbul Households: Marriage…*, p. 48, 50, 56-57, 67.

This section of the study will present the spaces of domestic management held in the houses of Moda, where the spaces used by maids will be analyzed mostly as the context of domestic management is related to the existence of maids in residences. The goal of this section is to discuss how the spaces designed for domestic management in a household changed in volume and surface, existed or disappeared, in relation with the changing "demand" of spaces for kitchen, storage, and room for the maid in parallel with political and social changes. The design of these spaces will better clarify the allocation of all other spaces in the residences. Moreover, how domestic management spaces were used will also be telling about the appearing and disappearing surfaces, rooms, walls, and so on.

A very large amount of labor is undertaken by the maids for maintaining the house with cleaning, washing dishes, doing laundry, ironing clothes, looking after children or grandchildren of the family if necessary, buying goods from the grocery stores and markets, and so on. Dishes were washed manually before the invention and import of dishwasher. If one calculates the amount of dishes for each breakfast, lunch, casual dinner for the family, and formal dinner for visitors, the hardship of such a duty is clear as the same person is reponsible at the same time for other duties of household management such as cleaning, etc. What Özbay notes about the early Republic period was that the household works took a lot of time and these were extremely difficult to handle.[76] Tap water, electricty and central heating were not widely used in that period. This is also why that the householder needed an assistance with the household and desired to have a maid in the residence.

> There are so many alone women or householder women *residing in dark ground floors or tiny rooms on upper floors, in the attics, roof spaces or in the rooms of the doorkeepers in*

[76] Özbay, Ferhunde (2015). *Dünden Bugüne: Aile…*, p. 116.

> *modern and contemporary cities*. Women who are alone bear a demographic and social fact. There are variable reasons behind why women are alone. Although the forms might vary, *women are affected as much as men by the immigration for the sake of employment - especially for the sake of being a maid.* Those women might be deserted: Women who have children, highly skilled on surviving the longest period of time, addicted to one another, or poor and widowed women. *Poverty of women fills the rooms of cities.*[77]

What Perrot depicts in the quotation above are women who are alone, deserted from their parents for the sake of supporting another family from a totally different culture. Although Perrot explains about the European literature in his book *History of Rooms*, the coverage of the employment of household laborers remain same in other places as Turkey. An example from the context in Turkey witnessed during the research of this study could be exemplified to understand how the "aloneness" qualification of maids also derives from their backgrounds: Necla Erk, the only interviewee who literally employed two maids[78] for her house, stated that she chose the maids herself from families that were living in poverty, from rural areas.[79] In exchange of their labor, Erk was helping her maids by giving them education on natural sciences, Turkish language, propriety in daily life, and so on. Maids kept on living with an upper-class family, deserted physically both from their own family, and also privatized in the residences where they were employed. Hence, women were deserted for the sake of better quality of life and better education.

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[77] Perrot, Michelle (2013) *Odaların Tarihi* (çev. Şilan Evirgen). YKY, İstanbul, p. 139-140.

[78] Erk employed two maids in different times. The first one got married and Erk employed another one.

[79] The emphasis on rural areas was made to underline the poor condition of these places, also from cities in Eastern Turkey. In the article of Gürel it is mentioned that the live-in maids often migrated for the sake of better economic conditions (2007: 121).

As also revealed in the interviews, maids were found and treated as strangers to the modern life in the residences, metaphorically recalled as "elephants in the room", even though they held a very important role in the houses of Moda as their existence made modern daily life itself much easier, bearable and practical. The interviewees could not mention about them so proudly because of a subtle embarrassment for employing a human being and/or a *laborer* for the maintenance of the house. Nonetheless, some proud is also found in their explanations related to having a maid in the house, which indicates a higher social status that comes with luxury and well being. According to Gürel, the presence of rooms for maids can be linked to the traditional life style upper-class families in the Ottoman Empire, and to the "Westernized" residence schemes that were initially designed in the 19th and 20th centuries to help the upper-class with daily food preparation, setting the tables for each meal, and making necessary works before and after these meals; like washing the dishes and putting them in back where they were taken, etc..[80] Similar to earlier examples, rooms for maids signify the economic power and the social status of resident families in houses of the Republican period such as those in Moda. It should be noted here that the residences that contained a room for the maid had the most expensive cost for the rent. [81]

The traces related to the existence of a maid or maids could only be recognized at times when the occupants interviewed mentioned about them in very short moments, or through investigation of residence plans that included a little room where only a bed and a drawer chest could fit. Besides, another entrance door – which is called as the *service door*, just next to the main entrance door of the residence - could also be a trace of the existence of maids in the house.

[80] Gürel, Meltem Ö. (2012) Domestic Arrangements: The Maid's Room in the Ataköy Apartment Blocks, Istanbul, Turkey. *Journal of Architectural Education*, 66:1, 119.

[81] Ibid., 123.

An example of a "room for the maid" could be found in *A Villa in Moda*,, a single house designed by Ziya Kozanoğlu in 1936 (Figure 4.10g). It can be seen that the room for the maid is located behind the staircase, next to the storage – *yüklük.*[82] The sharp segregation of daily circulation of the maid from the other spaces that dwellers mostly occupied, was provided by locating her room behind the main transitional zone; the staircase. That way, she was isolated from the daily life of the owners in the upper floor, and was allowed there only during her working hours when she was organizing sheets and bed linens as well as cleaning the rooms there. *Yüklük* was also located in a place where it could be under the control of the maid, i.e. within the boundaries of the partition walls that defined the space reserved for the maid behind the door of her own private realm.

Another example among the cases of single houses in Moda that contained a room for the maid was the Necla Erk Residence, built in 1954. As mentioned in the previous sub-chapter, the zoning plan-type of Muhlis Türkmen in this house provided the residence with a functional circulation. Naturally, this zoning system also provided a distinctive identity to the spaces of domestic management. The interior of Doğruman Residence had another local signification over the dwelling, which deserves mentioning about. It is the open-shelf storage system where the food supplies could be stored, just like a pantry (Figure 4.7e). Although here in this residence, it has been referred to as "*kiler*" by the occupants, which indicated the local identity with the wood structured shelf system. Kiler was installed on the wall of the bathroom, in the little hall where the wc was located adjacent to the kitchen in Doğruman Residence. The objective of building a shelf system like that was to get rid of the crowded visual of kitchen supplies from the kitchen and

[82] *Yüklük* is the Turkish word for the storage room where usually bed linens, quilts, pillows, extra beds for the visitors who stay overnight, and also winter clothes were stored .

to place them in one place which is usually away but linked with the kitchen where the food supplies can be accessed.

In "A Villa in Moda" by Zeki Kozanoğlu, the room for the maid was hidden behind the staircase and isolated from the main circulation space – sofa. In the Necla Erk Residence, not only the main staircase that led the occupants to the main entrance vestibule, but also the corridor between this staircase and the salle-a-manger separated the circulation of the maid from the private life of the occupants. She lived in a small room where she only had a little wardrobe and a single bed, as Necla Erk mentioned. As can be seen in the plan of Necla Erk residence (Figure 4.16m), there was a door, which was also the distinctive character of the separation from the occupants, also visually hiding the life of the maid.[83] She was hidden behind this door, along with the water closet for the guests, and the kitchen. That can give away a sign that she was something to be hidden just like those service wet areas – however, she had access, like the owners, to the largest balcony that looked over the large garden of the residence.

Besides single-family houses,[84] several apartments examined in this study also had rooms for maids. Those were the Dr. Kamil Röntgen Apartment (1933), "A House for Tenants" (1940), "A House for Tenants"/the Geren Apartment (1941); the Birgiler Apartment (1948); and the Cavid Bey Apartment (1961).

[83] It should be noted that the maid was an orphan child from a very poor background who was adopted. Necla Erk wished to provide her with education and shelter, as well as employment; that was why she was living with the Erk family.

[84] No representation has been indicated in the plans of four single-family houses examined in this study about the existence of rooms for maids, such as Sıdıka Haydar Hanım Residence (Figure 4.3e). Even though there is no documentary evidence about the real function of some of the rooms, which seem convenient to be occupied as the room of the maid, this study did not investigate the "most possible" household laborer space of those houses in mentioned Figures. In addition, in the Prof. Dr. Tevfik Taylan Residence, Zeki Sayar wrote that the room of the maid was allocated in the basement floor, together with the laundry room and heating center. This is the reason why the plans of the ground floor and the upper floor did not indicate any rooms for the maid.

Among all the examples, the Dr. Kamil Röntgen Apartment (1933) had probably the largest room for a household laborer (Figure 4.5e, 4.5f). The design approach of Zeki Sayar was to provide a diagnosis and examination room in the ground floor, and a residential floor above. The plan of the house barely reflects an upper-class family life, recognized only in details such as a grand piano in the main living room, and a bidet next to the water closet in the main bathroom of the occupants. Along with these two indicators, the fact that one third of the residence was allocated as *service area*[85] is also a sign of wealth. Separated by the zone of the staircase and the entrance hall or the sofa, this service area had a separate entrance door, which can be interpreted as the *service door* of the residence. With direct accessibility both into the dining room and the entrance hall, the service area consisted of the following: A room for the maid, kitchen, a small toilet – however, a Turkish style toilet basin,[86] and an office.

The room of the maid had a width of 2.30 meters and a length of approximately 3 meters (Figure 4.5e). These dimensions can be considered as standard for a room of a child, which supports the hypothesis that the maid in this apartment was privileged to have that large a room, also with a window looking over not to a light and ventilation shaft but to a street view in Moda. Nonetheless, like other maids in similar houses, she was separated from the private part of the residence by all means. This distinction was not only provided with the staircase-sofa axis, but also the service door mentioned above. The maid could bring grocery goods to the house without any occupant noticing her, because she was using the service door. Another possible scenario about her distinction from the private realm of the residence is that she could only be seen in the sofa when visitors or the owner arrived the house to help them with their coats; or in the salle-a-

[85] Zeki Sayar also named this area as the service area in the description of the residence in *Arkitekt*, Issue 1933-08 (32), 231-236.

[86] Gürel mentions the derivation of an opposition between Western and traditional also rises with the existence of a Turkish-style toilet within the same residence where a bidet, bathtub and toilet bowl could be found together in some cases (2012: 125).

manger in order to ask for drinks. To sum up, with Doktor Kamil Röntgen Apartment, Zeki Sayar achieved to provide a functional residential space both for the circulation of the occupants and of the maid, in terms of her own private realm as well.

Zeki Sayar designed another apartment as "A House for Tenants" in 1940, located in Yenifikir Street. Allocated in the most secluded corner of the residence, the room for the maid in the apartment units of the building was at the very end of the corridor (Figure 4.11k). The maid had a large window facing the south direction, which embraced the most of sunlight during the day. Just like in "A Villa in Moda" designed by Zeki Kozanoğlu, the room of the maid in this case was also allocated next to the storage, *kiler*, which was under the control of the maid.

There is a distinctive difference in order to distinguish the "A Villa in Moda" by Kozanoğlu and the "A House for Tenants" by Sayar in terms of the spaces provided for the maid. This difference is the boundary of the room for the maid and what it contained. Sayar provided a door for the room of maid and did not separate it along with the *kiler* from the main habitation area consisted of bedrooms (Figure 4.11k). On the other hand, Kozanoğlu separated this space by a door that opened firstly to *yüklük* and then to the room of the maid (Figure 4.10g). Sayar did not separate the private realm of the maid from the private realm of the occupants with an extra door, which seems more humanistic.

The third apartment case study for the investigation of domestic laborers spaces by Zeki Sayar is also "A House for Tenants", which is currently called as Geren Apartment (Figure 4.12f). Completed in 1941, this residence holds an importance with a different approach to the role of the maid's room. The difference between those floors is the area reserved for the main staircase from the street in the ground floor, which was used as an extra living room and an office on the

standard floor. Sayar allocated the room for the maid between the toilet and *sandık odası* – a storage room that can be considered as another type of *yüklük*.

The service area on the first floor of the Geren Apartment can be considered as more organized in its design, whereas this changes in the second floor. In the upper floor, the kitchen was located next to the staircase and the main entrance, having a *separate service door* and an additional small balcony on the vertical axis of the light and ventilation shaft. This balcony was most probably used for the grocery items, like vegetables and fruits – in order to keep them fresh.[87] The service door was for the use of the maid when she brought grocery goods in order for her to reach the kitchen without "disturbing" the landowner and the family.[88] This scenario was not applicable for the apartment unit in the ground floor as the kitchen was condensed here along the corridor. The locations of the rooms of maids differed from floor to floor because of the changing location of the main stairs. In the ground floor the maid had a smaller room with less daylight coming from the light and ventilation shaft while the maid on the second floor had a larger room with a larger window.

The Birgiler Apartment, designed by Leyla and Ferzan Baydar in 1948, similarly had different plans in different floors as in the Geren Apartment. As can be understood from the ground floor and the upper floor plans, the main entrance hall of the apartment from the street was transformed into a room for the maid in the upper floor (Figure 4.14f, 4.14g). Yet, differing from the Geren Apartment, residences on both floors had service doors on the landing of the main staircase

[87] Please note that the refrigerators had not been imported to Turkey yet in 1941. Yet, the first refrigerator and washing machine were produced in 1959 and 1960. Yaşar, Okan (2010) The Appliance Industry in Turkey. *Marmara Coğrafya Dergisi* Issue: 21 January 2010, 150-185.

[88] The word of "disturbing" was commonly used by the interviewees who employed maids. This disturbance ignifies the condition of the maids being isolated physically from the daily life of the dwellers.

of these apartment units. This service door had most probably the same role with the previous examples, where the maid entered the house without disturbing the owners and/or the occupants.

The Baydar architects stated in *Arkitekt* that the top floor was for the landowner and the other two floors below were for the tenants – and the plan was designed by considering the lifestyle of the landowner. This description explains the lack of the allocation of a space for the maid on the ground floor. If the family on the ground floor would employ a maid, she would be less fortunate as she did not have a separate toilet or a reclining bed to rest; while a room with a window, single bed with a side-table, and a private small Turkish style toilet signifies the very existence of a staying-over maid on the upper floors (Figure 4.14g).

The last case among the apartments examined is the Cavid Bey Apartment, completed in 1961 (Figure 4.21o, 4.21p). Architect Cavid Tamkan designed a small room next to the kitchen to provide the occupants a flexible space. What Bülent Arkunlar mentioned during the interview was that his uncle Tamkan did not define this little room as a room for the maid and, most likely, he did it on purpose. It could be used either as a storage room, or a room for the maid. Although the plan of this residence could not be found, Bülent Arkunlar's description of this room is helpful: "Even though there was nothing like the spacious physicality of the room depicted in the famous painting of Vincent van Gogh, *Bedroom in Arles,* a single bed and a chiffonier could easily fit in that tiny room." Arkunlar was probably referring to the famous painting because the width of that room was enough to contain a side table, a chair and a single bed while the room in this case was much smaller. Arkunlar added that several occupants like them and his aunt combined this small room with the kitchen next to it in time in order to have a larger kitchen. Before the family moved from Ankara back to Cavid Bey apartment in Moda, the father of Arkunlar who used that room as his atelier after he retired from his job.

In order to visualize this small room, Arkunlar drew perspectives and noted down estimated measurements of the partition walls, and also gave a memoir of notes from his childhood recollections (Figure 4.21n). What he wrote down in was as follows: "When I was a child, if I was on the side of the chest next to the window, I had to crawl between the legs of my father in order to reach the door of this room." He also noted "Maximum two people could stand up in front of the atelier-drawer chest". In the perspective at right hand-side in Figure 30b, one can notice three rolled up rugs, a chest just in front of the double-winged window that looks over the light and ventilation shaft of the Apartment, and a drawer–unit with a large tool panel that had the same width with the drawer unit. There were possibly three scenarios that architect Cavid Tamkan thought about the use of this space: A storage room –either for grocery goods like *kiler* or household needs like *yüklük*; a room for a maid; or a hobby room. The preference of the use of space was up to the dwellers. This freedom of choice can also be seen in Ataköy Housing Development, which was built between 1957 and 1962 in Ataköy and holds the fact of being most referred modern housing blocks of modern architecture history of Turkey. In the article of Gürel, she mentions the use of space preference as follows:

> The actual function of the maid's room and its relationship to the other service areas varied from household to household. If the room was not used for the accommodation of domestic helpers, it was often used as a guest bedroom or housework- related space, such as a pantry or storage, laundry, or ironing room. [89]

The definition of a room for a household laborer was ambiguous in the Tamkan apartment as this space could also be used for other purposes. As can be seen in these examples, the allocation of a maid's room in apartment units started to be

[89] Gürel, Meltem Ö. (2012) Domestic Arrangements: The Maid's Room..., p. 123.

abandoned towards the 1970s. According to Özbay, the government banned the employment of maids who are taken adopted.[90] The number of live-in maids, who occupied the spaces mentioned in this part of the study as the household laborers, started to decrease towards the 1970s also because of the rapid housing production in greater İstanbul during the 1960s.[91] Moreover, by the introduction of new electronic devices like refrigerators, ovens, dishwashing machines, microwaves, and so on, more space began to be needed for kitchens in time in contrast to smaller kitchens provided in houses of middle or even higher-class families until the 1970s, as seen in the examples examined. After the 1950s with the mainstream purchasing of refrigerators and washing machines by the upper-middle and middle classes, kitchens and bathrooms were designed larger compared to the previous residences.[92]

Therefore, the occupants of the houses in Moda needed some reconstructions in time. During most of the interviews, when the questions regarding the changes and reconstructions were forwarded, most of the interviewees started complaining about the working area that they had or still have in their kitchens. Most of them were recalling their kitchen with the adjectives like *small, inadequate, not-enough-room-to-cook*, and so on. Frequently, they told that they were always wishing for larger kitchen counters to work and cook at more easily.

Above-mentioned small hobby room in Cavid Bey Apartment, which can be seen in the sketches of Bülent Arkunlar was later combined with the kitchen once the family moved to the apartment back from Ankara (Figure 4.21p). One of the reasons of this reconstruction was the fact that, because of its small dimensions, the kitchen could not contain any of the contemporary electronic devices that

[90] Özbay, Ferhunde (2015). *Dünden Bugüne Aile…,* p. 115.

[91] For further details on the historical context of the housing production, see Chapter II: Historical Context of Urban and Architectural Modernization.

[92] Ibid., 122.

helped domestic management. The second and the most important reason was stated as that the family wanted to spend most of their spare time sitting altogether in the kitchen space as a living area, rather than in the more formally organized living room.

Another reconstruction among the houses examined was in the Ebru Apartment. Sedef Eğilmez Susmuş and her husband Cüneyt Susmuş decided to change their house by closing one of the doors opening into the kitchen. As seen in the plan of the Ebru Apartment, they cancelled the door opening to the main corridor axis and opened a new one in the main entrance area (Figure 4.28l). The reason why they wanted to make this reconstruction was, with their exact words, as follows: "We wanted to move freely in the middle axis of the kitchen, without any restrictions of physical access."

Ayşe Ülgen also made some changes in the kitchen of their house at the Tanay Apartment (Figure 4.27i). Here, the room of the maid was also combined with the kitchen, and the door between the kitchen and the corridor was eliminated. Via this interior retouch, the family gained a larger kitchen, with continuous counters and, most importantly, a kitchen space with more light.

All three examples above on retouches within kitchen spaces depicted the demand of a transformation in modern apartment units built before 1970 in order to have more space in this part of house. The reconstructions and changes within the interior spaces hold evidence about the urge for changing what had earlier been designed. Having larger kitchens and bathrooms because of the need of space for new electronic devices was one of the indirect factors of the disappearance of *yüklük, kiler,* and eventually the room for the maid. The employment of the maids was not existing anymore in late 1960s as mentioned above: The role of the householder grew in domestic realm, with the household works. Male servicemen who were named as *kapıcı* (doorman) were employed

for the main maintenance of the apartments including: Bringing orders (i.e. bread, milk, eggs, newspaper) to doors of each residence in the morning, cleaning the whole apartment on weekly basis, collecting the garbage several times during the week, taking care of the mechanical works of heating systems which were usually located in the same floor where his residence was, the basement floor. *Kapıcı*s were immigrated from rural settlements of Turkey just like maids.[93]

To sum up, changes such as the disappearance of stay-in maids and the employment of *kapıcı*s, and the purchasing of electronic devices that increased the pace of domestic works done in the household, as experienced in the domestic management spaces of the residences in the district of Moda, did have an impact on the transformation of the residences. While the area of living rooms and entrance halls decreased as mentioned in the previous section, the room of the maid disappeared – or started to be used for some other function (hobby room, ironing room, etc.), and the transitional spaces got smaller for the sake of having larger bathrooms, kitchens and bedrooms.

4.2.3. Materialization of Social Status

> Just like many other good things, the Turkish citizen has also been introduced to the issue of *housing* in the Republican era. This is why, we do not know how to build a beautiful house with a beautiful setting: Because the ideas of building a house and decorating it are fresh and young yet. [94]

[93] Gürel, Meltem Ö. (2009) Defining and living out the interior: the 'modern' apartment and the 'urban' housewife in Turkey during the 1950s and 1960s. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 16: 6, p. 716.

[94] The original quote is as the following: "Türk vatandaşı, bir çok iyi şeyler olduğu gibi, meskeni de cumhuriyet devrinde tanımış bulunuyor. Ve işte bunun için bizde ev yapmak, ev döşemek fikirlerinin pek genç olması yüzünden içimizde hemen hemen ekserimiz güzel ev yapmağı, güzel yerleşmeği bilmiyoruz." Anonymous. (1938, March 8) Ev nedir ve bir Ev Nasıl Kurulmalı?. *Modern Türkiye Mecmuası*, Issue 2, p. 18.

The quotation above depicts how the idea of the space of a house became an important issue as seen in such discussions about "how to build a beautiful house with a beautiful setting".[95] Moreover, the author of the text also tried to motivate readers by accusing them *not knowing how to realize this, yet*. This could be taken as an act of marketing the new furnishing objects, furniture, and impressing the readers by the new lifestyle in modern houses, as seen in such publications as the above Magazine of Modern Turkey. Main aim in this subchapter is to understand that new and modern lifestyle by examining the materialization of social status in the use of certain household objects*: Accessories, furniture, fixtures and equipment.*

Interior features of houses reflect the social-status and/or economic level of families. The preference of a particular object or a fixture would clarify this in addition to the words of an interviewee. The cases examined in this study are useful in understanding how contemporary people in living in Moda houses answered the question of "How to build a beautiful house with a beautiful setting". What was considered beautiful could be analyzed in the preference of certain new accessories, furniture fixtures and equipment. However, were such objects left from the traditional houses, *köşks* and *konaks,* still considered as beautiful? Did people who lived in Moda during the early Republican and post-World War II periods really need to change the interior features in their residences? The attempt will be to answer such questions as well in this subchapter.

Accessories and Furniture

> Some of the "bourgeois" families were trying to create "corners" like living room, dining room, and bedroom; with

[95] Similar titles were used as the titles of the previously mentioned magazines, which promoted the modern way of living.

> the remains of their belongings from old times just for the sake of protecting something from their old life habits.[96]

Accessories and furniture are living witnesses of social heritage that do speak not in words but symbolically. Those items tell many stories about not only the occupants and their daily-life in their houses, but also their family heritage just as Perrot quoted above. This part of the study will reveal how the *"modern"* and the "traditional" were incorporated in the residences of Moda through furniture and accessories, and what they meant in different layers of social status.

Investigation regarding the investigated case residences published in *Arkitekt* journal show that most of the articles on those buildings emphasized the constructional background of the buildings. Articles on the Dr. Sani Yaver Villa (1932), the Dr. Kamil Röntgen Apartment (1933), A House for Tenants (1940) and A House for Tenants/The Geren Apartment (1941) by Zeki Sayar; İhsan Bey Residence (1933) and Sıdıka Hanım Residence (1933) by Faruk Galip; A house for Tenants (1935) by Rebii Gorbon did not have any information about their furniture and accessories: The interior space was not mentioned with its features in the descriptive articles of the mentioned architects. On the other hand, the information about the interior spaces of the Seza Apartment (1933) by Sırrı Arif; A Villa in Moda (1936) by Ziya Kozanoğlu; and the Birgiler Apartment (1948) by Leyla Baydar and Ferzan Baydar were available in the related articles.[97]

The living room of the Seza Apartment had an L shaped seating element (Figure 4.4f). It is highly possible that it had storage sections underneath the upholstery. The seating parts could be lifted up and used as a bed when connected. As can be seen in Figure 4.4f, it was surrounded by the lacquer wooden structure that had

[96] Perrot, Michelle (2013) Odaların Tarihi…, p. 49.

[97] Arif, Sırrı (1933) Seza Apartment. *Arkitekt,* Issue: 06 (30), 165-170; Kozanoğlu, Ziya (1936) Moda'da bir Villa. *Arkitekt.* Issue: 1936-09, 245-248; Baydar, F. & Baydar, L. (1950) Birgiler Apartment. *Arkitekt.* Issue: 1950-07-10 (223-224-225-266), 153-155.

shelves with both circular and rectangular forms. Those shelves were both for storage – as can be seen in the right-hand side of the photograph, the newspapers and magazines were stocked above the closed covered cupboard; and also to display accessories – as can be seen in the left-hand side of the photograph, the shelves were left open for some accessories. Another important detail to be noticed is the connection part of the two seats: There is another deep cupboard which can be reached from the other short side of the feature, a mirrored version of the one that can be reached from the front.

There were two different L-shaped seating elements in the villa designed by Ziya Kozanoğlu; which was referred with the name "*a Villa in Moda*" in *Arkitekt*. This residence had a living room where the sale-a-manger space was separated only by a constructional beam, and, both of the spaces had this type of seating features. In the sale-a-manger part, the seating feature had hidden shelves in the back part: They could be opened most possibly with a cover that was sliding horizontally (Figure 4.10d). A wooden structure surrounded the feature, and continued a little further to create a more surrounding feeling and, most importantly, to provide a storage unit. The continuation of the material to create a space for storage and making the unit holistic by the help of this design solution presents a modern approach that emphasized not only aesthetics but also functionality. This idea can be seen in ways just as Baltacıoğlu promoted on using practical and cubic furniture in the very first written books about modern life in a disguise of "Democracy and Art", published in 1931 and from mentioned sketches and interior spaces that Aptullah Ziya created in *Arkitekt* in the early Republican period.[98] The same design understanding could also be seen in the living room section (Figure 4.10f). In short, using the same design language in seating elements provided the unity between spaces with different functions.

[98] The images in the book of İsmail Baltacıoğlu and the design works of Aptullah Ziya reflect the refined lined joinery. See Figures 4a, 4b, 4c, 4i, 4k, 4l, 4m and further reading can be found in section 4.1. of this study.

Seating units with storage sections were highly promoted and frequently presented in the magazines of "modern" Turkey. In *Yedigün*, features with both a bookshelf and a bed, which acted as a seating feature during daytime, were often published (Figures 4q – 4u). Here one can notice the specialty of the seating unit seen in the photographs from the living room of the Seza Apartment. This unit was a pure application of the desired interior furnishing of its time via its multi-functional design. The covered cupboard storages hidden in the corner and the edge made it multi-façaded as well. Even though the most popular modern magazine, *Yedigün*, promoted interior spaces of anonym residences with such furniture pieces, the approach of the architect Sırrı Arif should be mentioned as exemplary for the application of such an approach in a real residence.

The Birgiler Apartment, on the other hand, did not have such multi-functional furnitures. One can notice freestanding armchairs in the plan of the apartment (Figure 4.14f, 4.14g). Indeed, Baydar architects seem to have attempted to apply a combination of traditional and modern languages into their design on the whole. For example, the *sedir*[99] type-seating feature that was used in the living room can be considered as a reference to traditional interior space. Moreover, sedir is located in the *cumba* (the cantilever closure in traditional houses), which strengthen the traditional language more (Figure 4.14d, 4.14f, 4.14g). Such references in the interior could also be traced on the exterior of the apartment such as the angled vertical timber elements that connected second floor to the top floor with *cumba*. Afife Batur defines the architecture of the period from 1938 to 1950 as "anti-modern, local architecture"[100], which supports and describes the application of a vernacular-tradition feature in the Birgiler Apartment. The only representation with modern references is the "seemingly" modular bed in the

[99] *Divan* or a day-bed in the terminology of traditional architecture in Turkey.

[100] Batur further exemplified this "anti-modern" trend with reference to public buildings like the State Railways General Management Building (1941) and residences such as the Cenap And House. Batur, Afife (2005) *A Concise History: Architecture in Turkey During the 20th Century*, Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, Ankara, p. 34-38.

child bedroom, where the architects drew a perspective (Figure 4.14c). Unifying the lines of a single bed with a built-in joinery storage can be recalled as modern as it hold the continuation between joinery items that have separate functions. What Baydar architects preferred to provide the landowner and his/her tenants was the blend of traditional and modern in an integrated level. There are also other modern features which were aroused in the wet areas, therefore will be discussed in the next subchapter.

Old accessories and furniture had a major role in the examined interior spaces of the residences in Moda built in the Republican years. Families continued to use accessories and furniture of their grandparents or parents: Those accessories hold a memorial character, which links the occupant to his or her family and memories. This nostalgic experience was frequently mentioned by most of the interviewees, as they were in the position of remembering old habits during the interviews.

One of the examples to those houses where the occupant "filled" the interior with old furniture and accessories is Tanay Apartment, the house of Ayşe Ülgen, constructed in 1967. All the furniture pieces were gathered from the *köşk* of Yusuf İzzeddin Paşa,[101] which was located in Çamlıca, İstanbul. The grandfather and uncle of Ayşe Ülgen collected almost all the furniture from this *köşk*: bed sets; consoles, side tables, buffets with nacre details; a gossip chair,[102] mirrors, etc. (Figure 4.27c). The information about how the family found a connection to that köşk in Çamlıca was not shared; however, all these pieces and accessories were collected in their old timber *köşk* in Dr. Esad Işık Caddesi, where the family had earlier lived. Those valuable historical pieces ere carried to all the residences that Ayşe Ülgen has lived in all her life.

[101] Yusuf İzzeddin Paşa was the son of Sultan Abdülaziz of the Ottoman Empire, who lived between 1857-1916, and was as a reformer and a modernist of his time.

[102] *Dedikodu koltuğu*, in Tr.

Just like Ayşe Ülgen, Bülent Arkunlar also kept the old furniture pieces from their old *köşk*, which was located in the corner of Cevahir Street and Yoğurtçu Park (Figures 4.21a, 4.21b). Arkunlar told that his wife Ayşe fell in love with the furniture when she first saw them in the house of her father-in-law. Bülent and Ayşe couple gave them to a repairing workshop in İstanbul when they decided to marry. The repairing took long, and they had to pay a large amount of money to each piece. What Arkunlar told was that if they had decided to buy new furniture for their house, "it would have been cheaper but with less character". They still own a lot of seating units, couches for two, and three people, two single couches; a circle dining table with chairs; consoles and side-tables from this collection (Figures 4.21i – 4.21m). All those pieces have nacre details in their edges, which make them more valuable. Arkunlar mentioned that the couple was very happy to live with that nostalgic furniture, as they were the only ones that linked them to the past.[103]

Apart from the house of Ülgen and Arkunlar, Eğilmez family also reserved some of their accessories coming from the old *köşk* on Yoğurtçu Parkı Caddesi, where their apartment, Ebru Apartment, is located now. Antique porcelain and glass vases (Figure 4.28g), a salver made from German silver[104] (Figure 4.28f) and inkwell (Figure 4.28e), etc. could be easily recognized by their visitors as they signify their heritage, and also a well-off family. Those pieces were and are still hard to purchase if one has a mediocre wealth.

The residence that Muhlis Türkmen built, Erk Residence, had also accessories from the old *köşk* that had been in the same location before the new house was

[103] This melancholic expression is also because of the fact that in 2013, they sadly agreed on demolishing the Cavid Bey Apartment, which was indeed designed and built by his uncle.

[104] "German silver" is an an alloy that contains copper, nicel and zinc. *Fakfon*, in Tr.

built. Dr. Necla Erk still uses the ancient nacre-made chandelier and the timber wall clock, all valuable historical antique pieces (Figures 4.16j, 4.16k).

As can be understood from such examples, all the interviewees reflected a nostalgic connection with their historical furniture. They mentioned that they had never thought of selling these furniture, as these were the only items that connected the families to their past which basically reminds them to the good-happy days in their old timber *konaks* and köşks..

The father of Sedef Eğilmez Susmuş, Ertuğrul Eğilmez worked as a restorator of churches and mosques at the Turkish History Association for many years. He was educated in the Fine Arts Academy. After their timber *köşk* had been demolished, Eğilmez started to design a seating unit for their new home in the Ebru Apartment while it was being built: The seating had an L-shaped white lacquered design. As can be seen in Figure 4.28c and Figure 4.28d, one part was for two people and the other for three people to sit on. As far as her daughter Sedef Eğilmez Susmuş told, her father thought a scenario that the users of this seating unit might want to use it differently in the future. That is how he thought of designing a modular piece: It is up to the users of this seating element to change the locations of both the seating pieces and the side-table accordingly to the preference of the use. Via this case, it is clear that, Ertuğrul Eğilmez, a designer and an architect chose to use white lacquer as a signifier of the clear and modern cut apartment interiors. In addition to this modern language used by the designer, he went further and designed modular furniture to set the occupants free of their stable conditions, which they had with the bergere armchairs that they were using (Figures 4.28a, 4.28b).

In addition to the interviews, the language of interior spaces could also be interpreted via the archived photographs.[105] The photographs from the living room of the house of the Day family, which is built before 1967, show the furniture from many angles.[106] What is most characteristic to the living room is the combination of antique and modern furniture pieces. In Figure 4.25a and 4.25b, one can notice the storage with many sections, which was most probably used for books and small accessories. This cabinet had five linear shelves with two or three vertical segments in each shelf. The asymmetrical façade of the piece made its language more modernist. From ground to top, all the segments were covered and had their locks (Figure 4.25b). This must have been an old habit of "locking" things, as large families of several siblings had occupied the old timber houses. On the topic of locking things, Sedef Eğilmez Susmuş told that "the doors of rooms were never locked, even though [they] were sharing the house with many of [her] cousins and two of [her] uncles".[107] The cabinet was mounted in the niche of the living room, which means that either the contractor or the architect built this piece, or the occupants demanded it and asked a joinery mason to build it.

The other piece in the house of the Day family, which is easily noticeable with its modernist character, is the only armchair that resembles the tulip chair of Saarinen with its seating part (Figure 4.25d). This example is a sign of the modernist design understanding applied here, signifying that the joinery makers

[105] The archive of Salt Galata Research helped to gain a perspective over the interiors of the residences in the 1960s as well. Day, Biret and Marine families shared their family albums with Salt Galata.

[106] The exact location of the house of the Day family could only be found by investigating the photographs taken from their balcony, and tracing the apartments and other buildings on the street from those photographs (Figure 4.25a). The apartment is the Ihlamur Apartment, which is located on the Moda Avenue. It was built before 1967, as the archived photographs were taken in this year.

[107] Quoted from the interview with Sedef Eğilmez Susmuş made by Pınar Sezginalp on October 4th, 2016 at the house of the Susmuş family.

or the stores that were selling furniture could follow up the new trends in worldwide contemporary design industry.

Except the residence of the Day family, one could find recollections of another family who has been residing in Moda for many years: Biret family, well known by the people of Moda because the daughter of the family, İdil Biret, is a very successful pianist.

Before examining the details of the interior features of the Ufuk Apartment on Atifet Street where they lived, the family should better be portrayed socially. The fact that the family can be considered within the upper class families, is derived from the photographs at the Salt Research Archive. There are three hints in the photographs, which help make this conclusion about their status: Firstly, the fact that mostly encyclopedia and book series were seen in the photographs, point at an intellectual surrounding, which, in the times of the 1960s, could easily be considered as an upper class or well-off but certainly educated family context (Figure 4.24a - 4.24f). The photograph is from the living room which is the very space that families host their guests, spend most of their time, have their meals in and recharge their bodies for the new day while chatting with family members, and so on. Hence, displaying books in the living room show that the family found them as their most valuable item to be proudly shown to the guests who visited them and were hosted in the living room.

The second hint on the status of the family, as seen in Figure 4.24b and 4.24e, is that Münir Biret was wearing his shoes in the rooms of the house. Traditionally, Turkish people take off their shoes either before entering the house or in the entrée hall. This act of Biret can be considered as a *modern* act of occupying the living room, which is considered in between the private and the public. Even though there is a possibility that he could have wanted to be specifically seen in

photographs like that, this also means that he related himself with a "modern" identity.

Last but not the least, the fact that the Biret residence was on the top floor of an apartment, which is located on the corner of Moda Avenue and Atıfet Street, marks the family status to an upper class level among the society. As seen in Figure 4.24i, showing a section from the panoramic view of the residence, Fenerbahçe and Kalamış districts were easily seen when one was seated in their living room. These districts have always been valuable with their views for the ones who live in Moda. During the interview, Rüçhan Sel mentioned how she designed and decorated the attic space in their private residence on Şifa Street, just to watch Fenerbahçe and Kalamış at nights, especially with full moon. She did this change in the attic, as it was the highest point of their house. Taking into consideration the amount of money that the family of Rüçhan Sel spent on that private house - the top amount of the lottery only for purchasing that house - the flat on the top floor of the apartment could easily show the wealth of the Biret family. Twenty years later the Doğruman family purchased the house on Şifa Street with the view of the Moda Pier and the Fenerbahçe-Kalamış district, the price of which must have been much much higher.[108]

The furniture and accessories in the interior of the Biret residence hold both local-traditional and modern references. One of the traditional traces can be seen in Figure 4.24g, where Leman Biret was posing in front of the kitchen counter, sitting on a stool. There is a traditional Anatolian tea-urn,[109] which was most possibly used as another teapot, can be spotted on the shelf above her. This tea-urn is genuinely a mark of the love of tradition. On the other hand, the little round

[108] The photographs may not be from the interior space yet they can give a hint about the daily-life of the families. See Figures 4.4a, 4.7b, 4.7c for more insight about the Doğruman Residence.

[109] *Semaver*, in Tr.

clock on the left hand side of the tea-urn, behind Leman Biret, is a sign of a modern daily life, which requires catching up with minutes and hours. Still, between the clock and the tea-urn, a candle inside its holder signifies imbalanced electricity, telling the story of frequent blackouts within Turkish neighborhoods at the time.

The photographs in the living room also present the beholders a mixture of the traditional and the modern. Here, traditional items are the accessories, whereas the modern items are the joinery furniture. In Figure 4.24a, traditional Anatolian rugs are seen on the ground, just like all the other case houses of this research. However, the Biret family used their rugs with a different function as well: In Figure 4.24d, it can be seen that the same type of rugs were hung up to the walls. The type of displaying this time is with traditional items – not with books. In the same photograph, an elliptic wood dining table with six dining chairs can also be seen (Figure 4.24d). The table was already set up for dining, with folded napkins and silver cutlery service. This settlement also bears two conditions: The ready dining table set with cutlery, plates and tableware represent the modern life-style, and the hanged rug brings traditional references.

The proportions and materials of the main chairs in the living room of the Biret family were obviously modernist as well. As can be seen in Figure 4.24b and 4.24c, leather upholstery details can be recognized. The chair here is almost like a smaller version of the Barcelona chair with larger leather sections and sewing details on the upholstery – the only difference between the two is the skeleton of the furniture piece (Figure 4.24b). By the help of the photographs of these chairs it can also be observed that the joinery makers were following up with contemporary modernist design trends.

> The interior was not only the private citizen's universe, it was also his casing. *Living means leaving traces. In the interior, these were stressed*. Coverings and antimacassars,

> boxes and casings, were devised in abundance, in which the traces of everyday objects were moulded. *The resident's own traces were also moulded in the interior.*[110]

Although the context above is Parisienne interior spaces, what Benjamin shares in the quotation is how the presence of accessories that belonged to dwellers of an interior gave clues about the surrounding and how these accessories become heritage: To live is means leaving traces. "Moulding" - as the emphasized figurative synonym for *furnishing* the everyday objects into the interior makes the space furnished with traces. Here in this study, the rich amount of material heritage could be found after the early Republican period. The reason behind this founding is, firstly, because the shortage of the photographs taken from the interiors of the buildings that were built in the early Republic period. The architectural plans of these buildings did not include any significations of furniture and accessories as well. The materialization of these residences were already bare-open, as they were single-family houses built with reinforced concrete, among all the old houses in the district where a single *konak* would contain at least two or three nuclear families. Only Seza Apartment and Birgiler Apartment would be the apartments of that time. Yet, the only trace these two had could be seen in the living room Birgiler Apartment: The *sedir* feature, which evaluated and took advantage of the cantilever space that *cumba in the form of the building crated.* Both were the indicators of traditional heritage visible in the interior. Those two features cannot be recalled as the trace of the dweller, but the signature of the architects where they attached traditionalism.

Latter reason for the high amount of accessories found in the buildings that were built after the early Republican Period was that the interviewees were mostly the children, nieces or nephews of those who has lived in *konaks*: Therefore, the accessories that they took care and exhibited for many years mostly in their living

[110] Benjamin, Walter (1967) Paris: Capital of the Nineteenth Century, *Perspecta*, Vol. 12, p. 167.

rooms were the belongings of their parents, uncles or aunts. As mentioned before, those accessories were considered as antiques. Having antique accessories - which are mostly highly expensive for purchasing even contemporarily, obviously signified the upper-class status of the family. People were "squeezed" in the narrow areas of new flats in their apartments in the Post – Second World War period where the most of the deconstruction and construction took the stage in urban pattern. They desired to have something that may help them to reminisce the old days in their old *konaks* or residences, where they had the most peaceful memories. All the interviewees of this study confessed that the days they had in the *konaks* were the most beautiful times of their lives. No matter how old their residence was with all the mold and rotten surfaces, they were happy. This is amongst the most common reason that the interviewees kept the belongings of their parents, or grandparents. A German-silver salver, or a radio, or a gossip-chair, a traditional carpet hanged on the wall, a tea-urn on the counter of the kitchen would be malfunctioned or out fashioned at the moment – but it was worth to have the traces of their parents, who were considered to be the elite of Moda district. The interest to "moulding" the antiques was to remain the heritage which was much more aged than the Republic.

Fixtures and Equipment

By focusing on the fixtures and equipment that the dwellers owned, this section aims to present a broad insight about daily life habits in the residences of Moda, and the related social status of their owners, in relation to the social, economical and political contexts of the early Republican and the post-Second World War period.

Recollections about the fixtures and equipment were gathered via the interviews realized during this research. During the interviews, the interviewees were asked about several questions on the types of fixtures and electrical equipment, aiming to understand when they purchased a specific item, how long they used it, which

brand of the type of equipment they bought afterwards, and so on. The collected data of these fixtures and equipment is listed under each interview.[111]

Under fixtures and equipment, there were two items with distinct characters, which were deeply integrated with the residences of modern Turkey especially during the mid-Twentieh century. The first one is the food storage fixture, either the traditional *wired cupboard*[112] or the modern *refrigerator*, which tell us about the changes in kitchens. The wired cupboard had been used, regardless of the city or region, before the import of refrigerators to Turkey. People were cooking their meals and storing them inside these cupboards. As can be seen in Figure 4.37a, cupboards generally had a wooden joinery design, with wired surfaces on openings. These surfaces were wired because of two reasons: To ventilate the interior part of the cupboard, and to prevent mosquitos or insects entering in. As can be seen from the Table – of fixtures and equipment, many interviewees mentioned about these wired cupboards. For example, Selami Ayalp mentioned that, in their old *köşk* on Hacı İzzet Street, the family purchased a Bosch refrigerator only in year 1962. This refrigerator was transported from Germany to Moda, as there were no stores selling that brand. The year of this purchasing is a little later than the rest of the interviewed families, but the brand was usually Frigidaire. As Gürel also mentions, the upper-class families started purchasing the refrigerators, Frigidaire mostly, during 1950s. [113]

Rüçhal Sel remembers that the Doğruman family had been using the wired cupboard until 1951 when they purchased their General Electric refrigerator

[111] It must not be forgotten that the data may not be accurate as the age, memory and recollection range were different among the interviewees Personal information about the interviewees can be found in the Appendix section, in related interviews.

[112] *Tel dolap*, in Tr.

[113] Gürel, Meltem Ö. (2012) Domestic Arrangements: The Maid's Room..., p. 122.

from Su-Gaz-El store,[114] which was selling mainly home appliance equipment for kitchens and bathrooms. Sel mentioned that this refrigerator was approximately 150 centimeters high, a little short for the family. On the very same year, 1951, the Tanay family purchased a refrigerator as well, and its brand was American originated Kelvinatör as Ayşe Ülgen remembers.

The second item with a distinct character was the washing equipment, named as *roll-washing*[115] equipment, which is telling about the use of bathrooms where clothes were washed (Figure 4.37b). As can be seen from the part of fixtures and equipment in the interviews, many interviewees mentioned that they started to use this washing machine with rolls from the 1950s onwards. The greatest span for the use of this equipment is seen in the case of the Eğilmez family that used it from the 1950s to 1983 to wash their clothes. Another extreme example is with the Ayalp family: Selami Ayalp mentioned that, even if the family could have purchased a roll-washing machine, their wooden *köşk* did not have any free space to place it, so they did not have any roll-washing machine until 1965. Necla Erk and her husband used their roll-washing machine for ten years, approximately between 1960 and 1970, and around 1970 they purchased their first refrigerator. The place they bought it from was recalled as a *han* in Sirkeci, namely *Doğu Bank*.[116]

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[114] The name of the store is derived from the first syllables of water (*su*) – gas (*gaz*) – elecric (*elektrik*) in Turkish.

[115] *Merdaneli çamaşır makinesi*, in Tr.

[116] The Doğu Bank Han was a type of a market where kitchen appliances and other domestic electrical appliances were sold. The importance of this place in the history of İstanbul is that the products sold there were all contrabands. According to Sedef Eğilmez Susmuş and Necla Erk, many families preferred to purchase their appliances from Doğu Bank: Either they were purchasing it with a guarantee certificate or not. That was an important input, as the dates of the first import of electronic appliances to Turkey do not indicate the initial dates that the people started to have them in their residences. Because people had the opportunity to purchase them before the official import.

Apart from the electronic house appliances in residence of Moda, the fixtures in bathrooms also depict the process towards and/or within the modernity. Among those, the presence of a bathtub or a built-in bath is a true indicator of a modern house. As Gürel mentions, a built-in bath was a must to be considered "modern" and also a signifier of the class among the society.[117]

As much as these fixtures were indicated on the architectural plans of the residences: Dr. Sani Yaver Villa (1932), Dr. Kamil Röntgen Apartment (1933), Yapı Kredi Apartment (1954), Prof. Tevfik Saylan Villa (1936), a House for Rent (1940) by Zeki Sayar; İhsan Bey House (1933) and Sıdıka Haydar Hanım House (1933) by Faruk Galip; Birgiler Apartment (1948) by Leyla and Ferzan Baydar; Ebru Apartment (1969) by Atay Aliyazıcıoğlu; Moda Apartment by Sedad Hakkı Eldem (1970), Subaşı Apartment (1979) by Altuğ and Behruz Çinici had bathtubs or built-in baths in their bathrooms.

The bathtub or the built-in bath was already an outsider feature for the people who used to clean their bodies in rooms that were being called as *hamams*, with the *kurna* feature that collected the hot water for one to get washed.[118] Many of the interviewees - not only the ones who used to reside in a *konak*, shared the same opinion on bathtubs: The idea of staying in a still water, which does not run out of the drainage for many minutes to be clean was hard to be adopted for them. This is why Cavid Tamkan designed a *hamam* concept on the bathroom – with a "*kurna*", without any bathtubs, built-in baths or shower basins in Cavid Bey Apartment (Figure 4.21o). Bülent Arkunlar mentioned that this decision was

[117] Gürel, Meltem Ö. (2008) Bathroom as a Modern Space. *The Journal of Architecture*, 13:3, p. 226.

[118] The word *hamam*, was still being used by modern architects to indicate the bathroom in a residence. Figure 4.10g, the plan of a Villa in Moda (1936) by Ziya Kozanoğlu, indicates the word *hamam* and *hela* (toilet). This act of combining the modern architecture via traditional words can be either the demand of the landowner or the promotion of the modern architecture in *Arkitekt.*

made by all the dwellers (the children of Tamkan siblings) of the future apartment while his uncle, Cavid Tamkan, was designing it. Leaving the tradition as it is in a modern apartment, Cavid Bey Apartment stands out among all the researched residences.

Another fixture that was difficult to be adopted for use was *bidet.* Gürel uses the word alien to depict the slow process of getting used to the existence of this modern feature in the bathrooms.[119] Bidet was located just next to the alafranga water closets in modern houses. Nature of it being an alien was deriving from its "not needed-but demanded" background. Not needed, because the alafranga water closets were already designed with a buit-in tap – which was basically the function of bidet. Aynur de Rouen shares a memory of one of her interviewees about the bidet in her article:

> It was the end of the Second World War. We were residing in an additional building of a konak in Şakayık Street. Bathroom was outside the building. My mother was washing us in the garden during summer months, and we were using a little hut to get cleaned in winter months. Toilet was alaturka (the Turkish basin). I was in the fourth grade and a friend of mine invited me to their house: Which was a freshly built apartment building. I was so excited. Everything was new and clean. I was highly impressed by their house. Then, I had to use the toilet. I could not figure out how to use when I was in the bathroom. Using the alafranga water-closet was hard to handle in my mind. I got up to water-closet on my feet and I was about to fall from there! And then, there was something else, a bidet! I made my clothes wet while trying to figure how it can be used. I

[119] Meltem Gürel writes about the western and traditional oppositions that bathrooms have in residences in Turkey. She also stresses the point of how the bathroom was differently interpreted by different people. See; Gürel, Meltem Ö. (2008) Bathroom..., p. 215 -233.

> stayed in that bathroom for an hour at least. I was so embarrassed.[120]

This recollection emphasizes how unfamiliar was the presence of bidets. However strange it was, bidet was transported to modern bathrooms with demand, to signify the existence of modernity in a residence. The houses in Moda can be pointed out having a bidet in their bathrooms are as following: Doktor Sani Yaver Villa (1932), Yapı Kredi Apartment (1954) by Zeki Sayar; Birgiler Apartment (1948) by Leyla and Ferzan Baydar; Necla Erk Residence (1954) by Muhlis Türkmen, and Subaşı Apartment (1979) by Altuğ and Behruz Çinici.

Bidet was not mentioned by any of the interviewees as it had a place in only the bathrooms of the residences that were reached via archives. Bathtub on the other hand was and is still being used by the interviewees. In fact, the use of bathtub is not the same as it was meant within its context in Moda – the interviewees were mostly using their bathtubs like a shower: not laying down in still water but using the shower head to cleanse. For example, Bülent Arkunlar and his wife purchased a small feature that functioned as half a bathtub - half a shower, both to be more functional and to gain more space while they were making changes in the original design of the residence in the Cavid Bey Apartment (Figure 4.21p).

4.3. Final Remarks

The ideology of the daily "modern" life within the interior spaces of the residences in Moda is discussed in Chapter 4 by referring to the ideas of several actors. This chapter presented the life-style and social status of the families examined by the help of the recollections of the interviewees beginning from their childhood or youth years. The representations of the houses examined in

[120] De Rouen, Aynur (2017) 1950'lerin İstanbul'u: Konaktan Apartmana. In Erman, T. & Özaloğlu, S. (Eds.) (2017) *Bir Varmış Bir Yokmuş: Toplumsal Bellek, Mekan ve Kimlik Üzerine Araştırmalar,* Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 39.

publications, related facts about their architects and contractors, as well as the recollections of occupants had the most important role in conveying how the transformation of daily life was experienced in the mentioned spaces of the cases. On the other hand, the interviewees helped to reflect on the satisfaction, needs, demands, and regrets over those spaces.

The recollections of people who were born in any specific year from around 1930 to 1980, who grew up in different parts of Moda, who were brought up listening to the stories, lullabies and legends from their parents or grand-parents about the lifestyles of the grand-grand-parents, were the main source of this chapter on the interior spaces of the residences in Moda. Their memories are important because they are the ones who felt the so-called "radical transformation" towards a "modern' life to their bones as they experienced moving to new houses when their traditional wooden houses were demolished and new buildings called "apartment", or "modern apartment", or " modern spacious house" were being constructed in their places. They were the people who were used to identify their personal spaces with the personal spaces of other relatives in a wooden *köşk* or *konak*: Sharing dinners in evenings with three more people minimum, or sharing bedrooms with their grandparents in attics until they became adults, or having day-long chats and laughter with neighbors who became so close just as first-degree relatives in the sofa of their houses.

The dimensions of personal spaces started to change when those families moved from traditional wooden houses to new concrete houses. What interviewees remembered during the talks were mostly about how happy and exhausted they were while they were waiting for "that building" to be completed and on the first day that they moved in to "that building". However, in a slow process of getting used to their new houses, they came to the point where they realized that they were no longer having big family dinners every day. They were no longer trying to fall asleep next to their grandparents who were snoring; but they now had

their own bedrooms. Floors and walls of new houses were not making noises. Most of those people had direct hot water coming out of the faucets in the sinks, while they had earlier been boiling water long before their bath time.

In short, every little detail of daily-life in the new residences became more practical. Landowners who had owned a *köşk* or a *konak* started to gain more money by renting to "tenants" flats in one of the floors in their apartments. This increase in income allowed some families to buy cars, new electronic devices – if they were imported to Turkey, and to send their children to private schools – St. Joseph Private College was the priority for the well-off families of Moda.

New materials were used in the constructions of buildings, therefore architects had to work with those materials, and those materials were being marketed through the publications such as the popular magazine *Yedigün* and the professional journal *Arkitekt*. The traditional type of plan was used for the new residences until about the 1960s. Until then, the most common type was the single house constructed with new materials. Dr. Sani Yaver Villa (1932), Prof. Dr. Tevfik Taylan Villa (1936), the Doğruman Residence (1935), the Sıdıka Haydar Hanım Residence (1933), a Villa in Moda (1936), the Draz Residence (1952) were all single-family houses built in concrete. The private stand-alone houses, which could be recognized and informed about via the interviews, were described with great honor by the interviewees. This visible honor of the interviewees was derived from two issues: The first one is being able to afford a private single-family house occupied by parents and their children. The second one is being able to afford a private stand-alone house built in concrete. For example, during the interview of Mehmet Draz, the son of the Draz family was expressing his gratitude to architect Mehmet Ali Handan who designed a large private residence only for their family, and constructed it with a concrete touch. Just like Mehmet Draz, Necla Erk was also modest yet gracious about having a private residence for her

husband and herself,[121] built in concrete. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the project of Muhlis Türkmen was an apartment consisted of three storeys, yet the financial conditions could not allow the family and Türkmen to complete the apartment and build the third floor.[122] However, this situation did not make the family unhappy, as they knew that the financial earnings would be higher by time, thanks to the patients of Necla Erk and the customers of her husband. The rent that had been gained from the *konak* in the back garden would be replaced with their profit in profession and business by years.

*Konak*s and *köşks* had been designed before the 1900s, most likely around the mid-nineteenth century. Their spatial organization was arranged around a core and/or a central space where people could get warmer metaphorically and physically. This was the sofa of traditional houses, where family members were gathering at before going to their bedrooms, having dinners, and long-chats – providing them a warm social atmosphere inside houses. Physically, these houses were heated by stoves[123], which were centrally located in the sofa. Not only in terms of this spatial organization where all the rooms were opening to the sofa in each floor, but also the very existence of this stove was making the sofa the core of these traditional houses.

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[121] During the interview with Erk, there was laughter and joy about not having to share the house with the mother-in-law of hers. In Turkey, usually the case with the newly weds was the opposite; the young bride had to live in the same residence with the mother-in-law. Many novels written about or in the period of the early Republican period present this case, such as: Pamuk, Orhan (2003) *Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları* (18th ed.). İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul; Karaosmanoğlu, Yakup Kadri (2000). *Kiralık Konak (*56th ed.). İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul.

[122] Husband of Necla Erk had two siblings. What Necla Erk shared during the interview was that the supposed-to-be-three residences were going to be shared if the apartment was constructed as planned.

[123] *Soba*, in Turkish.

The plan with a sofa continued to be used during the early Republican period and also for a while during the mid-twentieth century period in the allocation of the interior spaces of residences, including those in Moda - not a surprising happening for such periods of transition for families which had been raised in traditional houses. The single-family houses of the early Republic were built with a sofa, or a large entrance hall. Each private house had this sofa-type design in the allocation of spaces, and the rest of the spaces of these residences were opening to this core either directly or indirectly. By directly, it means that there was no obstacle like a door or a transitional space, which acted as a buffer zone before the sofa. By indirectly, it means that there could actually be found partition elements before accessing the sofa. It could be stated that the later the completion and design year was, more indirect the accessibility to the sofa or the entrance hall was. The private realm of the dwellers got more of an importance by the years. Dwellers tend to use their own rooms and/bedrooms to occupy their personal space.

Traditional houses with sofa-type plans did not have any corridors or long transitional halls. Corridors started to be introduced in house plans during the early Republican period as transitional elements to which bedrooms and bathrooms were opening. In republican examples, the sofa was the core element of the residence whereas the corridor was the core that combined the bedrooms and provided access to the sofa in most cases. Among the cases studied, the examples in which where bedrooms were directly opening to the sofa were the ones that were built before or around the mid-1930s - as exemplified in the recollections of Melih Ziya Sezer for the spatial allocation research. The case of the Doğruman Residence had a similar plan typology, in which the family spent the whole day in the large sofa instead of the living room.

For the cases of this study, the year 1954 signifies a milestone in terms of the construction of a highly particular type of residence for the first and the last time.

It can be considered as a success in solving a residential design in a highly functional way of the plan of the Necla Erk Residence designed by Muhlis Türkmen included a very large living room with a separate sale-a-manger, which look like a sofa on the plan –*architectural representation*, yet, was not experienced as a sofa in real daily life of the residence –*spatial practice*. This was realized as Muhlis Türkmen managed to segregate the private realm of the occupants and the maid from the public or semi-public realm of the patients that were diagnosed by Necla Erk. The roles of Erk, both as a medical doctor, and the dweller of this residence were physically segregated by the "zoning" system of the design by Türkmen in this residence. This approach did not bother the occupants at all, but even provided them a sense of comfort and privacy as mentioned in the previous part of this chapter.

Zoning was provided by locating the spaces accordingly to their use in separate vertical zones of the whole volume of the residence: The main entrance, the patient room, and the service core with the room of the maid formed the first zone, the living room and the salle-a-manger formed the second zone, and the bedrooms and the main bathroom of the occupants formed the third zone. Between those three, the corridors were designed to provide the access. Yet, the first and the third zones had the most indirect access as one always had to pass through two corridors and the salle-a-manger in order to transit between those two.

The ingenious approach of Türkmen in this design helps the formation of private and public characters of different spaces. The location of the service area behind the main entrance stairs provided this. As mentioned in the previous subchapter, the service area in the Erk residence was also the private realm of the maid. Moreover, what Türkmen managed to do here was to create the entrance area also as an indirect transitional passage. Apart from the corridors between the zones, the balconies were also the links between the private realms of one

occupant, of the maid, and the living room, providing the access to the living room or the salle-a-manger. This access shows that, even though the maid was located in the service area in a far corner, she was considered as one of the occupants of the residence.

In the cases of the houses that were studied, it can be noticed that, after the mid-1950s, residential plans started to have larger bedrooms and kitchens, and narrower entrance halls or corridors. This evidences that family members spent less time with each other during most part of the day with modernized life style. Instead of spending time in the living room or the sofa, they started to have more private lives in their own bedrooms specially designed for them. If one compares the plan and scheme of Cumbalı Apartment (1980) and Birgiler Apartment (1948), the differences could be easily captured (Figures 4.36a, 4.36b, 4.14f, 4.14g, 4.14h). For a child or a teenager occupant, having a room of one's own was a radical change from sharing the private space with an elderly relative in traditional lite style.

Additionally, the reconstructions of each interviewee also supported this evidence of "modernization" of daily-lives in the post-Second World War period. As mentioned in the previous sub-chapter, most of the interviewees enlarged their kitchens by tearing down doors or walls, or adding and building new partition walls in order to have more space for counters. It should be noted that the action of reconstructing or re-shaping the kitchen indicates that the need for a maid also vanished from the 1960s onwards.

One issue that should also be mentioned is about light and ventilation shafts. This shaft did not take place in private stand-alone residences, but was introduced in the apartments. What the occupants of apartment houses that had these shafts always expressed was either how lucky, or how un-lucky they were to have them in their residences. Many interviewees had opposing ideas and feelings upon this

feature of a standard Moda apartment. The Manzara Apartment had this shaft (Figure 4.33c, 4.33d) and what Gülçin Kori mentioned was how devastated her daughter to have her own bedroom only having windows opening to this shaft. This complaint was because of the lack of ventilation. Scents coming from the kitchens of other floors were hence disturbing. However, Timuçin Arman never reflected a complaint about Öz Apartment, and its light and ventilation shaft. In Figure 4.20b, 4.20c, it could be seen that the shaft was between the bedroom and the living room. Both the Manzara and Öz Apartments were consisted of two blocks. It means that the shafts were in between the two blocks of apartments. Therefore, there are two concluding remarks on shafts: Firstly, it can be said that the piping system of ventilation could not be built with success in some of the residences like in the Manzara Apartment. Secondly, if the shaft was located between a bedroom and the kitchen, it always bore a problem, as most of these shafts were dysfunctional in ventilation yet functional in bringing indirect daylight inside.

When the plans and facades of the cases of houses studied in this research are analyzed chronologically,[124] the transformation of their interior spaces becomes better clarified: The public nature of the interior got more privatized towards the 1980s; transitional spaces got smaller while bedrooms got larger in time. Hence, it could be stated that people began to use their private spaces more, as large bedrooms began to include other furniture pieces like study tables/working desks than only a bed and a wardrobe and a bed. "Filling" the rooms with what is believed-to-be-needed was popular among the families interviewed. In short, people started to use their houses in a more compact manner in their private spaces rather than coming together in spaces like living rooms that are in between the public and the private. Living rooms thus were the spaces where the prestige-status of families was displayed. It should still not be forgotten that this kind of display of upper class status had also been seen in the grand entrance

[124] See Table 1.1 for the Residence Table.

halls of the early Republican houses; yet, just like corridors, entrance halls lost their power of display in time, but living rooms with their windows looking to the main street maintained their role in displaying status.

The last remark on this transformation of transitional spaces is about the domestic management areas. Spaces gained from the narrowed-down corridors and entrance halls were not only added to private spaces, but also domestic management spaces like kitchens and bathrooms. The modernized life style brought with it new inventions for doing household works, and new equipment like washing machines, electrical ovens and refrigerators needed to be located in necessary places. Therefore it can be said that social status of families started to be materialized as displayed via these devices. In addition, it should also be noted that modernization was adopted as the materialization of the social-status in upper-class family households,[125] as clearly exemplified in the studied residences of Moda. The use of antique accessories together with the new, modern features (i.e. bidet) and appliances (i.e. refrigerator), on the other hand, represents the hybridization experienced in the modernization process of domestic spaces.

Multiple families who lived in common spaces in konaks with their children, siblings, their children and grandchildren were moved to apartments during modernization of greater İstanbul – and Moda. These families used to occupy only one residence with multiple storeys, sharing the same bedroom with their grandparents or siblings. After the acceleration of apartment-constructions in Democrat Party government between 1950 and 1960, each nuclear family in one residence started to occupy in only one residence, which was a part of a multiple-storey apartment that was shared with the relatives they shared their demolished

[125] Duben, A., Behar, C. (1991) *İstanbul Households: Marriage, family and fertility, 1880-1940.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p. 246. Duben and Behar emphasize that the mentioned modernization was also visible in the residences of middle-class familes. However, the residences studied for this thesis cannot be considered as middle-class households.

konak once. As Aynur Rouen also stated, those nuclear families were prioritized for the politics of becoming the "small USA" as a country: Industrialization and rapid urban development.[126] They were the "productive segment" of the society; therefore the production of the housing according to them was an indirect aim of the "power".

On the plots of the demolished konaks, multiple storey apartments were built in the mid-twentieth century period. The space that multiple families could occupy together was transformed into the mostly narrower space of one residence. The exposition of the materialization accelerated as families moved to apartments – to cherish the (elite) heritage that they had. The spatial allocation of each residence in one apartment became more emphasized on how the dwellers could occupy their own private realms – not only the bedrooms gained importance, bathrooms and kitchens also became larger; they also started containing electrical appliances. Daily life was more practical in terms of domestic management with new electrical appliances and *kapıcı*s who replaced the maids. Kitchens were now spaces where (mostly) mothers prepared the food, as they held the responsibility of issues regarding the family. The display space as in-between-private-and-public, i.e. entrance halls, were no more grand areas, but turned into spaces for only putting on or taking out shoes. Living rooms were still the exhibition of the heritage, but were seldom used only for the evening television watching sessions, or the days with visitors. In latter years of the time span of this study, the living rooms were more used by the help of televisions, which made this space more closed – yet less socialized. Ali Cengizkan states that, as the years passed by, *our* residences became consumption objects instead of being "homes", "domestic realms", and "the display unit of our identity". This condition was witnessed more

[126] De Rouen, Aynur (2017) "1950'lerin İstanbul'u: Konaktan Apartmana" in Erman, T; Özaloğlu, S. (eds.). *Bir Varmış Bir Yokmuş: Toplumsal Bellek, Mekan ve Kimlik Üzerine Araştırmalar*, Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 33.

by the increased consumption of household features in interiors, such as appliances and all types of fixtures.[127]

[127] Cengizkan, Ali (2002). *Modernin Saati*. Boyut Yayın, İstanbul, p. 144. The statement was translated by the author of this thesis.

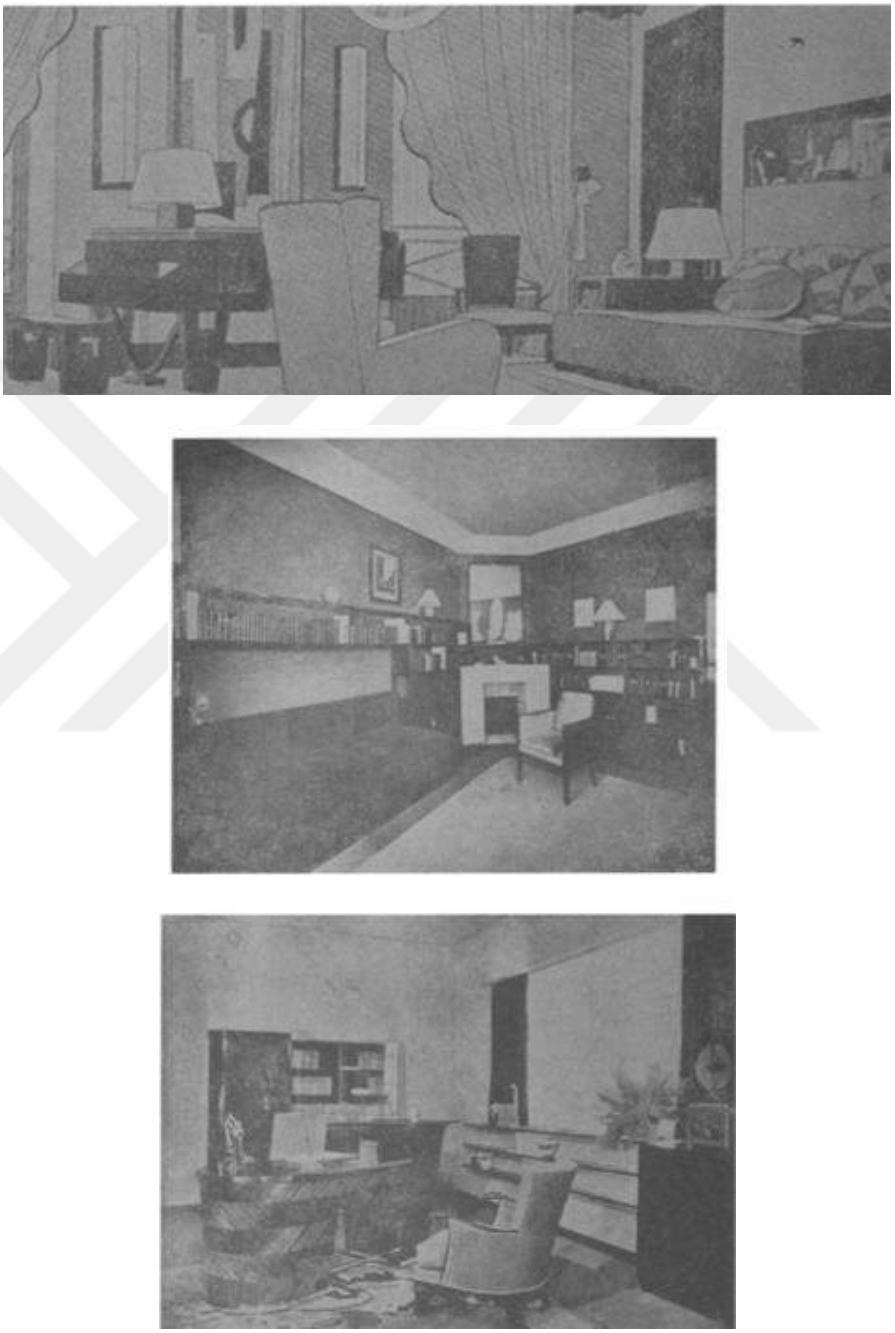
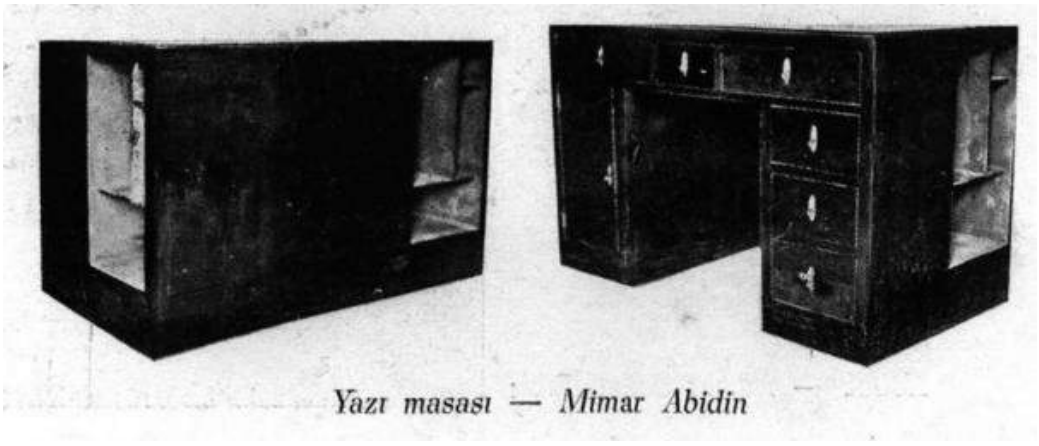
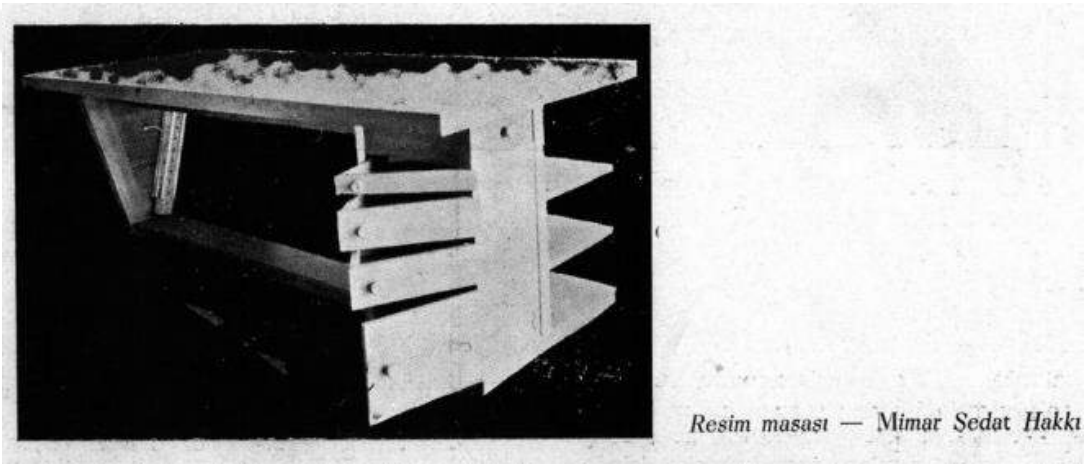


Figure 4a, 4b, 4c. *Representations of modern interior space by Baltacıoğlu*
Room for newlywed woman, Study, Library (from top to bottom)
Source: Baltacıoğlu, İsmail Hakkı (1931) *Demokrasi ve San'at*, Kanaat Kütüphanesi, İstanbul, p. 56, 57, 58





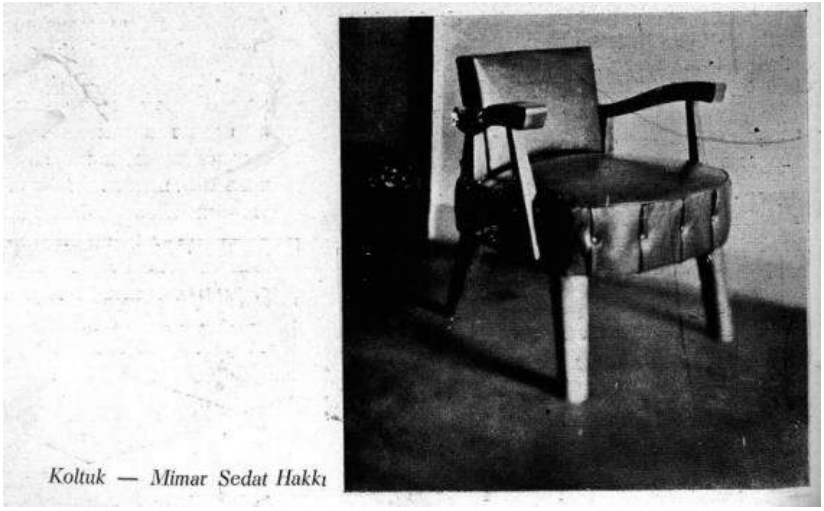


Figure 4d, 4e, 4f. *Representations of modern furniture by Sedad Hakkı Eldem.* Working desk by Architect Abidin, Drawing desk and Armchair by Sedad Hakkı Eldem (from top to bottom)
Source: Eldem, Sedad Hakkı (1931) Mobilya. *Arkitekt*, Issue: 8, 273-274

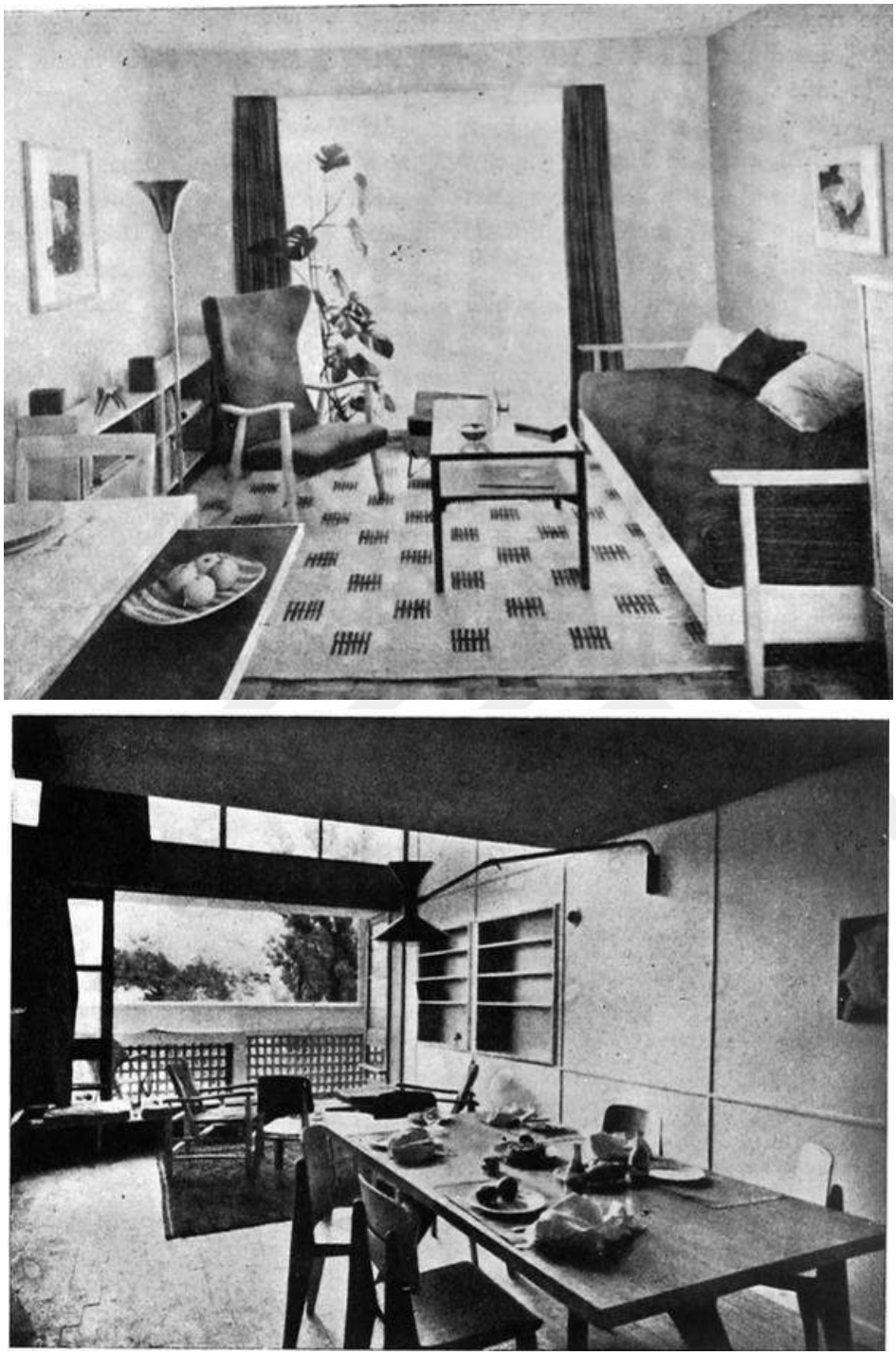


Figure 4g, 4h. *Representations of modern interior space by Zeki Sayar*
"A living room set designed in Switzerland" , *"Interior Furnishing of the big apartment blocks in Marseille, designed by its architect Le Corbusier himself"* (top to bottom)
Sayar, Zeki (1950) Mobilya Meselesi*. Arkitekt*, Issue: 03-04, 61-64.

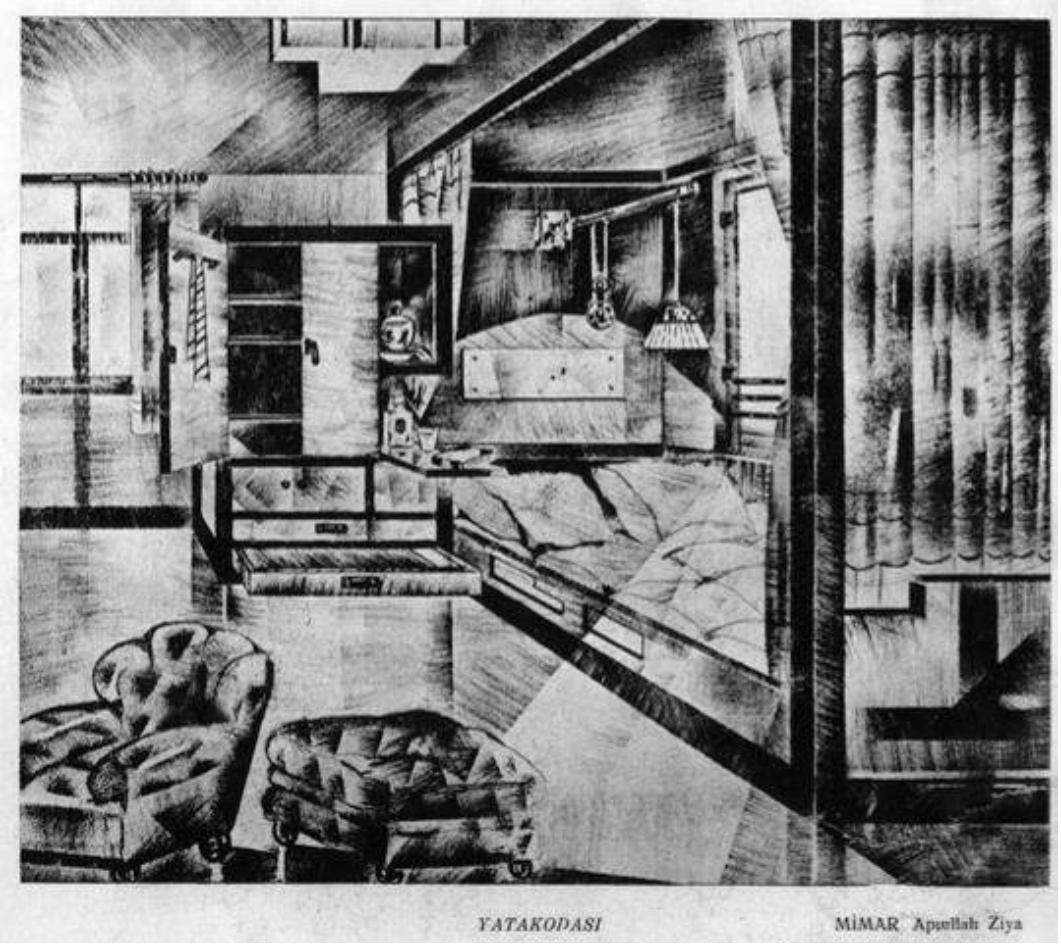


Figure 4i. Bedroom *illustration by Aptullah Ziya.*
Notice the compact design of the bed frame where it also acts as storage underneath. The design language was also unified by the shelved storage with drawers, accessorized with a tie and tableware to emphasize the multifunctionality of the furniture.
Source: Ziya, Aptullah (1931) Binanın İçinde Mimar. *Arkitekt*, Issue: 1, 14-20.

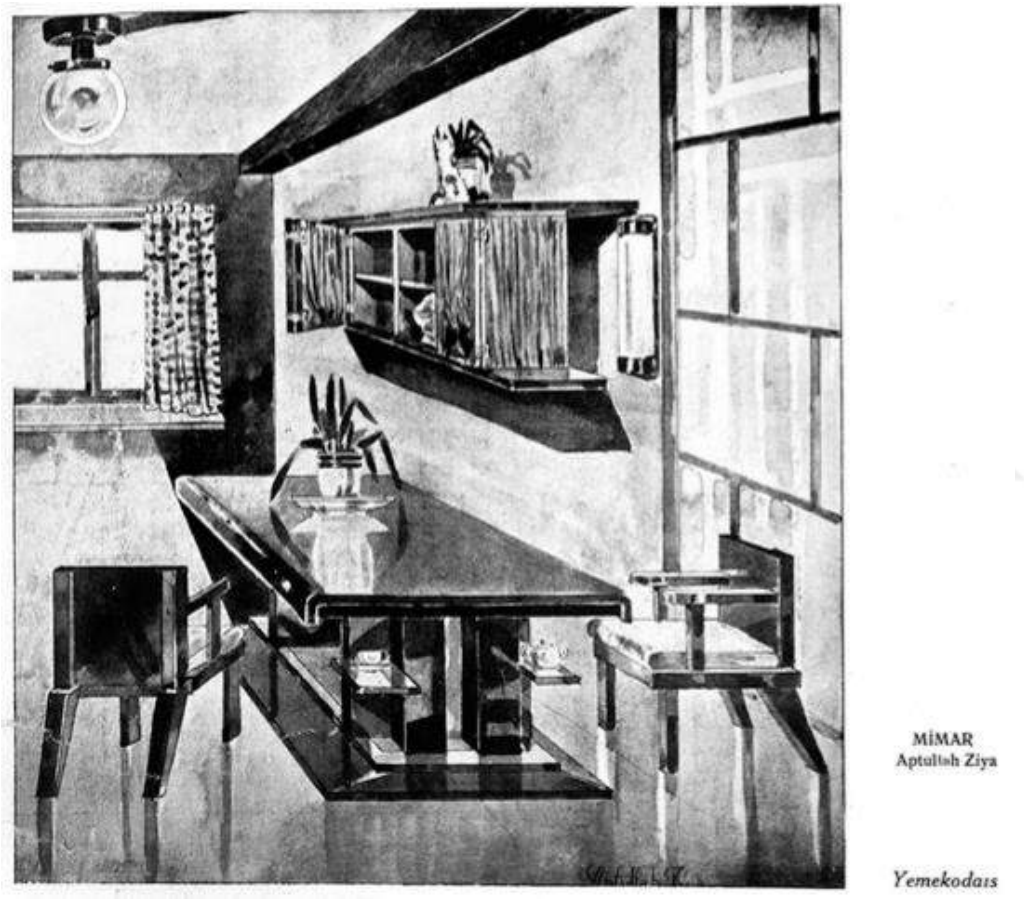


Figure 4j. *Dining room illustration by Aptullah Ziya.*
Clean-cut furniture pieces are emphasized by Ziya.
Source: Ziya, Aptullah (1931) Binanın İçinde Mimar. *Arkitekt*, Issue: 1, 14-20.



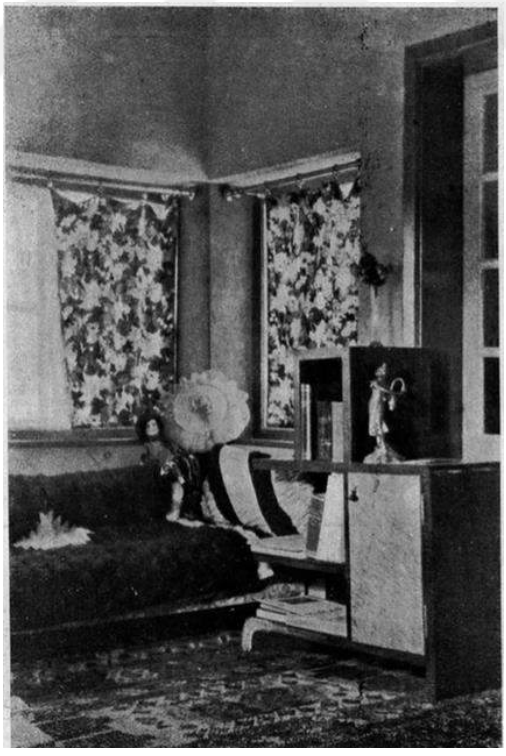


Figure 4k, 4l. *Furniture design by Aptullah Ziya.*
Furniture pieces act both as a storage, and exhibiting units were promoted by Ziya .
Source: Ziya, Aptullah (1933) Bir Kira Evi. Arkitekt, Issue: 26, 41-44.



Figure 4m. *EV, Minimini 2 Yuva* (Two small homes)
Source: Yedigün, Year: 7 No: 325, Issue: 13, 30 May 1939

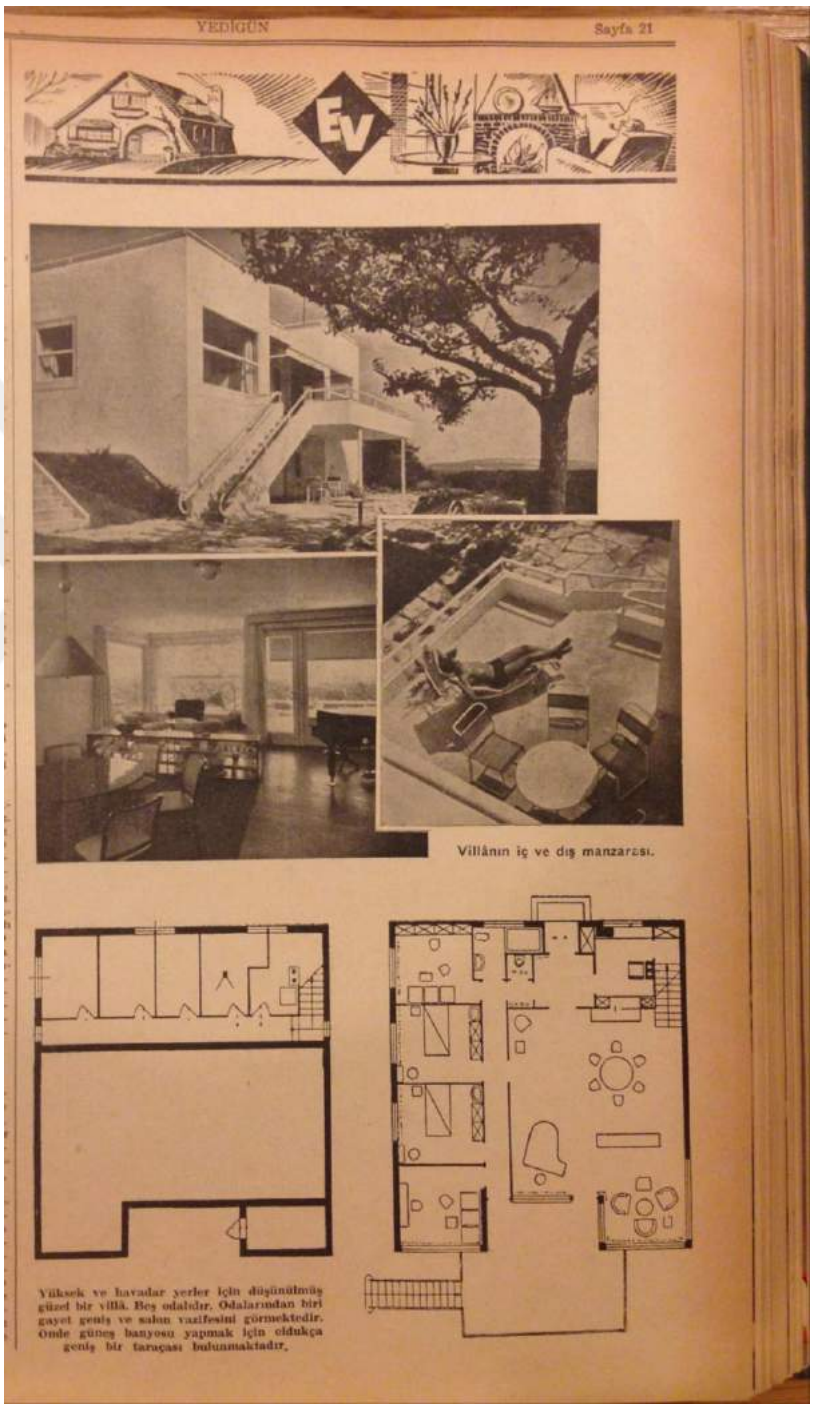


Figure 4n. *EV* (HOUSE), 20 June 1939
Source: Yedigün, Year: 7 No: 328, p. 21. 20 June 1939.

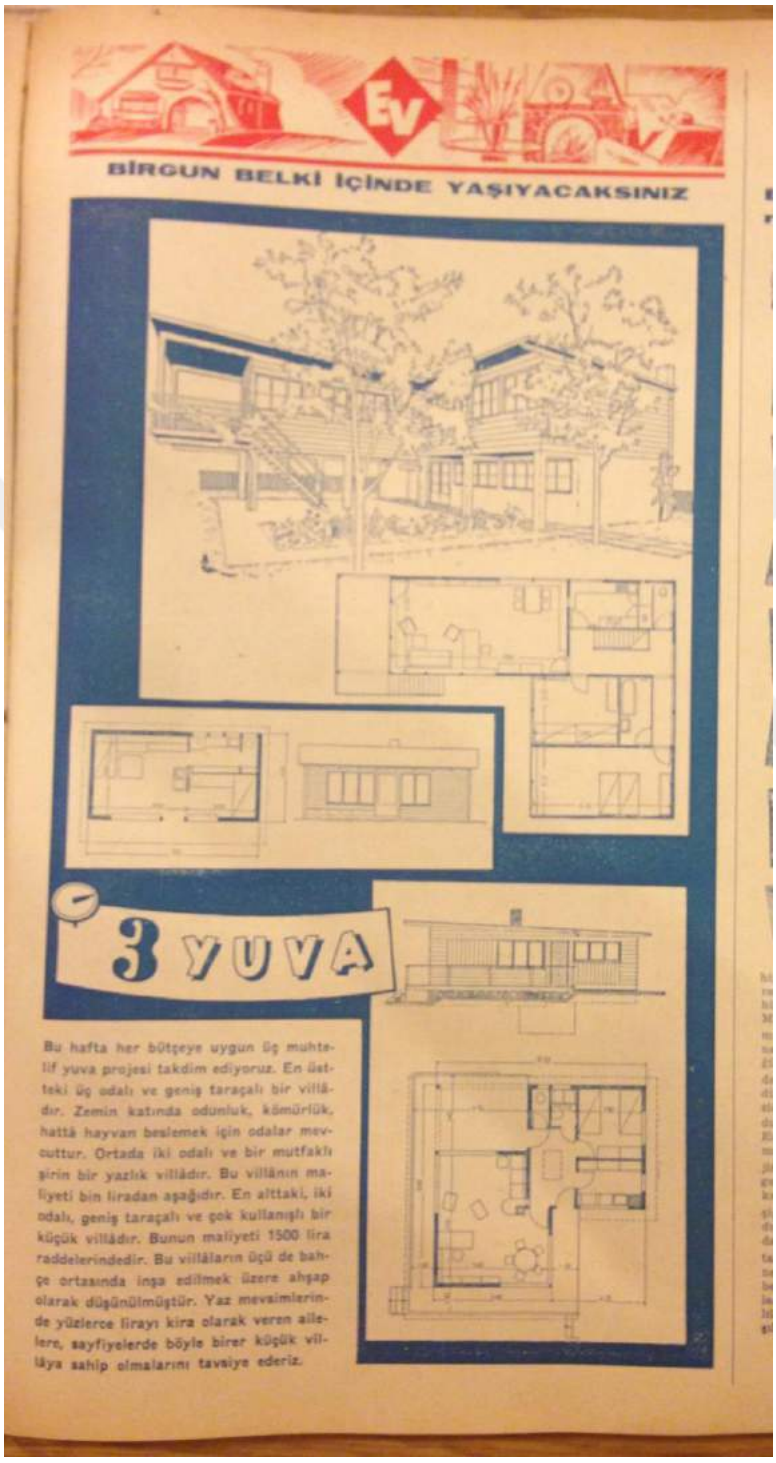


Figure 4o. *EV* (HOUSE)*, 4 July 1939*
Title: *Birgün Belki İçinde Yaşayacaksınız* (Maybe you would live there one day)
Source: Yedigün, Year: 7 No: 331, 4 July 1939.

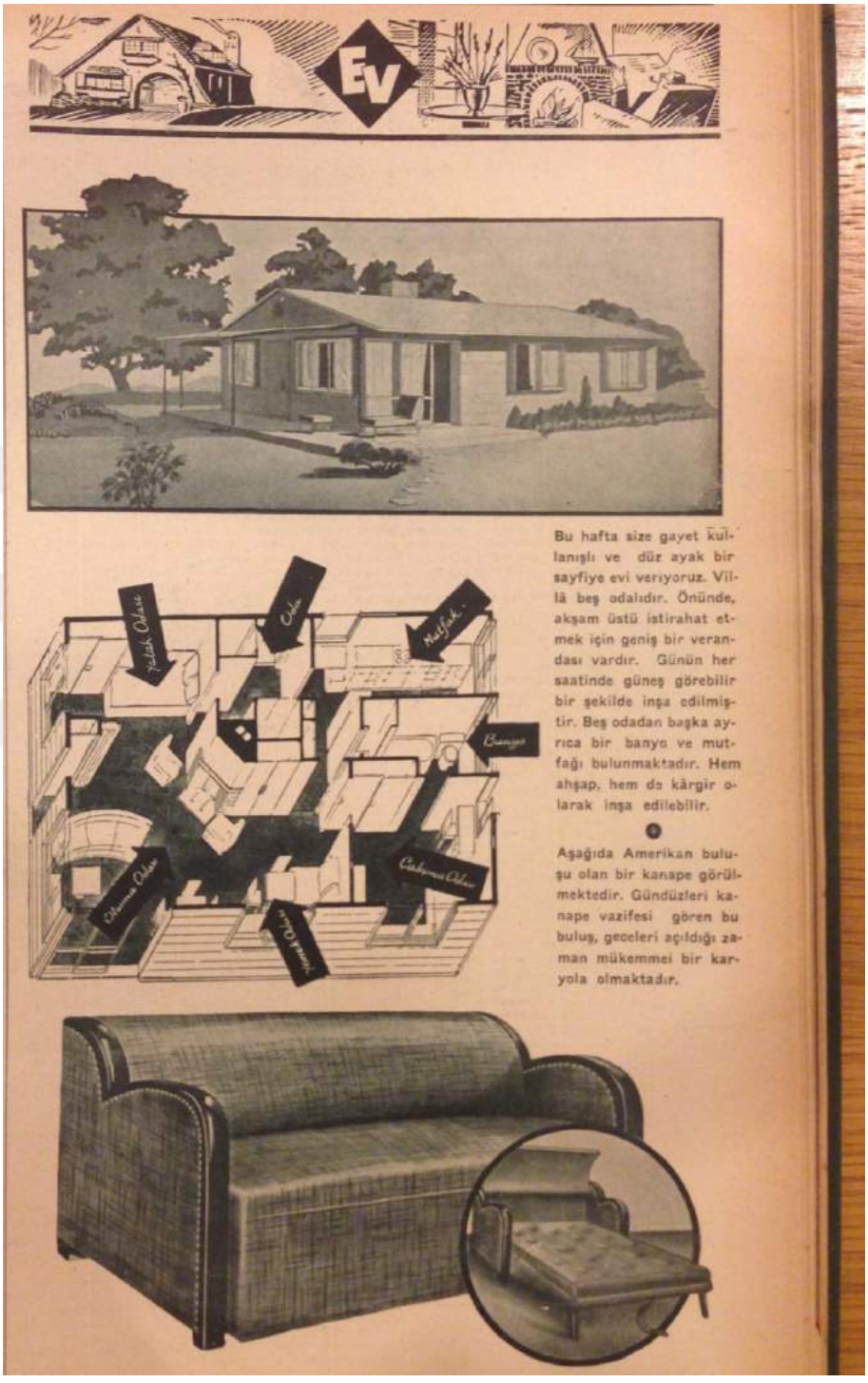


Figure 4p. *Kanepe / Sofa-bed, a seating unit promoted in Yedigün.* Text above the sofa-bed tells that "You can find a sofa-bed which is invented by the Americans. During day time it is a sofa, and when it is opened it is the perfect bed in the night time".
Source: *Yedigün*. Year: 7, No: 334. 1 August 1939.



Bu modern yemek salonu, kaplama cevizden yapılmıştır. Hatlarının inceliği ve zerafeti sayesinde alışık olduğumuz ağır yemek odası eşyalarından tamamen ayrılmakta ve kendine mahsus bir kibarlık taşımaktadır.

Figure 4q. *Dining room furniture promoted in Yedigün.* Text above the sofa-bed tells that "This modern living room is made from laminated walnut. Refined and elegant lines differ from the heavy dining room furniture that we used to see; and it bears a particular delicacy"
Source: *Yedigün*. Year: 7, No: 335. 8 August 1939.



Divanlar her salonun en mühim zinetini teşkil etmektedirler. Yukarıya fotoğrafını dercettiğimiz divan çok güzel tanzim edilmiş hücrelerile aynı zamanda güzel bir okuma köşesi vazifesini de görebilmektedir

Figure 4r. *Divan, a seating unit promoted in Yedigün.*
Source: *Yedigün*. Issue: 333, p. 23. 25 July 1939.


Bu şirin villanın maliyeti bin liradan fazla değildir.

Bekâr okuyucularımız için takdim ettiğimiz bu model, ideal bir bekâr odasıdır. Gündüz oturma ve çalışma, gece de yatak odası vasifesini görmektedir.

Figure 4s. *Kanepe / Sofa-bed, a seating unit promoted in Yedigün.* Source: *Yedigün*. P. 23, Issue: 337, 22 August 1939.


Gece karyola vazifesini gören kütüphaneli geniş sediri ile modern, ve çok kibar bir küçük salon.

Figure 4t. *Kanepe / Sofa-bed, a seating unit promoted in Yedigün.* Source: *Yedigün*. P. 23, Issue: 338, 29 August 1939.



Sayfa 16 Modern TÜRKİYE mecmuası No. 1

EV NEDİR VE Bir Ev Nasıl Kurulmalı?

Modern bir evde güzel bir kuş kafesi

Bizim memleketimizde, ev kurmağa kalkışan bir aile şöyle düşünmeğe başlar: «Evvelâ güzel bir misafir odası lâzım!»

Bu aile ister zengin, ister fakir olsun, evet daha döşeğini hatırlamadan evvel ilk düşündüğü şey (ele, güne karşı mahcub olmamak) utanmamak ve bir misafir geldiği zaman onu kabul edebilmekti... bir misafir odasına sahip olmaktır. Ekseriya bizde ev yapmak bir parça eşe, dosta caka satmak gibi bir şeydir. İçinde yaşayacakların istirahati ikinci planda düşünülür. Hatta bir çok kere düşünülmez bile.

Halbuki, Avrupalı bir çift, ev kurmağa teşebbüs edince evvelâ kendi istirahatini düşünür. Bir evde istirahat etmek, rahat tatmak nasıl mümkün olur? Evvelâ iyi yaşamanın birinci şartı nedir?... Temizlik. O halde bu evde herşeyden evvel bol su bulunacaktır. İyi işleyen musluklar, güzel bir duş, mümkünse sıcak suyu her dakika hazır bir banyo, ve musluklarından istenildiği dakikada sıcak su akan bir mutfak... Sonra evin içinde sinek ve pis koku bulunmaması için kapaklı bir çöp tenekesi, tütmeyen bir mutfak ocağı. İkincisi rahat bir döşek, gece işten dönüldüğü zaman için» gömülüp oturulabilecek koltuklar, kitap okur veya iş işlerken ışıkları bu koltukların solundan gelmesi temin edilecek elektrik lâmbaları... Eğer ailenin bütçesi bir tek oda içinde yaşamağı icap ettiriyorsa bu tek odada rahat uyumak, rahat oturmak, rahat yemek yemek için lâzımgelen tertibat alınır. Meselâ karyola yerine sedir konulur. Yemek masası ufak örtüsü kalkınca yazı masası gibi kullanılacak bir şekilde olur. Üç, dört, beş oda da olsa hepsi evvelâ ev sahibinin istirahatini ve gözünün zevkini tatmin edecek bir tarzda yapılır.

Modern ev, ev kadınının içinde azami surette kolay iş görebilmesini ve evde yaşayanların azami surette istirahat edebilmesini temin edecek bir surette tertip edilmiş olan evdir.

Avrupalı için ev, sırf şahsına ait olan hususi bir şeydir.

Bizde ev şimdi, şimdi bu medeniyet seviyeye yükselen bir müessese ve bir teşkilât olmağa başlamaktadır.

Dikkat edecek olursak görürüz ki millet, cümhuriyet devrine kadar hayatında âdeta bir istikrar görememiş ve bulunduğu toprağa tam manasile yerleşememiş, bunun için şehirleri taştan değil, tahtadan ve köylerini ancak topraktan kurabilmiştir. Türk tarihinde, cümhuriyet devri, Türk vatandaşının istikbalini gayet vazıh gördüğü bir devirdir. Osmanlı padişahlarının tükenmez hırsı arkasından akın akına, maceradan maceraya koştuğu veyahut yine onların suçile istilâ ettiği topraklardan geri, geri çekildiği devirler çoktan geri kalmış bulunuyor. Türk milletinin gözü başka ufuklarda değildir. Aynı zamanda hâkim olduğu topraklardan bir karışını bile feda etmeği de aklından geçirmemektedir. Ebediyen hâkimi olacağına kanaat getirdiği bu topraklar üzerinde Türk milleti artık ikamete karar vermiştir. Ve işte bunun için tahta köprülerinin yerlerini demir ve beton köprüler, tahta evlerinin yerlerini taş ve beton binalar almaktadır.

Türk vatandaşı; bir çok iyi şeyler olduğu gibi, meskeni de cümhuriyet devrinde tanımış bulunuyor.

Ve işte bunun için bizde ev yapmak, ev döşemek fikirlerinin pek geç olması yüzünden içimizde herkes birmen ekserimiz güzel ev yapmağı, güzel yerleşmeği bilmiyoruz.

Modern ev kurmak isteyince, radyo, buz dolabı, indirekt ışıklı elektrik lâmbası, bir divan, iki yastık, pencere

Modern bir evde yemek odası

Figure 4u. *Ev: Nedir ve Bir Ev Nasıl Kurulmalı? (House: What is it and How is it Organized?)*
Text below the dining table writes “A dining room in a modern house”.
Source: *Modern Türkiye Mecmuası*. Year: 1, No: 2, p. 8 March 1938.

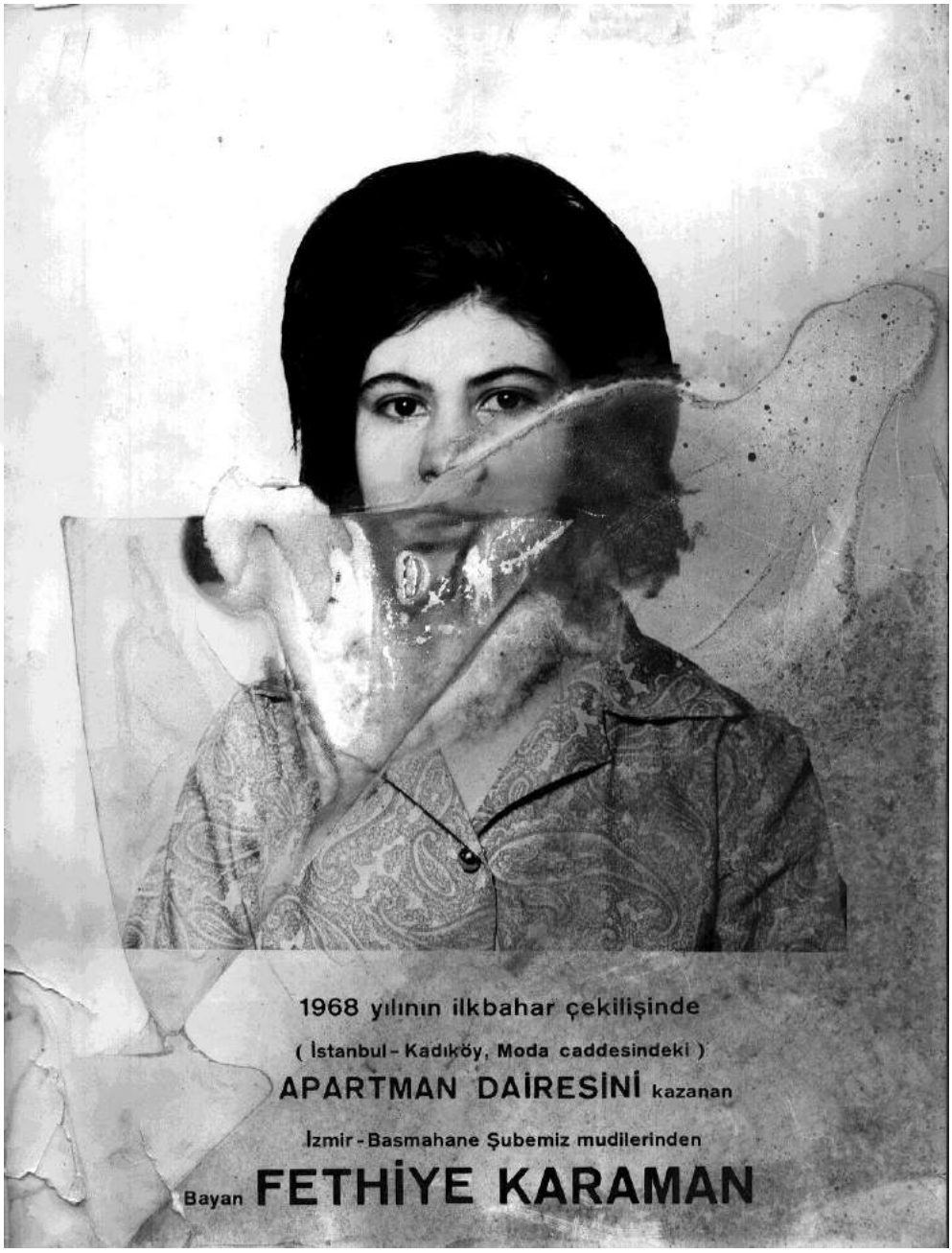


Figure 4v. *Osmanlı Bankası Lottery Result Poster, Spring 1968.*
An employer from İzmir-Basmahane office of the bank won an "Apartment Residence" located in Moda
Source: SALT GALATA Online Archive



Figure 4w. *Türk Ticaret Bankası Lottery Announcement Poster*
Poster writes as follows: "A house in Erenköy, and a complementary amount of cash. Lottery will be held on September 26th, last day for installing money is September 10th." Erenköy is one of the most prestigious districts of Kadıköy.
Source: Website of Umut Şumnu http://usumnu.wixsite.com/ikramiye/ikramiye-suereci (last accessed on 26.05.2017)



Figure 4x. *Yapı ve Kredi Bankası Lottery Winners Poster*
Poster writes as follows: "The cash that you continuously install to your account in Yapı and Kredi Bank will make you win big and rich amount of prizes"
Source: Website of Umut Şumnu http://usumnu.wixsite.com/ikramiye/ikramiye-suereci (last accessed on 26.05.2017)

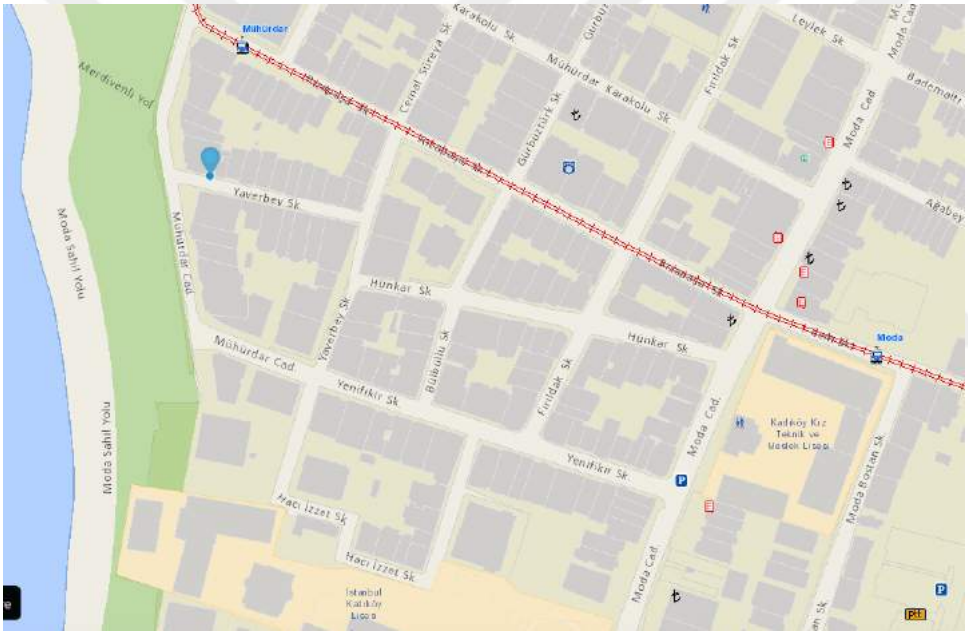


Figure 4y. *Location of the Grup Apartment.*
Source: https://sehirharitasi.ibb.gov.tr/ (Last accessed on 27.05.2014)

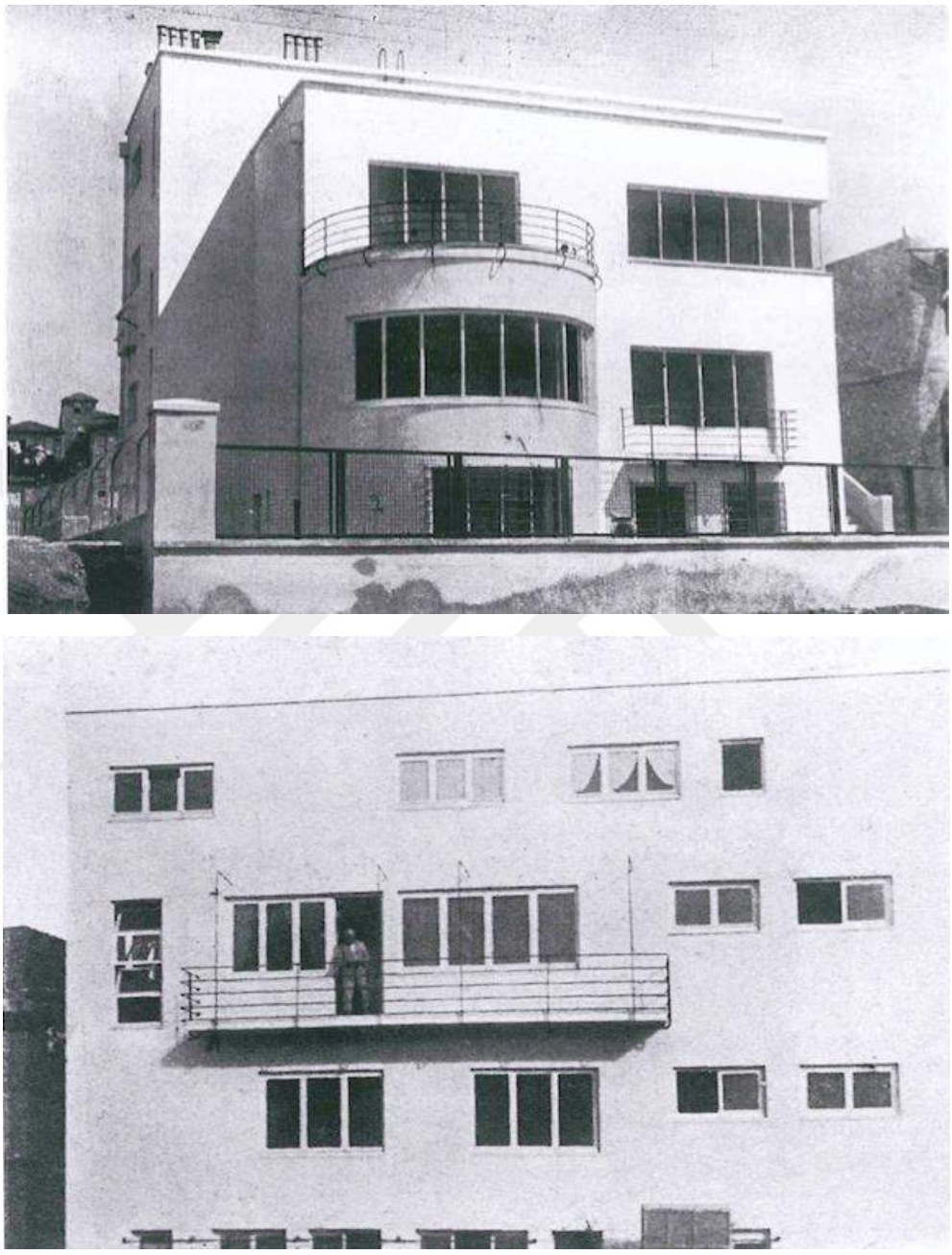


Figure 4.1a, 4.1b. *Photograph of the Dr. Sani Yaver Villa from the exterior*
Source: Cengizkan, A., İnan, D.,Cengizkan, M. eds. (2015). *Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek*, p. 233. Mimarlar Odası Büyükşehir Şubesi, İstanbul.

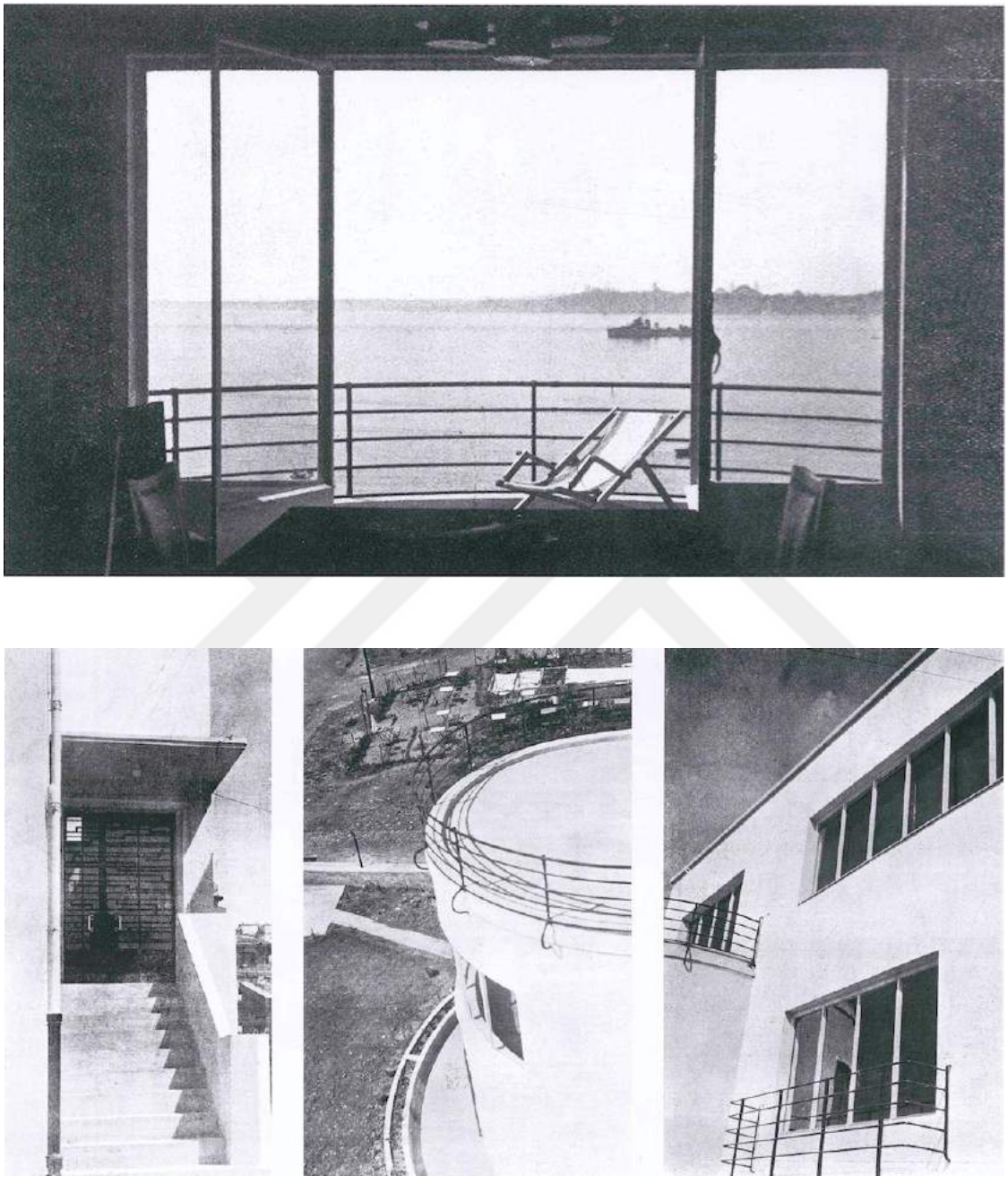


Figure 4.1c, 4.1d. *Photograph of the Dr. Sani Yaver Villa from the interior*
Source: Cengizkan, A., İnan, D.,Cengizkan, M. eds. (2015). *Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek*, p. 233. Mimarlar Odası Büyükşehir Şubesi, İstanbul.

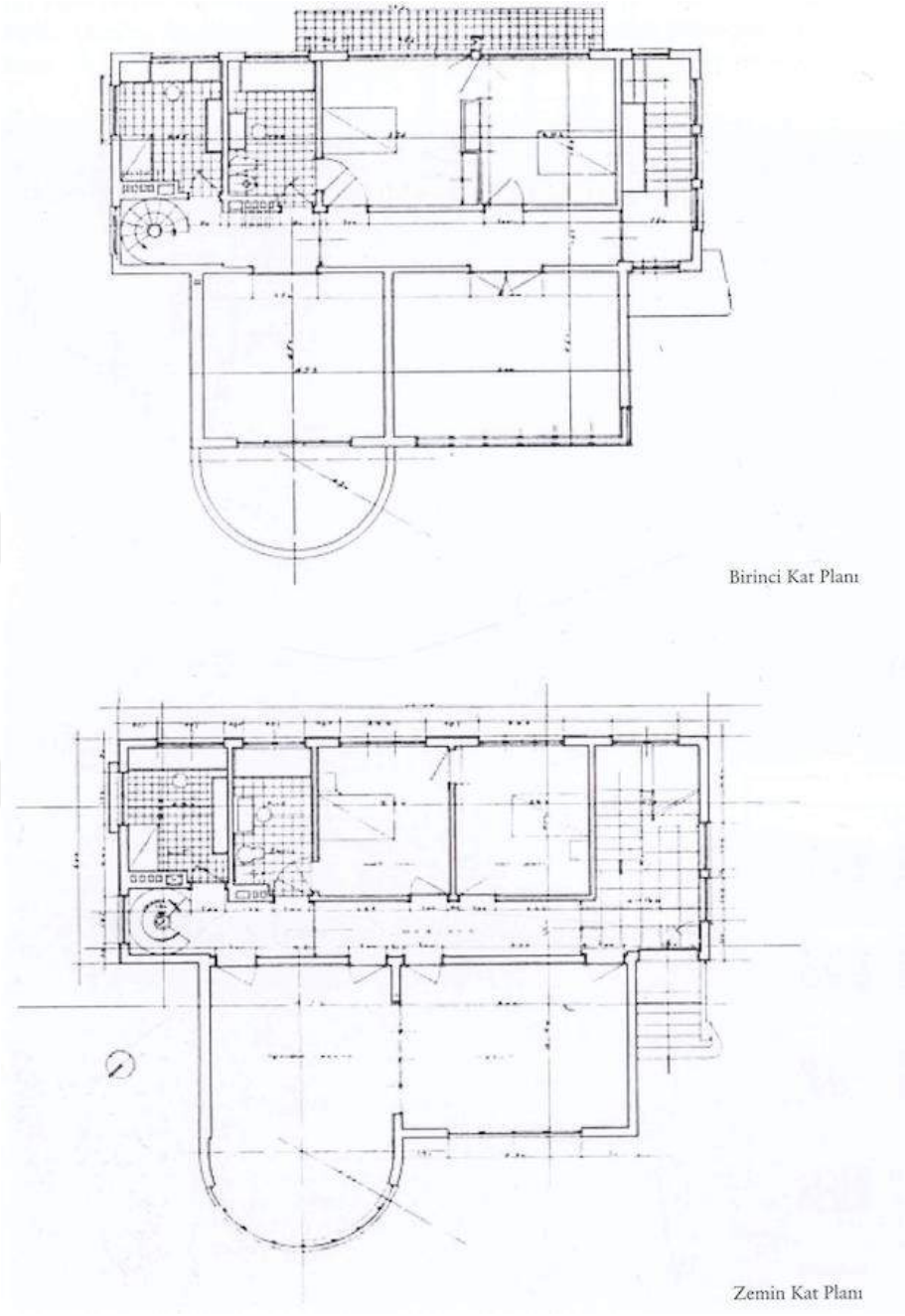


Figure 4.1e. *Plans of the ground (below) and upper (above) floor of the Dr. Sani Yaver Bey residence by Zeki Sayar.* Notice the entrance. Source: Cengizkan, A., İnan, D.,Cengizkan, M. eds. (2015). *Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek*, p. 233. Mimarlar Odası Büyükşehir Şubesi, İstanbul.

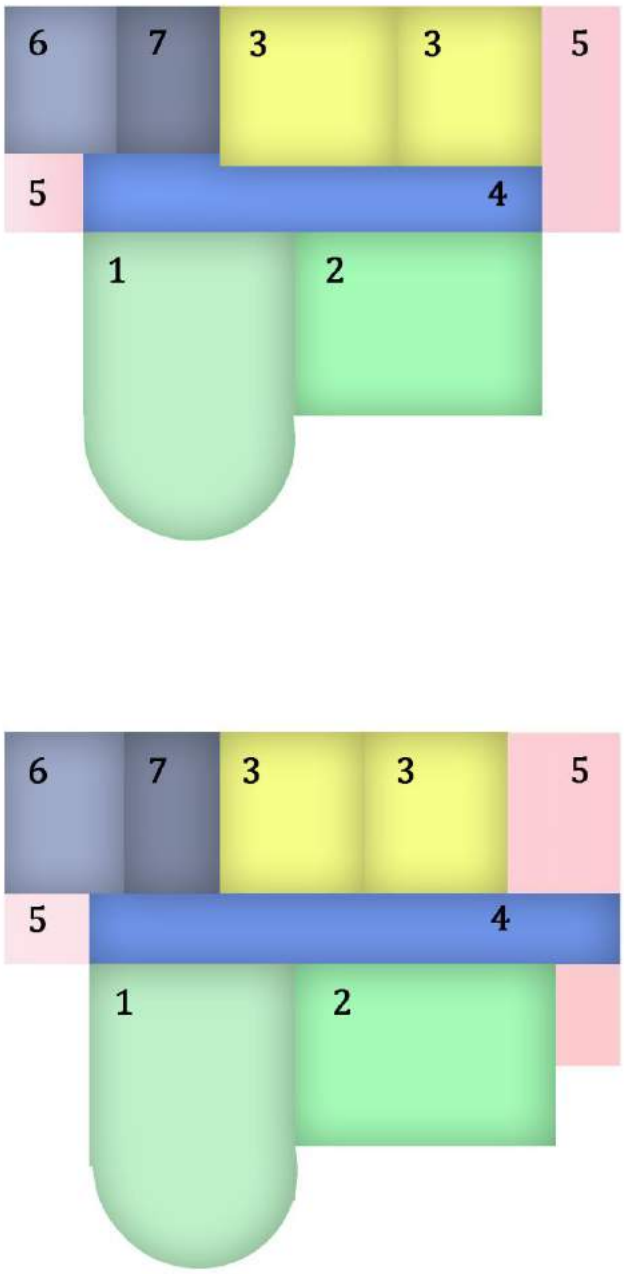


Figure 4.1f *Plan scheme of the Dr. Sani Yaver Villa*
Upper floor (above), ground floor (below)
1. Salle-a-manger, 2. Living room, 3. Bedroom, 4. Corridor,
5. Stairs, 6. Kitchen, 7. Bathroom







Figure 4.2a, 4.2b, 4.2c. *Photograph of the İhsan Bey Residence from the exterior*
Source: Cengizkan, A. & İnan, D. & Cengizkan, M. (Eds.) (2011) *Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek,* TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 233.

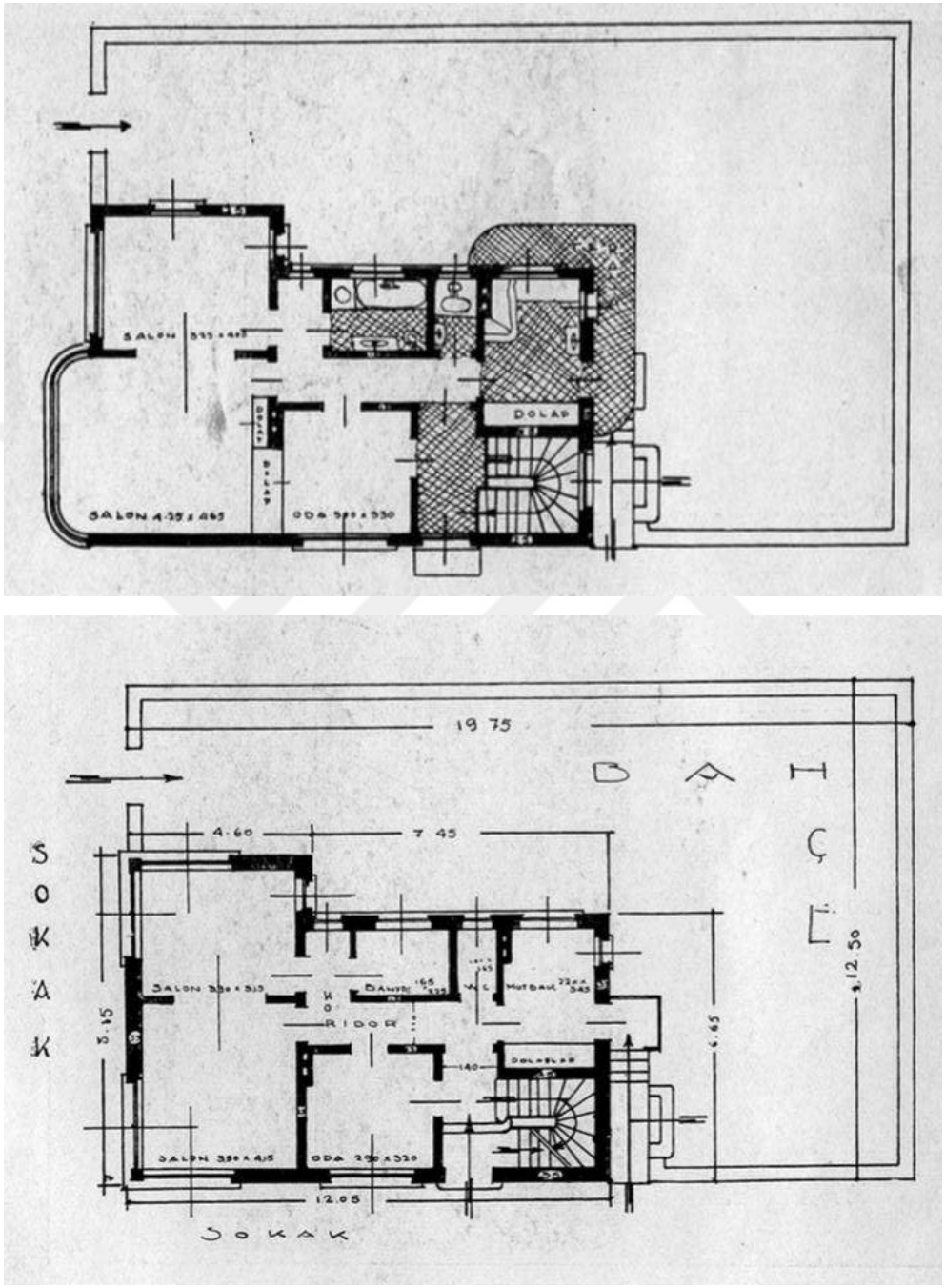


Figure 4.2d. *Plans the ground (above) and upper (below) floor of the İhsan Bey Residence by Faruk Galip. Notice the entrance and sofa.*
Source: Galip, Faruk (1933) İhsan Bey Evi. *Arkitekt.* Issue: 1933-03 (27), 80-82.

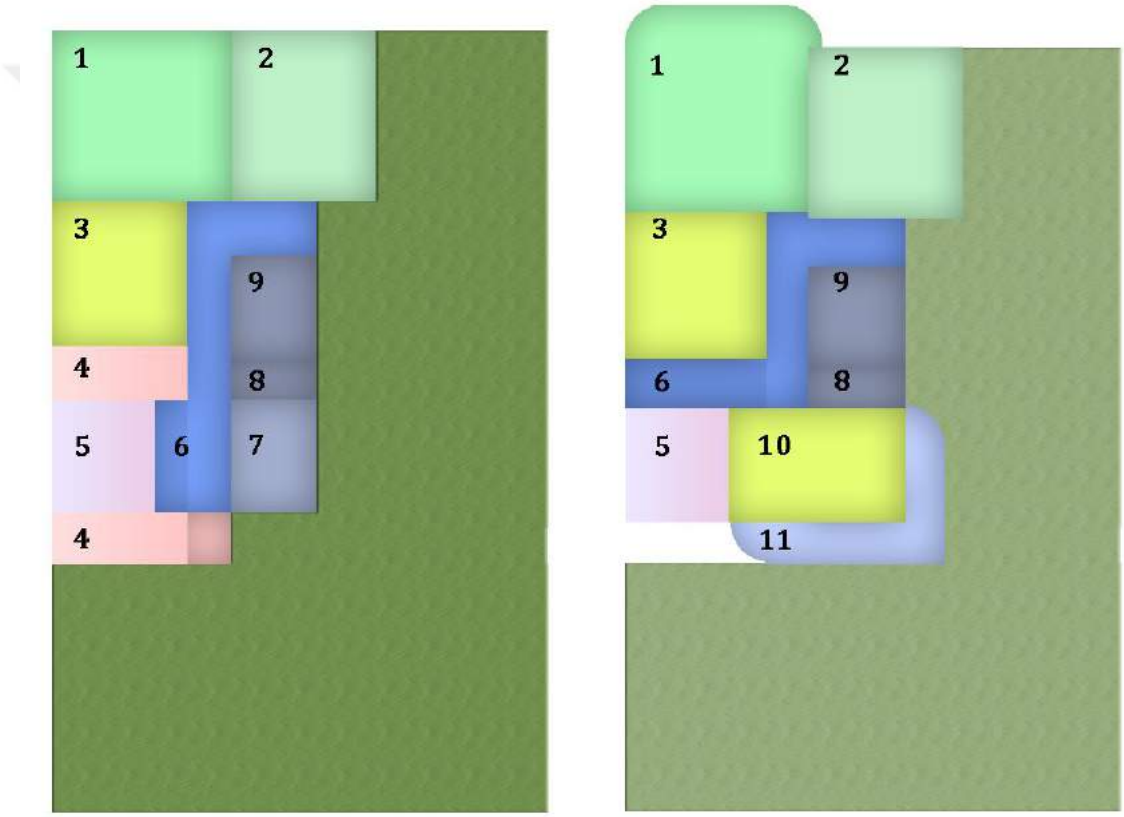


Figure 4.2e. *Plan schemes of the İhsan Bey Residence*
Ground floor (left), upper floor (right)
1. Living room, 2. Salle-a-manger, 3. Bedroom, 4. Stairs from the garden, 5. Interior circulation stairs, 6. Corridor,
7. Kitchen, 8. Toilet, 9. Bathroom, 10. Bedroom, 11. Balcony

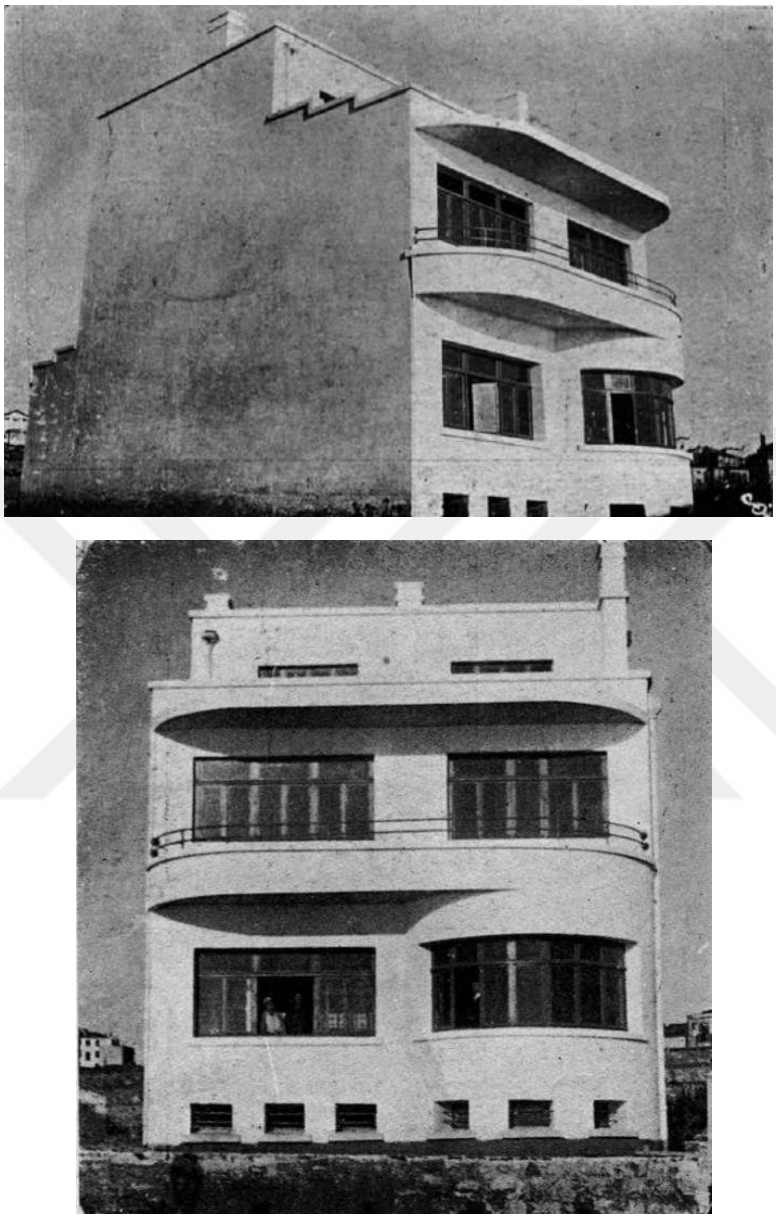
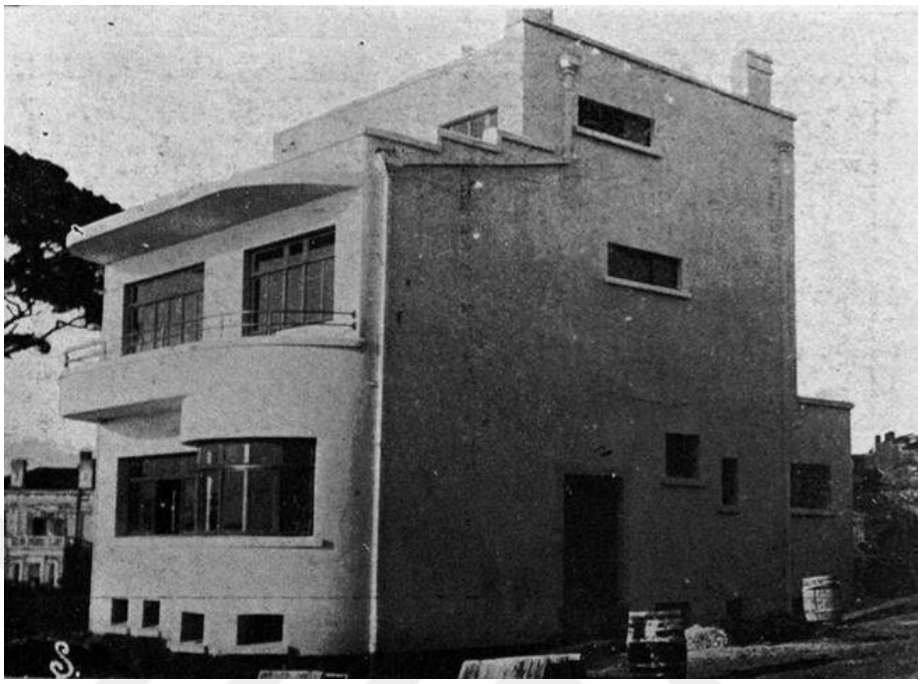


Figure 4.3a, 4.3b. Photograph of *the Sıdıka Haydar Hanım Residence* from the exterior.
Source: Galip, Faruk (1933) Sıdıka Haydar Hanım Evi. *Arkitekt.* Issue: 1933-06 (30), 171-173.



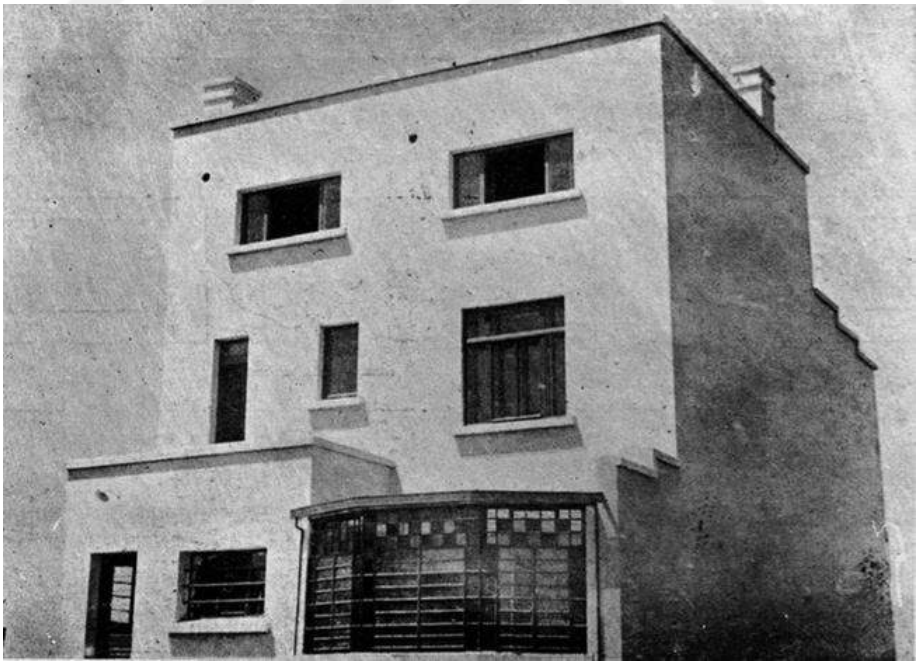


Figure 4.3c, 4.3d. Photograph of *the Sıdıka Haydar Hanım Residence* from the exterior.
Source: Galip, Faruk (1933) Sıdıka Haydar Hanım Evi. *Arkitekt.* Issue: 1933-06 (30), 171-173.

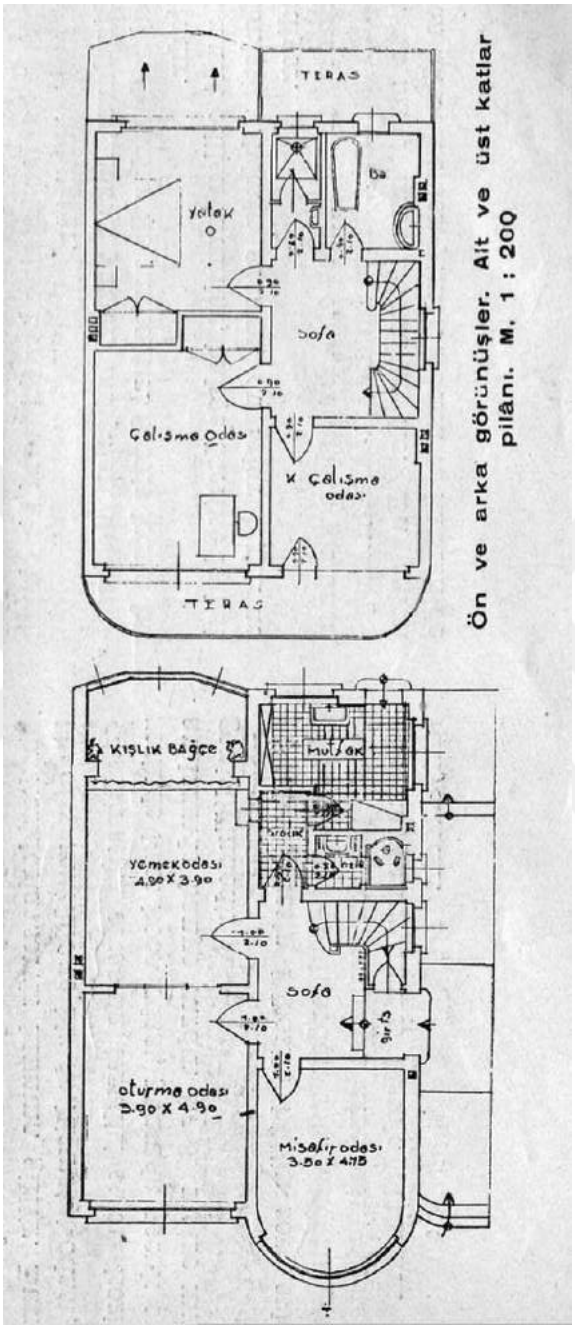


Figure 4.3e. *Plans of the ground and upper floors of Sıdıka Haydar Hanım Residence by Faruk Galip.* Notice the vestibule and sofa.
Source: Galip, Faruk (1933) Sıdıka Haydar Hanım Evi. *Arkitekt.* Issue: 1933-06 (30), 171-173.

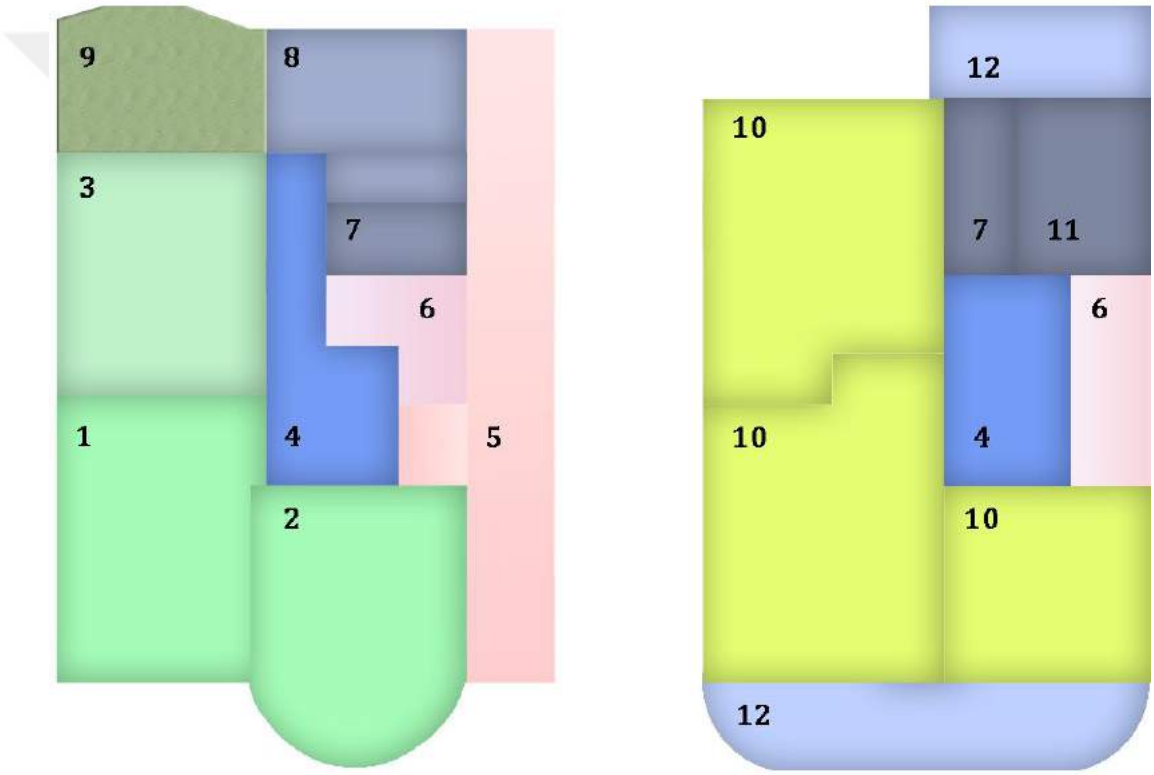


Figure 4.3f. *Plan schemes of the Sıdıka Haydar Hanım Residence*
Ground floor (left), upper floor (right)
1. Living room (Oturma odası), 2. Guest room (Misafir odası),
3. Salle-a-manger, 4. Hall (Sofa), 5. Steps towards the main etrance from the garden, 6. Interior circulation stairs, 7. Toilet, 8. Kitchen, 9. Winter garden, 10. Bedroom/Study room, 11. Bathroom, 12. Terrace



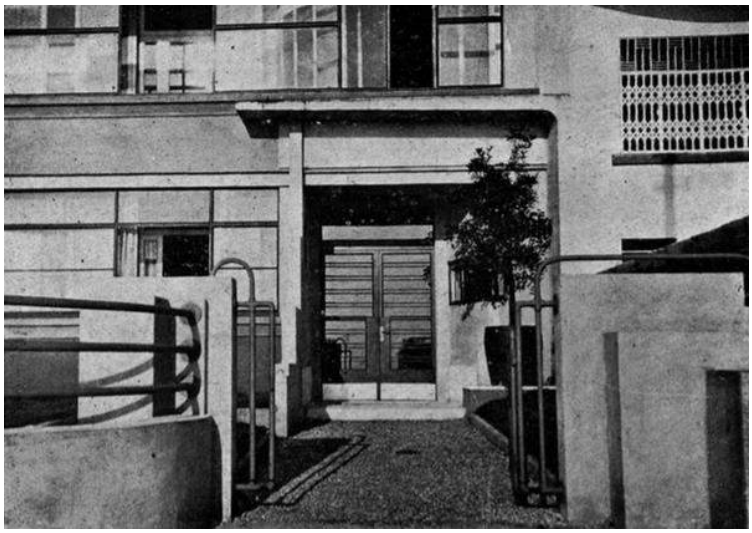
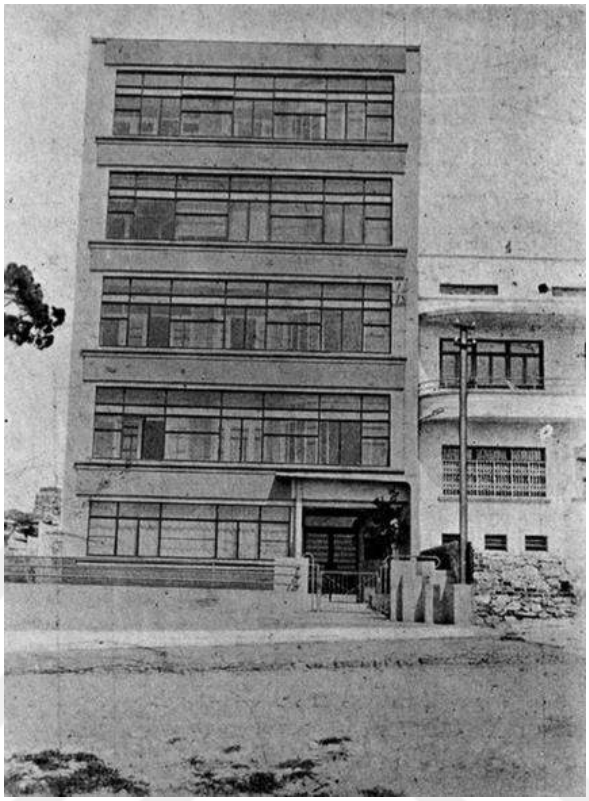


Figure 4.4a, 4.4b. *Photograph of the Seza Apartment from the exterior*
Source: Arif, Sırrı (1933) *Arkitekt*, Issue: 1933-06 (30), 165-170



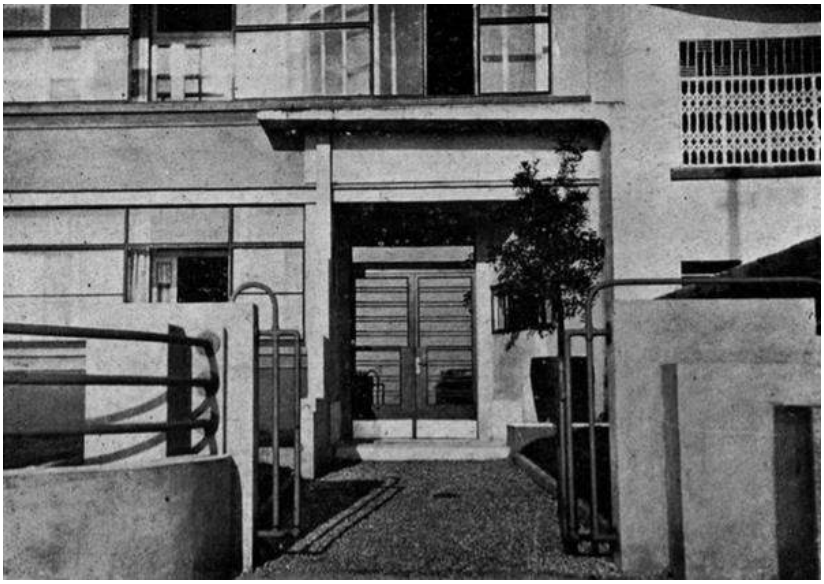


Figure 4.4c, 4.4d. *Photograph of the Seza Apartment from the exterior*
Source: Arif, Sırrı (1933) *Arkitekt*, Issue: 1933-06 (30), 165-170

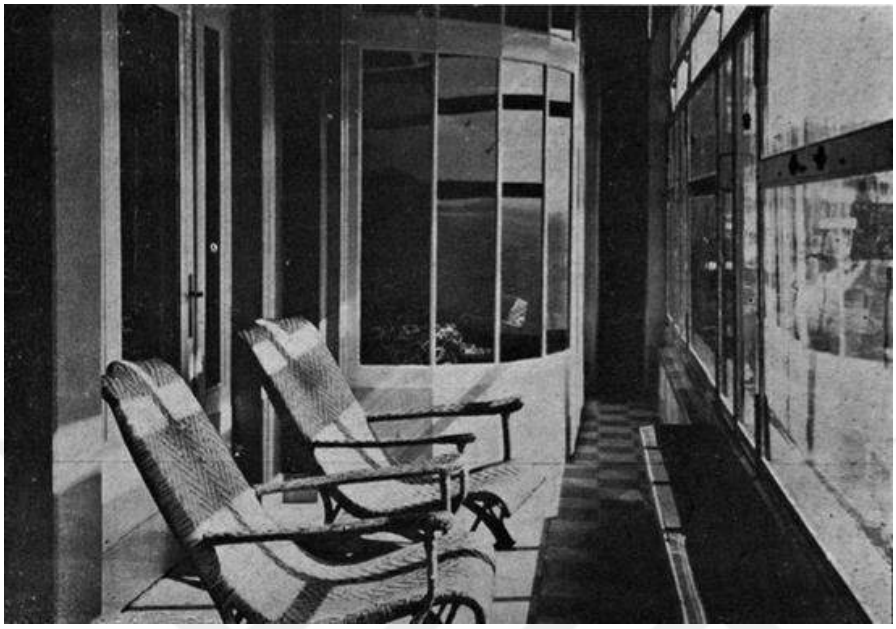




Figure 4.4e. *Photograph of the Seza Apartment from the interior* (Above)
Figure 4.4f. *L-shaped sofa in the Seza Apartment* (Below)
Source: Arif, Sırrı (1933) *Arkitekt*, Issue: 1933-06 (30), 165-170

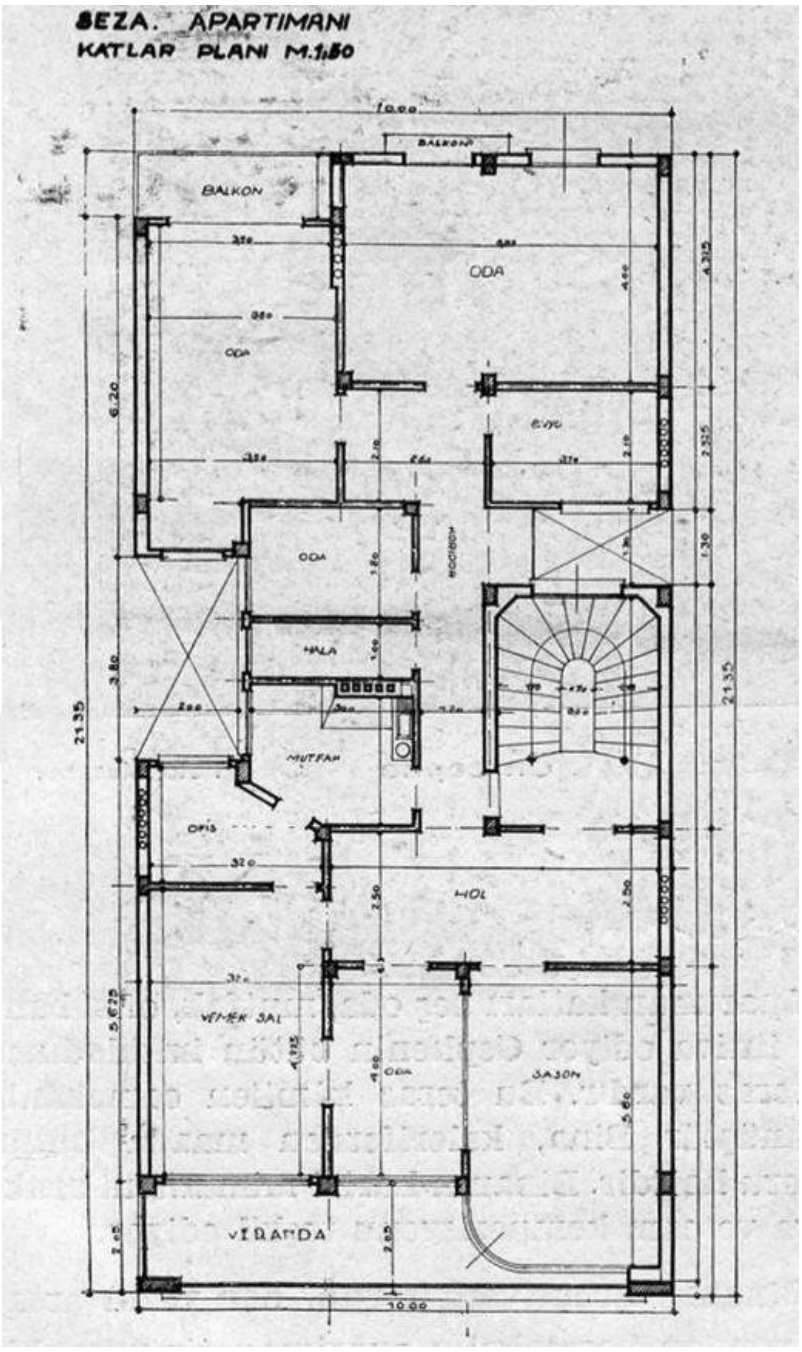


Figure 4.4g. *Plan of a standard floor in the Seza Apartment.*
Source: Arif, Sırrı (1933) *Arkitekt*, Issue: 1933-06 (30), 165-170

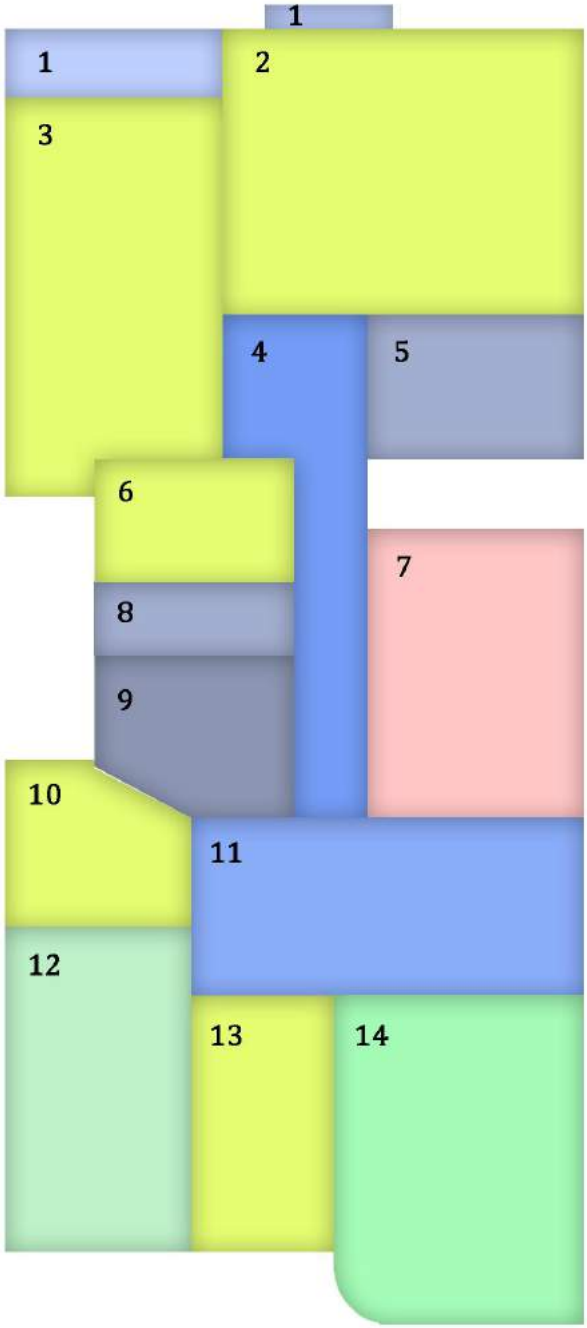


Figure 4.4h. *Plan scheme of the Seza Apartment*
1. Balcony, 2. Bedroom, 3. Bedroom, 4. Corridor, 5. Kitchen, 6. Bedroom,
7. Apartment stairs, 8. Toilet, 9. Kitchen/Food preparation (Evye),
10. Office/Study-room 11. Entrance hall, 12. Salle-a-manger,
13. Bedroom, 14. Living room





Figure 4.5a, 4.5b. *Photograph of the Dr. Kamil Röntgen Apartment from the exterior*
Source: Selah, Zeki (1933) Röntgen Apartmanı. *Arkitekt,* Issue: 1933-08, 231-236.

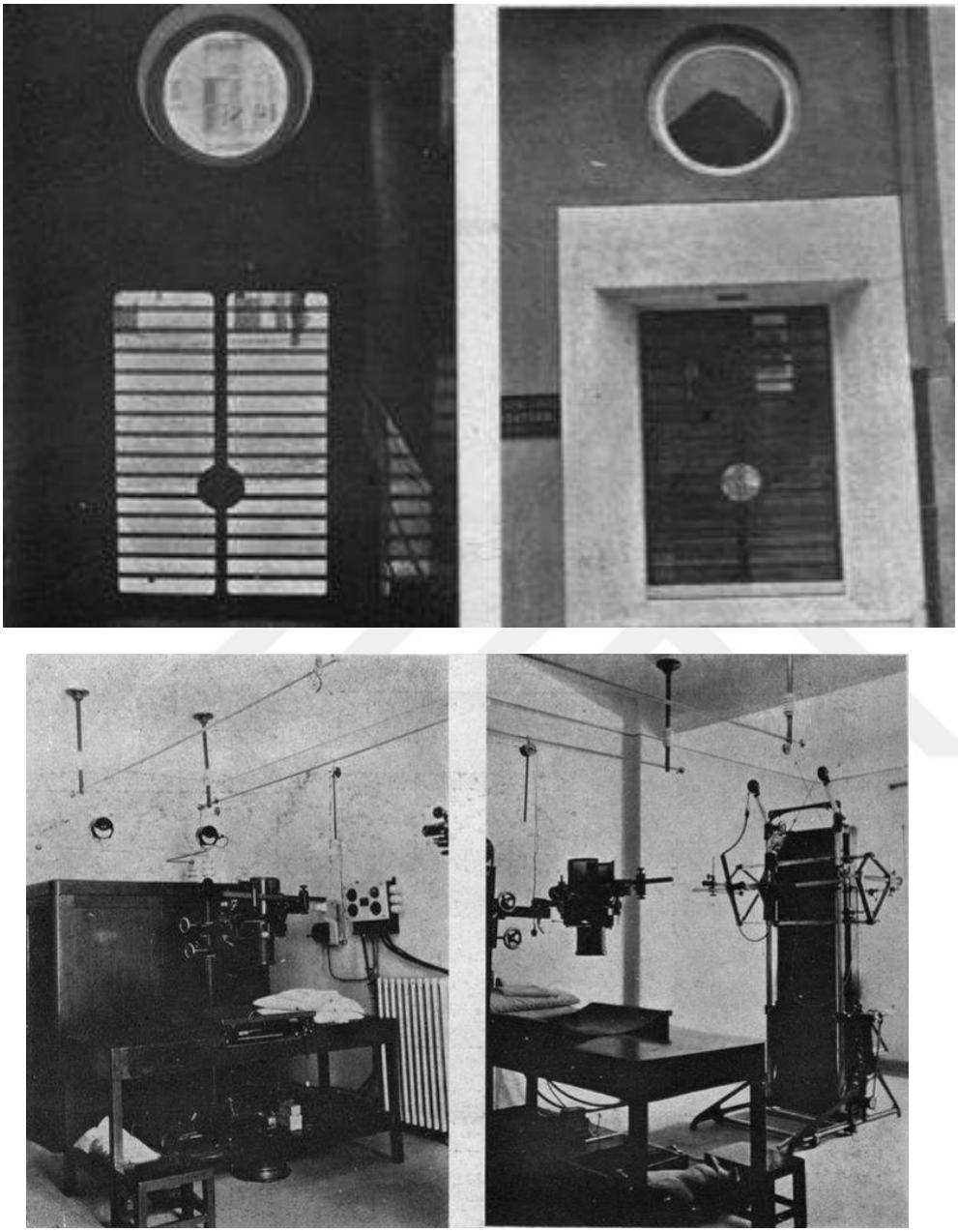


Figure 4.5c, 4.5d. *Photograph of the Dr. Kamil Röntgen Apartment from the interior*
Source: Selah, Zeki (1933) Röntgen Apartmanı. *Arkitekt,* Issue: 1933-08, 231-236.

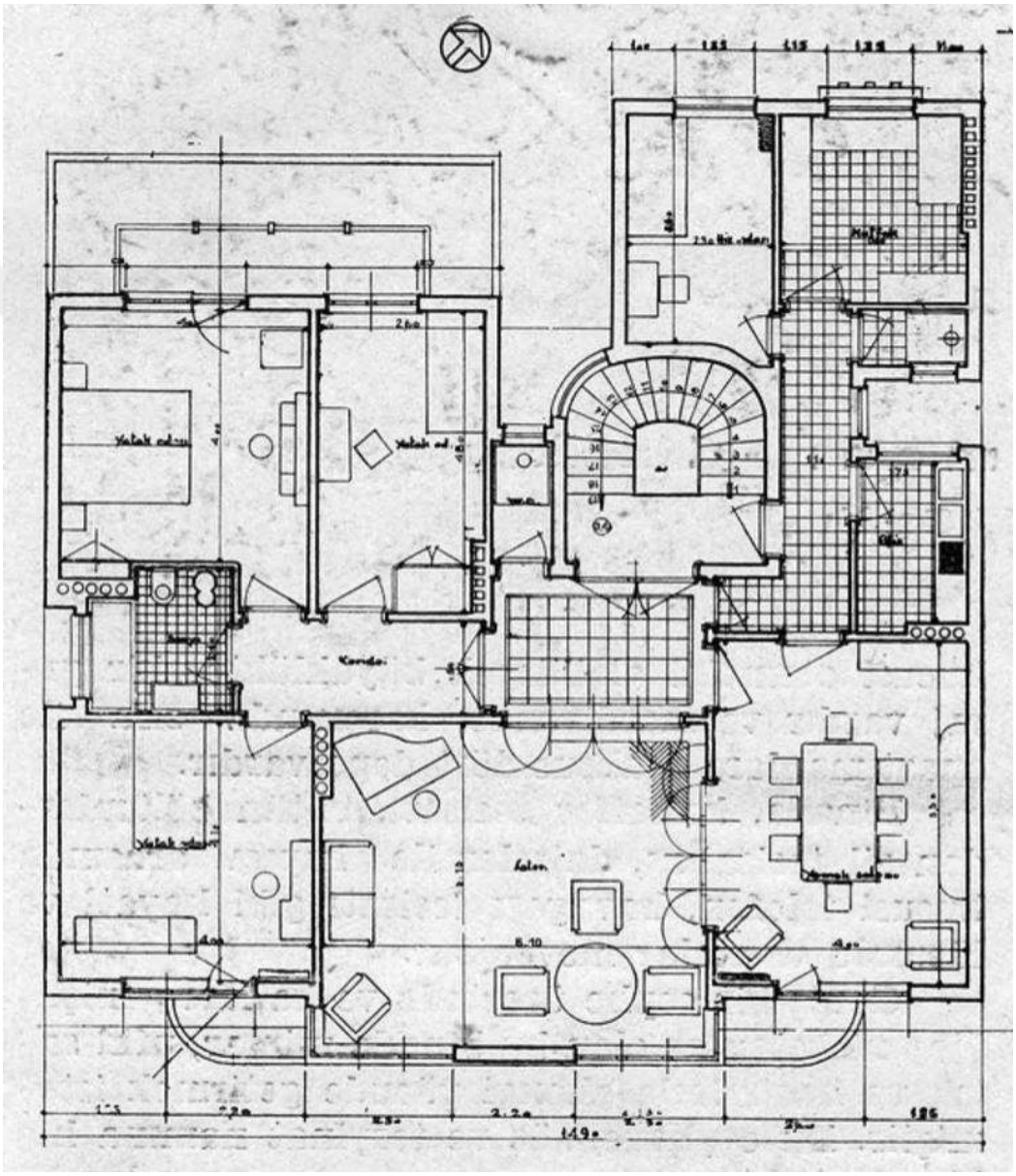


Figure 4.5e. *Plan of the residential floor of the Dr. Kamil Röntgen Apartment by Zeki Sayar.* Room of the maid is located in the corner of the service area, next to the kitchen
Source: Selah, Zeki (1933) Röntgen Apartmanı. *Arkitekt,* Issue: 1933-08, 231-236.

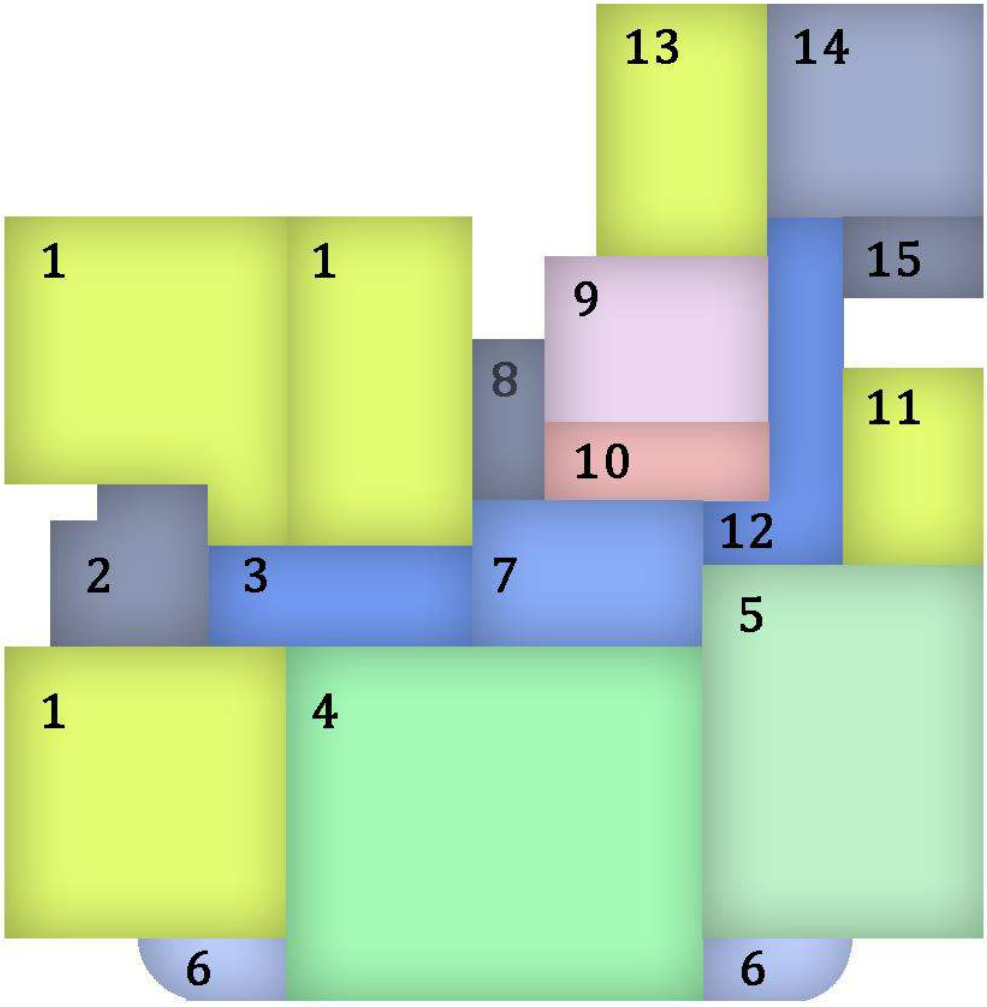


Figure 4.5f. *Plan scheme of Dr. the Kamil Röntgen Apartment*
1. Bedroom, 2. Bathroom, 3. Corridor, 4. Living room, 5. Salle-a-manger, 6. Balcony, 7. Entrance hall, 8. Toilet, 9. Apartment stairs, 10. Service door entrance and landing of apartment stairs, 11. Food preparation, 12, Service corridor, 13. Room of the maid, 14. Kitchen, 15. Toilet



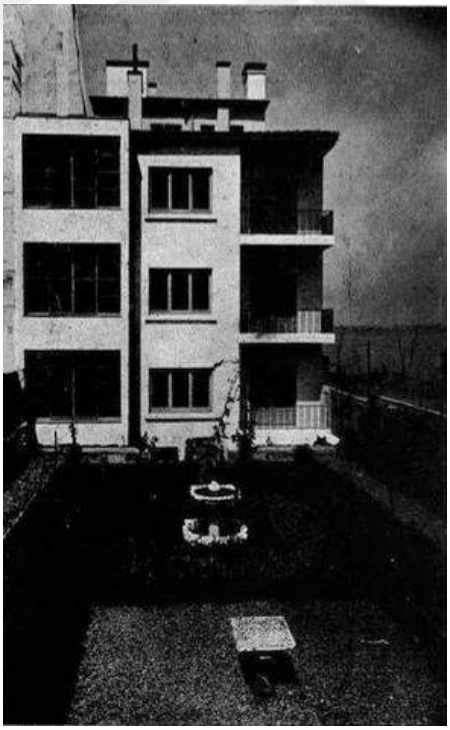


Figure 4.6a, 4.6b. *Photograph of the House for Tenants from the exterior*
Source: Refik, Rebii (1935) Kira Evi. *Arkitekt,* Issue: 1935-06 (54), 163-165.

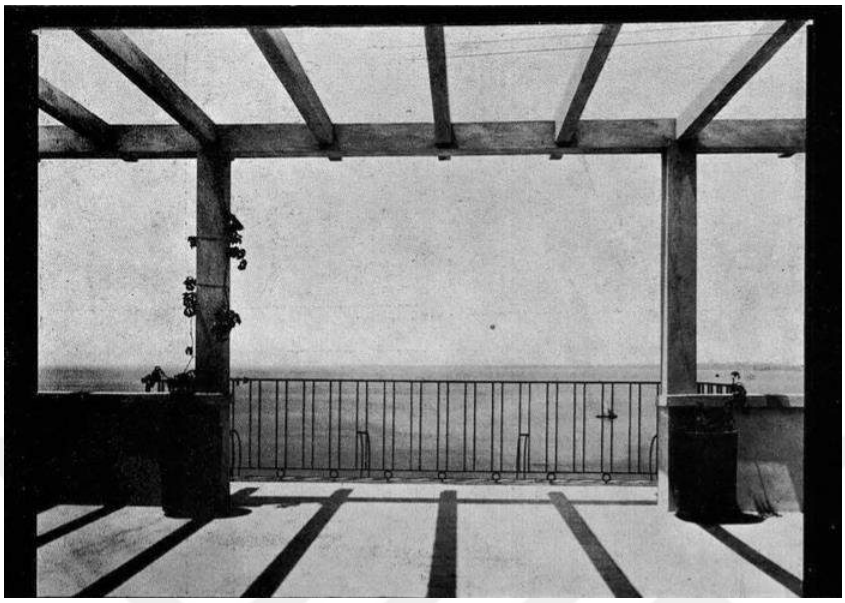




Figure 4.6c, 4.6d. *Photograph of the House for Tenants from the exterior*
Source: Refik, Rebii (1935) Kira Evi. *Arkitekt,* Issue: 1935-06 (54), 163-165.

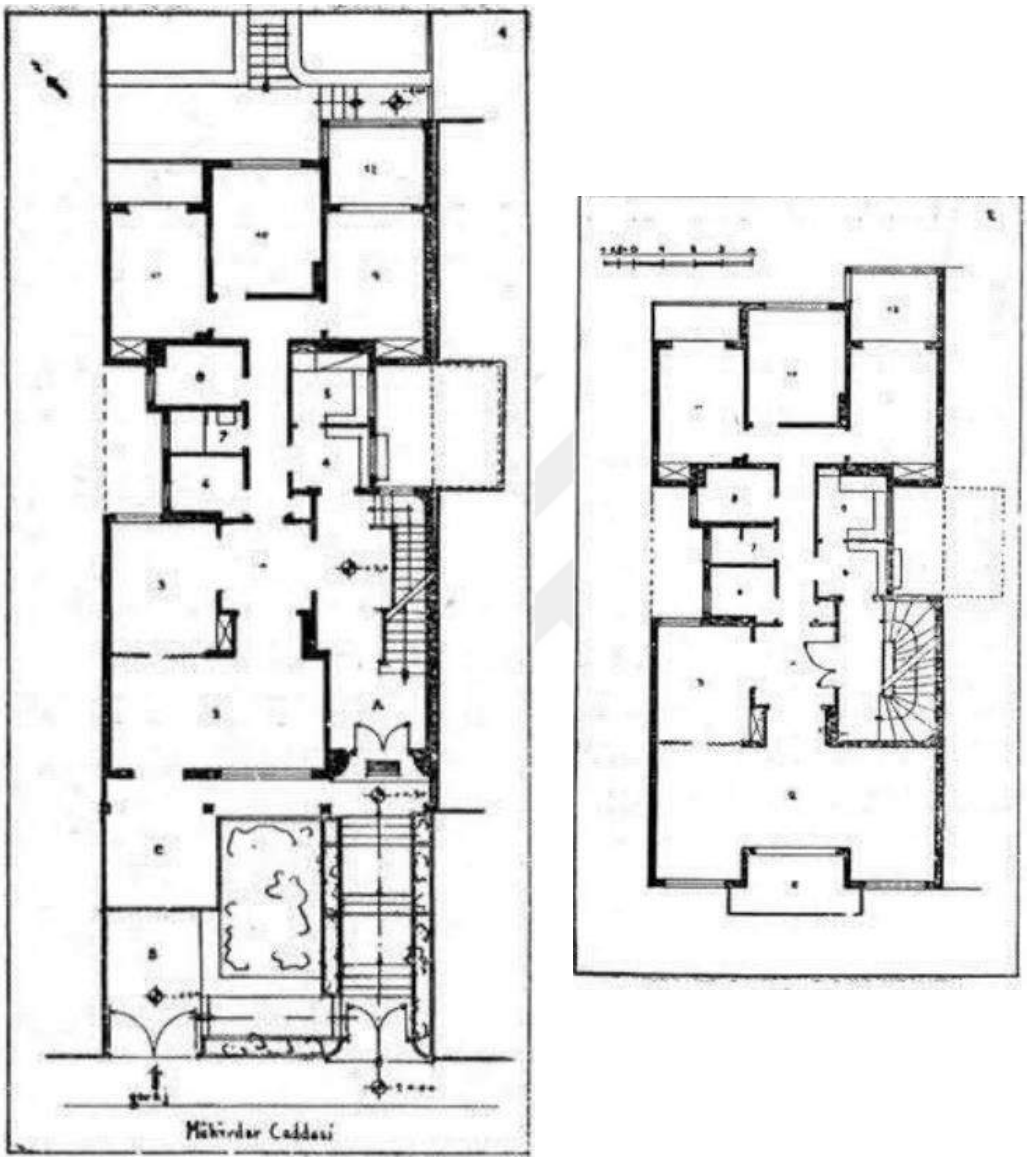


Figure 4.6e. *Plans of the House for Tenants by Rebii Refik (Gorbon)*
Ground floor (left), Terrace floor (right)
Source: Refik, Rebii (1935) Kira Evi. *Arkitekt,* Issue: 1935-06 (54), 163-165.







Figure 4.7a, 4.7b. *Photograph from the balcony of Doğruman Residence, 1960s.* (Top two)
Figure 4.7c. *Photograph of the stairs from the garden to the main entrance of the residence, 1970s.* (Bottom)
Source: Private archive of Rüçhan Sel



Figure 4.7d. *The current apartment on the location of Doğruman Residence*
Source: https://www.google.com.tr/maps/ (Last accessed on 07.07.2017)

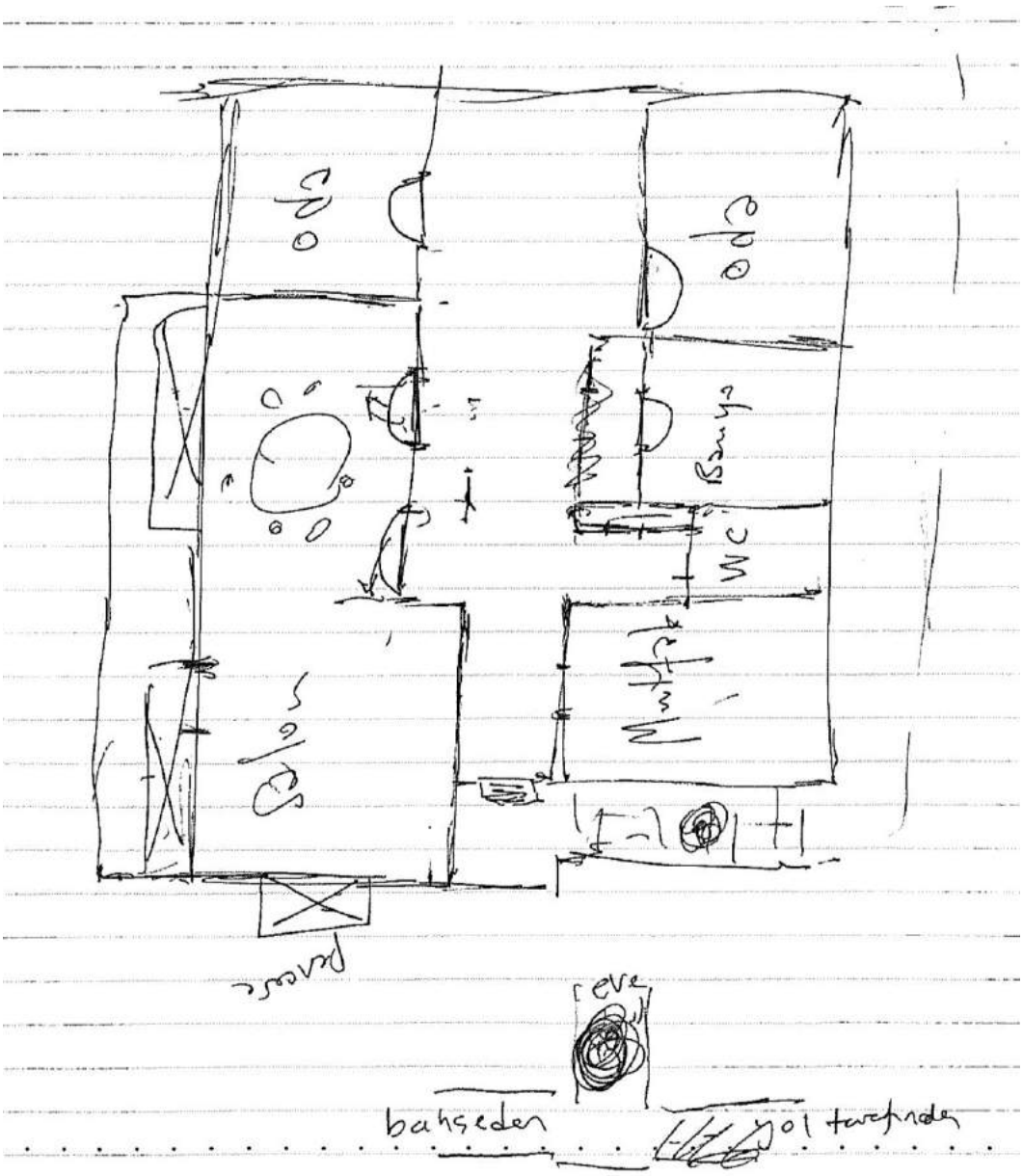


Figure 4.7e. *Manual floor plan drawing of the Doğruman Residence drawn by Rüçhan Sel.* The residence was built in 1935. Between "wc" and "banyo" (bathroom) the storage could be found as buit-in.

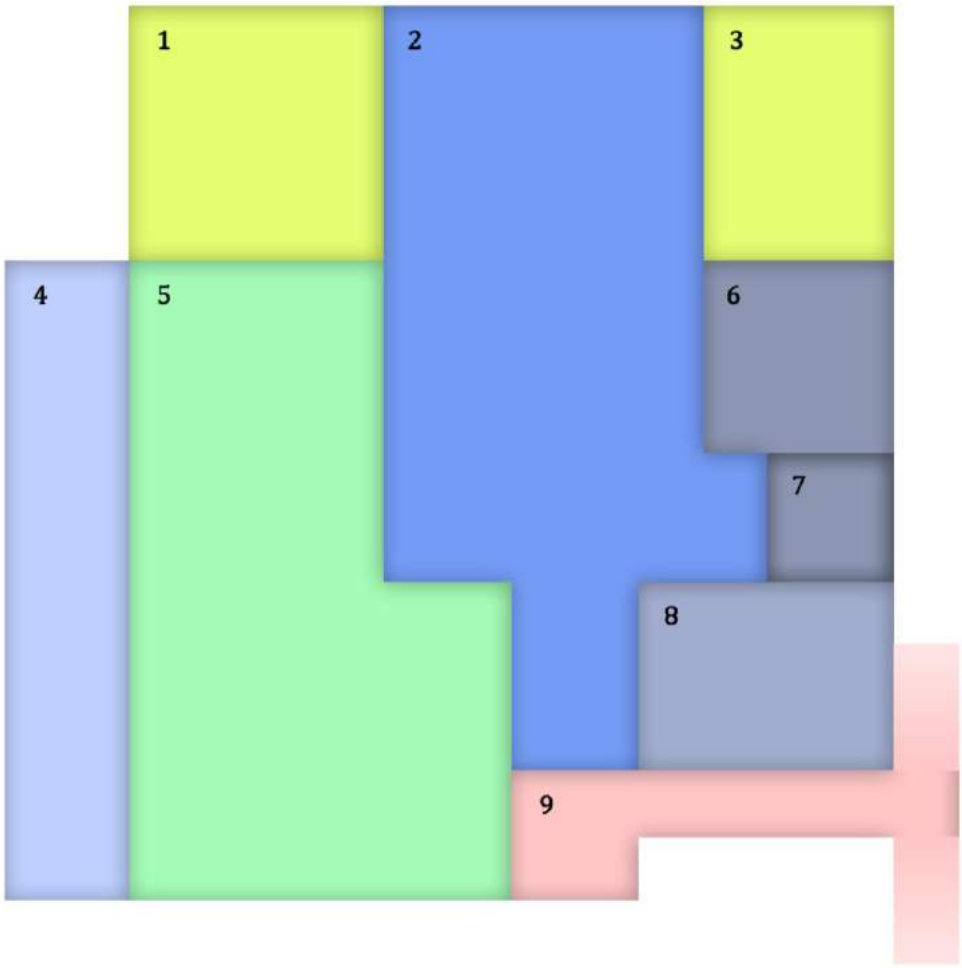


Figure 4.7f. *Plan scheme of the Doğruman Residence*
1. Bedroom, 2. Sofa – the main living area, 3. Bedroom,
4. Balcony, 5. Living room, 6. Bathroom, 7. Toilet, 8. Kitchen,
9. Stairs from the garden to the main entrance



Figure 4.8a. *The current condition of the Fitnat Hanım Apartment*
Source: https://www.google.com.tr/maps/ (Last accessed on 07.07.2017)

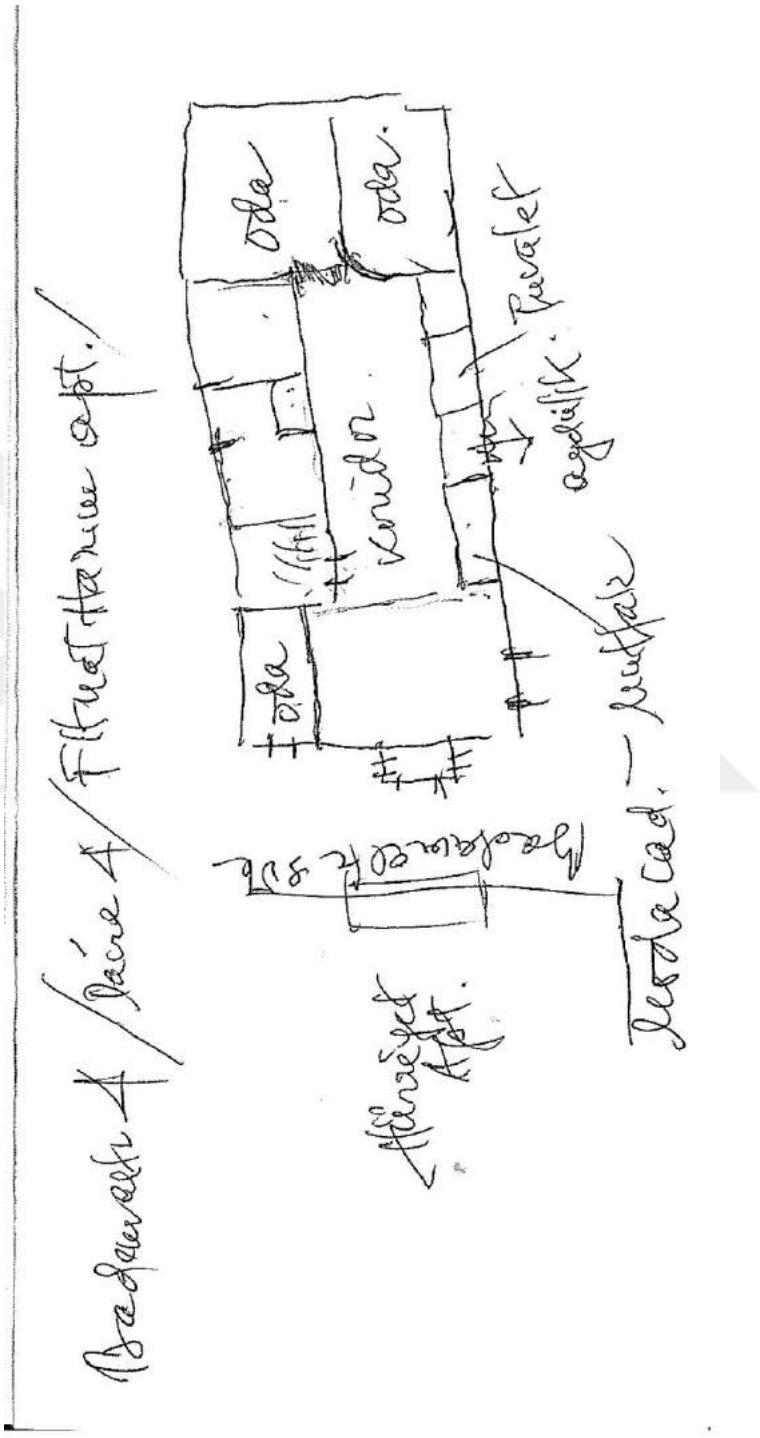


Figure 4.8b. *Manual floor plan drawing of the Fitnat Hanım Apartment drawn by Melih Ziya Sezer*

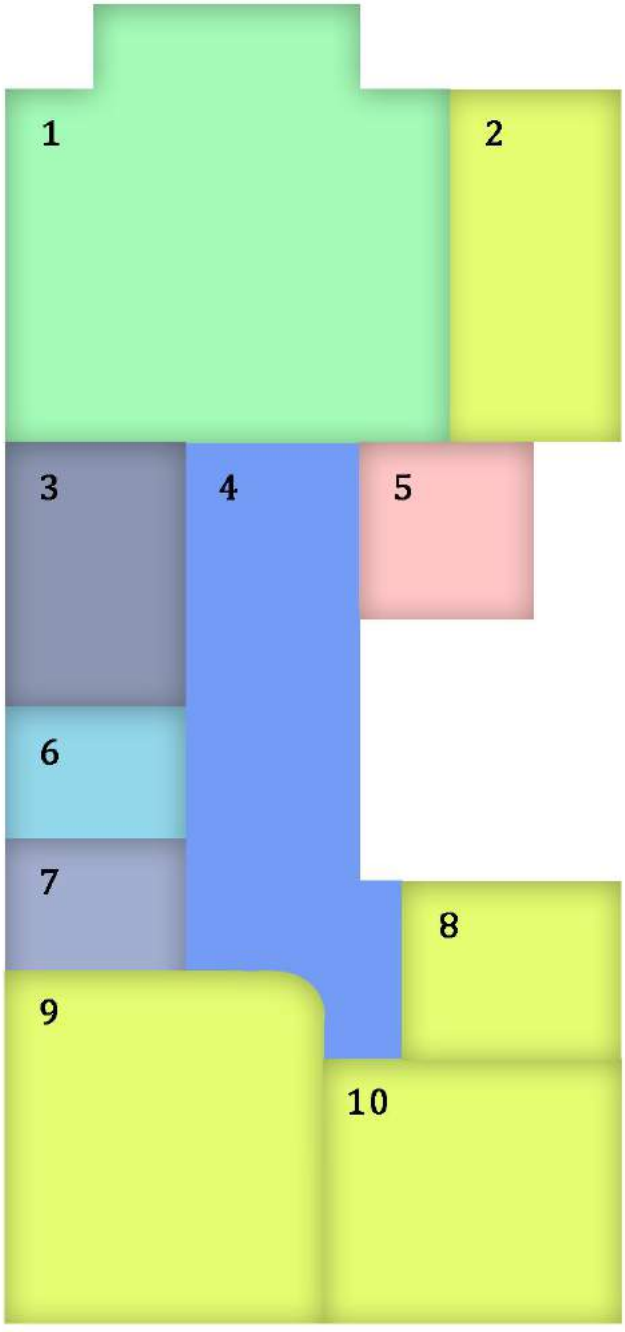


Figure 4.8c. *Plan scheme of the Fitnat Hanım Apartment*
1. Living room, 2. Bedroom, 3. Kitchen, 4. Sofa, 5. Apartment stairs, 6. Lighting and ventilation shaft, 7. Toilet, 8. Bedroom, 9. Bedroom, 10. Bedroom

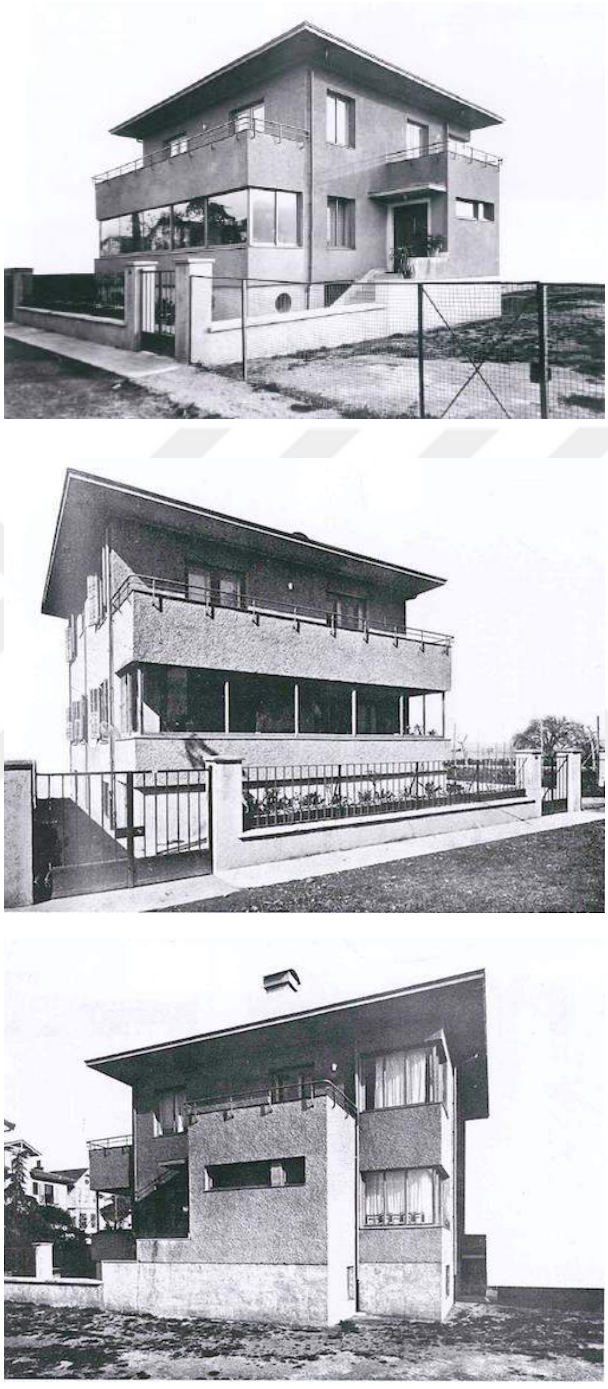


Figure 4.9a, 4.9b, 4.9c. *Photograph of the Prof. Dr. Tevfik Taylan Villa from the exterior*
Source: Source: Cengizkan, A. & İnan, D. & Cengizkan, M. (Eds.) (2011) *Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek,* TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 253.



Figure 4.9d, 4.9e, 4.9f. *Photograph of the Prof. Dr. Tevfik Taylan Villa from the interior*
Source: Source: Cengizkan, A. & İnan, D. & Cengizkan, M. (Eds.) (2011) *Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek,* TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 253.

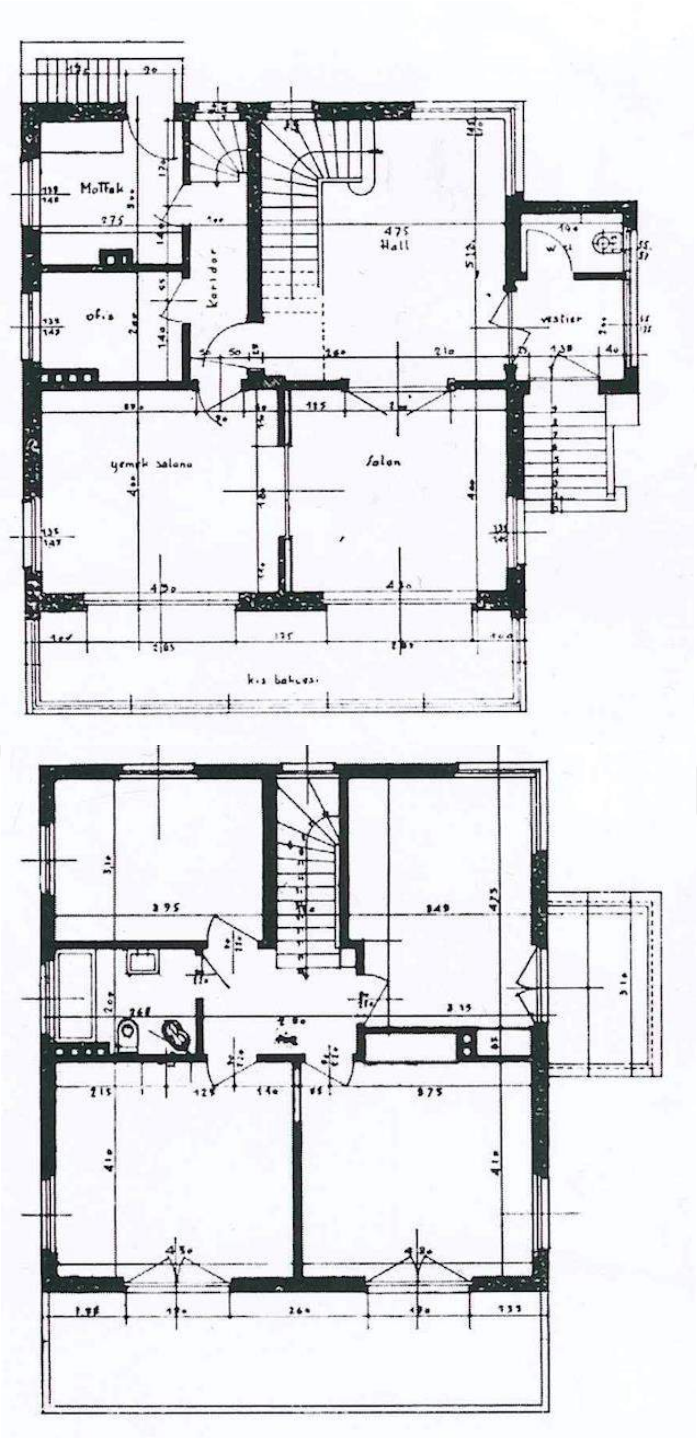


Figure 4.9g. *Plans of the ground (above) and upper (below) floors of the Prof. Dr. Tevfik Taylan Villa by Zeki Sayar. Notice the entrance.*
Source: Source: Source: Cengizkan, A. & İnan, D. & Cengizkan, M. (Eds.) (2011) *Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek,* TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 253.

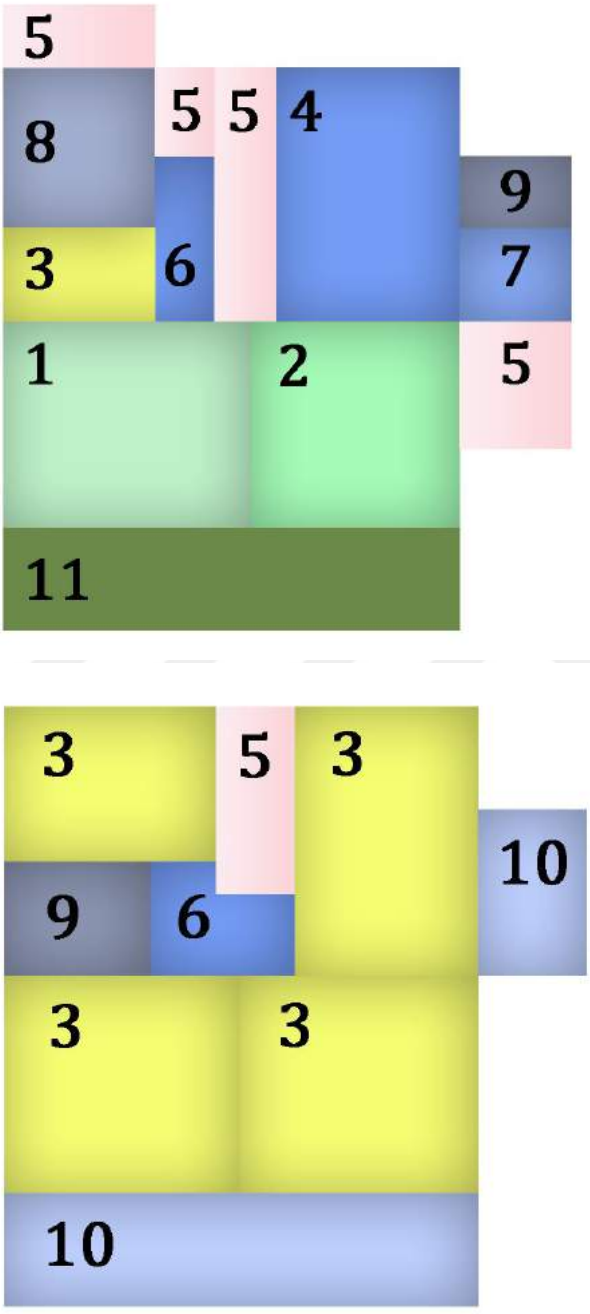


Figure 4.9h. *Plan schemes of Prof. Tevfik Taylan Villa*
Ground floor (Above), Upper floor (Below)
1. Salle-a-manger, 2. Living room, 3. Office/Study room, 4. Entrance hall, 5. Stairs, 6. Service corridor, 7. Entrance vestibule/Cloakroom, 8. Kitchen, 9. Toilet, 10. Balcony, 11.Winter garden

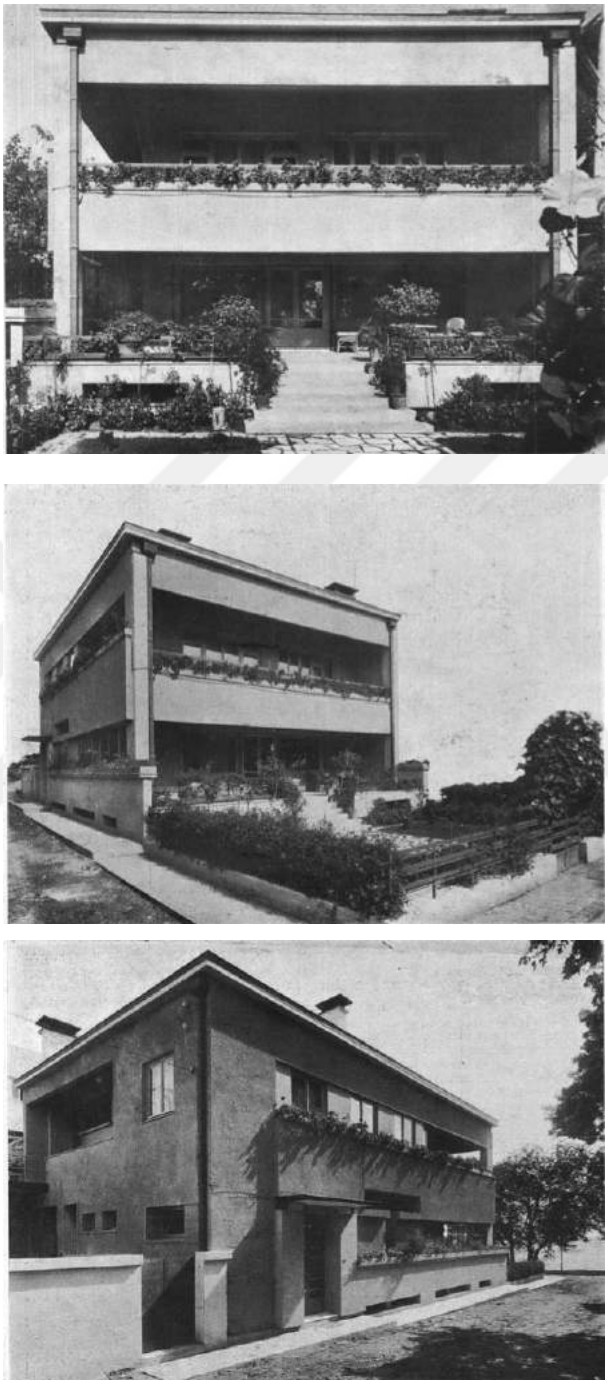


Figure 4.10a, 4.10b, 4.10c. *Photograph of A Villa in Moda from the exterior*
Source: Kozanoğlu, Ziya (1936) Moda'da bir Villa. *Arkitekt.* Issue: 1936-09, 245-248.

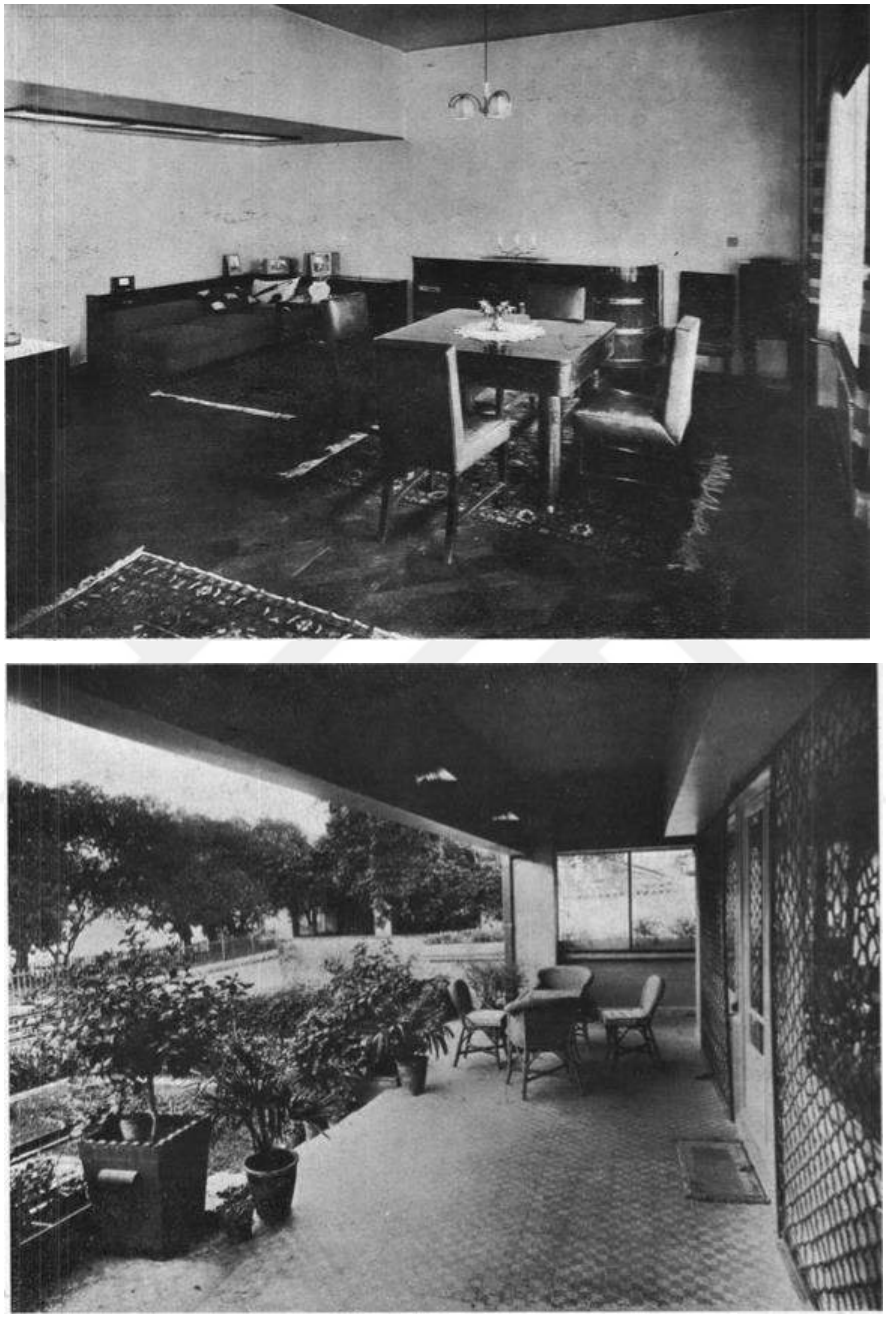


Figure 4.10d. *L-shaped seating unit and a corner from the sale-a-manger in "A Villa in Moda"* (above)
Figure 4.10e. *Photograph of the terrace in A Villa in Moda* (below)
Source: Kozanoğlu, Ziya (1936) Moda'da bir Villa. *Arkitekt.* Issue: 1936-09, 245-248.

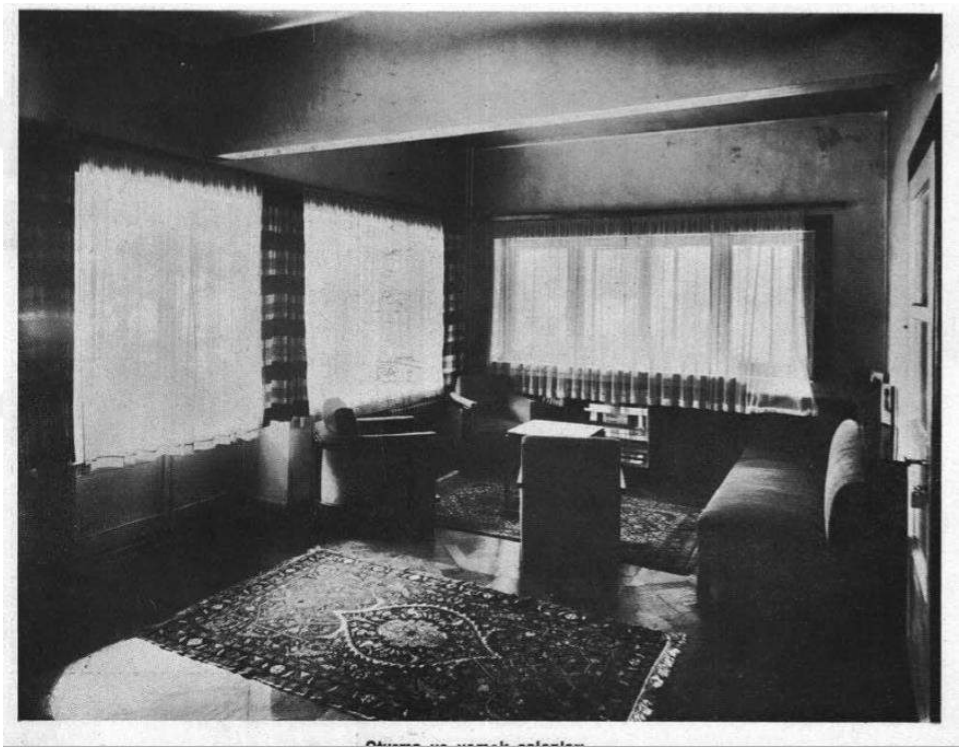


Figure 4.10f. *L-shaped seating unit and a corner from the living room in "A Villa in Moda".*
Source: Source: Kozanoğlu, Ziya (1936) Moda'da bir Villa. *Arkitekt.* Issue: 1936-09, 245-248.

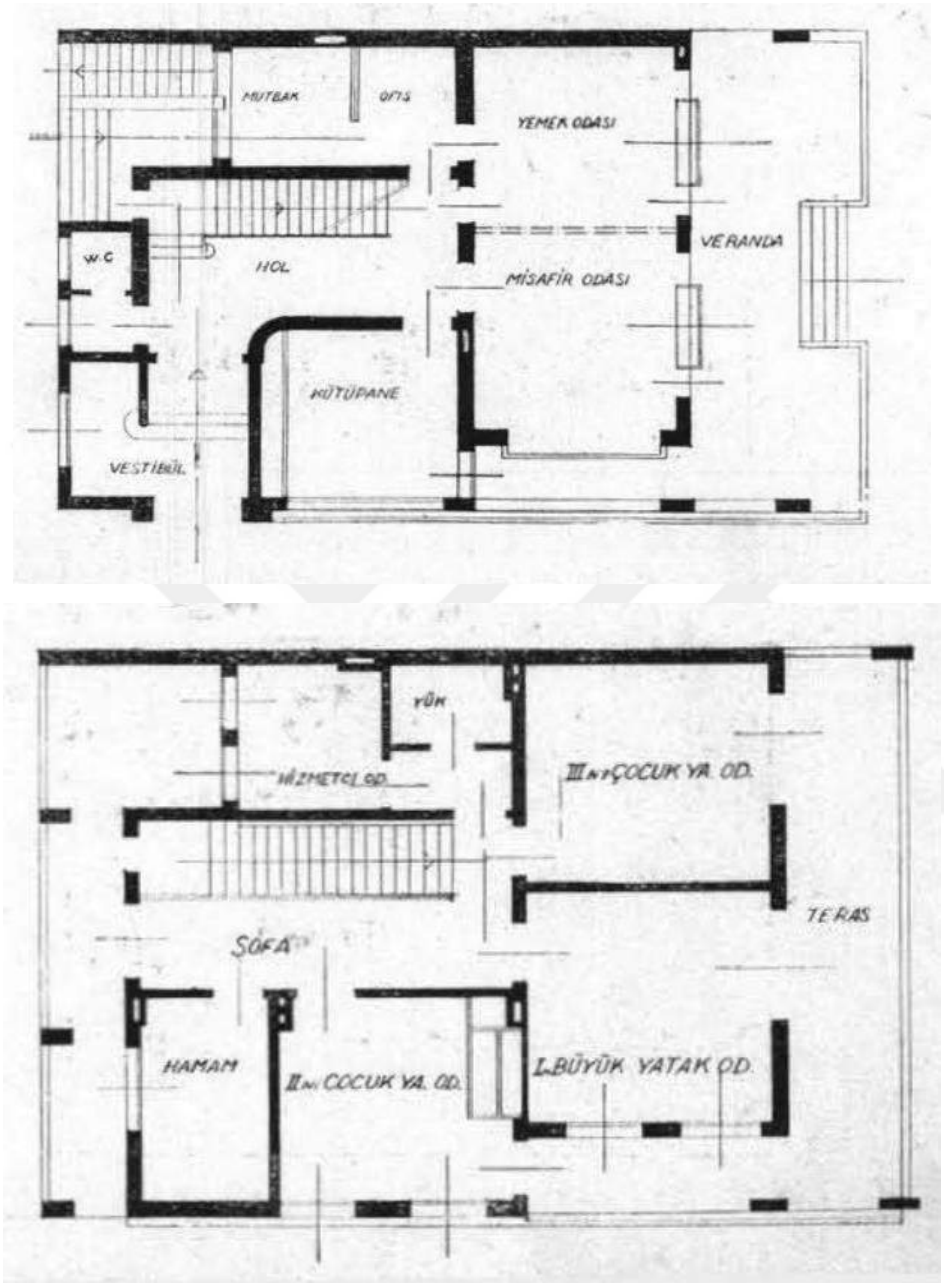


Figure 4.10g. *Plans of the ground (above) and upper (below) floor of "A Villa in Moda" by Ziya Kozanoğlu.*
Source: Kozanoğlu, Ziya (1936) Moda'da bir Villa. *Arkitekt.* Issue: 1936-09, 245-248.

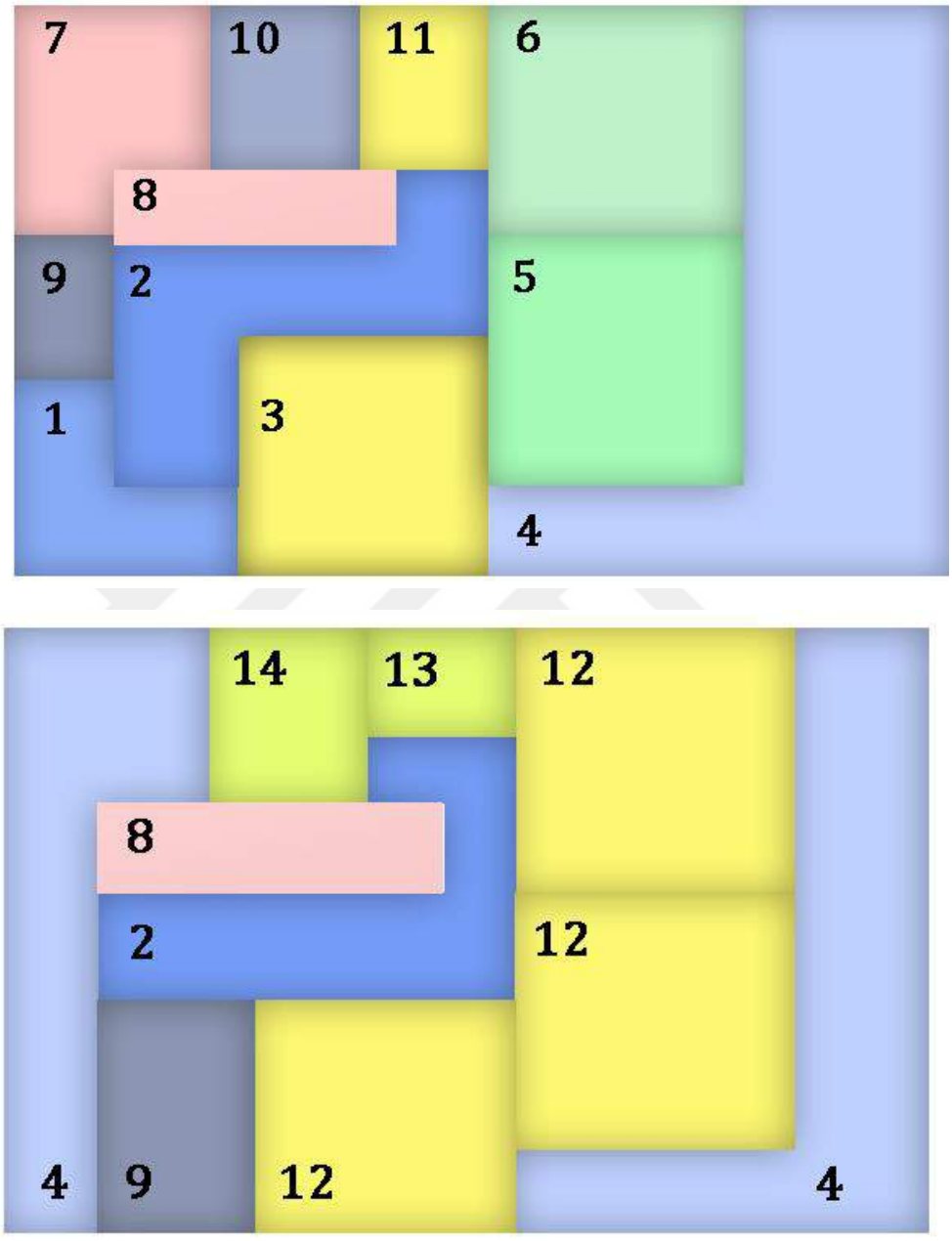


Figure 4.10h. *Plan schemes of A Villa in Moda*
Ground floor (above), upper floor (below)
1. Entrance vestibule, 2. Entrance hall, 3. Bedroom for the children, 4. Veranda/Terrace, 5. Living room, 6. Salle-a-manger (Dining Room), 7. Stairs to the domestic management area/kitchen from the garden, 8. Interior circulation stairs, 9. Toilet and Bathroom (Hamam), 10. Kitchen, 11. Office, 12. Bedroom, 13. Storage (Yüklük), 14. Room for the maid

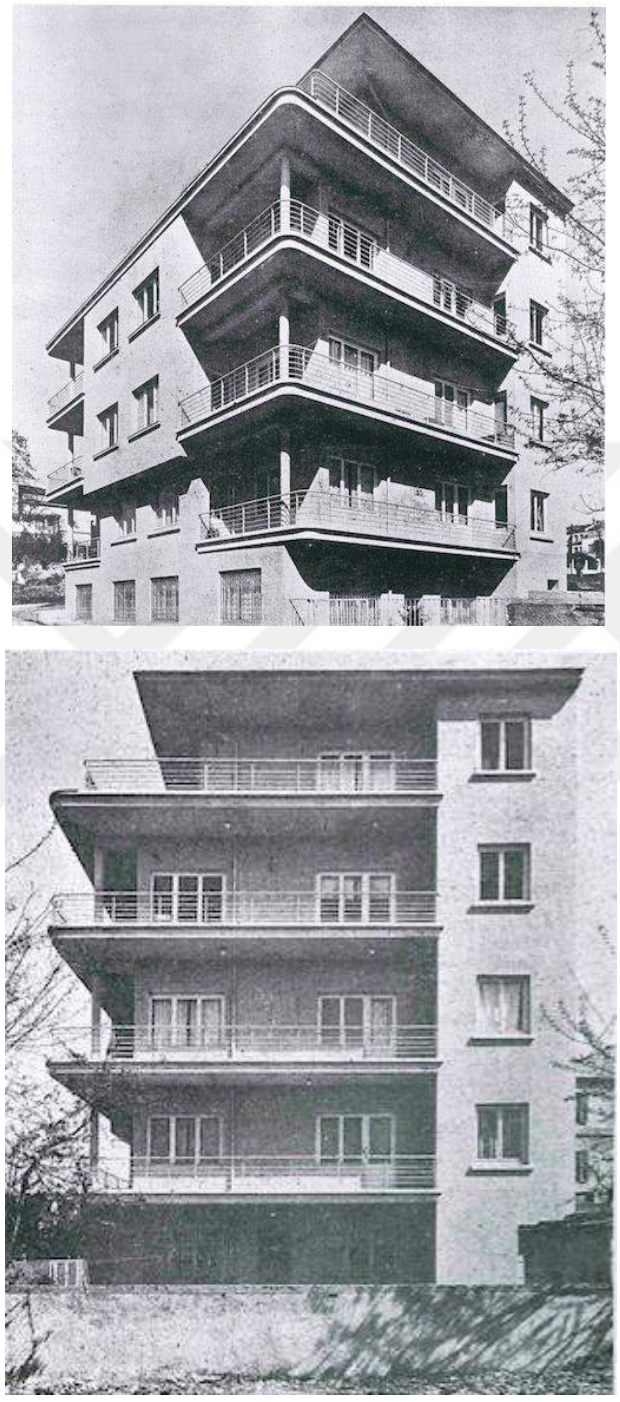


Figure 4.11a, 4.11b. Photograph of A House for Tenants from the exterior Source: Cengizkan, A. & İnan, D. & Cengizkan, M. (Eds.) (2011) *Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek,* TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 277-279.

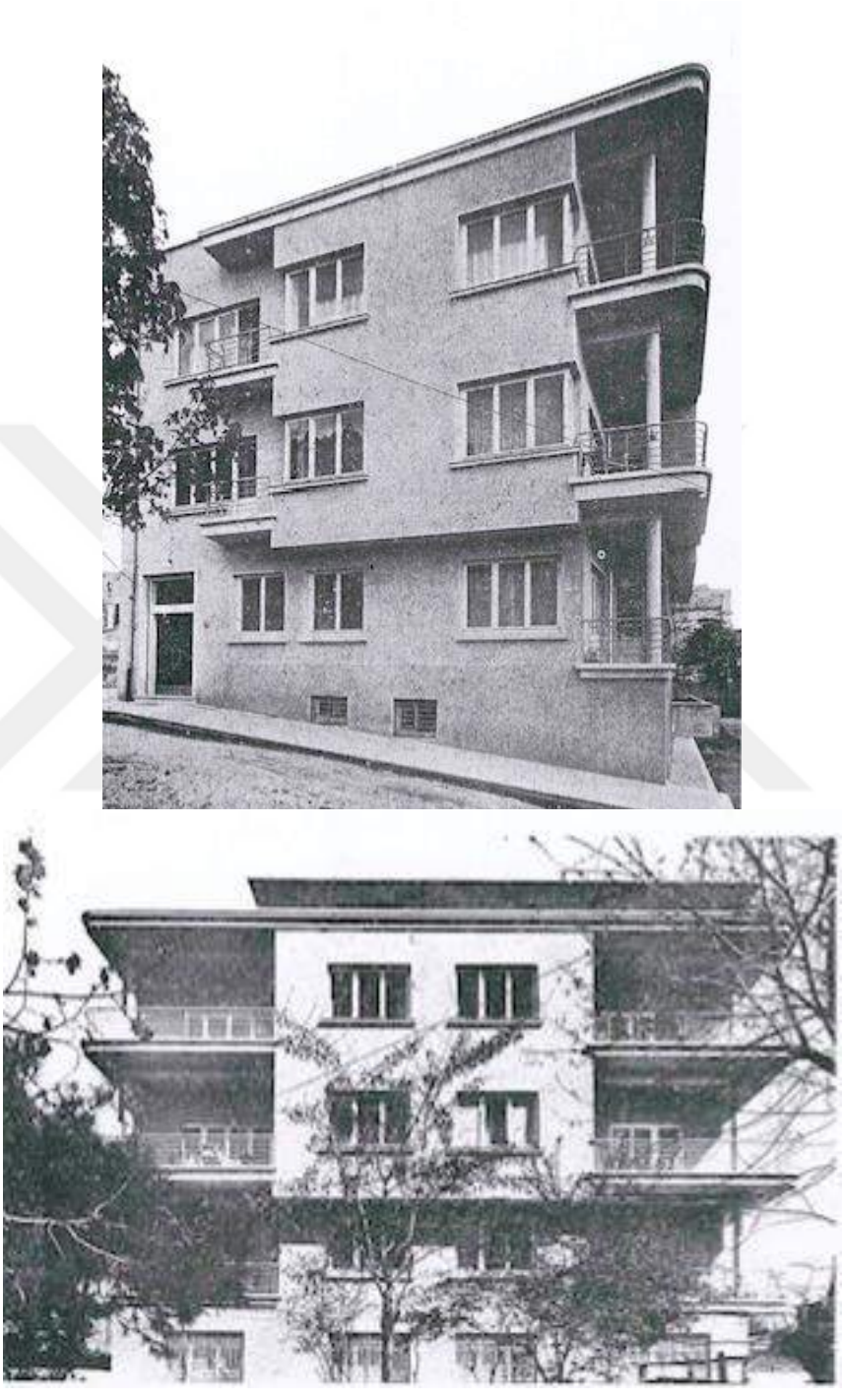


Figure 4.11c, 4.11d. Photograph of A House for Tenants from the exterior
Source: Cengizkan, A. & İnan, D. & Cengizkan, M. (Eds.) (2011) *Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek,* TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 277-279.



Figure 4.11e, 4.11f. *Photograph of A House for Tenants from the exterior, 2000s*
Source: Cengizkan, A. & İnan, D. & Cengizkan, M. (Eds.) (2011) *Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek,* TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 277-279.



Figure 4.11g, 4.11h. *Photograph of A House for Tenants from the exterior on Yenifikir Sokağı, 2000s.*
Source: Cengizkan, A. & İnan, D. & Cengizkan, M. (Eds.) (2011) *Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek,* TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 277-279.

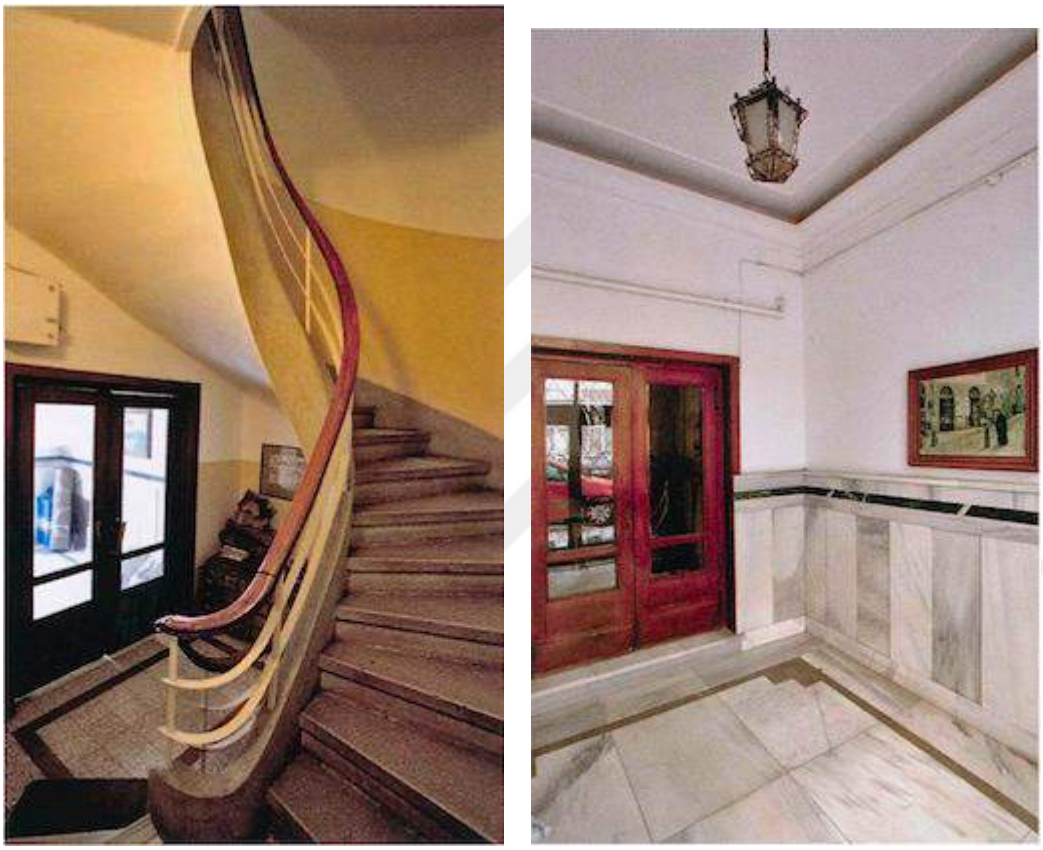


Figure 4.11i, 4.11j. *Photographs from the lobby of A House for Tenants on Yenifikir Street by Zeki Sayar, 2000s.*
Source: Cengizkan, A. & İnan, D. & Cengizkan, M. (Eds.) (2011) *Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek,* TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 277-279.

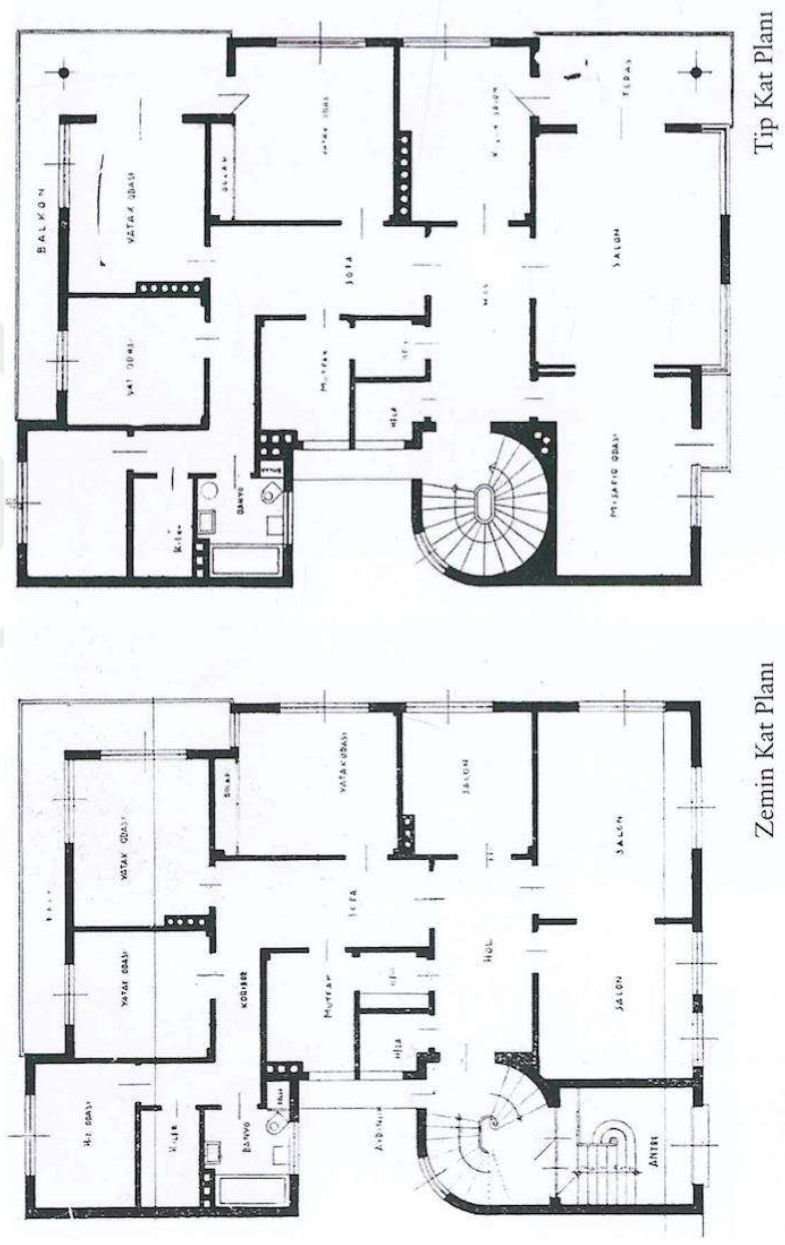


Figure 4.11k. *Plans of A House for Tenants by Zeki Sayar*
Ground floor (below), Standard floor (above)
Source: Source: Cengizkan, A. & İnan, D. & Cengizkan, M. (Eds.) (2011) *Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek,* TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 277-279.

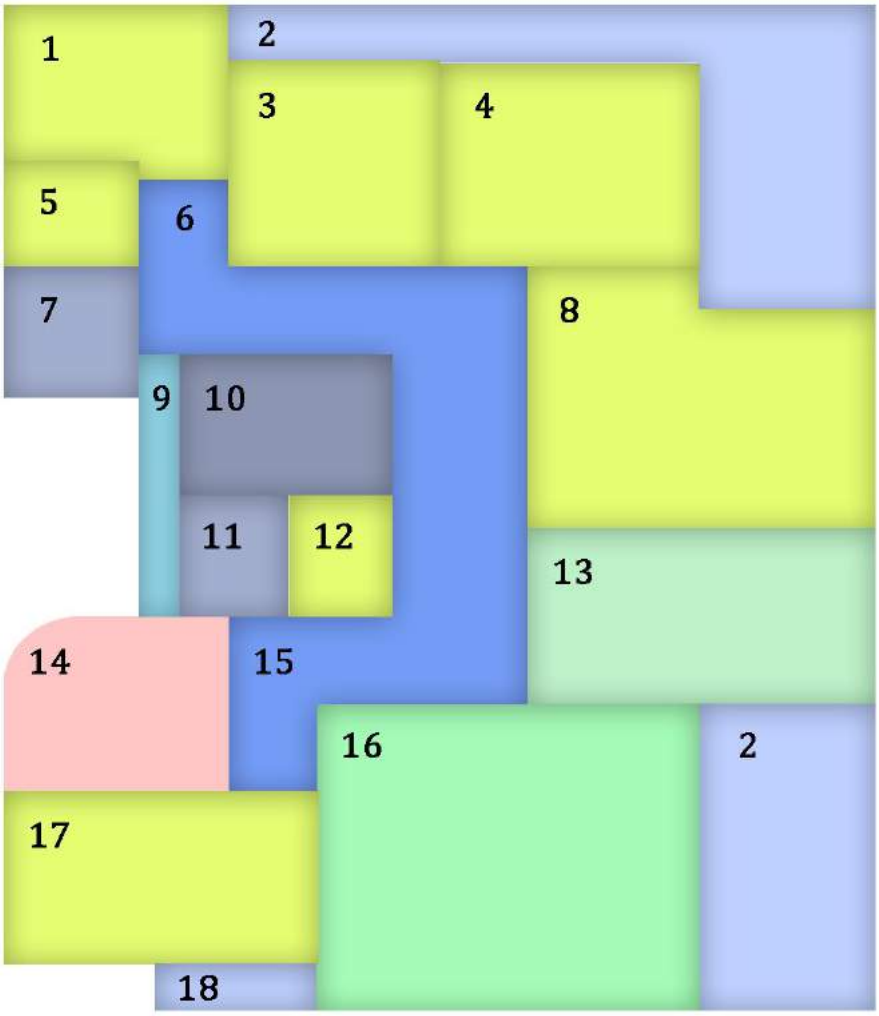


Figure 4.11l. Scheme of the standard floor in A House for Tenants
1. Bedroom, 2. Balcony, 3. Bedroom, 4. Bedroom, 5. Storage (Kiler), 6. Sofa, 7. Bathroom, 8. Bedroom, 9. Lighting and ventilation shaft, 10. Kitchen, 11. Toilet, 12. Storage (Depo), 13. Salle-a-manger (Dining room), 14. Apartment stairs, 15. Entrance hall, 16. Living room, 17. Living room (Misafir Odası), 18. Balcony



Figure 4.12a. *Photograph of A House for Tenants (Geren Apartment) from the exterior*
Source: Cengizkan, A. & İnan, D. & Cengizkan, M. (Eds.) (2011) *Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek,* TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 284-285.





Figure 4.12b, 4.12c. *Photograph of A House for Tenants (Geren Apartment) from the exterior*
Source: Cengizkan, A. & İnan, D. & Cengizkan, M. (Eds.) (2011) *Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek,* TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 284-285.



Figure 4.12d. *Photograph of A House for Tenants (Geren Apartment) from the exterior*
Figure 4.12e. Photograph of A House for Tenants (Geren Apartment) from the lobby
Source: Cengizkan, A. & İnan, D. & Cengizkan, M. (Eds.) (2011) *Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek,* TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 284-285.

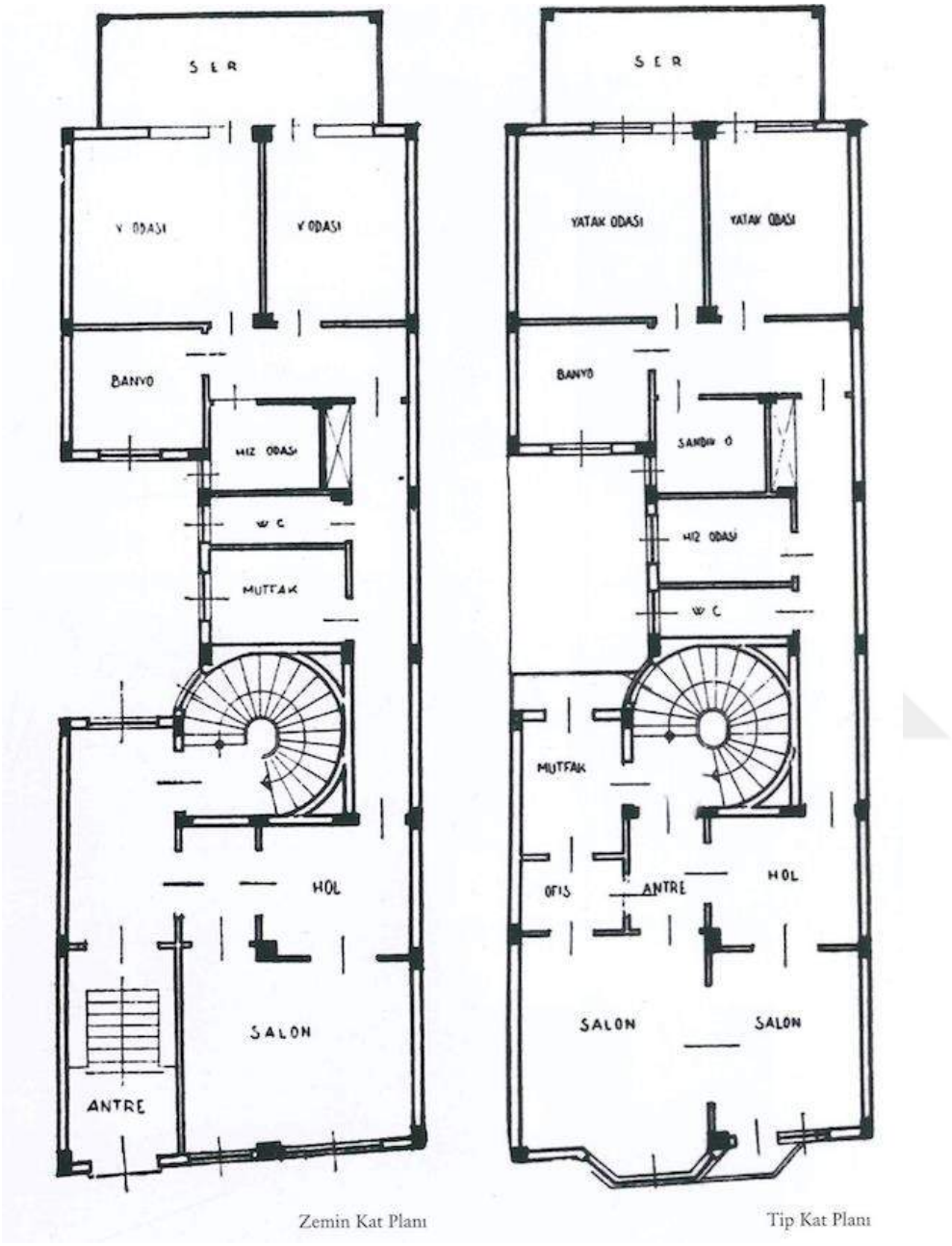


Figure 4.12f. *Plan of ground (left) and standard floor (right) of A House for Tenants (Geren Apartment) by Zeki Sayar.*
Source: Cengizkan, A. & İnan, D. & Cengizkan, M. (Eds.) (2011) *Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek,* TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 284-285.

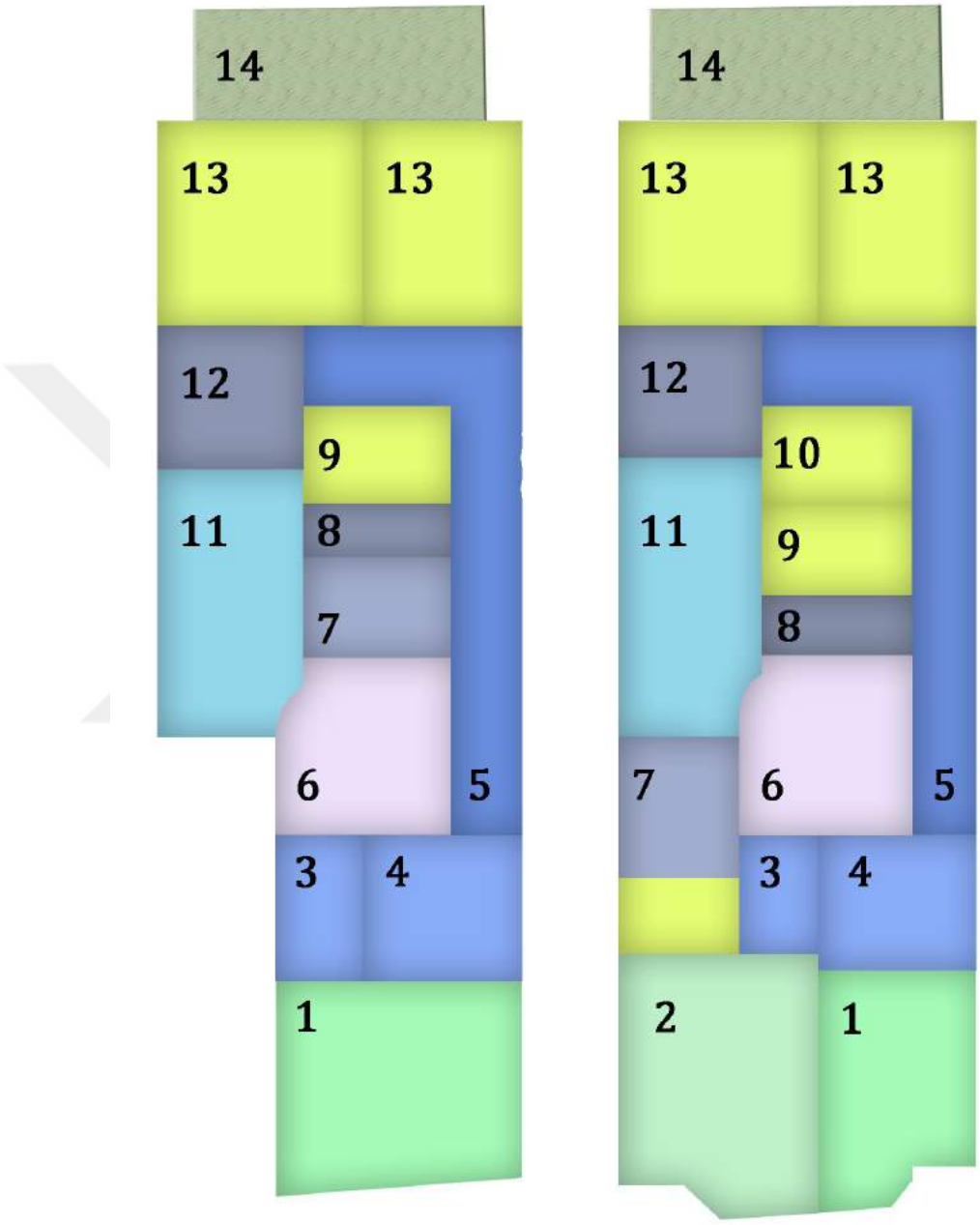


Figure 4.12g. *Plan schemes of A House for Tenants (Geren Apartment)*
Ground floor (left), Standard floor (right)
1. Living room, 2. Salle-a-manger, 3. Entrance hall (Antre), 4. Entrance hall (Hol), 5. Corridor, 6. Apartment stairs, 7. Kitchen, 8. Toilet, 9. Room for the maid, 10. Storage (Sandık odası), 11. Lighting and ventilation shaft, 12. Bathroom, 13. Bedroom, 14. Greenhouse (Ser)



Figure 4.13a. *Photograph of the Cillov Apartment from the exterior*
Source: https://www.google.com.tr/maps/ (Last accessed on 08.07.2017)

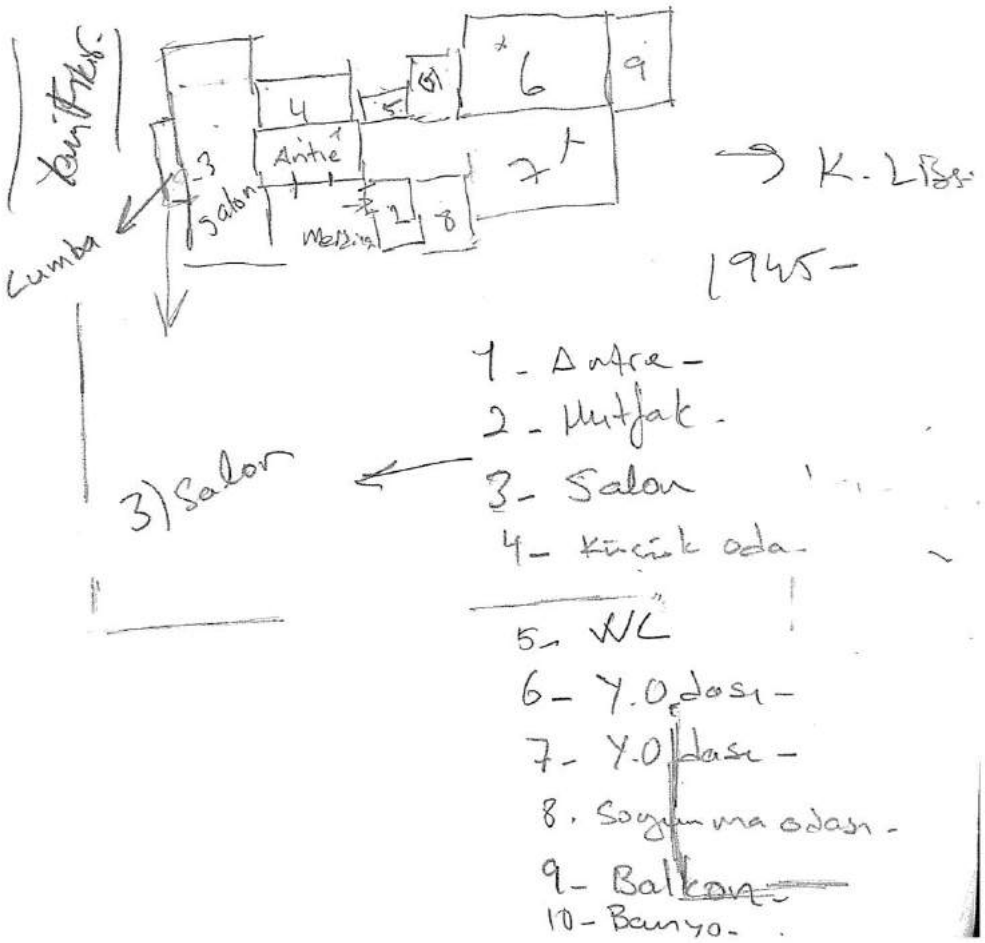


Figure 4.13b. *Manual drawing of the plan of the residence in the Cillov Apartment, by Volkan Ayman.*

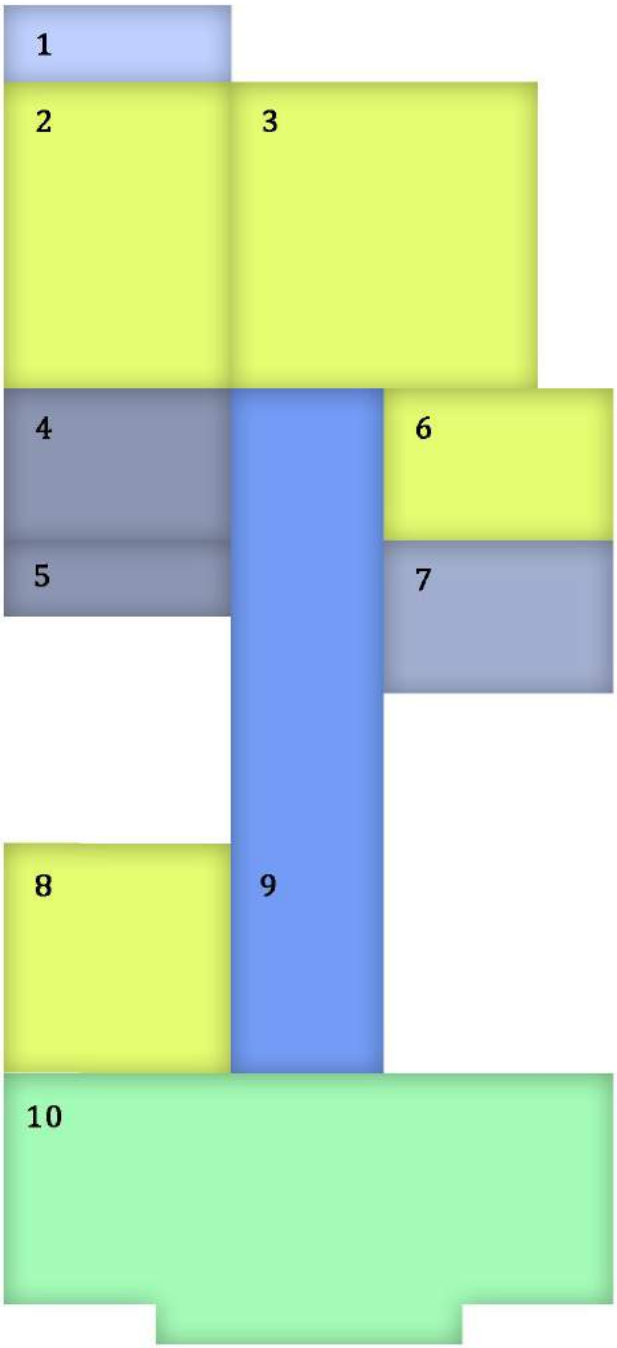
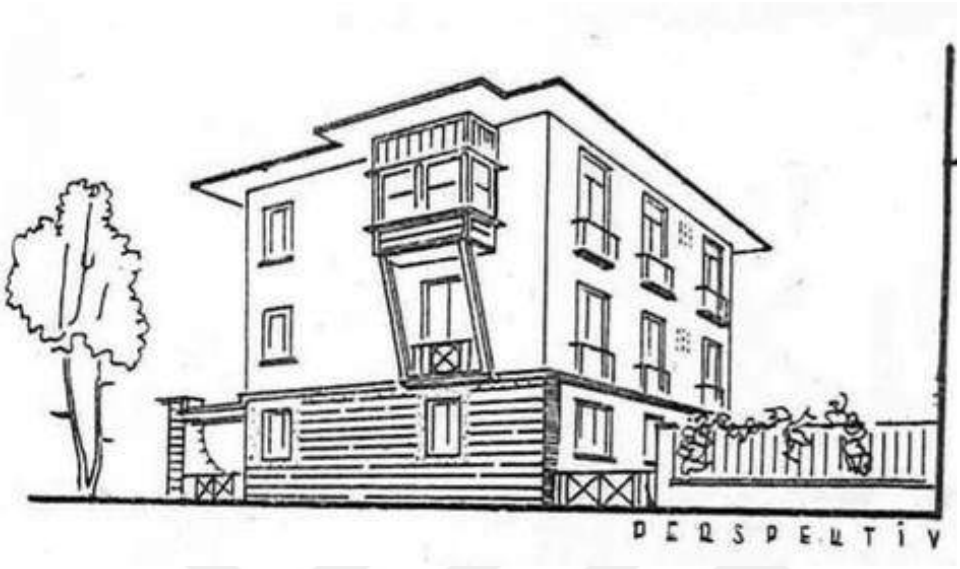


Figure 4.13c. *Plan scheme of the Cillov Apartment*
1. Balcony, 2. Bedroom, 3. Bedroom, 4. Bathroom, 5. Toilet, 6. Bedroom, 7. Kitchen, 8. Bedroom, 9. Corridor and Entrance Hall, 10. Living room





Figure 4.14a, 4.14b. *Photograph of the Birgiler Apartmanı from the exterior*
Source: Baydar, F. & Baydar, L. (1950) Birgiler Apartmanı. *Arkitekt.* Issue: 1950-07-10 (223-224-225-266), 153-155.



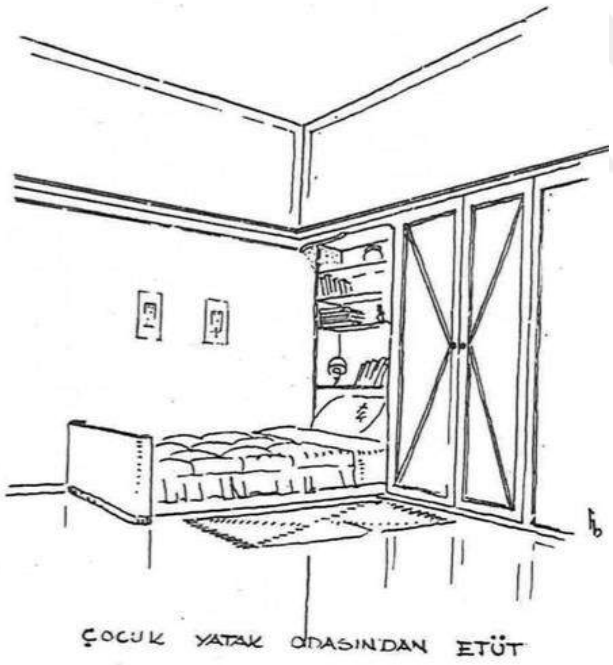


Figure 4.14b. *Perspective drawing of the Birgiler Apartment from the exterior*
Figure 4.14c. *Perspective drawing of the bedroom of children in the Birgiler Apartment*
Source: Baydar, F. & Baydar, L. (1950) Birgiler Apartmanı. *Arkitekt.* Issue: 1950-07-10 (223-224-225-266), 153-155.

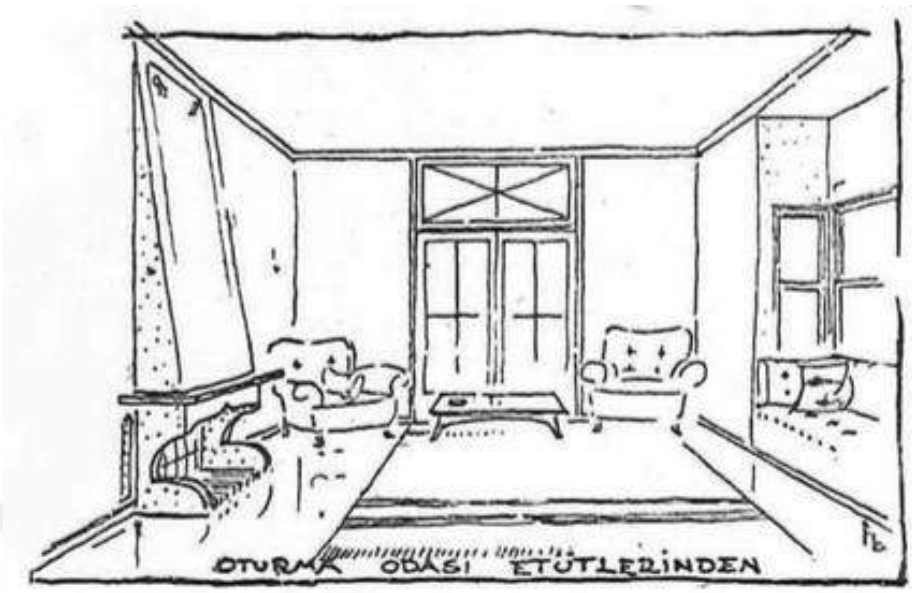




Figure 4.14d. *Perspective drawing of the living room in the Birgiler Apartment*
(Above) Notice the existence of *cumba* in the living room at top and the unity of the joinery lines and language with continuation at the bottom.
Figure 4.14e. *Photograph from the living room in the Birgiler Apartment* (Below)
Source: Baydar, F. & Baydar, L. (1950) Birgiler Apartmanı. *Arkitekt,* Issue: 1950-07-10 (223-224-225-266), 153-155.

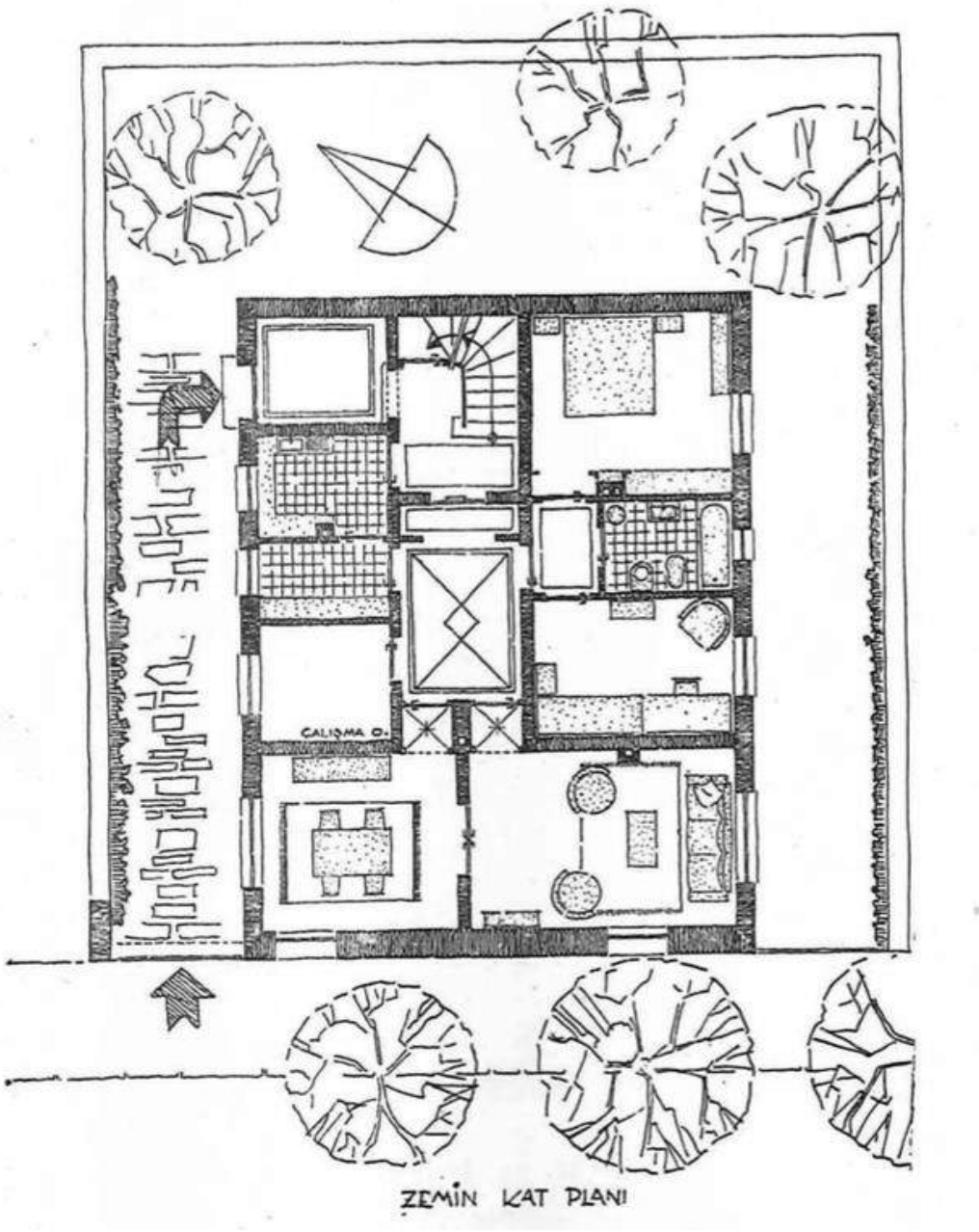


Figure 4.14f. *Plan of ground floor of the Birgiler Apartment*
Source: Baydar, F. & Baydar, L. (1950) Birgiler Apartmanı. *Arkitekt.* Issue: 1950-07-10 (223-224-225-266), 153-155.

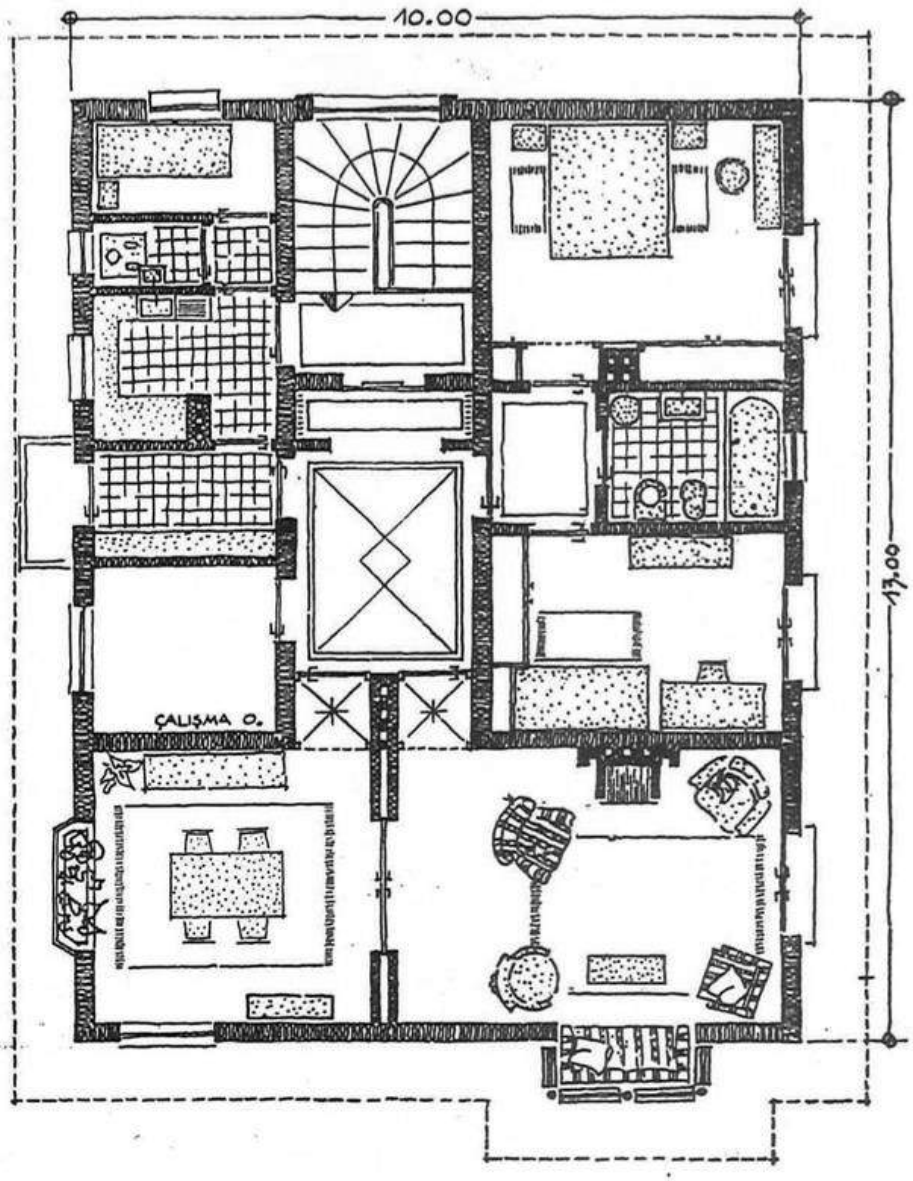


Figure 4.14g. *Plan of upper floor of the Birgiler Apartment.*
Source: Baydar, F. & Baydar, L. (1950) Birgiler Apartmanı. *Arkitekt.* Issue: 1950-07-10 (223-224-225-266), 153-155.

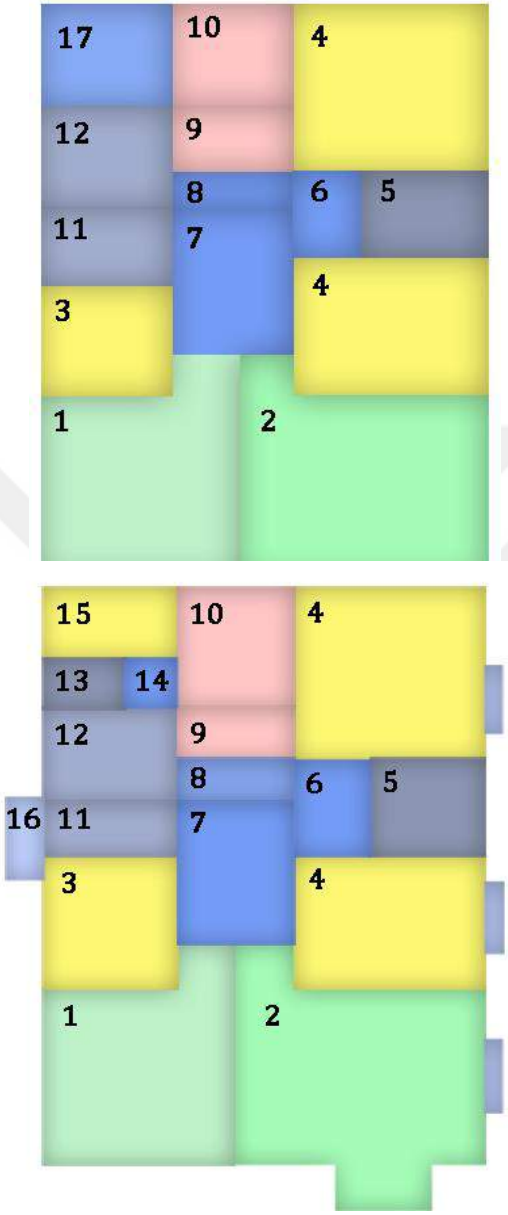


Figure 4.14h. *Plan schemes of the Birgiler Apartmanı.*
Ground floor (above), upper floor (below)
1. *Salle-a-manger* (Dining room), 2. Living room, 3. Office/ Study room, 4. Bedroom, 5. Bathroom, 6. Corridor of the private core, 7. Entrance hall/Sofa, 8. Entrance vestibule, 9. Stair landing of the apartment which opens to both the service entrance and the main entrance of the residence, 10. Stairs of the apartment, 11. Food preparation, 12. Kitchen, 13. Toilet, 14. Corridor of the domestic management area, 15. Room of the maid, 16. Balcony, 17. Main entrance lobby of the apartment on the ground floor



Figure 4.15. *Photograph of the garden of köşk that was located on the slot of the Draz Residence*
Source: Ekdal, Müfid (2004) Kapalı Hayat Kutusu: Kadıköy Konakları, YKY, Istanbul, p. 47.





Figure 4.16a, 4.16b. *Photograph of the konak that was located on the slot of the Necla Erk Residence*
Source: Personal archive of Necla Erk



Figure 4.16c, 4.16d. *Photograph of the Necla Erk Residence from the exterior*
Notice the label right hand side on the façade which writes "DOKTOR NECLA ERK: DAHİLİYE MÜTEHASSISI" (Doctor Necla Erk: Internist)
Source: Personal archive of Necla Erk



Figure 4.16e. *Photograph of the Necla Erk Residence from the exterior*
Source: Personal archive of Necla Erk





Figure 4.16f, 4.16g. *Photograph of the Necla Erk Residence from the exterior*
Source: Personal archive of Necla Erk



Figure 4.16h, 4.16i. *Photograph of the Necla Erk Residence from the exterior*
Source: Personal archive of Necla Erk





Figure 4.16j. *A nacre made chandelier from the old köşk of the Erk family*
Figure 4.16k *A timber wall clock from the old köşk of the Erk family*
Source: Photo by the authoer taken in the residence of Necla Erk during the interview

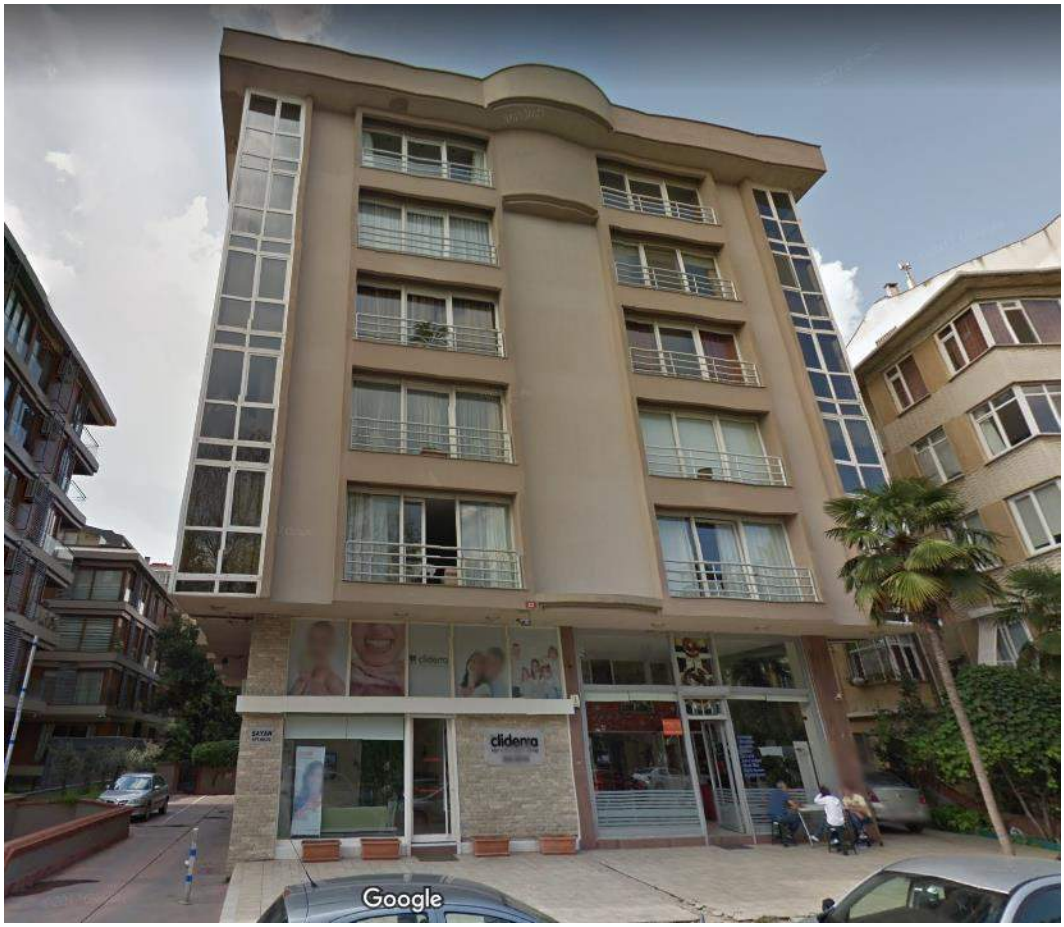


Figure 4.16l. *The current apartment on the location of the Necla Erk Residence*
Source: https://www.google.com.tr/maps/ (Last accessed on 08.07.2017)

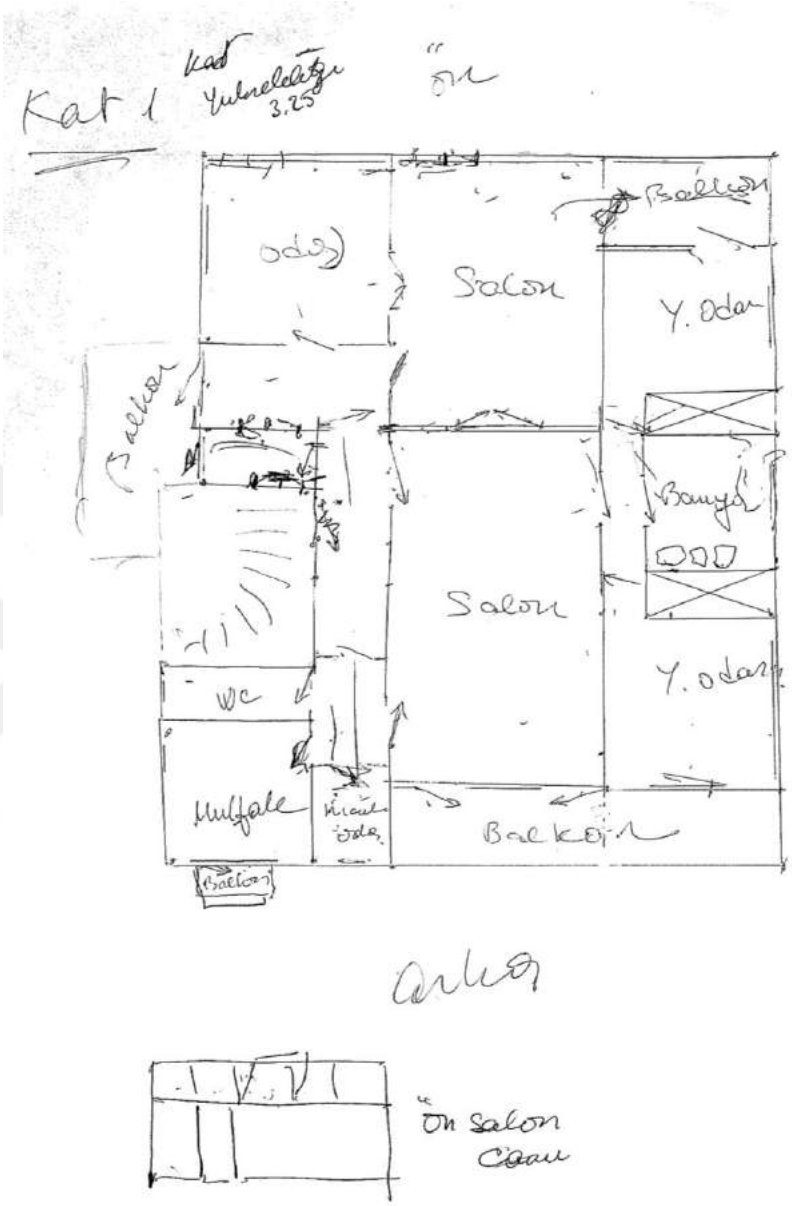


Figure 4.16m. *Manual floor plan drawing of the Necla Erk Residence. drawn by Necla Erk.* Plan of the residence designed by Muhlis Türkmen, in 1951.

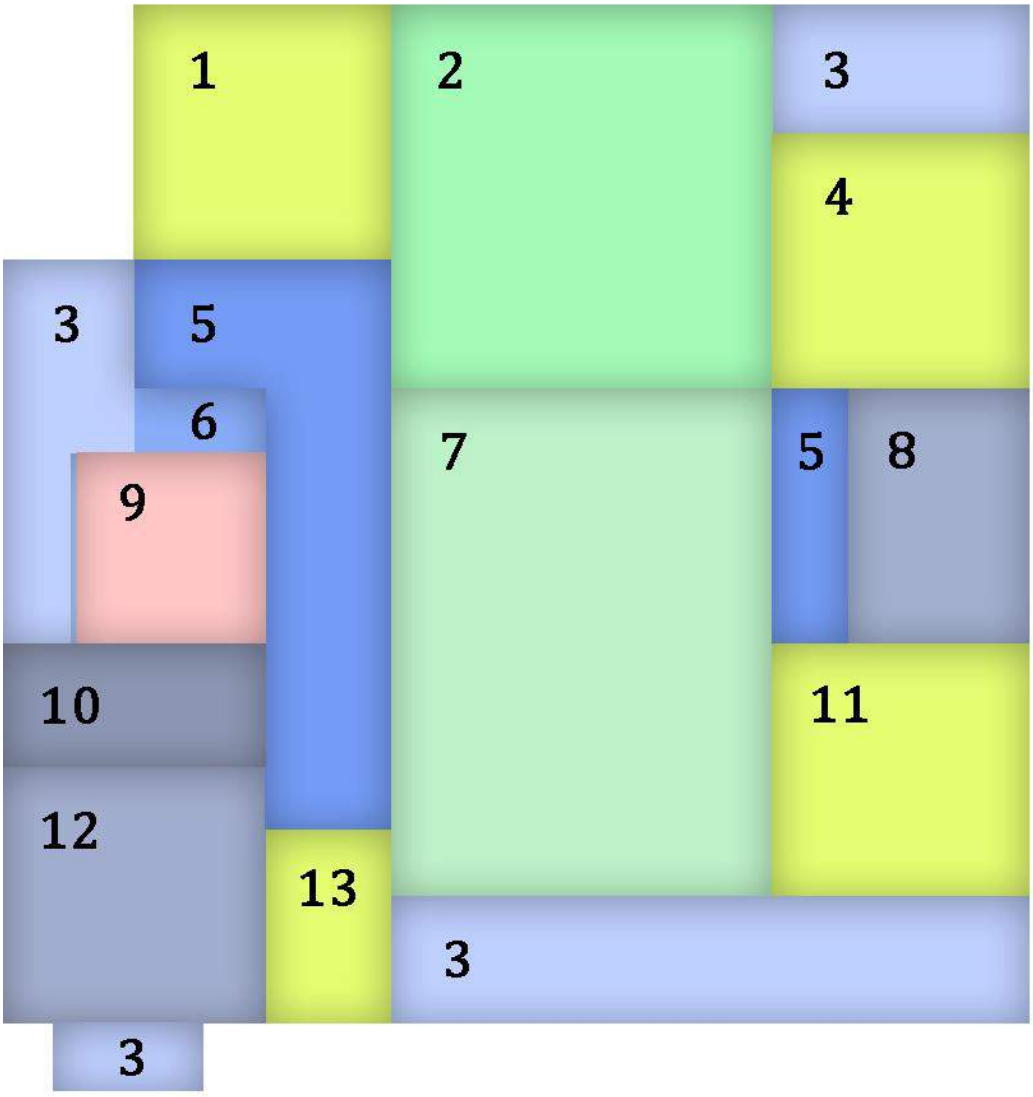


Figure 4.16n. *Plan scheme of the Necla Erk Residence*
1. Diagnose room, 2. Living room, 3. Balcony, 4. Bedroom, 5. Corridor of the private zone, 6. Entrance vestibule, 7. *Salle-a-manger* (Dining room), 8. Bathroom, 9. Stairs from the garden, 10. Toilet, 11. Bedroom, 12. Kitchen, 13. Room for the maid





Figure 4.17a, 4.17b. *Photograph of the Yapı Kredi Apartment from the exterior* Source: Cengizkan, A. & İnan, D. & Cengizkan, M. (Eds.) (2011) *Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek,* TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 309.



Figure 4.17c, 4.17d. *Phographs of the Yapı Kredi Apartment from the interior*
Source: Cengizkan, A. & İnan, D. & Cengizkan, M. (Eds.) (2011) *Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek,* TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 309.

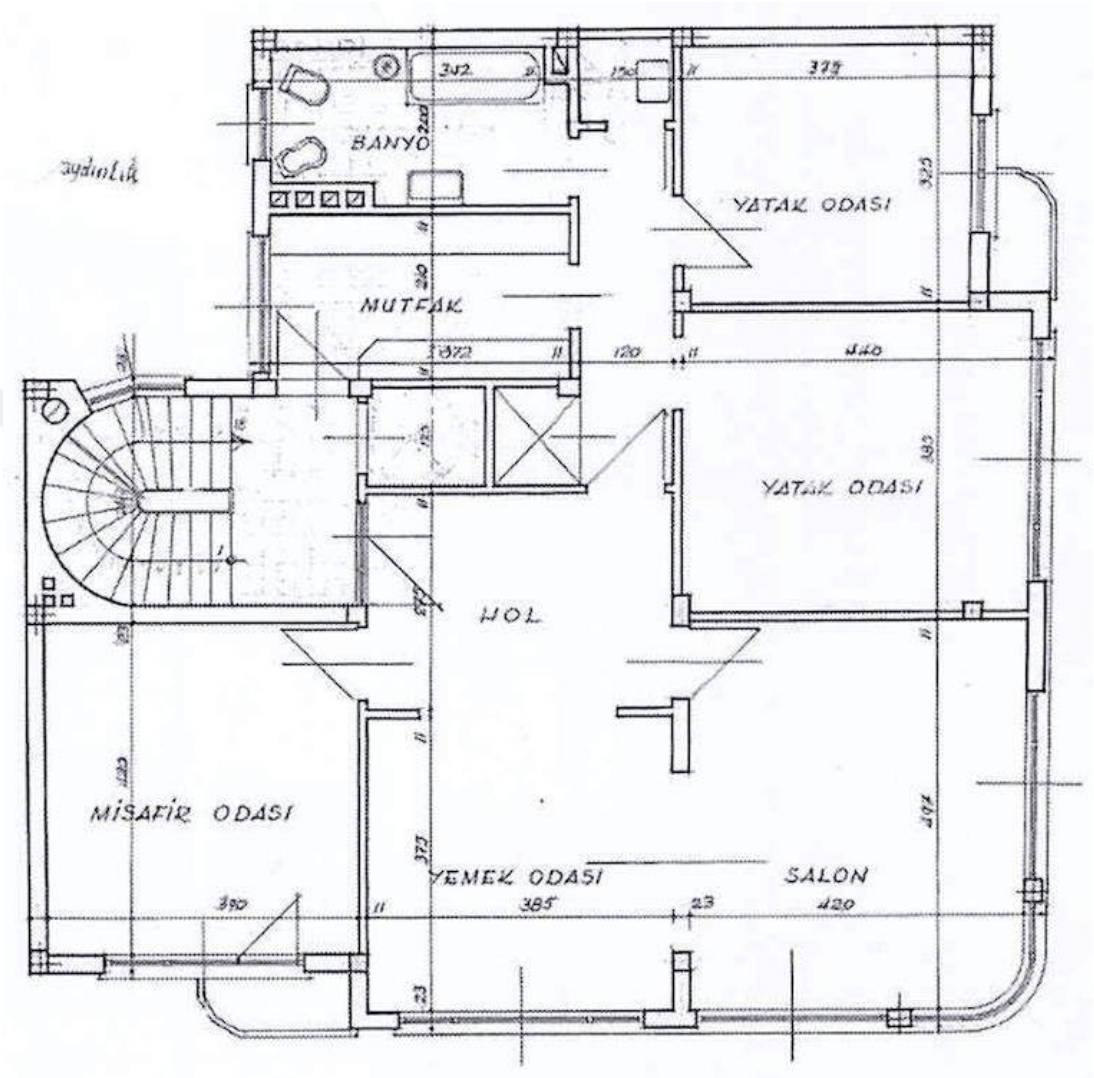


Figure 4.17e. *Plan of the standard floor of the Yapi Kredi Apartment by Zeki Sayar.*
Source: Cengizkan, A. & İnan, D. & Cengizkan, M. (Eds.) (2011) *Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek,* TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 309.

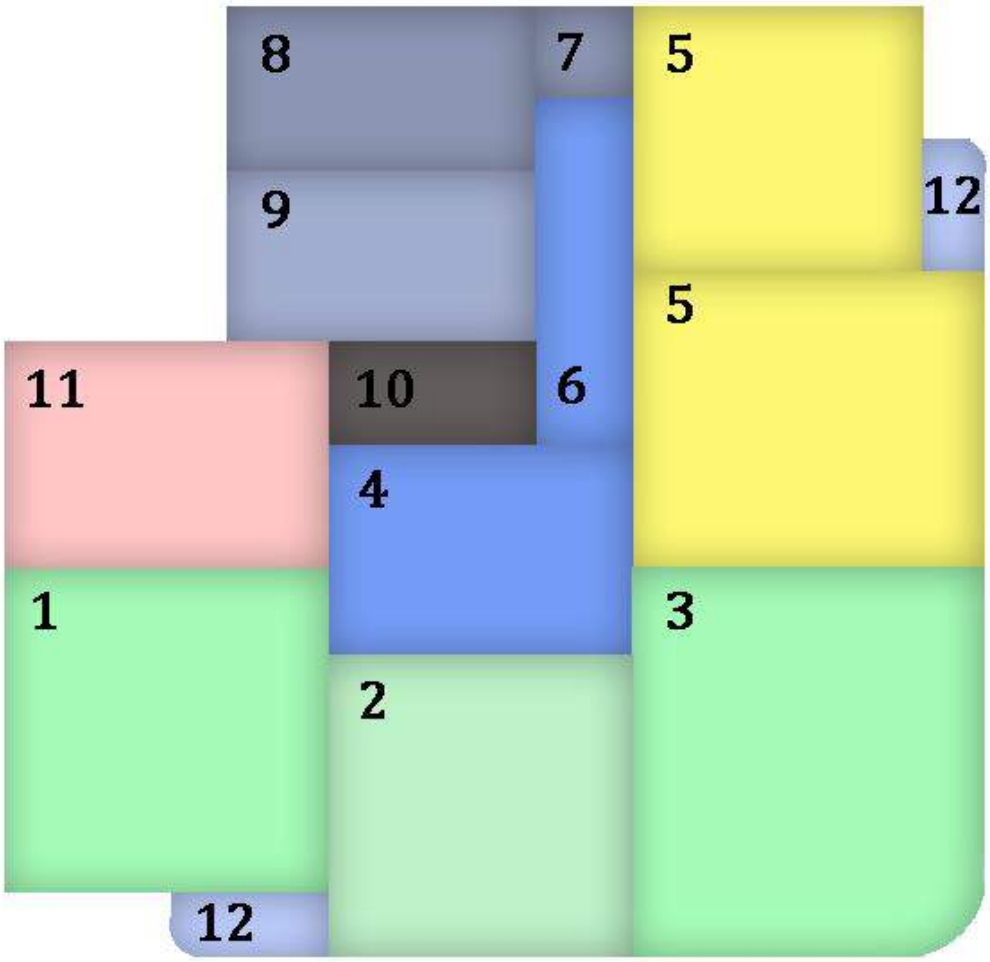


Figure 4.17f. *Plan scheme of the standard floor in the Yapı Kredi Apartment*
1. Guest room (*Misafir Odası*), 2. *Salle-a-manger*, 3. Living room,
4. Entrance Hall, 5. Bedroom, 6. Corridor, 7. Toilet, 8. Bathroom, 9. Kitchen,
10. Technical shaft, 11. Apartment stairs, 12. Balcony



Figure 4.18a, 4.18b. *Photograph of the Marmara Apartment from the exterior*
Source: https://www.google.com.tr/maps/ (Last accessed on 08.07.2017)



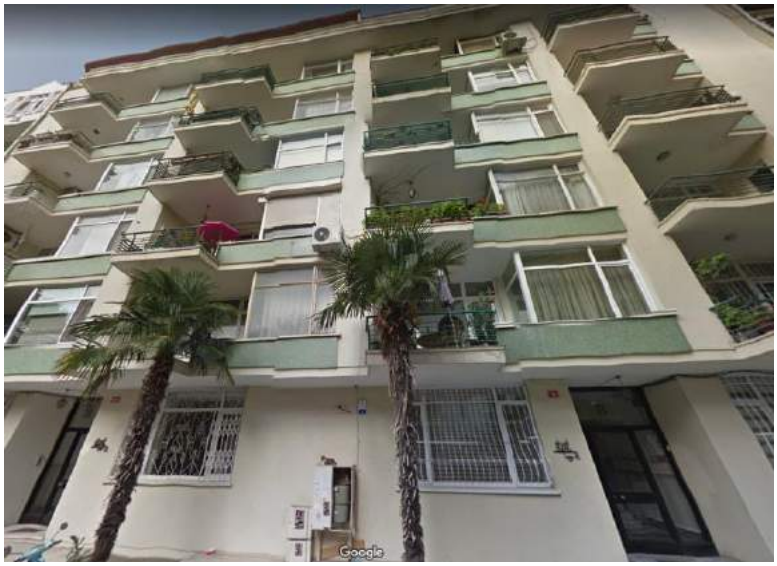


Figure 4.19a, 4.19b. *Photograph of the Atıfet (Sporel) Apartment from the exterior*
Source: https://www.google.com.tr/maps/ (Last accessed on 08.07.2017)

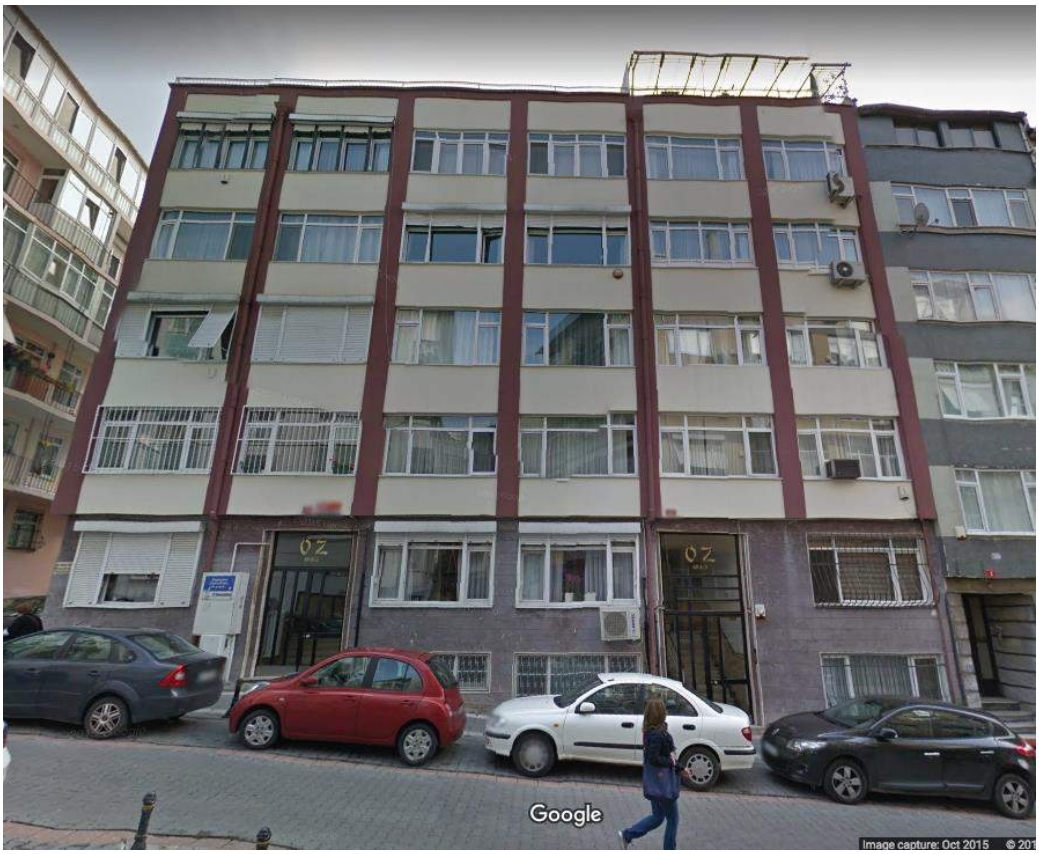


Figure 4.20a. *Photograph of the Öz Apartmanı from the exterior*
Source: https://www.google.com.tr/maps/ (Last accessed on 08.07.2017)

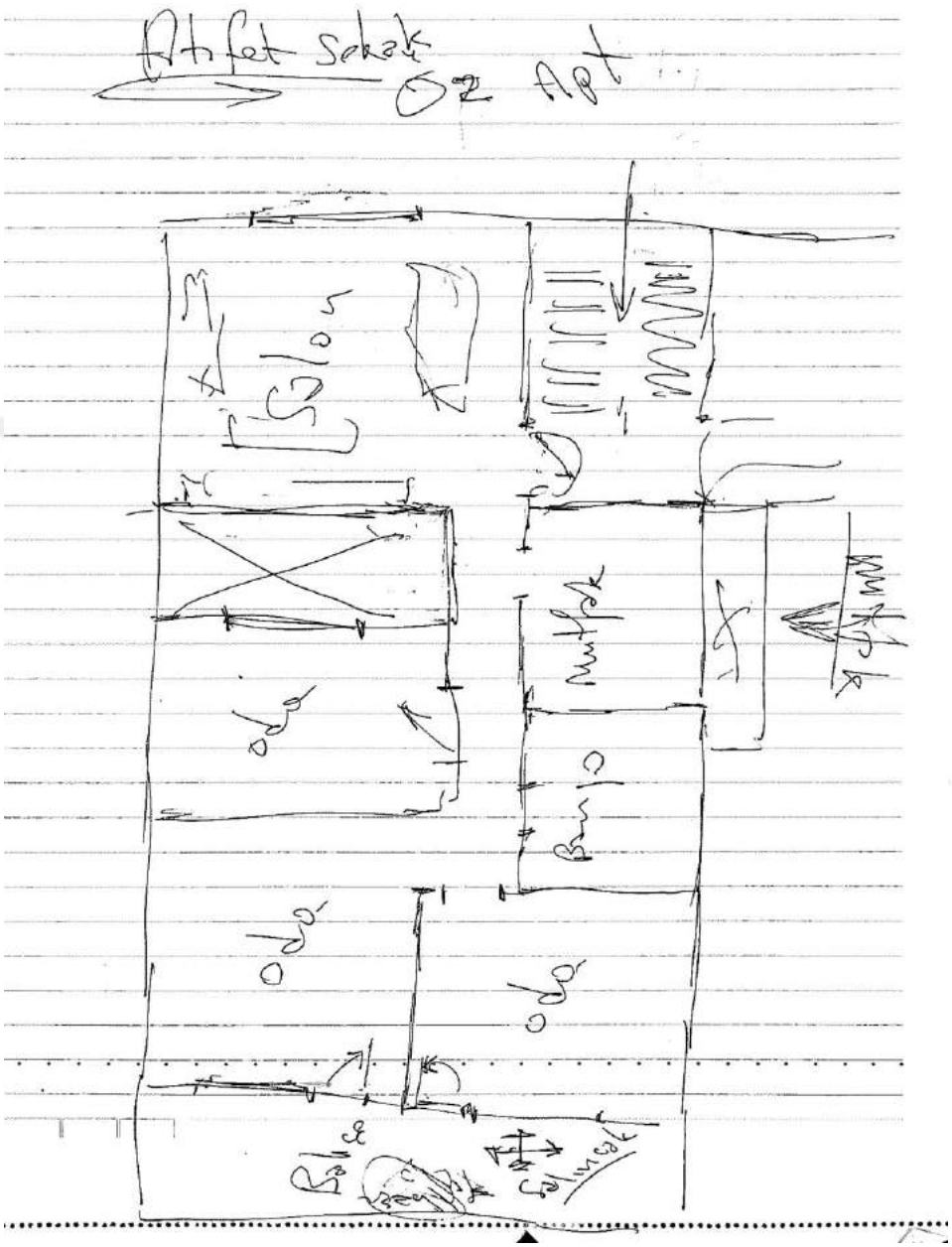


Figure 4.20b. *Manual drawing of the plan of the residence in the Öz Apartment, drawn by Timuçin Arman.*

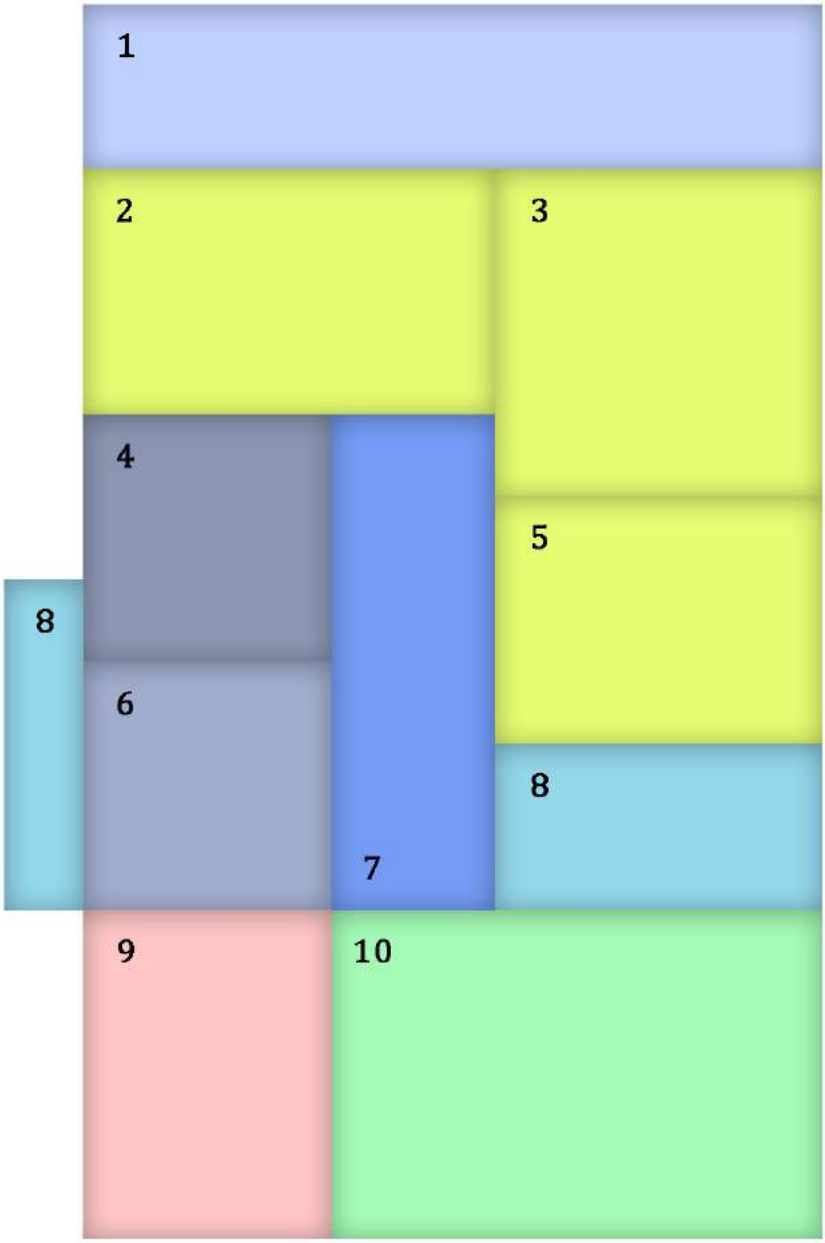


Figure 4.20c. *Plan scheme of the Öz Apartmanı*
1. Terrace, 2. Bedroom, 3. Bedroom, 4. Bathroom, 5. Bedroom, 6. Kitchen, 7. Entrance hall/Corridor, 8. Lighting ventilation shaft, 9. Apartment stairs, 10. Living room

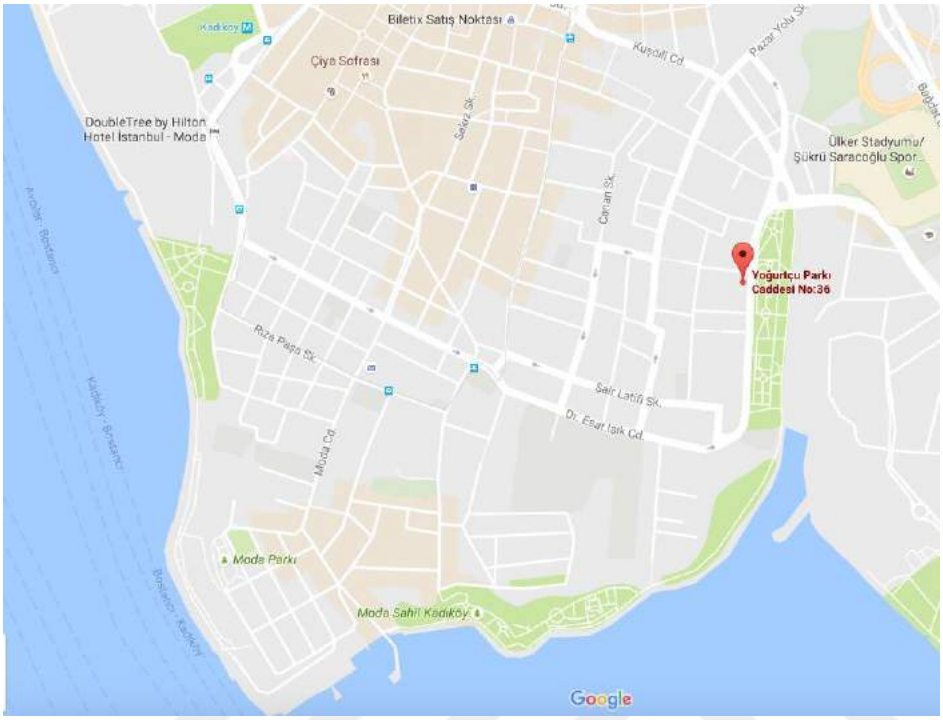


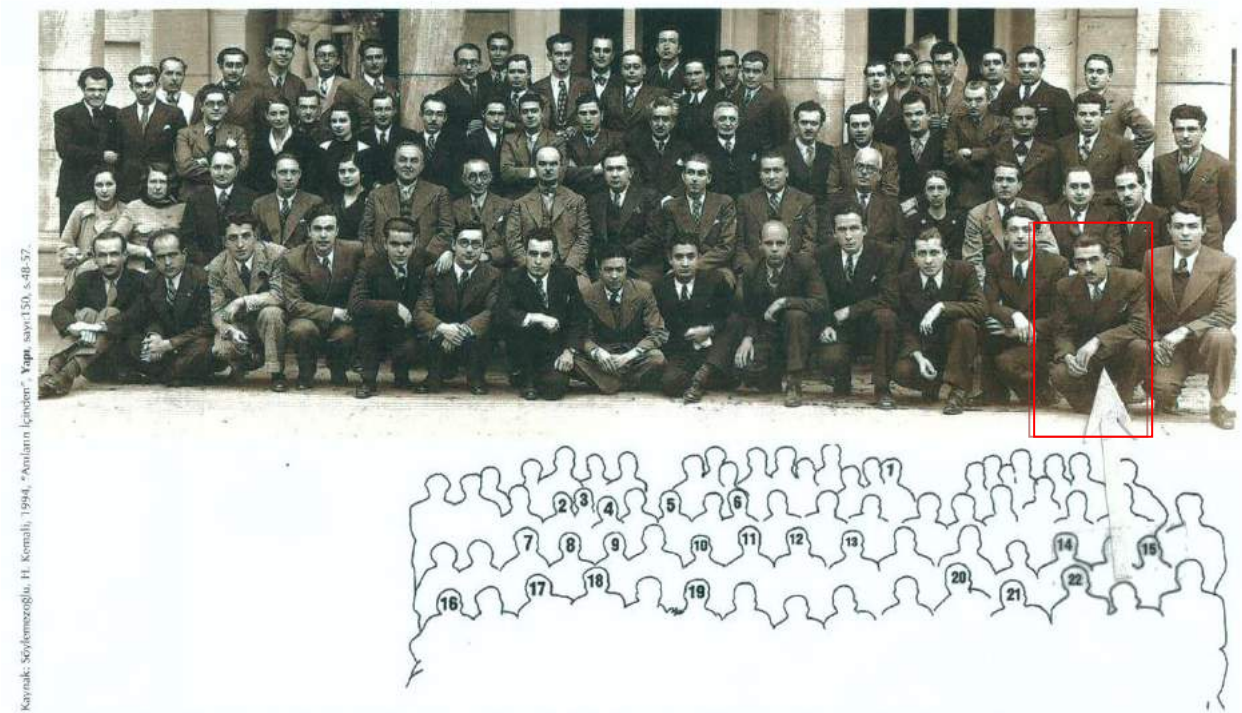


Figure 4.21a. *Location of the old köşk where the Tamkan family lived in Moda.*
Source: Google maps.
Figure 4.21b. *Photograph of the köşk of Tamkan family.*
Source: Personal archive of Bülent Arkunlar





Figure 4.21c, 4.21d. *First day of the construction of the Cavid Bey Apartment.* Cavid Tamkan can be seen placing the soil on the foundation of the building.
Source: Private archive of Bülent Arkunlar.



2. 1933-1934 Yılı Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Eğitmenler ve öğrencileri. (1. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, 2. Leyla Hanım, 3. Rebii Gorbon, 4. Şeküre Hanım, 5. Asım Mutlu, 6. Muhittin Güreli, 7. Arif Hikmet Holtay, 8. Philip Ginther, 9. Leman Tomsu, 10. Mahmut Şükrü Bey, 11. Sefa Bey, 12. Ernst Egli, 13. Nazimi Yaver, 14. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, 15. Mahmut Bilen, 16. Kemal Ahmet Aru, 17. Ahsen Yapaner, 18. Fazıl Aysu, 19. Ali Saim Ülgen, 20. Muhittin Güven, 21. M. Ali Handan, 22. Kemali Söylemezoğlu)

Figure 4.21e. *Cavid Tamkan among the other pioneering actors of architecture in Turkey in and in the Academy.* Notice the architects by the names under the photograph.
Source: Söylemezoğlu, H. Kemali (1994). "Anıların İçinden" *Yapı,* Issue: 150, p. 48-57



Figure 4.21f. *Photograph of the Cavid Bey Apartment after its completion*
Source: Private archive of Bülent Arkunlar.





Figure 4.21g, 4.21h. *Photograph of the Cavid Bey Apartment from the exterior, before its demolishment*
Source: https://www.google.com.tr/maps/ (Last accessed on 08.07.2017)



Figure 4.21i, 4.21j. *A desk with a mirror from the old köşk of the Tamkan family.*
Source: Bülent Arkunlar



Figure 4.21k, 4.21l, 4.21m. *A wood joinery sofa for three people from the old köşk o thef Tamkan family*
Source: Bülent Arkunlar

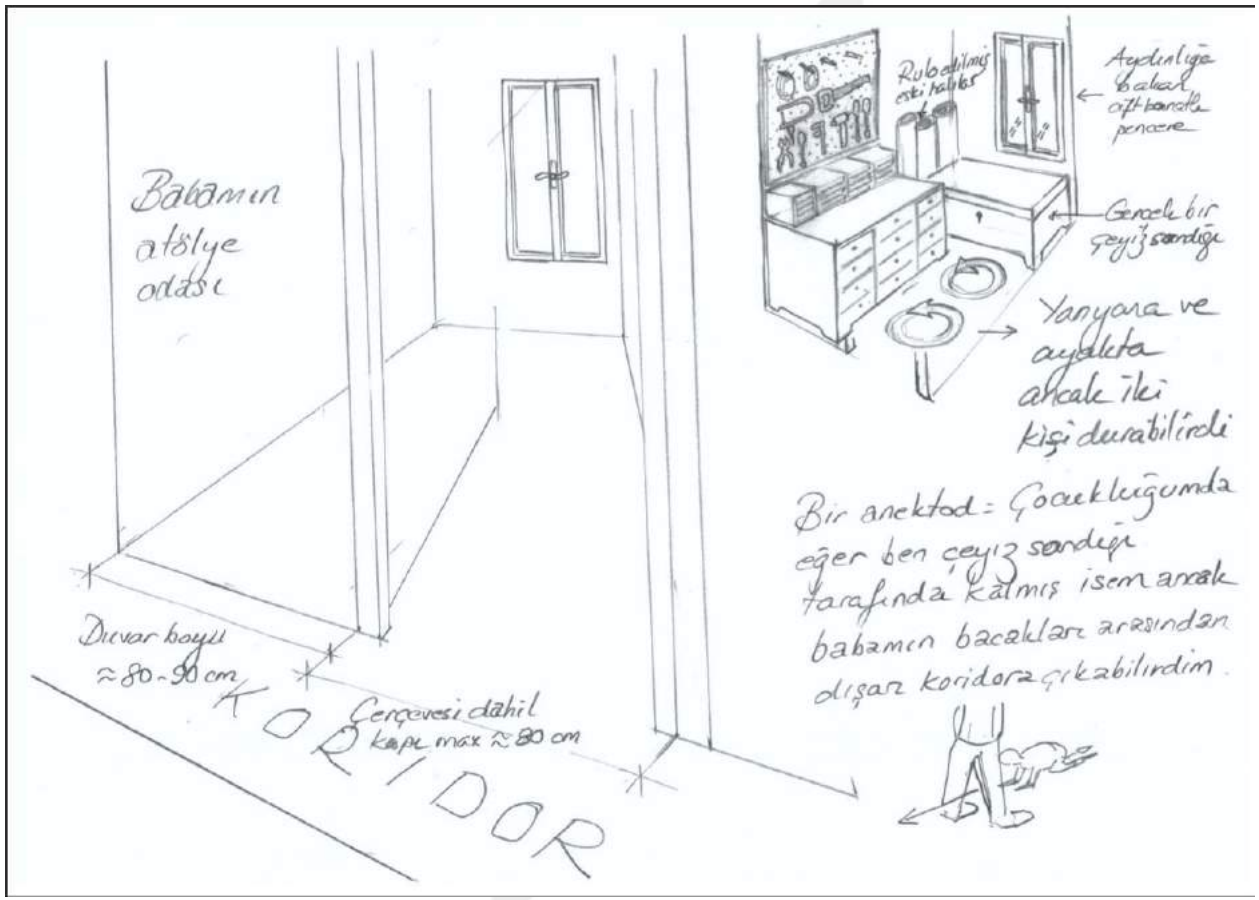


Figure 4.21n. Hand-drawn perspective and details oo the storage/maid's room by Bülent Arkunlar. What he wrote down in was as follows: "When I was a child, if I was on the side of the chest next to the window, I had to crawl between the legs of my father in order to reach the door of this room."

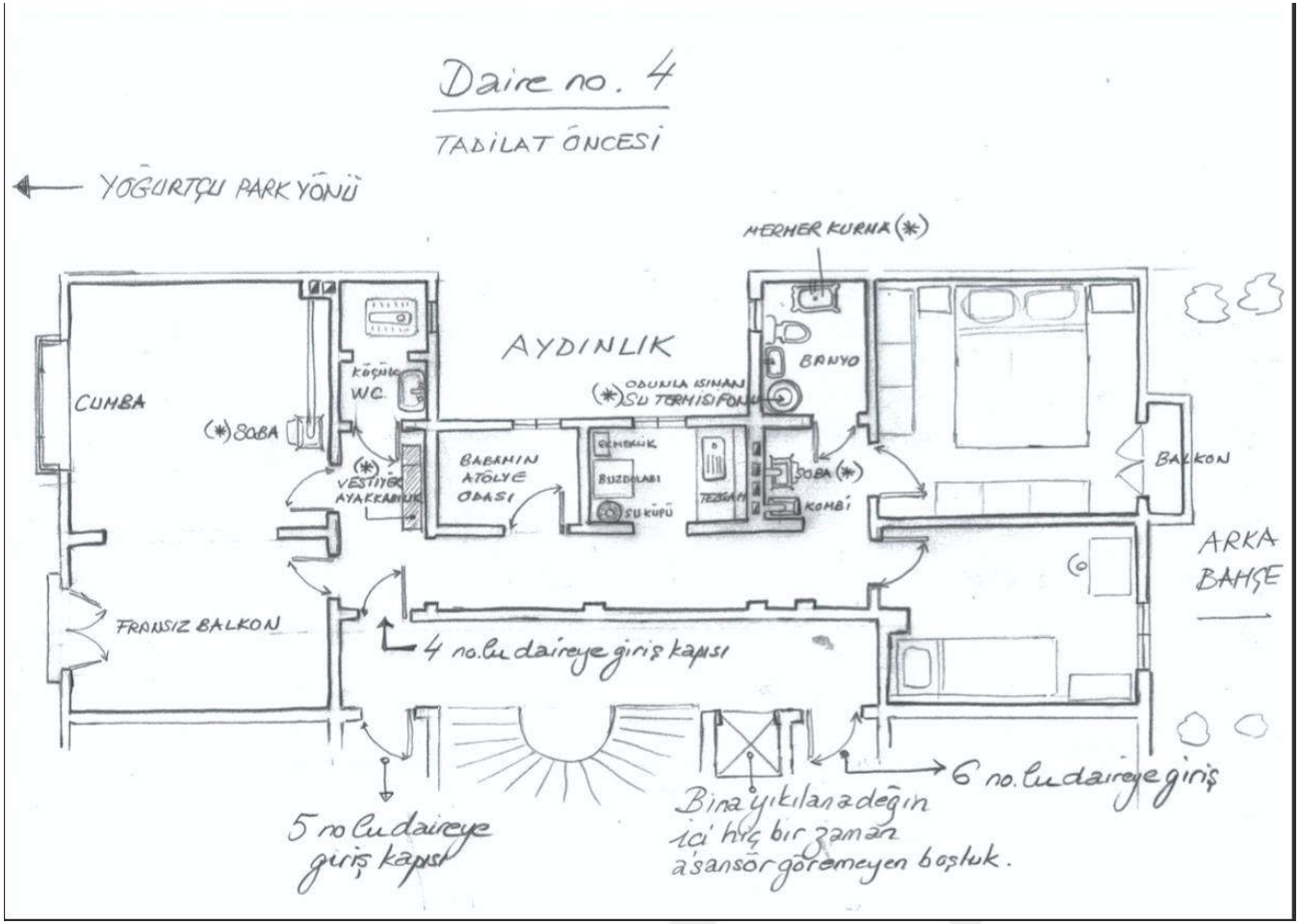


Figure 4.21o. *Manual drawing of the plan of the residence in the Cavid Bey Apartment by Bülent Arkunlar.* This drawning reflects the original plan, before the reconstructions.

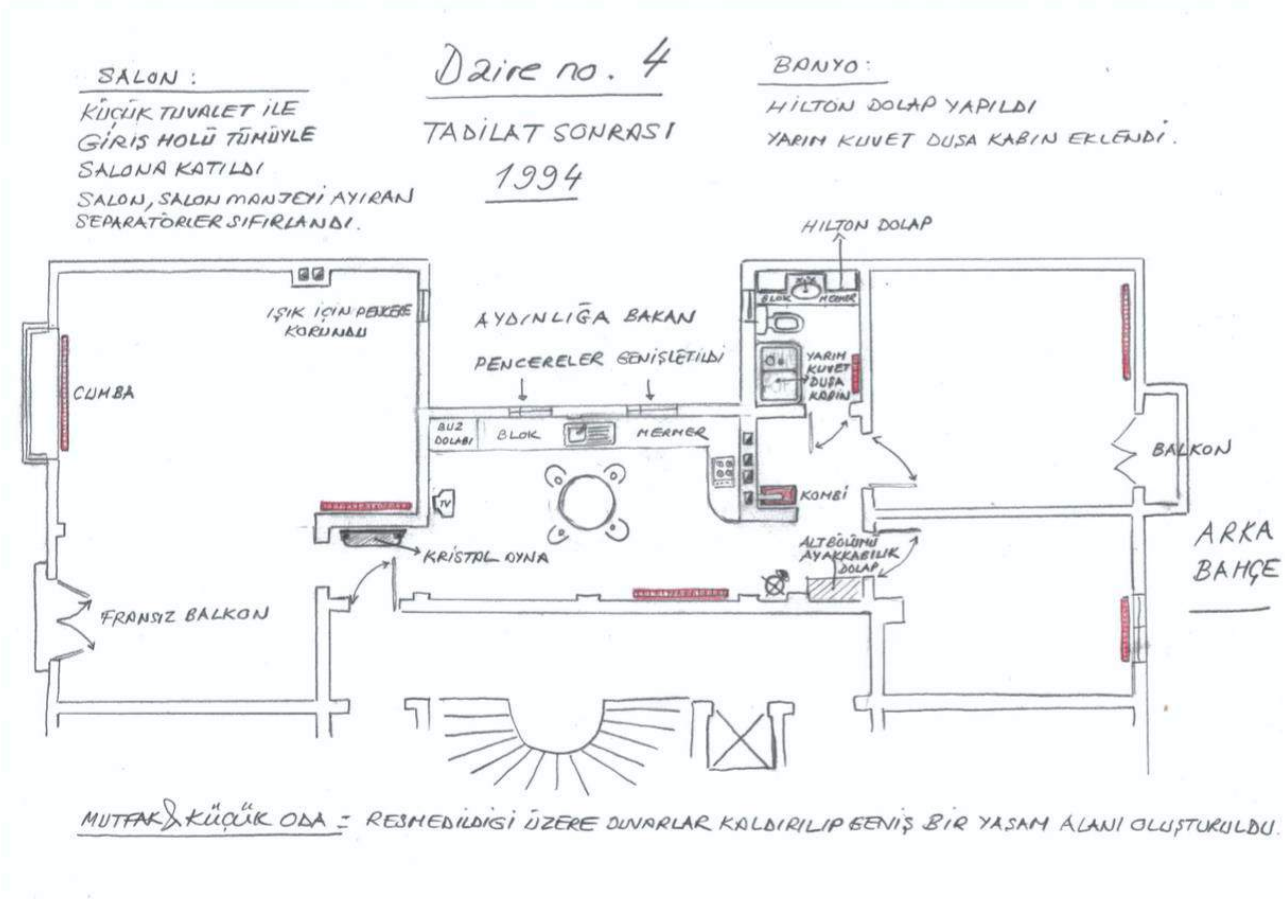


Figure 4.21p. *Manual drawing of the plan of the residence in the Cavid Bey Apartment by Bülent Arkunlar.* This drawning reflects the original plan, after the reconstructions – a comparison

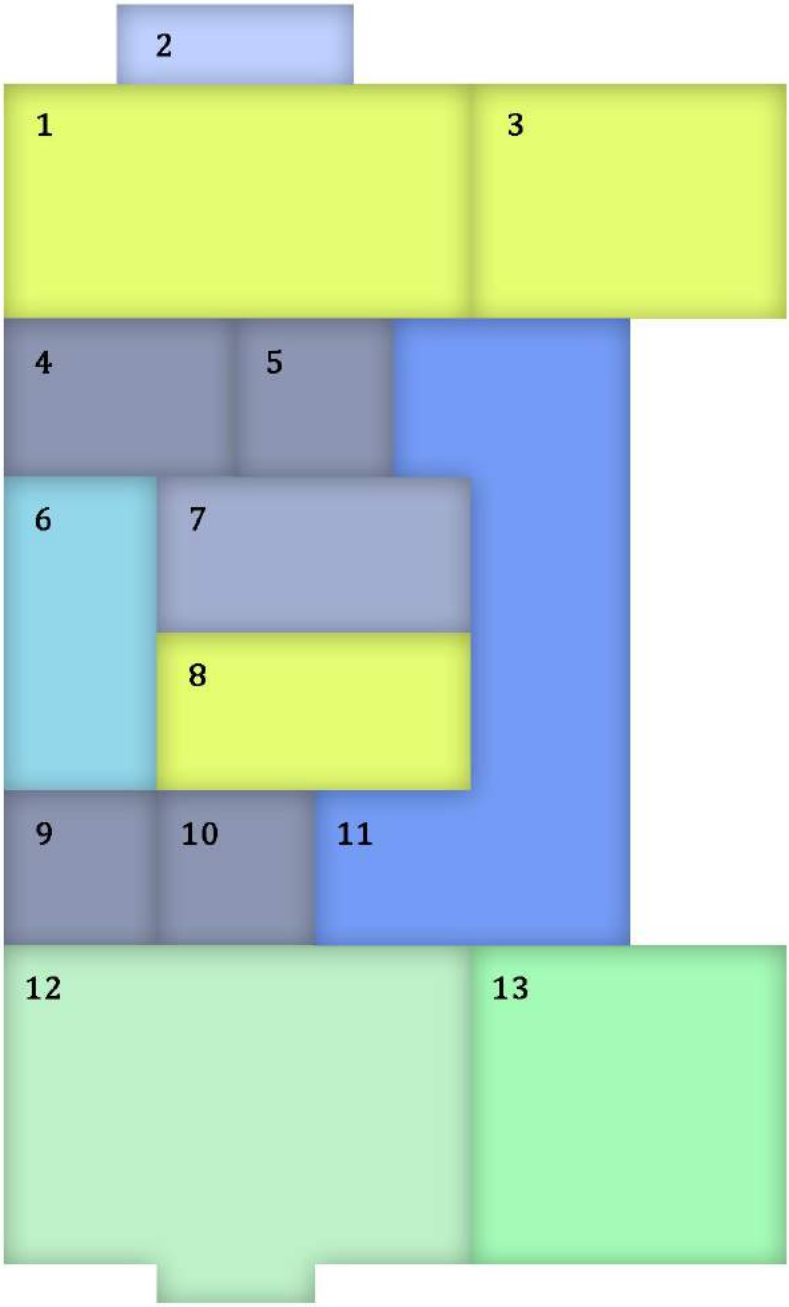


Figure 4.21q. *Plan scheme of the Cavid Bey Apartment*
1. Bedroom, 2. Balcony, 3. Bedroom, 4. Bathroom, 5. Sink Area, 6. Lighting and ventilation shaft, 7. Kitchen, 8. Storage (*Sandık odası)*, 9. Toilet, 10. Sink Area, 11. Entrance Hall and Corridor, 12. Living room, 13. *Salle-a-manger*



Figure 4.22a. K*öşk of the Cimcoz family*
Source: Private archive of Debora Subaşı, whose family was the previous dwellers of the *köşk* in the Figure.



Figure 4.22b. *Perspective and plan sketches by Mehmet Ali Handan for the Cimcoz Apartment.* Cavid Tamkan can be seen placing the soil on the foundation of the building.
Source: Demir, Ataman (2000) Kendi Çizgileri ile Hocam Mehmet Ali Handan. *Tasarım+Kuram.* Issue: 1, No: 2, 1-12.





Figure 4.22.c, 4.22d. *Photograph of the Cimcoz Apartment from the exterior*
Source: https://www.google.com.tr/maps/ (Last accessed on 08.07.2017)



Figure 4.23a. *Photograph of the Ak Apartment from the exterior*
Cengizkan, A. & İnan, D. & Cengizkan, M. (Eds.) (2011) *Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, Örgütlemek, Belgelemek,* TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, İstanbul , p. 320.



Figure 4.24a. *Photograph from the living room of the residence of the Biret family, the Ufuk Apartment*
Traditional rugs on the floor can be spotted.
Source: SALT Galata archive. Captured in 1966.





Figure 4.24b. *Photograph from the living room of the residence of the Biret family, the Ufuk Apartment*
Source: SALT Galata archive. Captured in 1971.
Figure 4.24c. *Barcelona chair, designed by Ludwig Mies van der Rohe and Lily Reich.*
Source: Knoll



Figure 4.24d. *Dining area in the living room of the residence in the Ufuk Apartment.*
Traditional rugs on the floor can be spotted.
Source: SALT Galata archive. Captured in 1966.



Figure 4.24e, 4.24f. *Furniture in the living room of the residence in the Ufuk Apartment.*
Source: SALT Galata archive. Captured in 1971.



Figure 4.24g. *Photograph of the kitchen of the residence in the Ufuk Apartment*
Source: SALT Galata archive. Captured in 1971.





Figure 4.24h, 4.24i *View from the balcony of the residence of the Biret family.* Kalamış and Fenerbahçe can be seen afar.
Source: SALT Galata archive. Captured in 1971.





Figure 4.24j, 4.24k. *Photograph of the Ufuk Apartmanı from the exterior*
Source: https://www.google.com.tr/maps/ (Last accessed on 08.07.2017)



Figure 4.25a. *View from the balcony of the residence where the Day family lived*
The apartment next to the ancient *köşk* captured in the photograph was spotted during a site visit to the Moda Avenue. That is how the exact location of the apartment where the Day family lived could be found.
Source: SALT Galata archive. Captured in 1967.



Figure 4.25b. *Photograph of the furniture in the living room of the residence in the Ihlamur Apartment*
Storage cabinet installed in a niche in the living room of the residence of the Day family
Source: SALT Galata archive. Captured in 1965.



Figure 4.25c. *Photograph of the furniture in the living room of the residence in Ihlamur Apartment*
Storage cabinet installed in a niche in the living room of the residence of the Day family
Source: SALT Galata archive. Captured in 1965.



Figure 4.25d. *Saarinen-design look alike armchair in the residence in the Ihlamur Apartment.*
Photograph from living room of the residence of the Day family.
Source: SALT Galata archive. Captured in 1967.



Figure 4.25e, 4.25f. *Photograph of the Ihlamur Apartment from the exterior*
Source: https://www.google.com.tr/maps/ (Last accessed on 08.07.2017)



Figure 4.26a. *Photograph of the Günaydın Apartment from exterior*
Source: https://www.google.com.tr/maps/ (Last accessed on 08.07.2017)

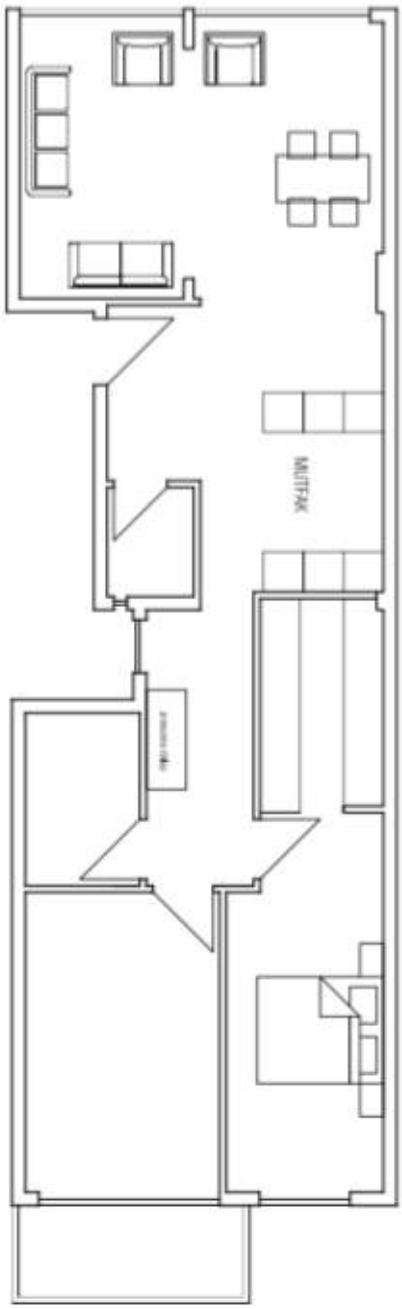


Figure 4.26b. *Plan of the residence in the Günaydın Apartment*
Source: Personal archive of Sevil Enginsoy Ekinci.

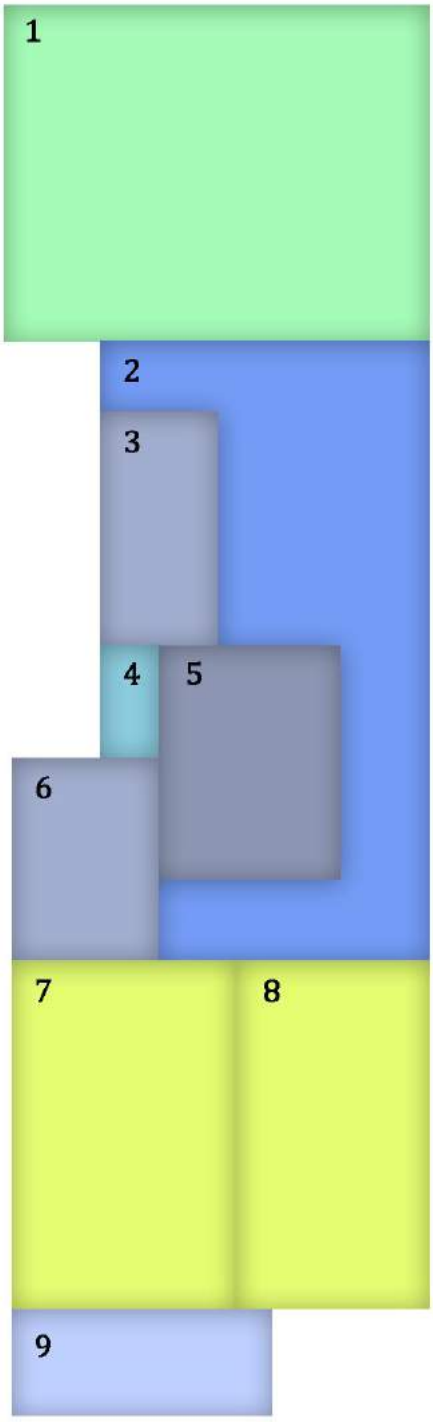


Figure 4.26c. *Plan scheme of the Günaydın Apartment* (Initial plan)
1. Living room, 2. Entrance hall and corridor, 3. Toilet, 4. Lighting and ventilation shaft, 5. Kitchen, 6. Bathroom, 7. Bedroom, 8. Bedroom, 9. Balcony





Figure 4.27a. *Dining area of the köşk, which was on the location of the Tanay Apartment.* Notice the vertical-hinged windows (Above)
Figure 4.27b. *Entrance of the köşk, which was on the location of Tanay Apartment.* Father and brother of Ayşe Ülgen. (Below)
Source: Personal archive of Ayşe Ülgen.



Figure 4.27c. *Photograph of the Gossip Chair (Dedikodu Koltuğu).*
Two seats mounted side by side reversely in this chair: Notice the sitting positions of the parents of Ayşe Ülgen.
Source: Personal archive of Ayşe Ülgen.



Figure 4.27d. *Photograph of the Tanay Apartment from the exterior*
Source: https://www.google.com.tr/maps/ (Last accessed on 08.07.2017)

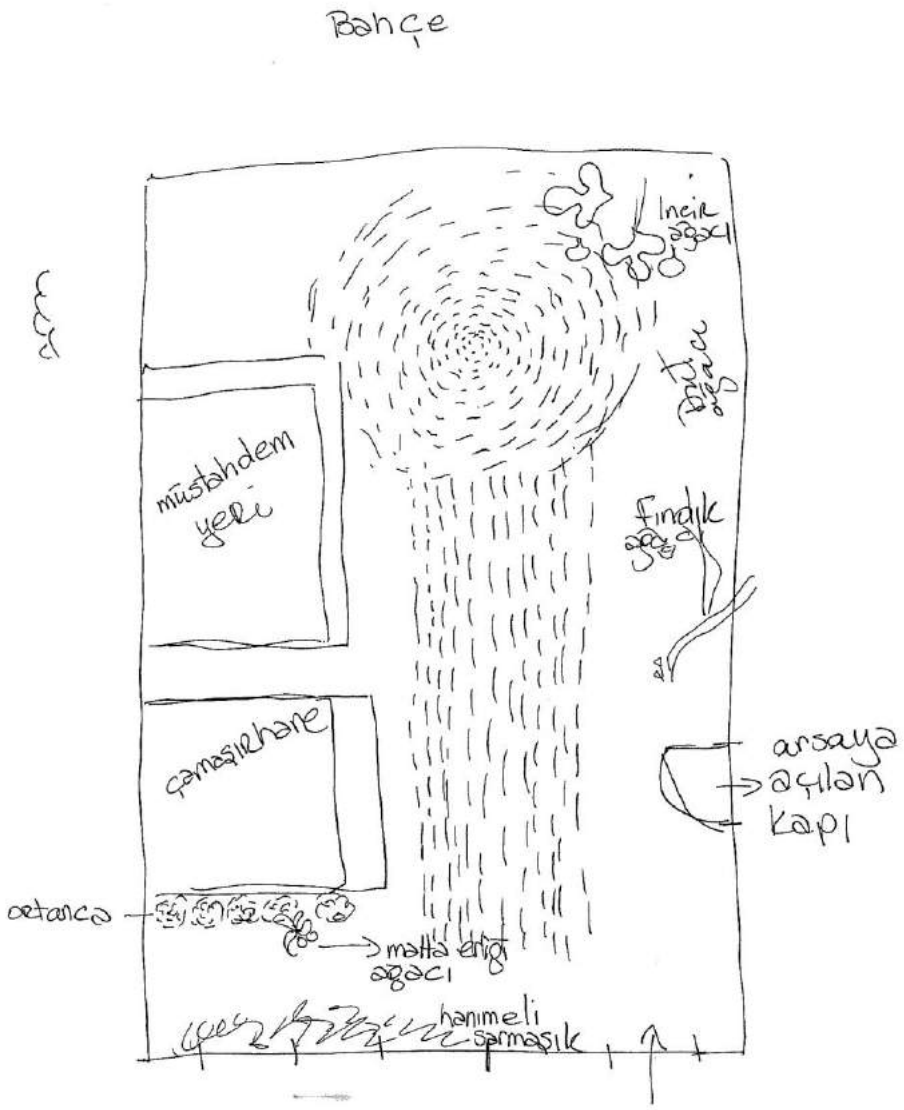


Figure 4.27e. *Manual plan drawing of the garden of old timber köşk, drawn by Ayşe Ülgen.*

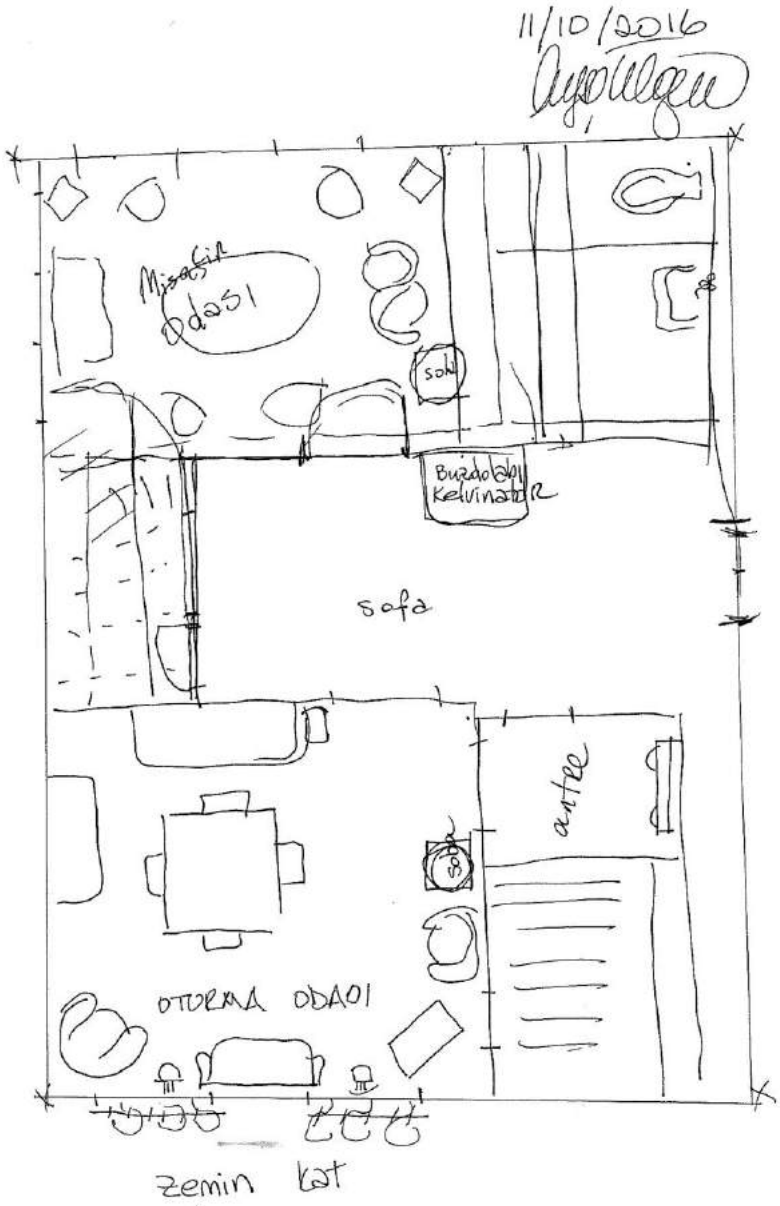


Figure 4.27f. *Manual plan drawing of the ground floor of old timber köşk, by Ayşe Ülgen.* Notice the sofa.

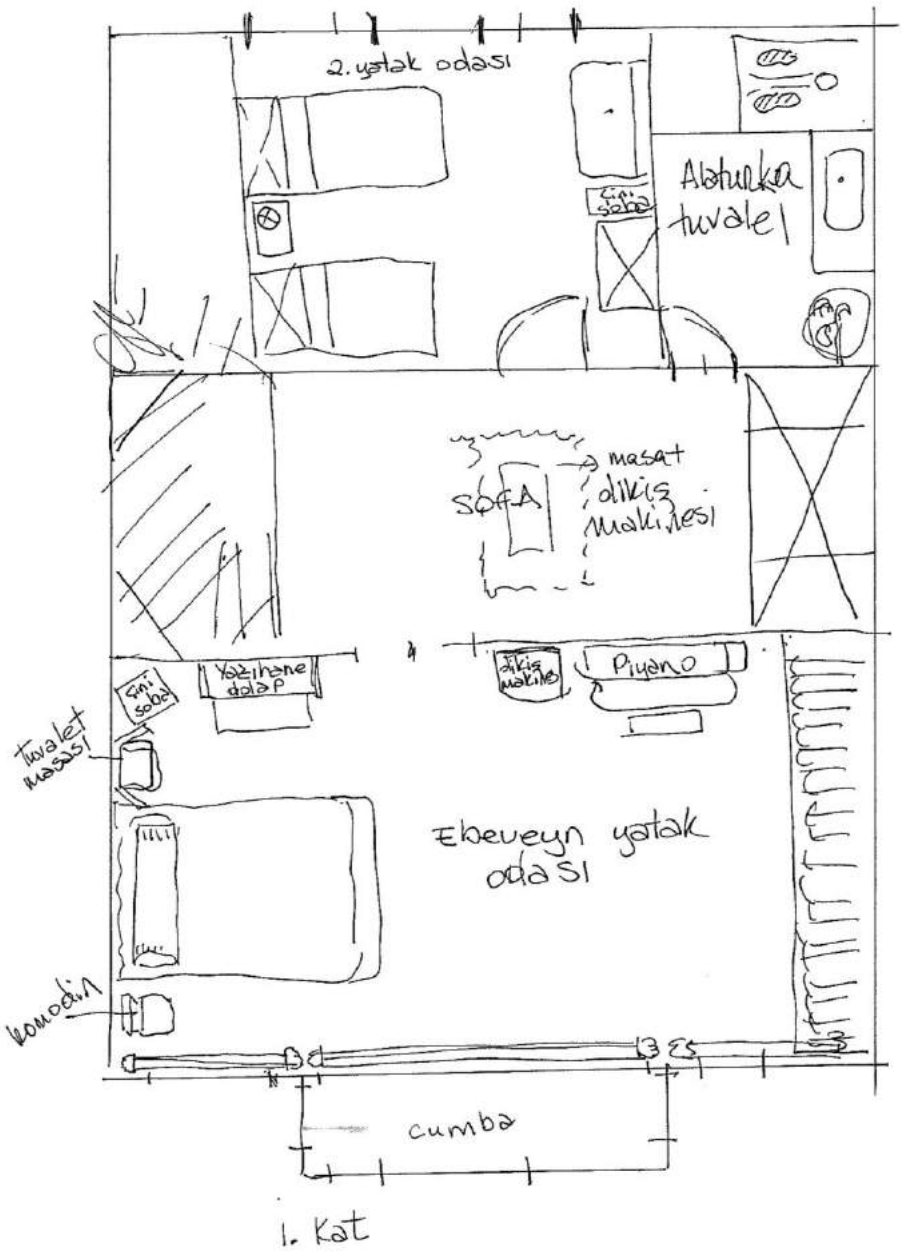


Figure 4.27g. *Manual plan drawing of the first floor of old timber köşk, drawn by Ayşe Ülgen.* Notice the sofa.

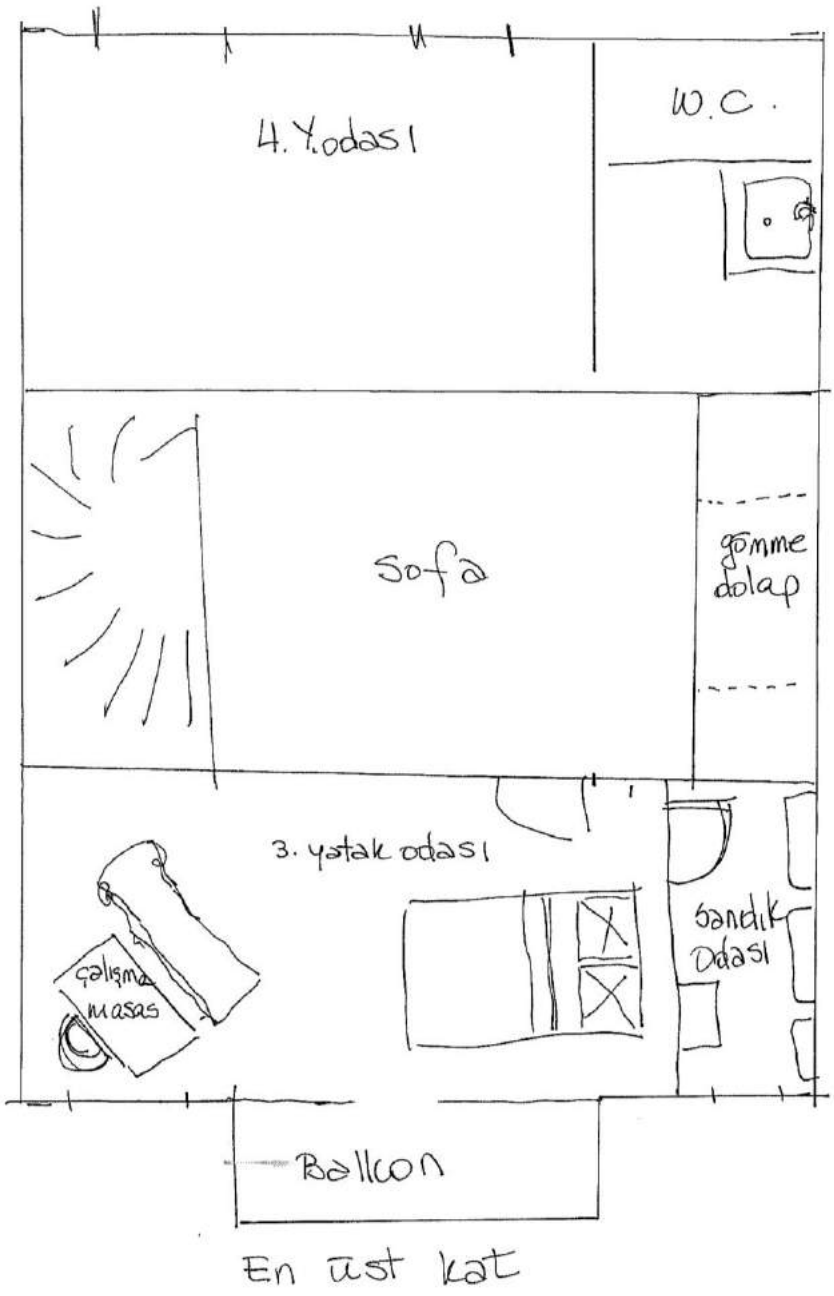


Figure 4.27h. *Manual plan drawing of the top floor of old timber köşk, by Ayşe Ülgen.* Notice the sofa.

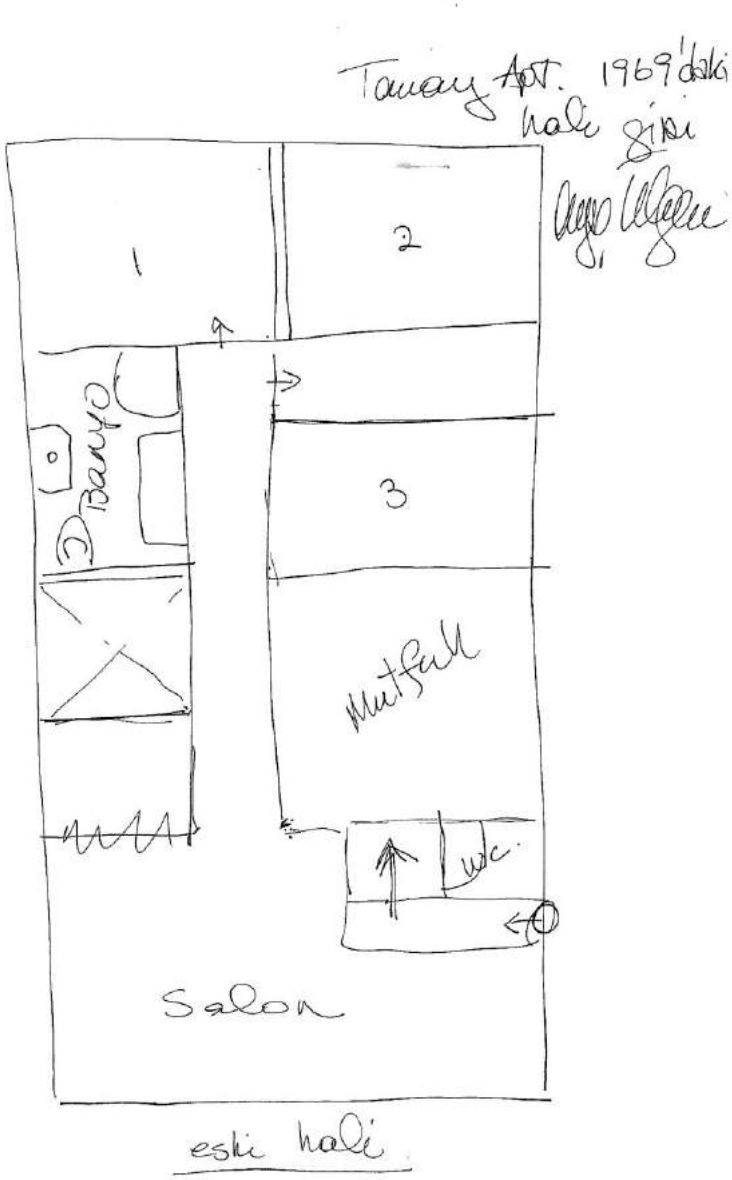


Figure 4.27i. *Manual plan drawing of the residence in the Tanay Apartment, drawn by Ayşe Ülgen*

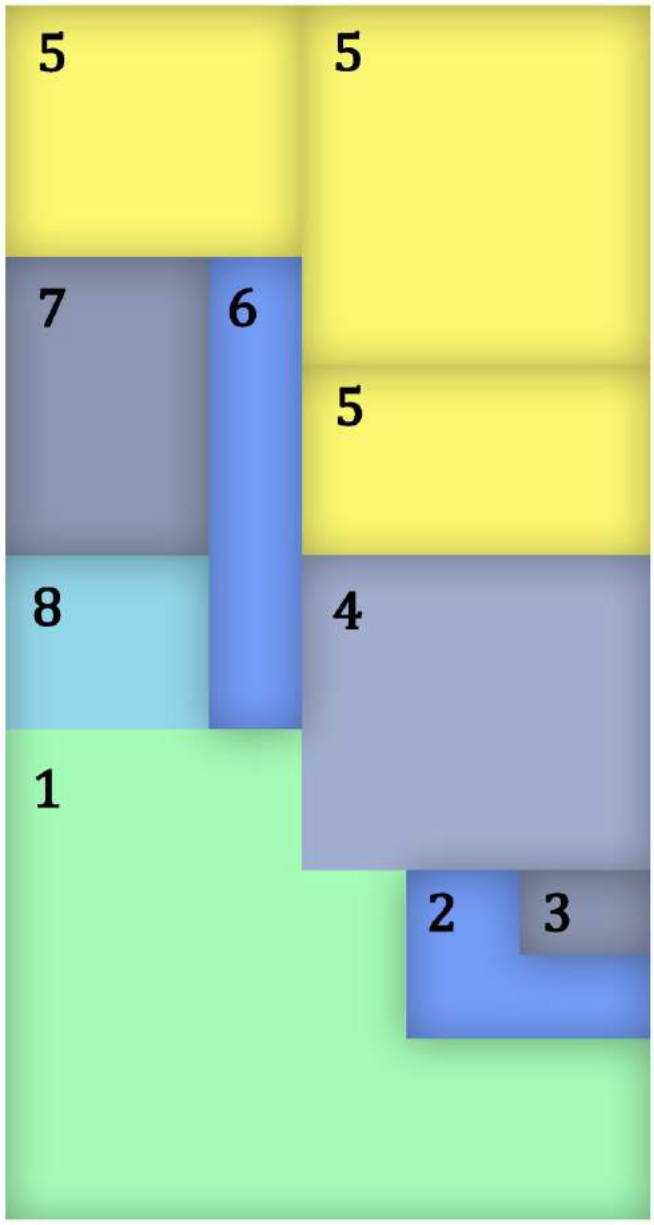


Figure 4.27j. *Plan scheme of the Tanay Apartment*
1. Living room, 2. Entrance hall, 3. Toilet, 4. Kitchen, 5. Bedroom, 6. Corridor, 7. Bathroom, 8. Lighting and ventilation shaft





Figures 4.28a, 4.28b. *Berger armchair, from the old köşk of the Eğilmez family.*
Source: Personal archive of Sedef Eğilmez Susmuş.





Figures 4.28c, 4.28d. *Seating unit, designed by Ertuğrul Eğilmez.*
Source: Personal archive of Sedef Eğilmez Susmuş.







Figure 4.28e. *An inkwell with its lits open and closed from the old köşk of the Eğilmez family.*
Figure 4.28f. *A German-silver salver from the old köşk of the Eğilmez family.*
Source: Sedef Eğilmez Susmuş





Figure 4.28g, 4.28h *Porcelain and stained glass vases from the old köşk of the Eğilmez family.*
Source: Sedef Eğilmez Susmuş



Figure 4.28i. *Photograph of old timber köşk of the Eğilmez family on the Yoğurtçu Park Avenue*
Source: Personal archive of Sedef Eğilmez Susmuş.

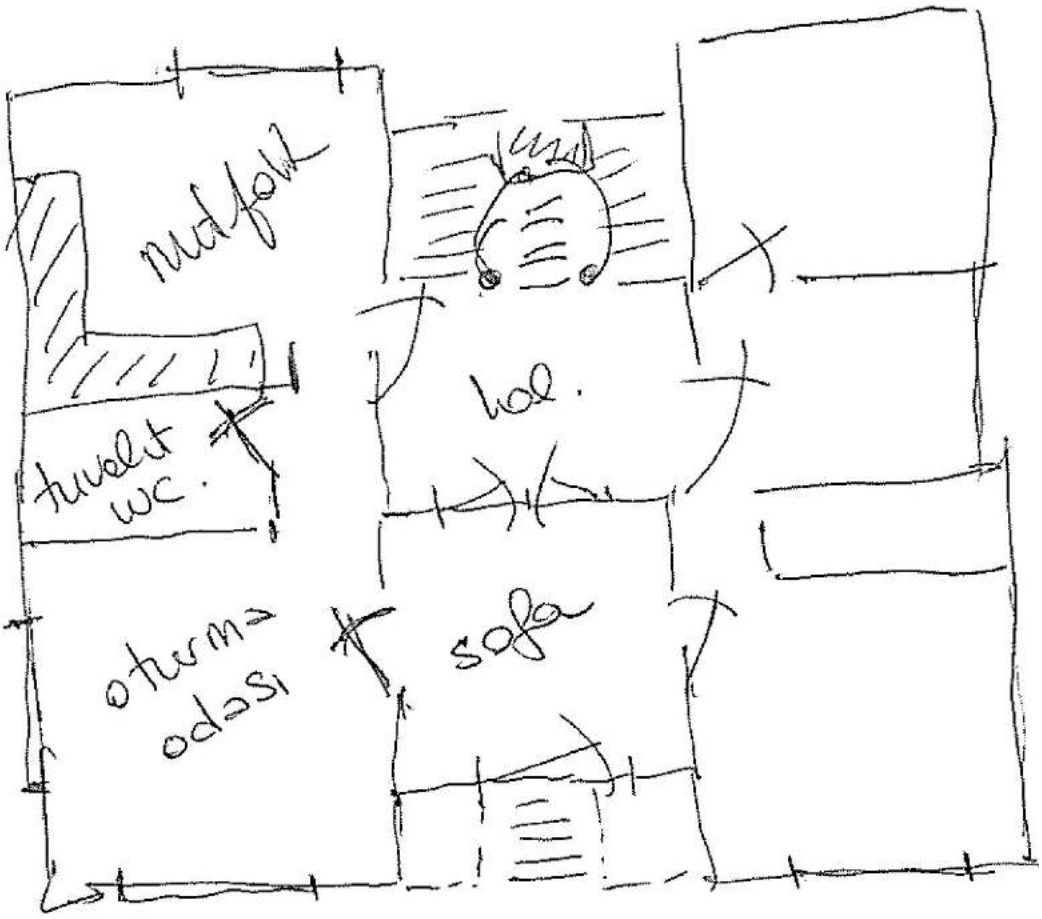


Figure 4.28j. *Manual plan drawing of the ground floor of the old timber köşk, drawn by Sedef Eğilmez Susmuş*



Figure 4.28k. *Photograph of the Ebru Apartment from the exterior*
Source: https://www.google.com.tr/maps/ (Last accessed on 08.07.2017)

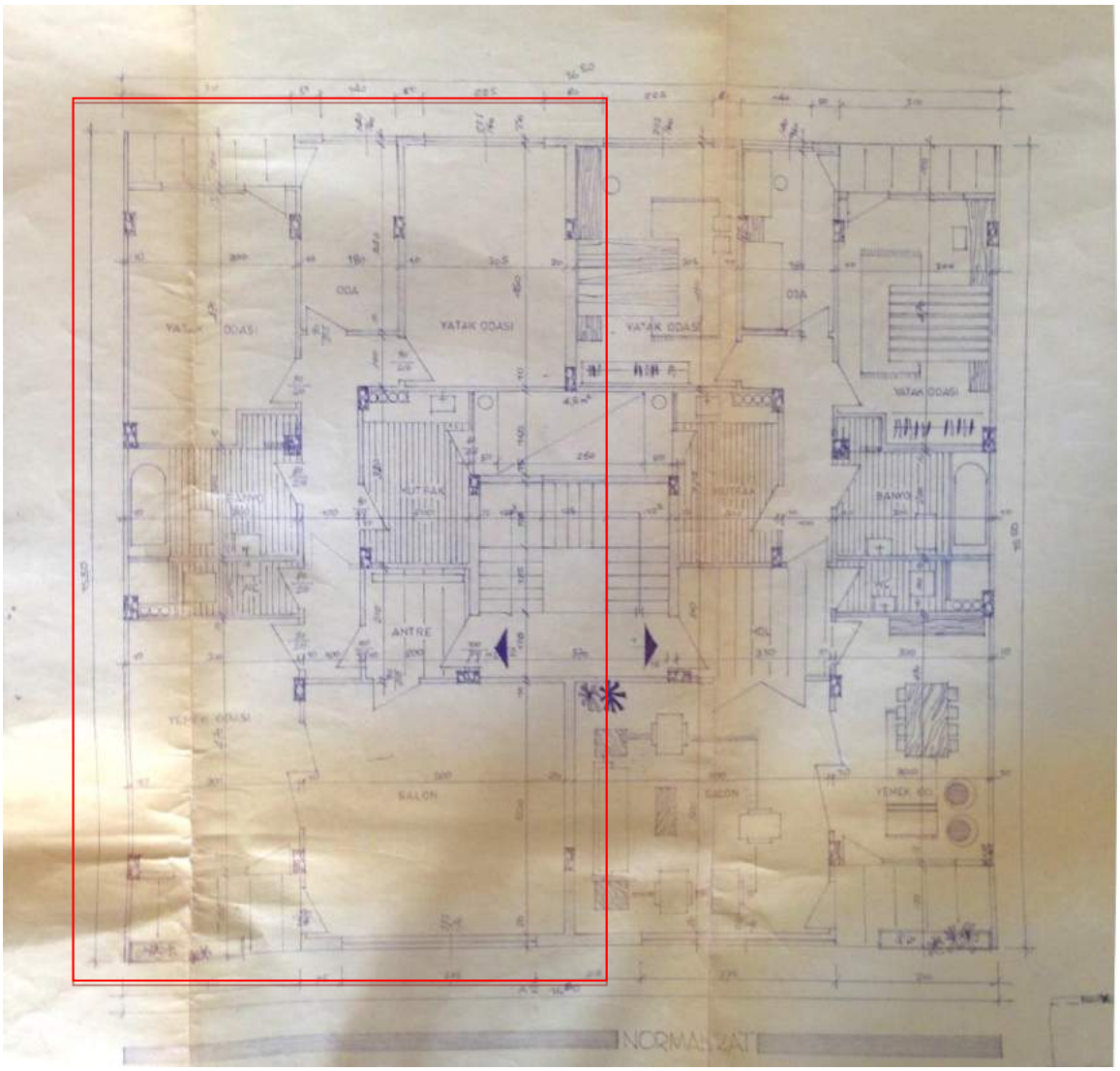


Figure 4.29l *Plan of the residence in the Ebru Apartment.*
Source: Archive of Sedef Eğilmez Susumuş and Cüneyt Susmuş.

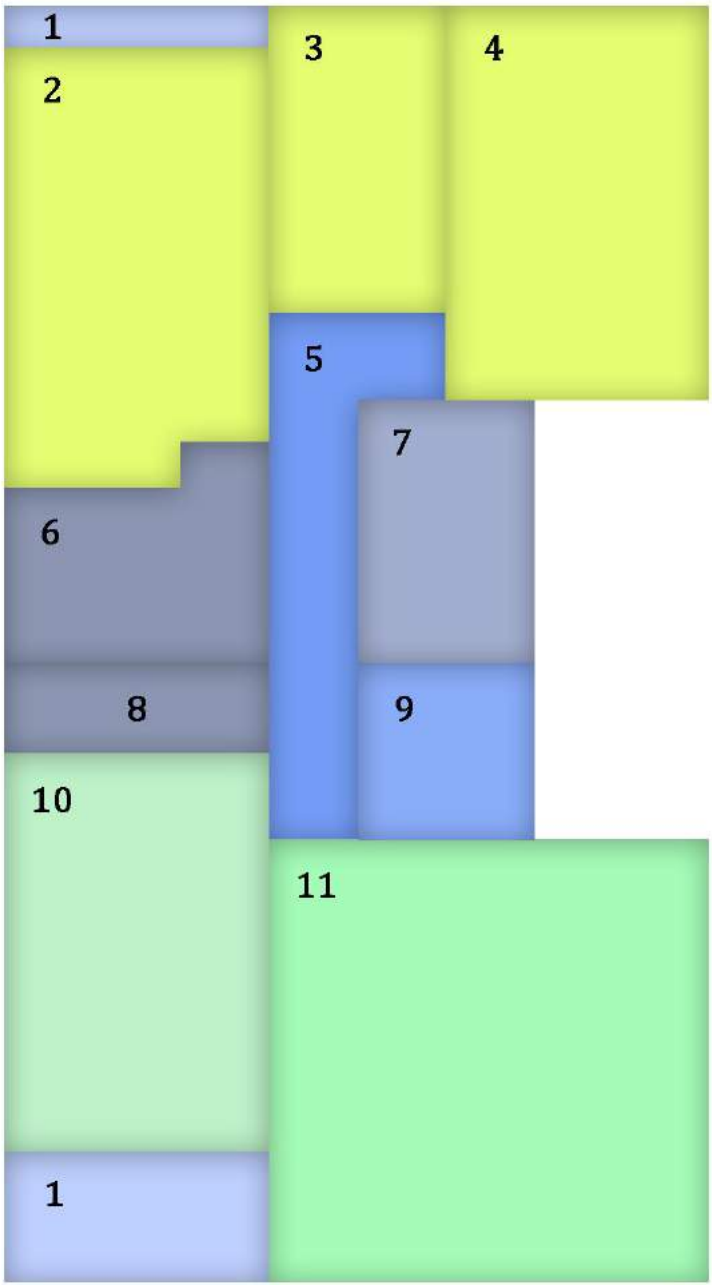


Figure 4.28m. *Plan scheme of the Ebru Apartment*
1. Balcony, 2. Bedroom, 3. Bedroom, 4. Bedroom, 5. Corridor, 6. Bathroom, 7. Kitchen, 8. Toilet, 9. Entrance hall,
10. *Salle-a-manger*, 11. Living room



Figure 4.29a. *Photograph of the Can Apartmanı from the exterior*
Source: https://www.google.com.tr/maps/ (Last accessed on 08.07.2017)

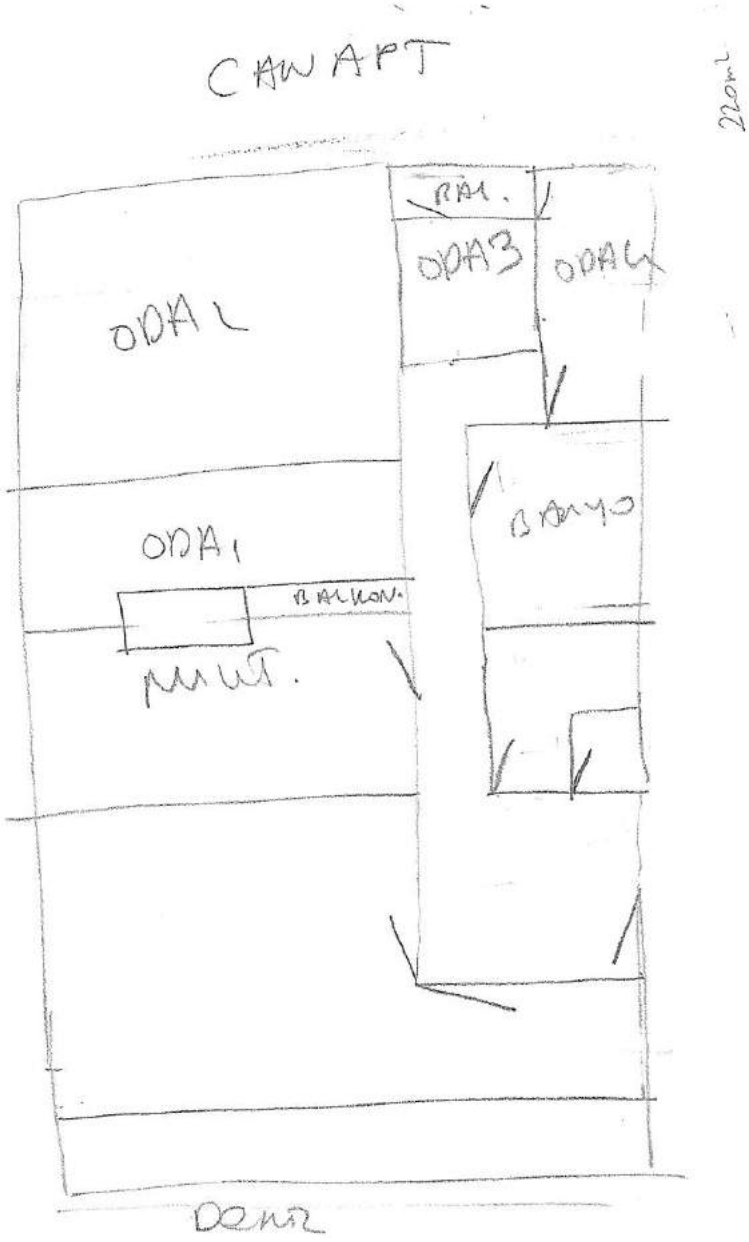


Figure 4.29b. *Manual drawing of the plan of the residence in the Can Apartment, drawn by Hacer Timur*

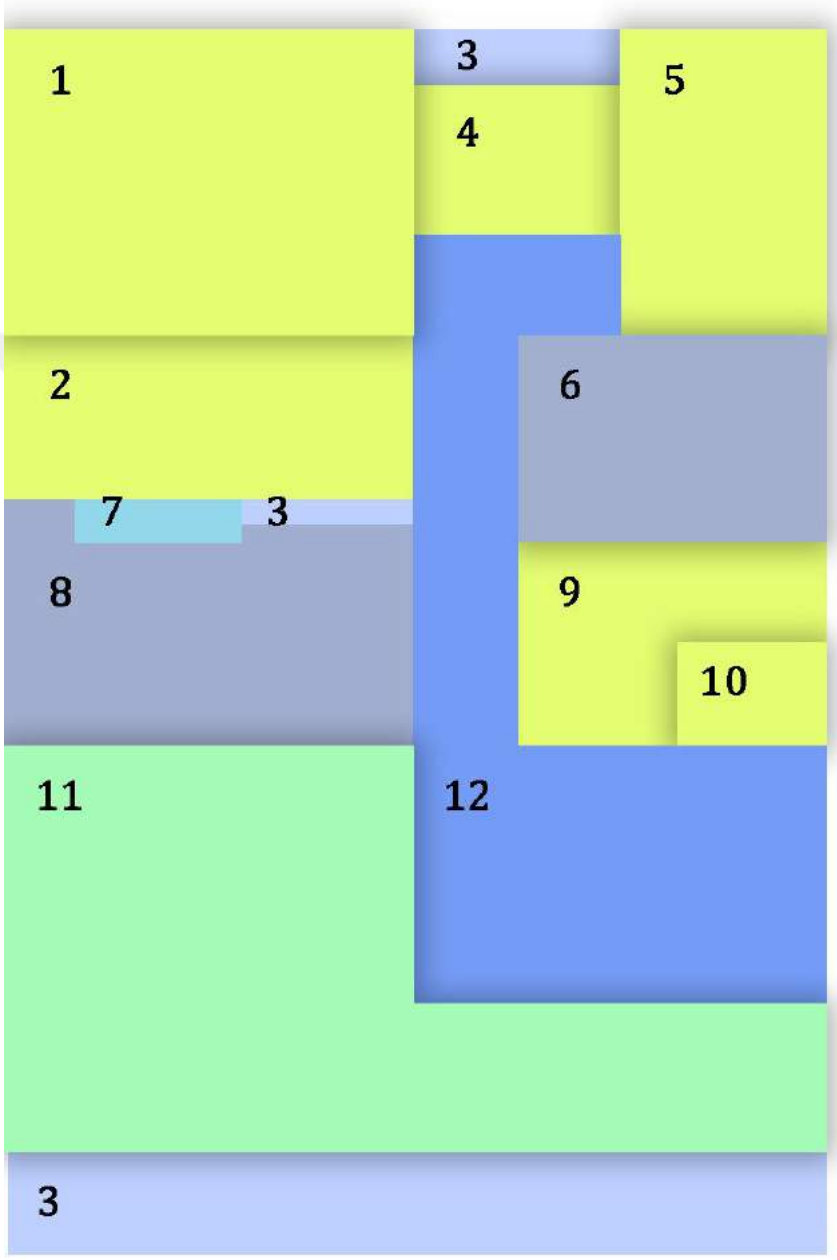


Figure 4.29c *Plan scheme of the Can Apartment*
1. Bedroom, 2. Bedroom, 3. Balcony, 4. Bedroom, 5. Bedroom, 6. Bathroom, 7. Lighting and ventilation shaft, 8. Kitchen, 9. Bedroom, 10. Storage (*Kiler*), 11. Living room, 12. Entrance hall and corridor

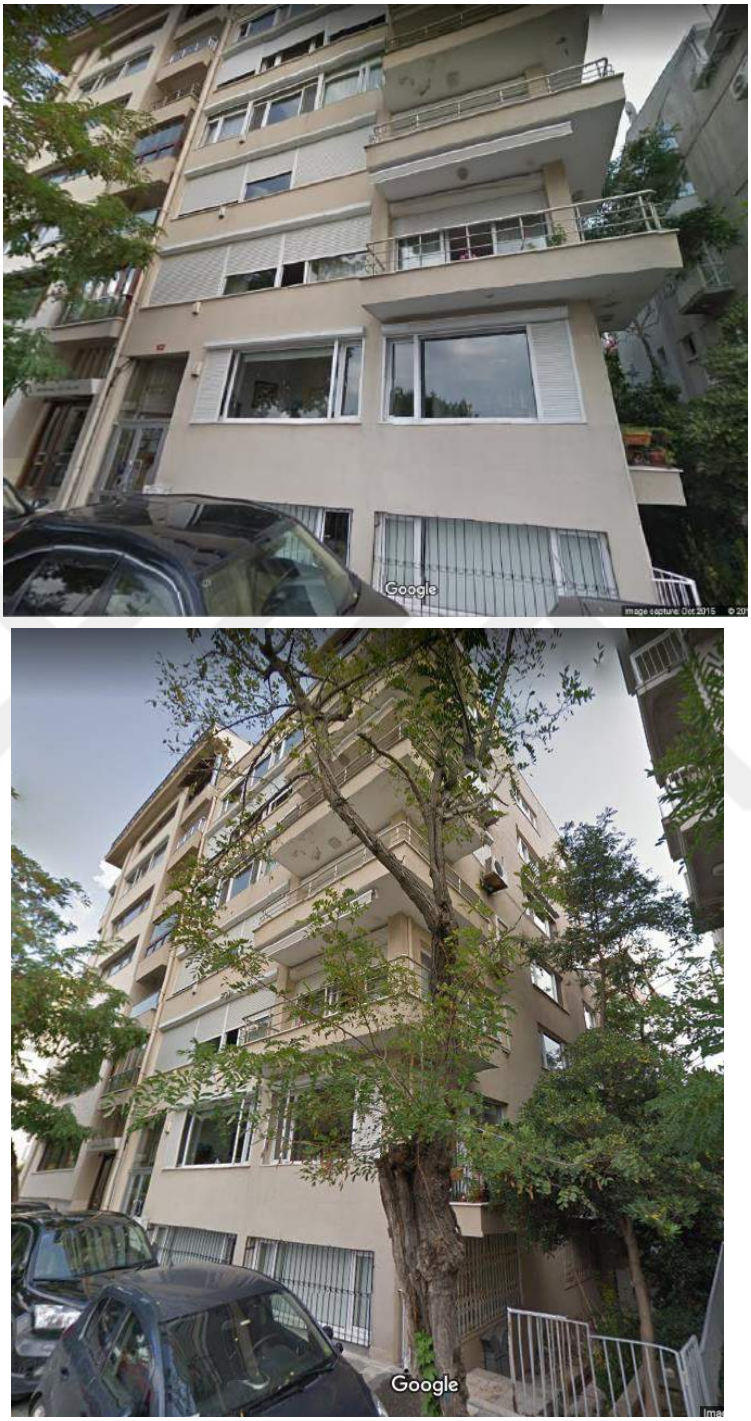


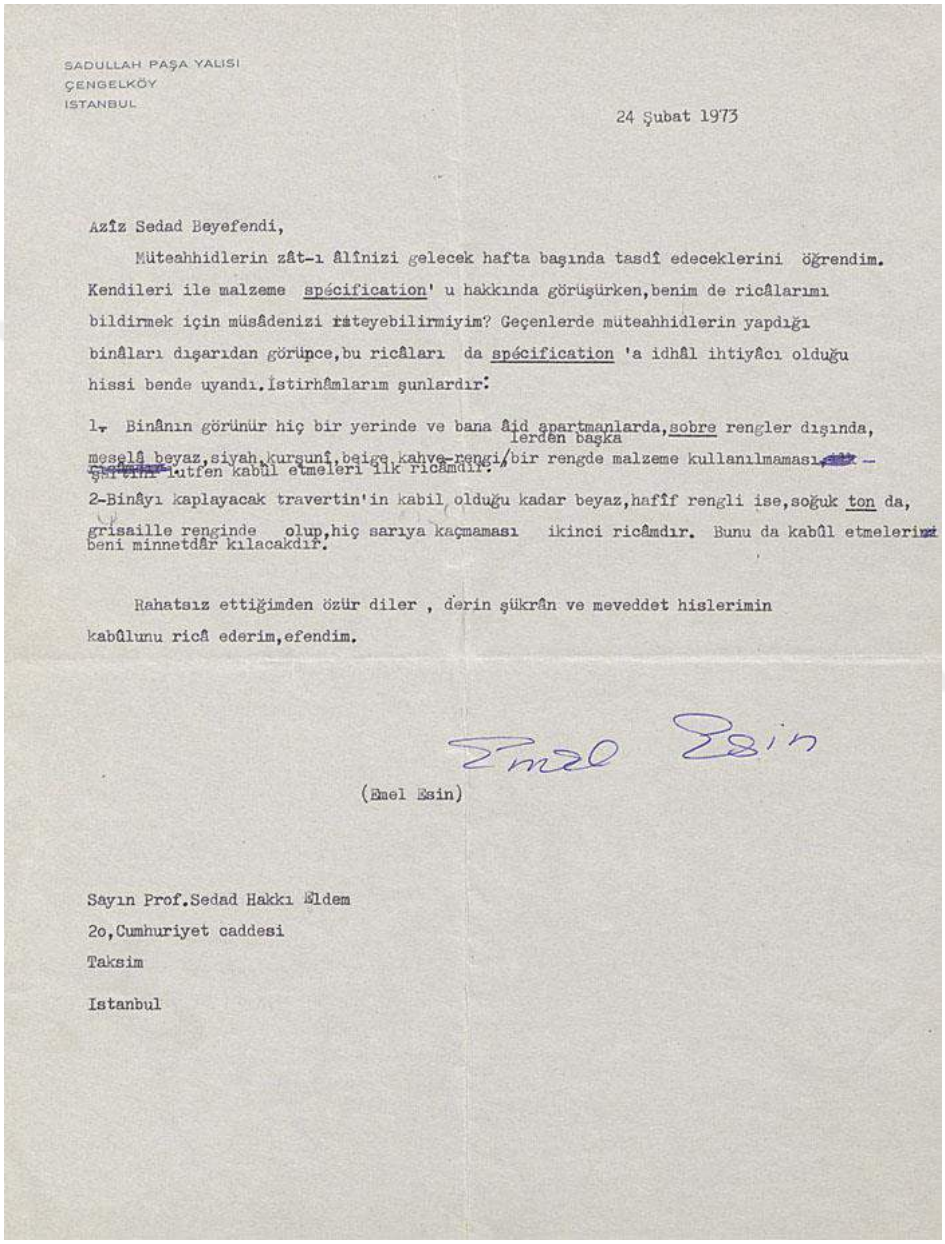
Figure 4.30a, 4.30b. *Photograph of the Sabur Sami Bey Apartment from the exterior*
Source: https://www.google.com.tr/maps/ (Last accessed on 08.07.2017)



Figure 4.31a. *Photograph of the Ayalp Apartment from the exterior*
Source: https://www.google.com.tr/maps/ (Last accessed on 08.07.2017)



Figure 4.32a, 4.32b. *Photograph of the Antipa Köşk from the exterior*
Building was designed by Cristine Pappa in 1910
Source: Photograph was taken by Pınar Sezginalp in August 2016



SADULLAH PAŞA YALISI
ÇENGELKÖY
ISTANBUL

24 Şubat 1973

Azîz Sedad Beyefendi,

Müteahhidlerin zât-ı âlînizi gelecek hafta başında tasdî edeceklerini öğrendim. Kendileri ile malzeme spécification' u hakkında görüşürken, benim de ricâlarımı bildirmek için müsâdenizi rica eyebilirmiyim? Geçenlerde müteahhidlerin yapdığı binâları dışarıdan görünce, bu ricâları da spécification 'a idhâl ihtiyâcı olduğu hissi bende uyandı. İstirhâmlarım şunlardır:

1- Binânın görünür hiç bir yerinde ve bana âid apartmanlarda, sobre rengler dışında, lerden başka
meselâ beyaz, siyah, kurşunî, beige kahve-rengi, bir rengde malzeme kullanılmaması, -
şartını lütfen kabûl etmeleri ilk ricâmdır.

2-Binâyı kaplayacak travertin'in kabil olduğu kadar beyaz, hafîf rengli ise, soğuk ton da, grisaille renginde olup, hiç sarıya kaçmaması ikinci ricâmdır. Bunu da kabûl etmeleri beni minnetdâr kılacakdır.

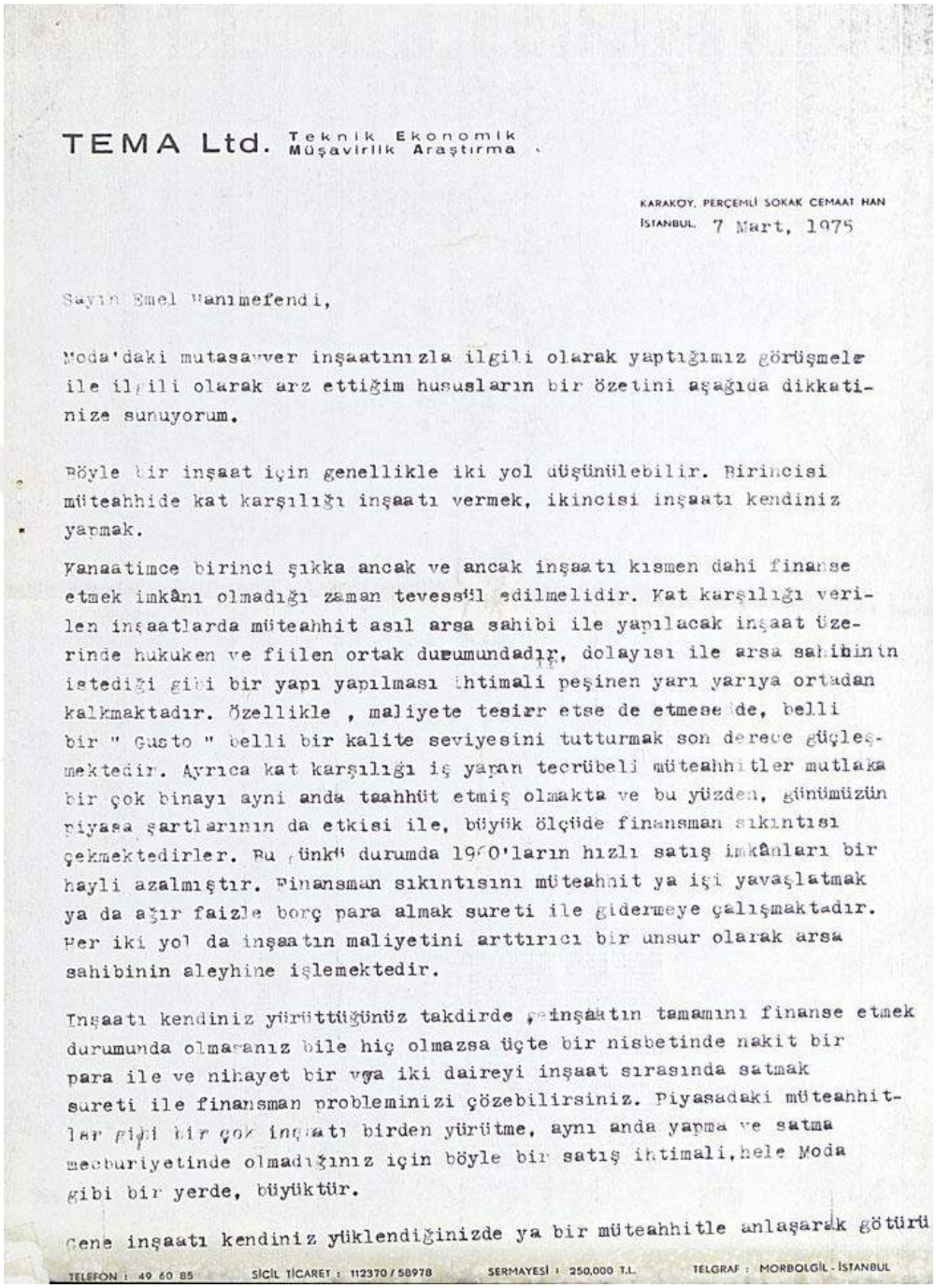
Rahatsız ettiğimden özür diler , derin şükrân ve meveddet hislerimin kabûlunu ricâ ederim, efendim.

Emel Esin

(Emel Esin)

Sayın Prof. Sedad Hakkı Eldem
2o, Cumhuriyet caddesi
Taksim
Istanbul

Figure 4.32c. *Letter written to Sedad Hakkı Eldem in correspondence with the Moda Apartment.* The sender Emel Hanım might be the possible co-owner of the land. Letter was written in 1973.
Source: SALT Galata Archive



TEMA Ltd. Teknik Ekonomik Müşavirlik Araştırma

KARAKOY, PERÇEMLİ SOKAK CEMAAT HAN
İSTANBUL 7 Mart, 1975

Sayın Emel Hanımefendi,

Moda'daki mutasavver inşaatınızla ilgili olarak yaptığımız görüşmeler ile ilgili olarak arz ettiğim hususların bir özetini aşağıda dikkatinize sunuyorum.

Böyle bir inşaat için genellikle iki yol düşünülebilir. Birincisi müteahhide kat karşılığı inşaatı vermek, ikincisi inşaatı kendiniz yapmak.

Yanaatimce birinci şıkka ancak ve ancak inşaatı kısmen dahi finanse etmek imkânı olmadığı zaman tevessül edilmelidir. Kat karşılığı verilen inşaatlarda müteahhit asıl arsa sahibi ile yapılacak inşaat üzerinde hukuken ve fiilen ortak durumundadır, dolayısı ile arsa sahibinin istediği gibi bir yapı yapılması ihtimali peşinen yarı yarıya ortadan kalkmaktadır. Özellikle , maliyete tesirr etse de etmese de, belli bir " Gusto " belli bir kalite seviyesini tutturmak son derece güçleşmektedir. Ayrıca kat karşılığı iş yapan tecrübeli müteahhitler mutlaka bir çok binayı ayni anda taahhüt etmiş olmakta ve bu yüzden, günümüzün piyasa şartlarının da etkisi ile, büyük ölçüde finansman sıkıntısı çekmektedirler. Bu çünkü durumda 1960'ların hızlı satış imkânları bir hayli azalmıştır. Finansman sıkıntısını müteahhit ya işi yavaşlatmak ya da ağır faizle borç para almak sureti ile gidermeye çalışmaktadır. Her iki yol da inşaatın maliyetini arttırıcı bir unsur olarak arsa sahibinin aleyhine işlemektedir.

Inşaatı kendiniz yürüttüğünüz takdirde ,inşaatın tamamını finanse etmek durumunda olmasanız bile hiç olmazsa üçte bir nisbetinde nakit bir para ile ve nihayet bir yda iki daireyi inşaat sırasında satmak sureti ile finansman probleminizi çözebilirsiniz. Piyasadaki müteahhitler gibi bir çok inşaatı birden yürütme, aynı anda yapma ve satma mecburiyetinde olmadığınız için böyle bir satış ihtimali,hele Moda gibi bir yerde, büyüktür.

Gene inşaatı kendiniz yüklendiğinizde ya bir müteahhitle anlaşarak götürü

TELEFON : 49 60 85 SİCİL TİCARET : 112370 / 58978 SERMAYESİ : 250.000 T.L. TELGRAF : MORBOLGİL - İSTANBUL

Figure 4.32d. *Letter written in correspondence with the Moda Apartment.* The sender is a financial counselor who is describing Mrs. Emel the conditions of the flat-ownership. Letter was written in 1975.
Source: SALT Galata Archive

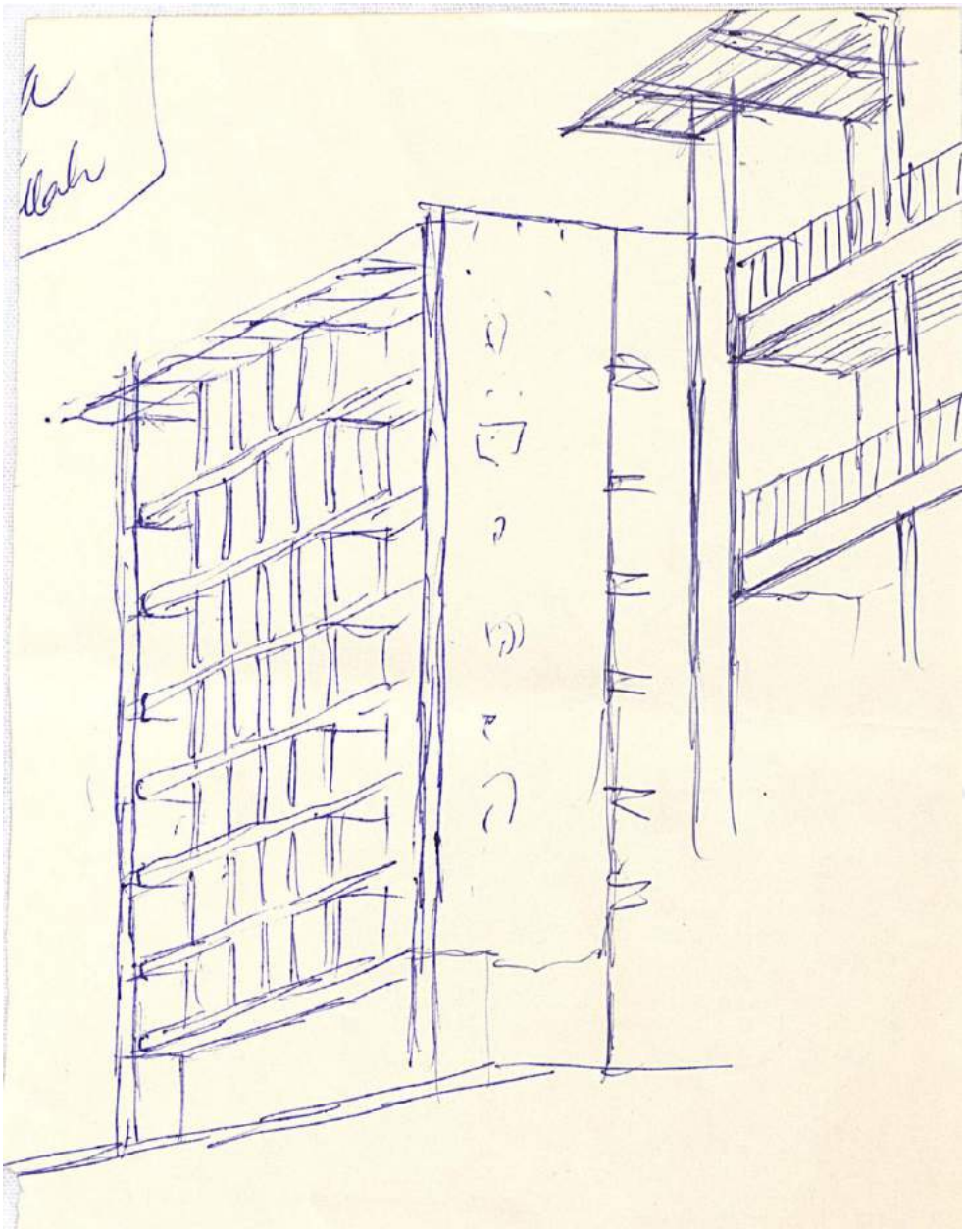


Figure 4.32e. *Sketch perspective of the Moda Apartment, drawn by Sedad Hakkı Eldem*
Source: SALT Galata Archive

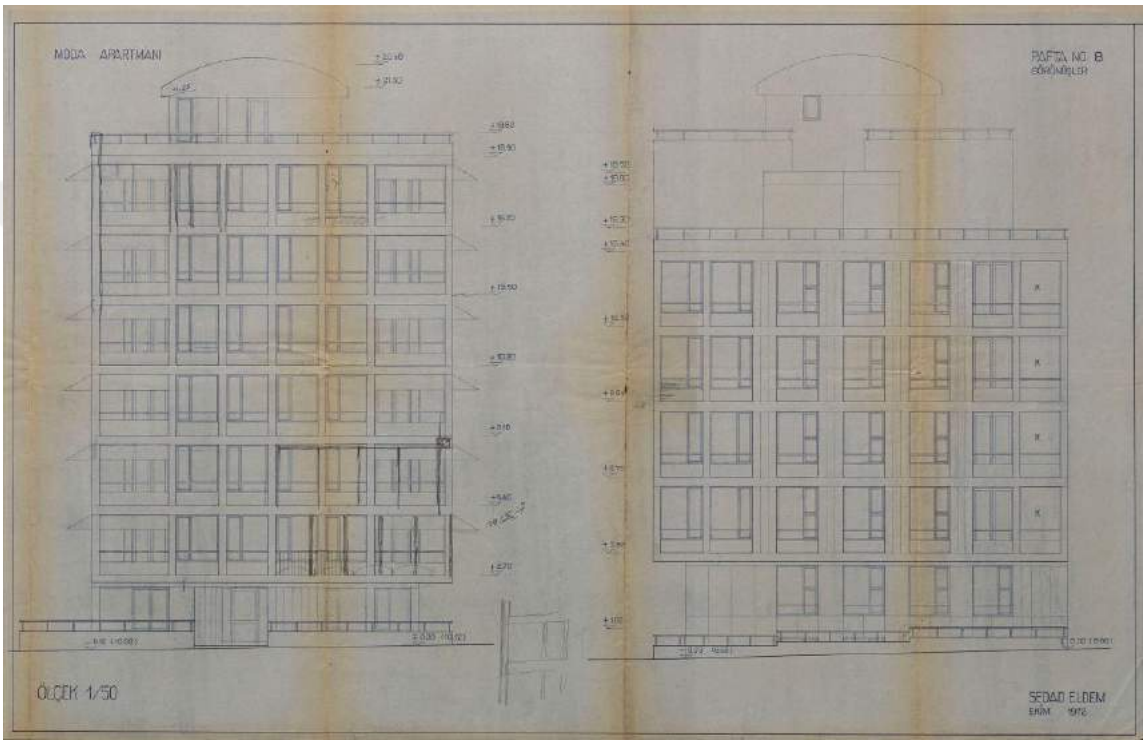


Figure 4.32f. *Façade drawings of the Moda Apartment project, designed by Sedad Hakkı Eldem*
Source: SALT Galata archive

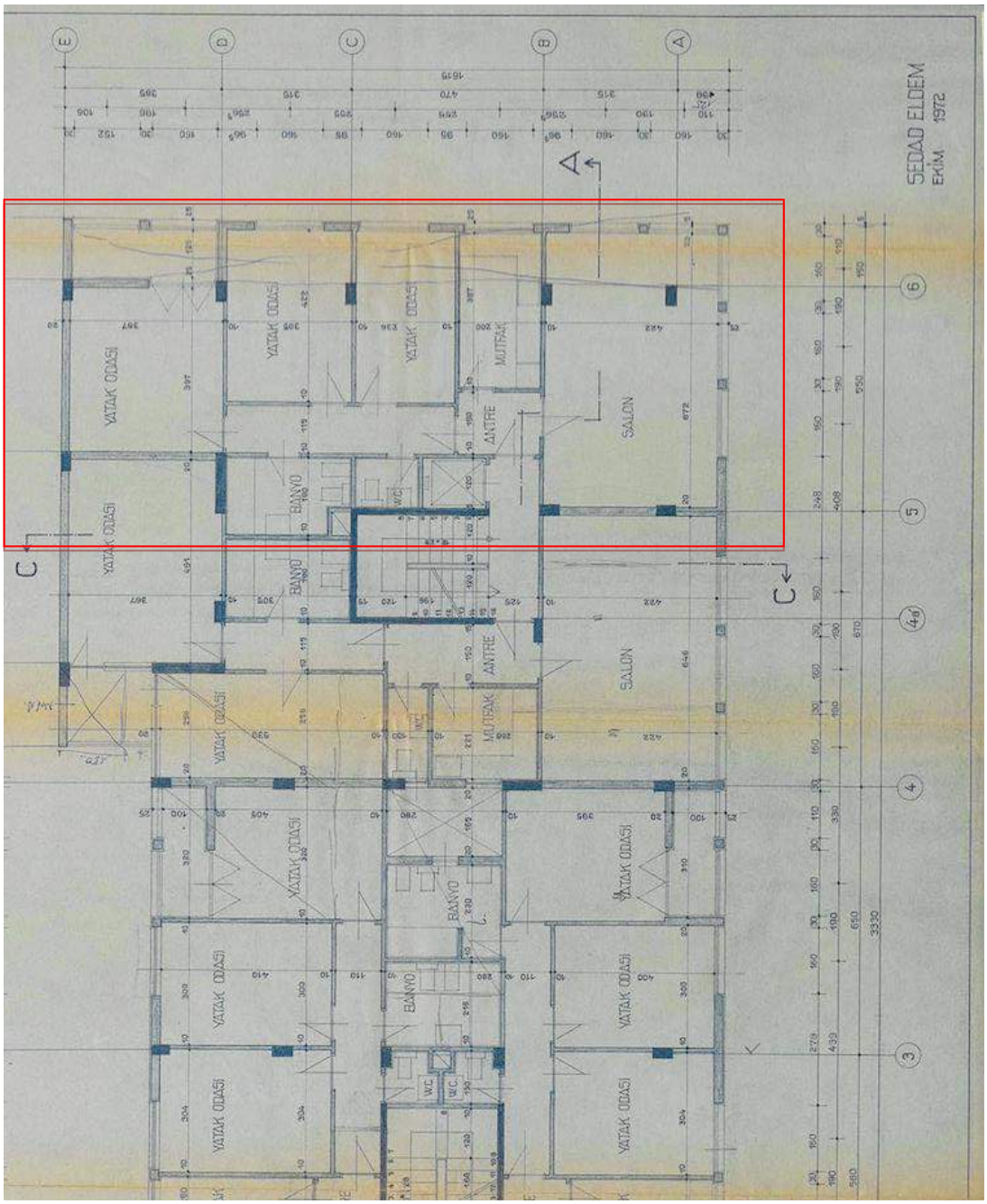


Figure 4.32g. *Plan of a standard floor in the Moda Apartment project, by Sedad Hakkı Eldem*
Source: SALT Galata archive

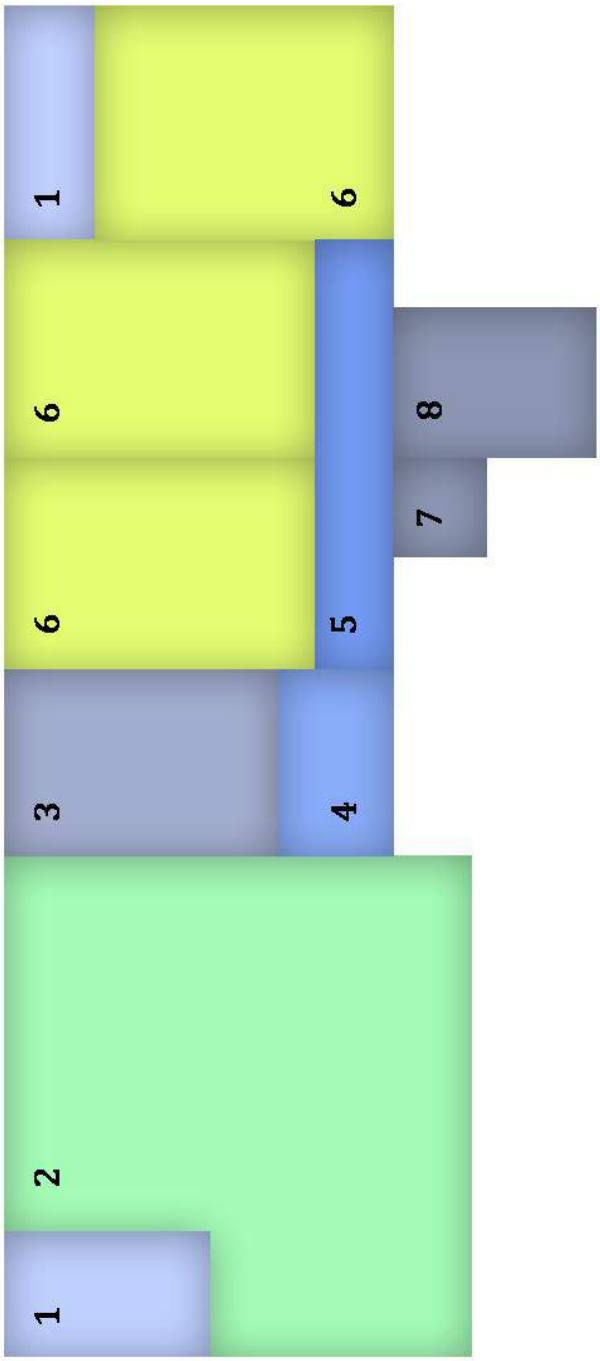


Figure 4.32h. *Plan scheme of the Moda Apartment*
1. Balcony, 2. Living room, 3. Kitchen, 4. Entrance Hall,
5. Corridor, 6. Bedroom, 7. Toilet, 8. Bathroom





Figure 4.33a, 4.33b. *Photograph of the Manzara Apartmanı from the exterior*
Source: https://www.google.com.tr/maps/ (Last accessed on 08.07.2017)

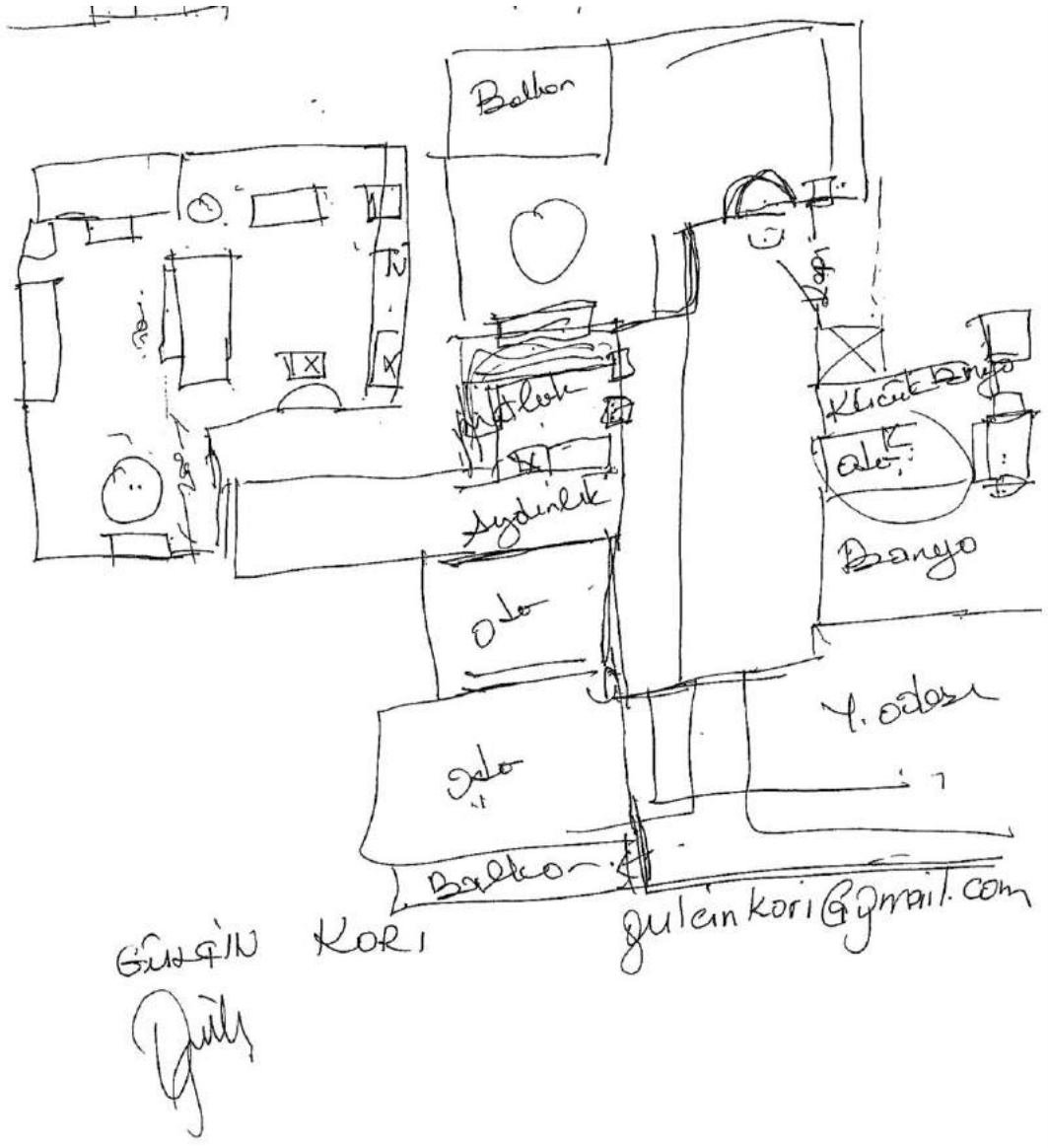


Figure 4.33c. *Manual drawing of the plan of the residence in the Manzara Apartment, drawn by Gülçin Kori*

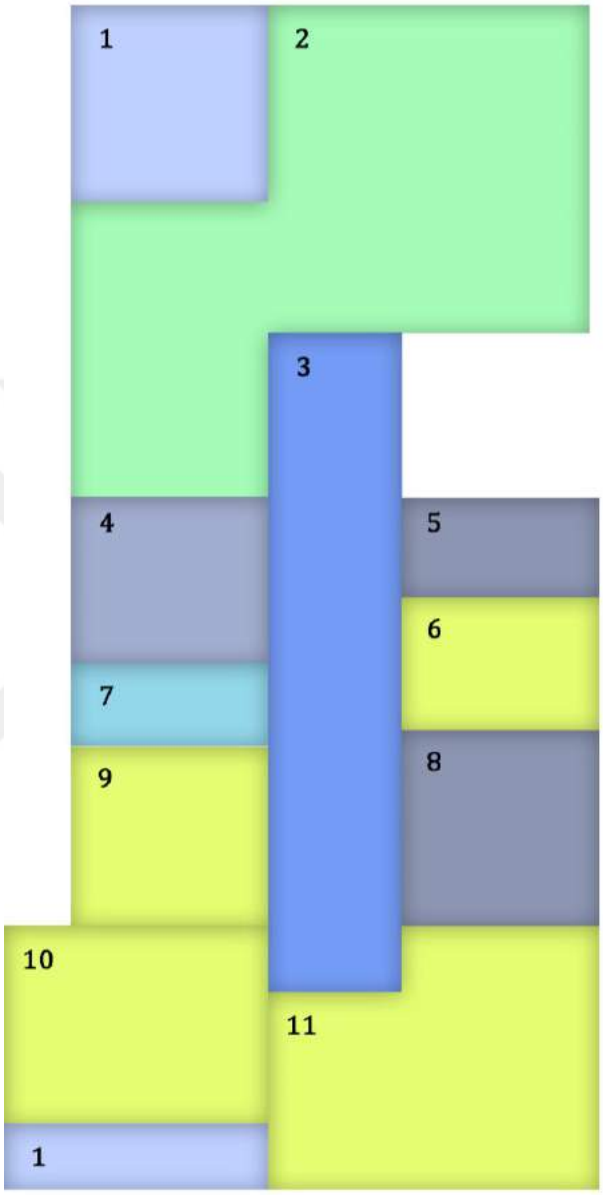


Figure 4.33d. *Plan scheme of the Manzara Apartment*
1. Balcony, 2. Living room, 3. Entrance hall and corridor,
4. Kitchen, 5. Toilet, 6. Bedroom, 7. Lighting and ventilation shaft,
8. Bathroom, 9. Bedroom, 10. Bedroom, 11. Bedroom

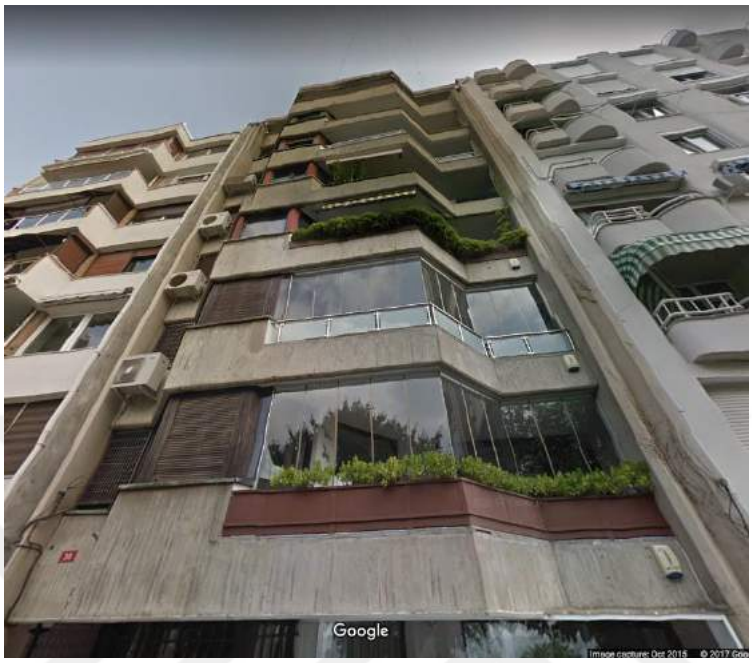




Figure 4.34a, 4.34b. *Photograph the Subaşı Apartment from the exterior*
Source: https://www.google.com.tr/maps/ (Last accessed on 08.07.2017)

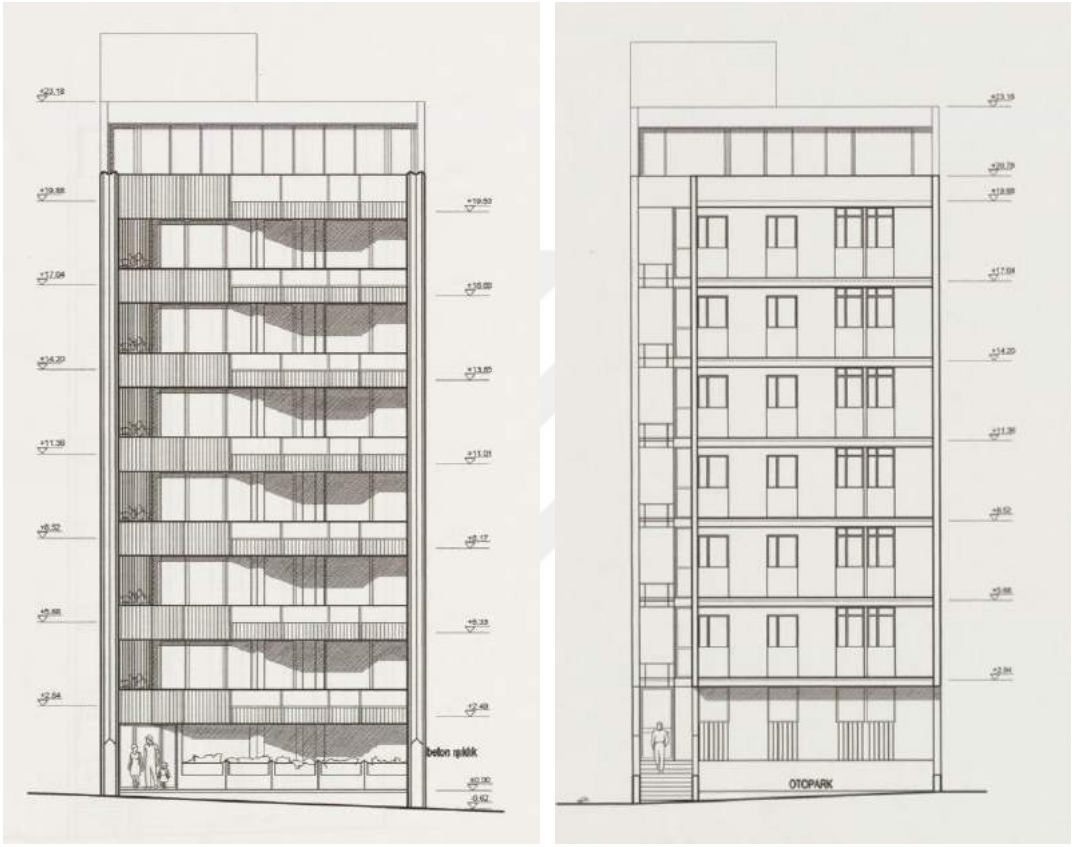


Figure 4.34c. *Façade drawings of the Subaşı Apartment, designed by Altuğ and Behruz Çinici.*
Front façade (left), rear façade (right).
Source: SALT Galata archive

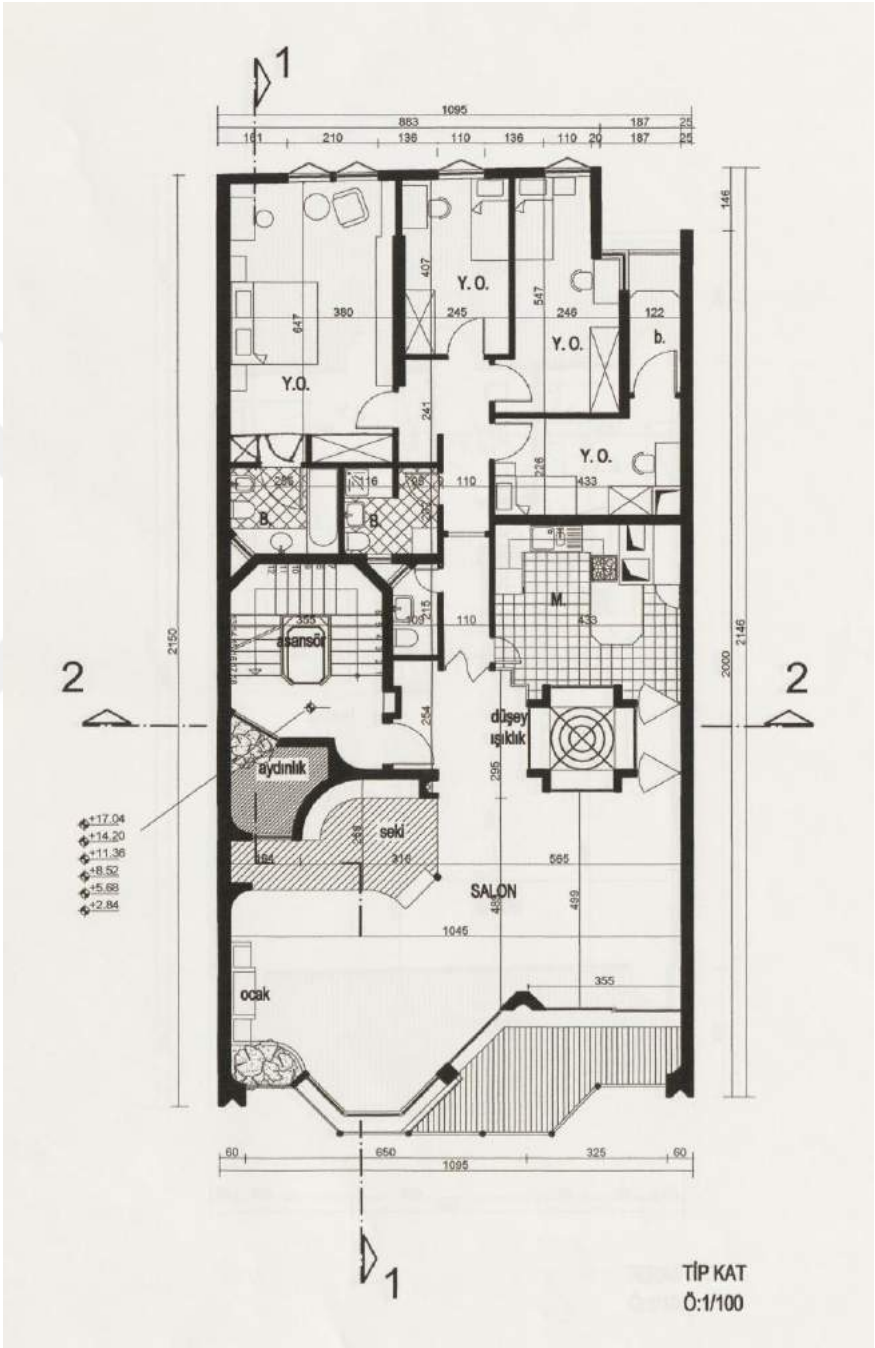


Figure 4.34e. *Standard floor plan of the Subaşı Apartment, designed by Altuğ and Behruz Çinici.*
Source: SALT Galata archive

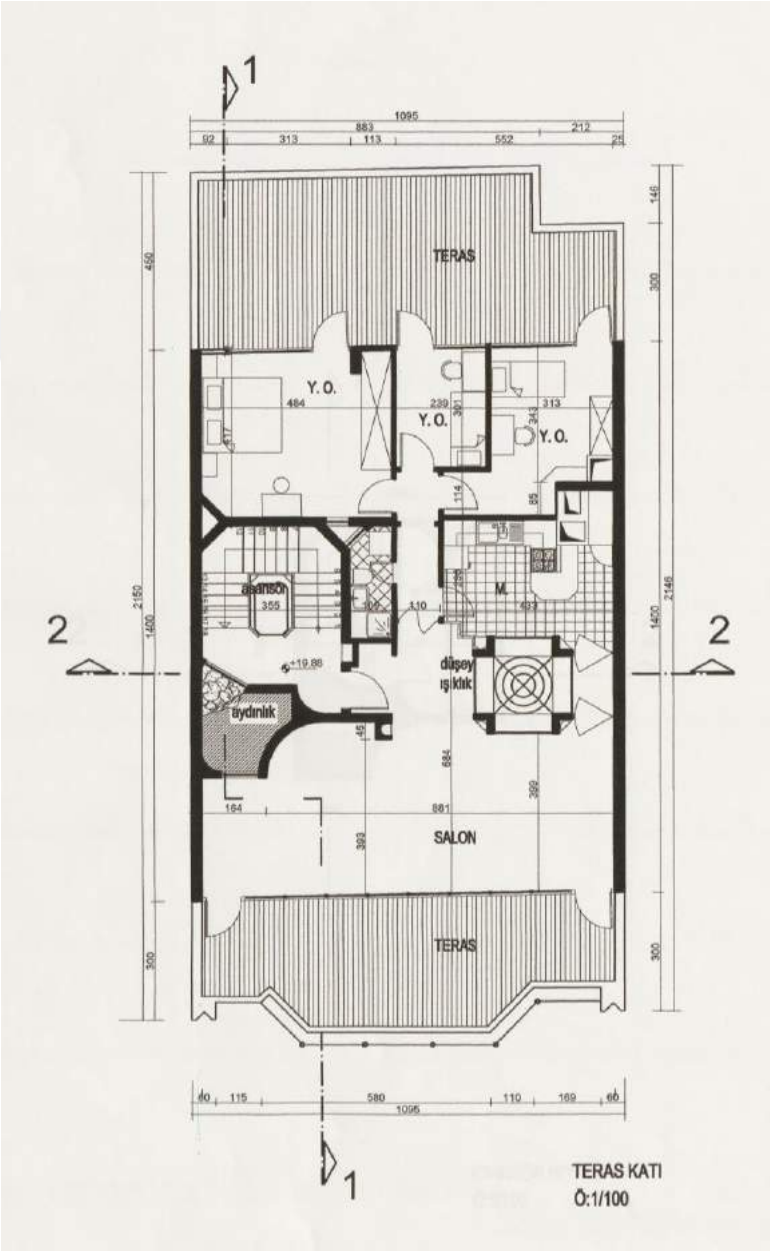


Figure 4.34e. *Terrace floor plan of the Subaşı Apartment, designed by Altuğ and Behruz Çinici.*
Source: SALT Galata archive

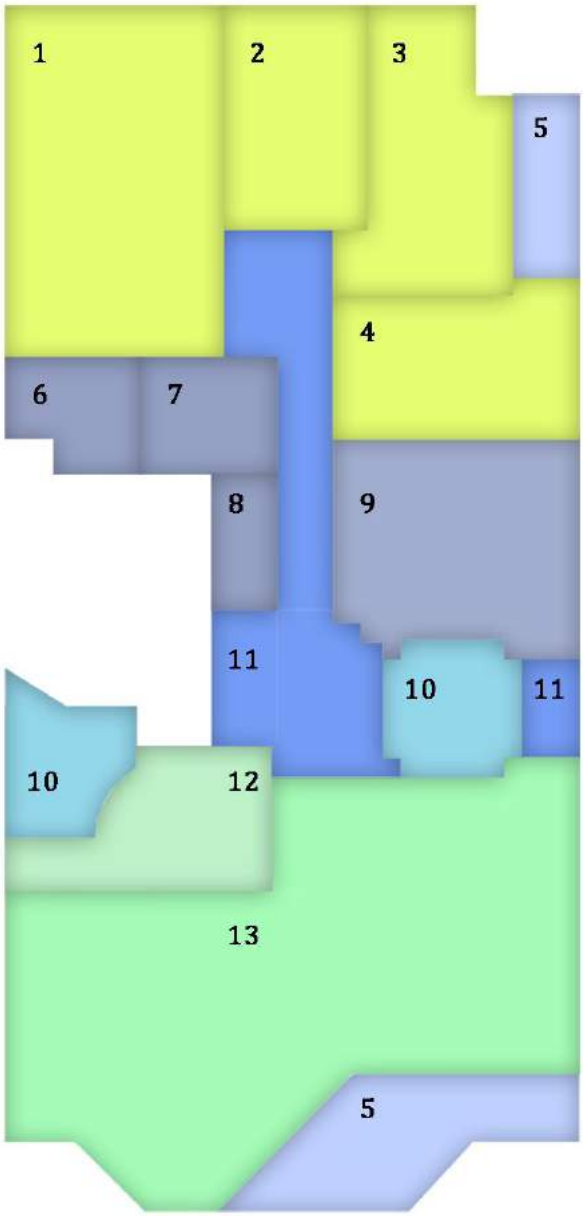


Figure 4.34f. *Plan scheme for the standard floor of the Subaşı Apartment*
1. Bedroom, 2. Bedroom, 3. Bedroom, 4. Bedroom, 5. Balcony, 6. Parents bathroom, 7. Main bathroom, 8. Toilet, 9. Kitchen, 10. Lighting and ventilation shaft, 11. Service corridor, 12. Platform (*Seki*), 13. Living room



Figure 4.35a. *Photograph of the Yaver Apartment from the exterior*

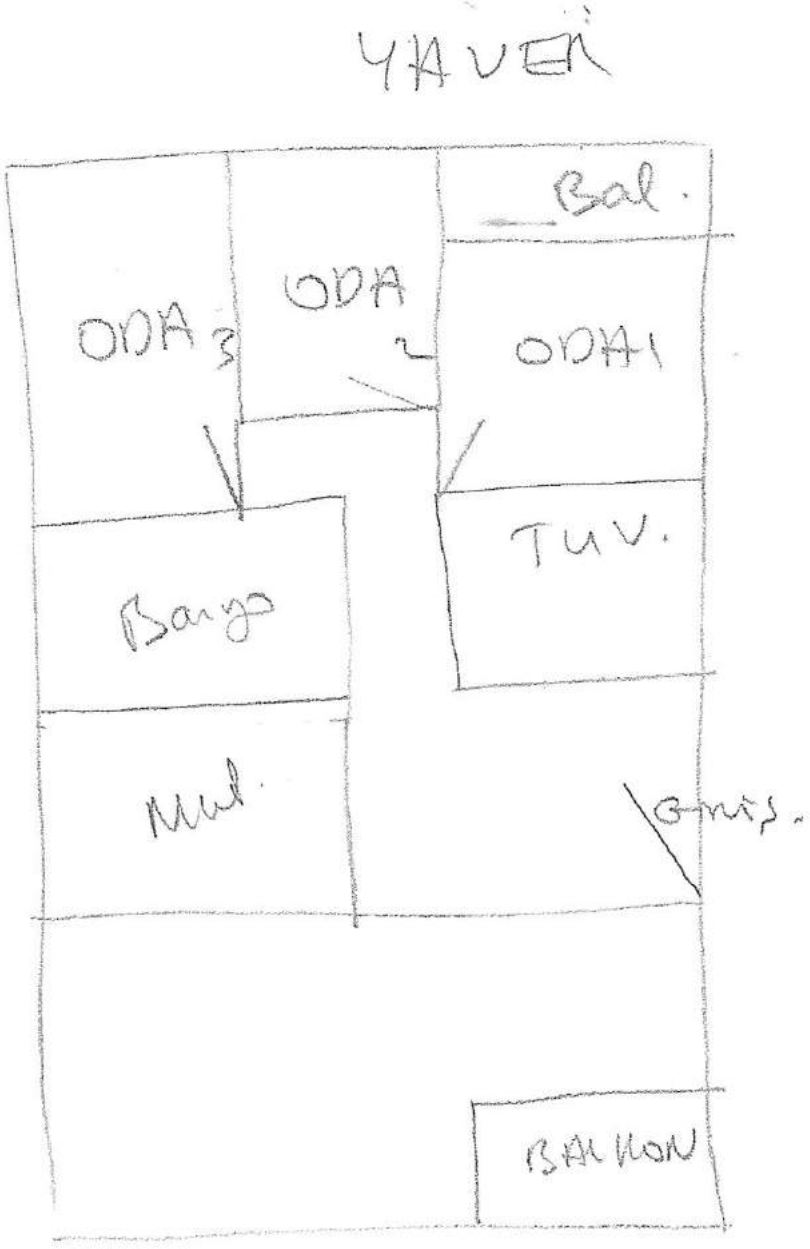


Figure 4.35b. *Manual drawing of the plan of the residence in the Yaver Apartment,* by Hacer Timur.

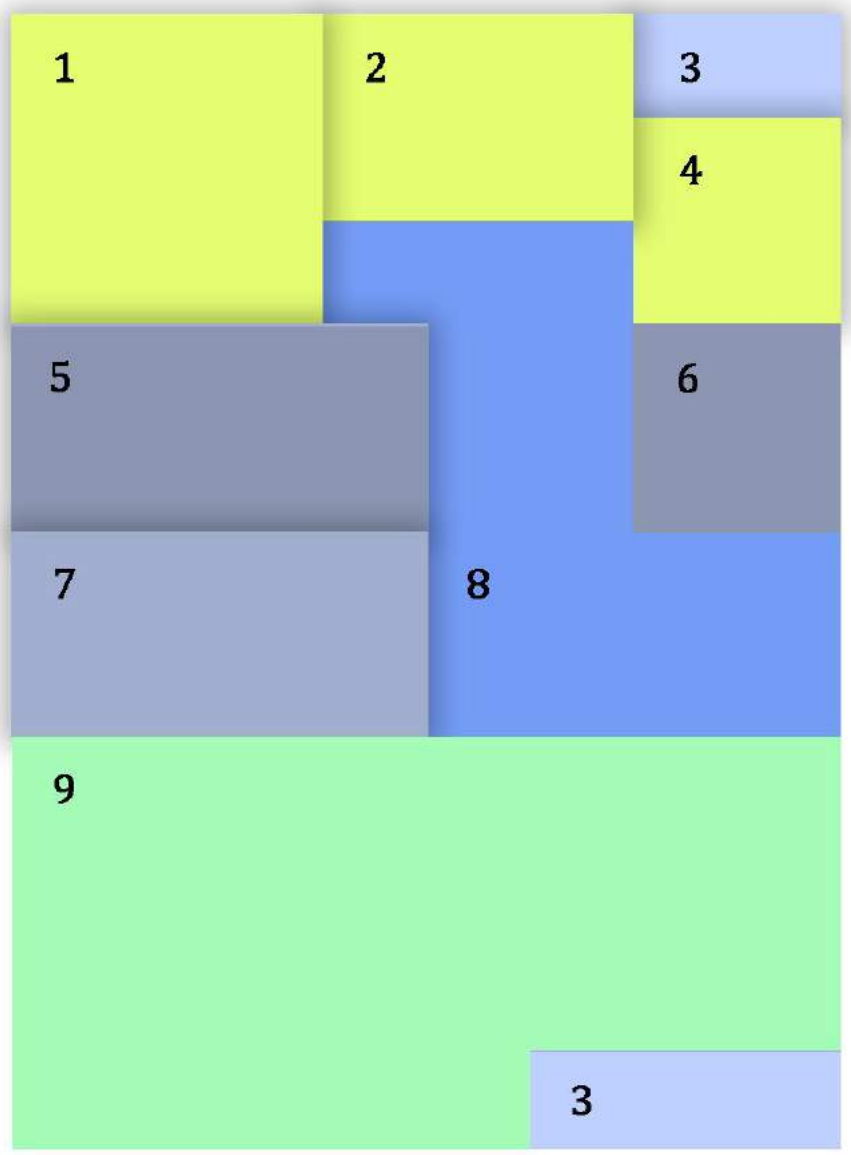


Figure 4.35c. *Plan scheme of the Yaver Apartment*
1. Bedroom, 2. Bedroom, 3. Balcony, 4. Bedroom,
5. Bathroom, 6. Toilet, 7. Kitchen, 8. Entrance hall and corridor, 9. Living room

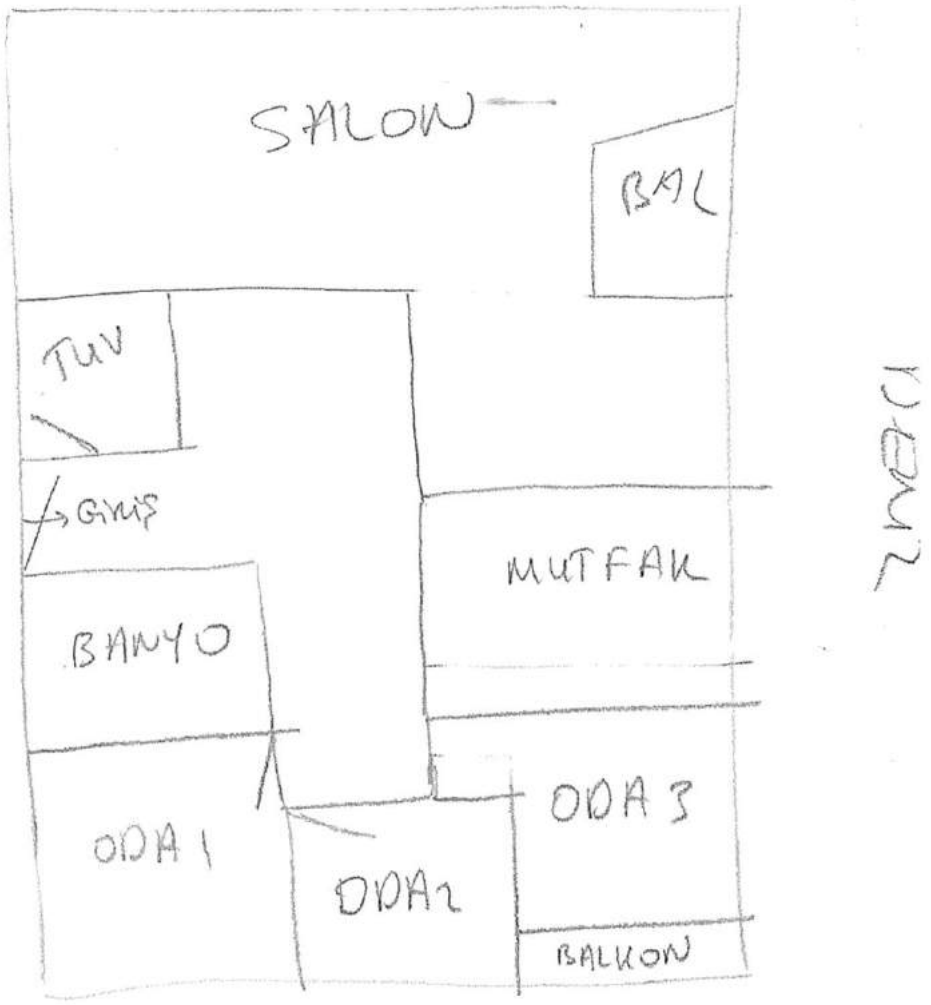


Figure 4.36a. *Manual drawing of the plan of the residence in the Cumbalı Apartment, drawn by Hacer Timur*

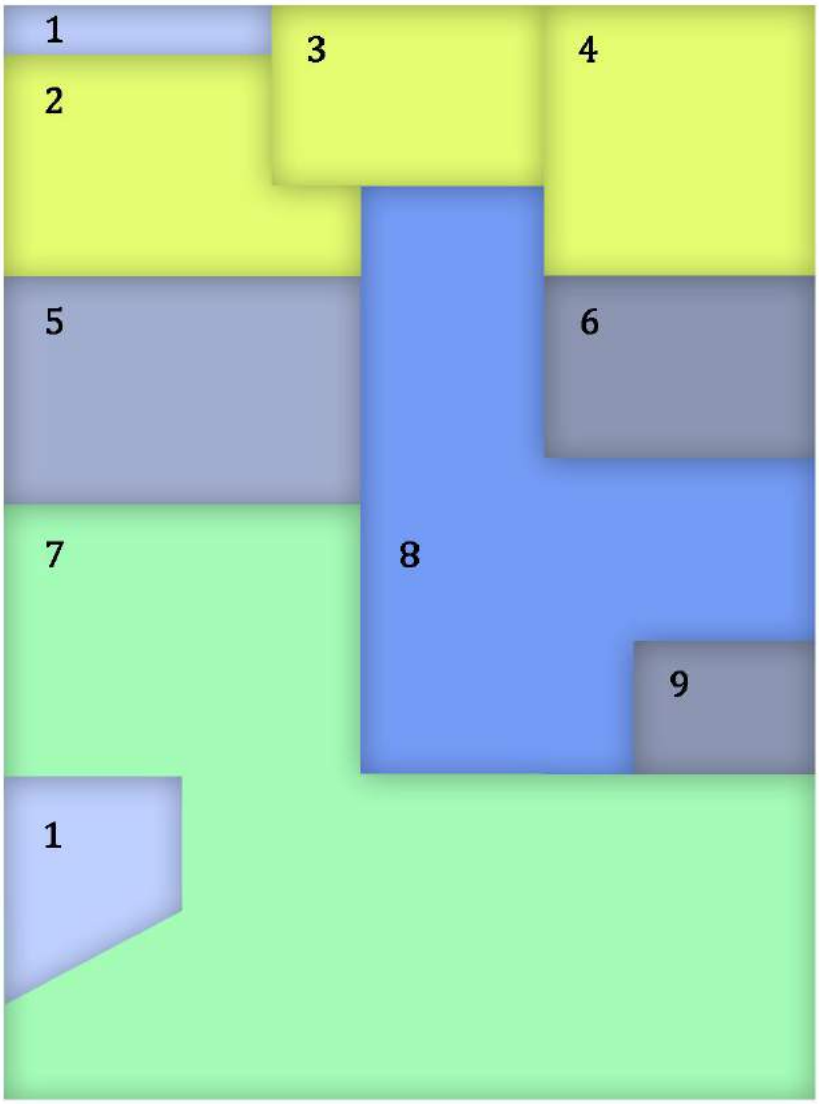


Figure 4.36b. *Plan scheme of the Cumbalı Apartment*
1. Balcony, 2. Bedroom, 3. Bedroom, 4. Bedroom, 5. Kitchen, 6. Bathroom, 7. Living room, 8. Entrance hall and corridor, 9. Toilet



Figure 4.37a. *Tel dolap (Traditional Food Storage Cabinet)*
Source: http://meramdere.blogspot.com.tr/2015/10/bizim-evdeki-tel-dolab.html (Last accessed on 28.05.2017)



Figure 4.37b. *Advertisement of Norge washing machine from 1965 (Merdaneli çamaşır makinesi)*
Source: https://tr.pinterest.com/ikoyluoglu/eski-reklamlar/ (Last accessed on 28.05.2017)

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Moda, as a district of İstanbul, holds an importance in terms its particular geographic settlement. Looking over to the Marmara Sea from three different directions, the Moda Cape and the shore defined the social life and urban planning pattern of the district. The seashore is one of the arteries of Moda within social life, where the identity of the district was displayed in social gatherings through a visual setting combination of the Moda Pier (*Moda İskelesi)*, the Moda Sea Club, and the continuous coastline (*Moda Sahilyolu*) beginning from the Yoğurtçu Park and continuing until the Kadıköy Pier (*Kadıköy İskelesi)*. The development of transportation means both by the sea and in the land also created a distinctive character for Moda, among all the districts of İstanbul. For different periods of time until today, residents of Moda could reach their destinations via steam-ships (*vapur*) and tram (*tramvay)*. As both the "site" of multi-etnic upper-class population of the Ottoman period and the "face" of the Republican elite until the mid-twentieh century, Moda gained its identity by the existence of a hybridized social pattern in terms of ethnicity – which paved the way of the richness of the architectural pattern of the district as well. The Bahariye and Moda Avenues as the main arteries were the ones that provided the reach of daily products, and groceries in all kinds of good stores, as well as the main stages of socializing. All the interviewees of this study mentioned their unforgettable habit of solely walking along these streets in the evenings, and then ending their routes in the coastline. Moda is being recalled with proud, emphasizing the importance for the inhabitants of being "*Modalı*". Moreover, it is recalled with nostalgia that was openly felt during the interviews of this study mostly towards the social life and

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and the quality of living in the past. There was an obvious and continuous transformation both in the social life and the domestic realm in Moda during the twentieth century that grounded the feeling of such nostalgia. The residences that were studied to understand the transformation reflect several types of spatial allocations and furnishing: This rich variety in cases of interior spaces derives from the roles of different actors such as owners, architects and contractors that involved in, as well as the political, economic and social circumstances that affected the production of houses in Moda in the changing contexts from the early Republican period to the mid-twentieth century.

The architectural pattern of Moda in the 1930s and 1940s was mainly consisted of the already existing traditional timber and masonary *konaks* and *köşks* (mansions and villas) that were owned by the upper-class Muslim and non-Muslim families of the late Ottoman period. When the maps of Moda drawn by Goad, Necip Bey and Pervititch and the photographs of the time are investigated, it is seen that the empty green plots, namely orchards (*bostan*), gardens (*bahçe*) and fields (*tarla*) had occupied more space compared to residential buildings. The new "modern" residences of the early Republican period began to be constructed from the 1930s onwards, which were owned by upper-class families, mostly from intellectia – the academia, doctors and engineers. These single-family houses or tenant apartments with a few storeys, such as Dr. Sani Yaver Villa, İhsan Bey Residence, Sıdıka Haydar Hanım Residence, Prof. Dr. Tevfik Taylan Villa, Seza Apartment, Dr. Kamil Röntgen Apartment, a Villa in Moda, and Birgiler Apartment, were constructed on the empty lands of Moda of the time. The architectural design, interior spatial allocation and furnishing of these residences addressed the contemporary modernist ideology of an upper-class family, and met the demands of this status by providing the spatial context for daily-life requirements of a modern family.

As explained in detail in Chapter IV from many perspectives related to the interior of these residences, the decisions upon interior design and plan typologies of the early Republican period were taken not only to show off the "well-off" character of the family, but also to provide occupants a modern domestic setting with large entrance halls, rooms for maids that were placed mostly separately in service areas or secluded corners of the residences, and modern features in the bathrooms such as bathtubs and bidets, as well as by locating the private realm of occupants in areas to make them indirectly accessible as the privacy gained more of an importance after the transformed daily life habits of old mansions. Most importantly, the case residences that were constructed in the 1930s and the 1940s had domestic management areas such as food preparation and supplementary storages and kitchen, which occupied quite a significant amount of the interior space of these residences. Codes of the architects were also the inherent representations of this life style: Plans and descriptions of the architects related to these residences in *Arkitekt*, were helpful to capture the modernist aura of these years: Reinforced concrete usage in the construction, the large amount and size of windows placed on façades, the existence of a room for the maid, the emphasis on the existence of a *sale-a-manger*, and the provision of a heating system.

The 1950s were the years when Moda faced the construction of many multi-story new apartments, which were mostly built on the empty lands, and sometimes on the slot of a demolished traditional house. Emin Onat, notable architect of the Republican Turkey, for example, designed two apartments; Marmara and Atıfet (Sporel) apartments in Moda at the time. Their slots were highly valuable as the places of earlier popular *konak*s and *köşk*s that were facing the Princes' Islands, the Moda Pier and the far edge of the Moda Cape: Another strong indication for an upper-class status. What is to conclude here is the fact that Moda started to shine with the new language of the Republican architecture more significantly in the 1950s by the help of pioneering architects of the period. Among these exceptional

case residences, the most attractive one in terms of its particular planning typology and design solution for a specific family was the Necla Erk Residence, which was built in 1954. Its architect Muhlis Türkmen should be remembered not only by his Turkish Pavillion in 1958 Brussels - Expo, but also the smart design solution for the interior residential space for an upper-class family in Moda. The Erk residence is the clear reflection of how private, semi-private and semi-public spaces could be brought together in a "domestic" realm, without any malfunction or sacrifice of the privacy of each space. Overall, the 1950s can be referred as the threshold of the transformation of residential interior spaces as the private realm started to gain more importance then as a sign of the modernization of daily life; and, this continued during the following decades.

The 1950s witnessed an important event to affect the social life also in Moda: After the nationalist demonstrations held on 6th and 7th September in 1955, which displayed the contemporary hatred towards the non-Muslim community, many of the stores located on the main artery streets of the Moda district, Bahariye and Moda Avenue, stopped giving service for forever. Those stores were the places where the families could have one-to-one "reliable" and "friendly" connections with their owners. According to the interviewees, the owners of the stores were there since the beginning of the 20th century at least, running their stores with father-to-son mentality. The amount of the pedestrians using these artery streets, hence, decreased after the demonstrations. After this "depressing" events, *Modalı* people, as the major amount of interviewees mentioned, began to spend more time in their homes, rather than going for a long evening walk repeatedly along Moda Avenue.[1] They were feeling sad about their favourite store owners, or the tailors from the non-Muslim community.

[1] Spending more time inside the house, or, in the words of Gürel, being stabilized inside home, was also an outcome of the advent of televisions by the end of the 1960s Gürel, Meltem (2009) 'Defining and living out the interior: the 'modern' apartment and the 'urban' housewife in Turkey during the 1950s and 1960s', *Gender, Place & Culture*, 16: 6,

Other social changes in the following decade of the 1960s were also effective on the transformation of the period's daily life in Moda: The two symbolic places of the district, *Moda Deniz Klubü* (Moda Sea Club) where the elite used to hold meetings, and *Moda Plajı*[2] (Moda Sea Bath) that used to be the main social attraction there, stopped working in those years. Last but not least, the tramline, which had started to work on 29 October 1939, was cancelled on 14 November 1966.[3] The tram was the only public transportation that provided service to circle around Moda via Moda Avenue, Bahariye Avenue and Cem Street, the arteries of social life in Moda. Nancy Stieber sums up the codes of power on the transformation of several issues within the society as follows: "the artifacts of the city, its streets, squares, arcades, and buildings, can be interpreted as visible signs of social, economic, and political processes".[4] Hence, the praxis of daily life in the district was faced with a significant transformation not only in architectural but also in social terms during the 1960s.

The regulations and modifications regarding the *Kat Mülkiyeti Kanunu* (Condominium/Flat Ownership Code), set on June 23rd 1965, led to an increase in the number of apartments in Moda, as in the rest of İstanbul. Beginning from 1965, both non-Muslim and Muslim families which were considered as true *Modalı* started to sign agreements with contractors to construct apartments in the

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p. 706.. However, in the case of Moda, this transformation of daily habits was apparently also the result of other social effects.

[2] The Moda Sea Bath was opened in the 1920s. Tekeli, İlhan (2013). *İstanbul'un Planlanmasının ve Gelişmesinin Öyküsü*. Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları/İlhan Tekeli Toplu Eserler Dizisi, p. 126.

[3] Martin, Anais M. (2010). *Her Yeri Resim Gibi: Küçük Moda*. Heyamola Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 24.

[4] Stieber, Nancy (1999). "Microhistory of the Modern City: Urban Space, Its Use and Representation" *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 58, No. 3, Architectural History 1999/2000, p. 387.

place of their houses.[5] These agreements enabled them to earn money from their slots by selling flats to those newcomers who wanted to buy a flat of an apartment in Moda. People who bought those flats were not only from upper-class families, but also the middle-class families as the banks provided many types of mortgages in a period of rapid migration to big cities during the 1960s and 1970s. By the help of the new law regulations on housing in the 1960s, middle-class families actually started to own houses.[6] The major transformation in the residential production was witnessed in the Anatolian side of İstanbul, especially in the areas where traditional masonary houses used to exist, as Keyder also noted.[7] Therefore, the social and urban pattern of Moda started to hybridize slowly by the new coming middle-class families to the district. Carel Bertream explains novels as "makers and carriers of memory and of-memory images,"[8] reminding Orhan Pamuk's words on the social impact of the flat-ownership code:

> … After the 1960s, everyone who had lived in İstanbul for several generations and were successful to earn a plot in the city, were shocked by the amount of this money that was coming from the sky. The very first job that these

[5] Most people of the non-Muslim community migrated from İstanbul after the demonstrations held on 6th and 7th September 1955, and the remaining few families sold their *köşk*s and *konak*s after this regulation.

[6] Keyder, Çağlar (2000). *Küresel ile Yerel Arasında.* Metis Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 181.

[7] Ibid., p. 183.

[8] The mentioned quote is as the following: "I would argue that novels provide a unique opportunity to enter the "Turkish house", a place that has been culturally and historically closed to scrutiny. Furthermore, by staging dramas of personal life, novels may be the major arena in which places can take on a symbolic resonance for a large group; this is especially true of historical novels, which choose their settings carefully. Thus, I argue that, when set in the "old Turkish house", historical novels reflect how the writer and his or her milieu thought about the houses of the past. *Novels, then, are makers and carriers of memory and of memory images*." B Bertream, Carel (2004) Housing the Symbolic Universe in Early Republican Turkey: Architecture, Memory, and "the Felt Real". In E. Bastea (Ed.) *Memory and Architecture* (pp. 165-190). University of New Mexico Press, New Mexico, p. 165.

> people would do in order to prove that they were rich, was, of course, to argue and quarrel with each other about the division of the property.[9]

These new apartments were being marketed in newspapers with several advertisements Figures 5.1a – 5.1f present a large perspective of the literal "modern" codes used to market the new residences. The usage of such coded words as *reinforced concrete, full parquet* on the floors*, radiator heating, elevator, shower, toilet, a room for maid,* or *chest-room* attracted the prospective owners in desire of moving to a modern residence. It is by no doubt that each code in the ads represented many subtle meanings in the background. For example, the use of reinforced concrete in a building guaranteed to the prospective owners a stronger, cleaner, and a fire-resistant residence with a low maintenance cost. Radiator heating, elevator, shower and toilet designed with a water-closet (and sometimes a bidet) were the modern conducts of western daily life: These took their places in the dreams of many families as most of them were fed up with cracking timber floors of the traditional houses, which had toilets in places where occupants were scared to go, or which had wooden stairs that children thought as places where monsters were living in.

Such advertisements hence welcomed people to buy a modern flat, but most importantly, the favorite location for such flats was in Moda: A district that had been identified with its upper-class and elite society, who welcomed modernism earlier than everyone else. The residences of Moda had "a panoramic view" to the sea, to Kalamış or Fenerbahçe, to the Princes' islands, or a large view starting from Yeşilköy to Kabataş[10] (Figure 5.1a). How timber *köşk*s and *konak*s were marketed in the 1930s and the 1940s, helps to understand the attractive identity

[9] Pamuk, Orhan (2013) *İstanbul: Hatıralar ve Şehir*. YKY, İstanbul, p. 185.

[10] Yeşilköy is a town in the south-western part of the European side where the first airport of İstanbul is located. Kabataş is the town where most ships and trams started their journey in the European side, just across Üsküdar.

of the Moda district Figures 5.2a – 5.2c The transformation towards modernization is easily legible by examining the literal codes used in these advertisements from different periods: To live in an apartment flat was to have the priority to live among the similar minded people in a modern district of the city.[11]

Domestic management areas that consisted of food preparation and storage areas and rooms for maids were transformed in the new apartments in the 1960s and the 1970s with the combination of the previously segmented food preparation and storage areas into the singular space of the kitchen. The area of new kitchens became larger compared to the ones in the earlier residences. The dwellers, who did not have a large kitchen, started making alterations and transformations in the interior space by tearing down walls for the enlargement of their kitchens.

The change towards larger kitchens as well as bathrooms had several reasons behind: One was the welcoming of the new electronic domestic appliances and features, i.e. the refrigerator, the washing machine, the built-in bathtub or the bathtub. The other reason was the disappearance of the stay-in-maid from the daily-life of the family, which provided additional space, as the room of the maid was no longer needed. The large transitional spaces where the status of the family was firstly displayed also got smaller in comparison to the previous spatial allocation types; and, most importantly, the hiring of *kapıcı*s (doormen) as the new and common labourer in apartments paved the way to the social transformation of the nuclear family as well. The role of the women in families was also transformed in this context when they became both working women and working mothers: Being busy in the kitchen with the supplies that the doorman delivered to the flats in apartments every day was supporting the powerful and proud woman image of the Republican period. Women in the nuclear families of

[11] Özbay, Ferhunde (2015). *Dünden Bugüne Aile, Kent ve Nüfu*s. İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 121.

the upper-class in Moda were usually educated well, and had prestigious jobs as engineers or medical doctors. Therefore, the disappearance of the stay-in-maid and appearance of the doorman did not indeed signify that the identity of the population in Moda became lower-class, but this transformation continued to signify the identity of the Moda population as upper or else middle-class.

The spatial allocation of the residences became monotonous and standardized from the mid-1960s onwards by sharing a similar formal language as a result of the desire of contractors to "allocate as many flats as possible in one apartment", and their so-called "modern" design of placing the bedrooms in the far end of the flats where downsized and narrower transitional spaces could be provided. As mentioned before, private realm of the dwellers began to have more priority by contractors and architects of the period while designing the residences. Towards the 1970s, even the proportion of the window openings was transformed to be downsized, which is also an indication of the condition of being less open, less exposed and less displayed to the public realm.[12] Özbay shares a personal memory quotation from one of her interviews to depict the social and spatial transformation of the era with the emergence of the privacy issue:

> I always wanted to live in an apartment, because I was having feelings of guilt by not being able to provide my children separate rooms while we used to live in our two-storied timber house. I was hoping that the whole family would gather around and watch television in the living room once we started living in an apartment. However, the very first day we moved to our new flat, my children went to spend time in their own rooms. My husband and I were left alone in the large living room. I felt so sad that I cried afterwards. [13]

[12] The change on the facades can be followed from the photographs of the apartments that can be found in the related figure series of the mentioned residence, referring to the numbers in the Figures List.

[13] The original quote is as the following: "İki katlı ahşap evimizde yaşarken çocuklarıma ayrı odalar verememin suçluluğunu hissettiğimden, apartmanda oturmak istedim.

Many of the *Modalı* people interviewed in this study shared similar thoughts when they moved from their traditional houses to modern apartment flats. As the size of the rooms increased in square meters, common and transitional areas became downsized towards the 1970s to provide more space for the private realm as required by modern life style.[14] This shifts in the interior residential spaces in Moda thus tell the story of different phases of modernization in Turkey from the early Republican period to the mid-twentieh century.

No matter when the residences of the interviewees were built or demolished, each one of them had one thing in common to be emphasized: The feeling of nostalgia. As Heynen states, a dwelling is always associated with "tradition, security, and harmony" while life pursues with "connectedness and meaningfulness" in it.[15] Dwellers of the residences in Moda seem to have provided this feeling of connectedness with accessories, furniture and fixtures rooted in their pasts – i.e. the tradition. This study presented a continuous process of modernization, the process of social transformation that defined the twentieth century examined in this study. The cases of residences examined specify certain dates when they were constructed or demolished, which tell us an exemplary part of the story of modernization in Turkey, and the detailed analysis of the transformation of residential interior spaces shows how daily life was adapted to contemporary political and social changes despite the strong feeling of nostalgia for what was lost:

Bütün ailenin salonda bir araya gelip birlikte televizyon seyredeceğini umuyordum. Yeni dairemize taşındığımız gün çocuklar odalarına çekildi. Kocam ve ben koskoca salonda yalnız kaldı. O kadar üzüldüm ki üzüntümden ağladım." Ibid., 124.

[14] In order to compare the proportions of the interior spaces of the residences in Moda among different cases, and/or within the houses themselves, the reader could investigate the schemes in the Appendix. It should not be forgotten that these schemes could not be prepared in exact architectural scale, as the plans of the related residences do not provide the information on the scale used.

[15] Heynen, Hilde (1999) *Modernity and Architecture: A Critique.* MIT Press, Massachusetts, p. 18.

> To be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world – and at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are.[16]

[16] Berman, M. (1988) *All That is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity,* Penguin London, p. 15.





Figure 5.1a, 5.1b. *Sale ad for residence in an apartment in Moda*
"Sahibi eliyle" means the residence/flat is being sold via its owner
Source: C*umhurivet*, 11 November 1963 (above), 10 May 1964 (below)





Figure 5.1c, 5.1d. *Sale ad for residence in an apartment in Moda*
Source: C*umhuriyet,* 10 July 1966 (above), 9 October 1969 (below)



Figure 5.1e. *Sale ad for residence in an apartment in Moda.*
Source: C*umhuriyet,* 17 March 1970



Moda'da Satılık Gayrimenkul
DENİZ MANZARALI

Moda, Moda Caddesi 270/2 kapı sayılı ve Kadıköy 1 inci Bölge Tapu Sicilinde 38 pafta, 123 ada, 1 parselde kayıtlı 508.50 metrekare yüzölçümlü gayrimenkul açık pazarlık yolu ile 29.9.1972 Cuma günü saat 15.00 — 16.00 arasında Şişli, Halâskârgazi Caddesi No: 291 Kat: 6'da satılacaktır.

İstanbul İmar ve Plânlama Müdürlüğünün 10.8.1972 günlü 5279 Sayılı İmar durumuna göre: İnşaat nizamı bitişik, bina yüksekliği gabari + çatı kat, bina sahası dikdörtgen şeklinde yaklaşık 15×24=360 metrekaredir. Köşebaşında olan gayrimenkulün Moda Caddesine 24 metre, Beşbıyık Sokağına 20 metre cephesi vardır. Bina yüksekliği gabariye göre Beşbıyık Sokağında 20.49 metredir.

Gayrimenkul boş olarak teslim edilecektir.

İsteklilerin açık pazarlığa katılabilmeleri için teminat olarak 200.000.— lira yatırmaları gereklidir. Bloke çek kabul edilir.

Satışla görevli Komisyon satış kararı verip vermemekte kesin olarak serbesttir.

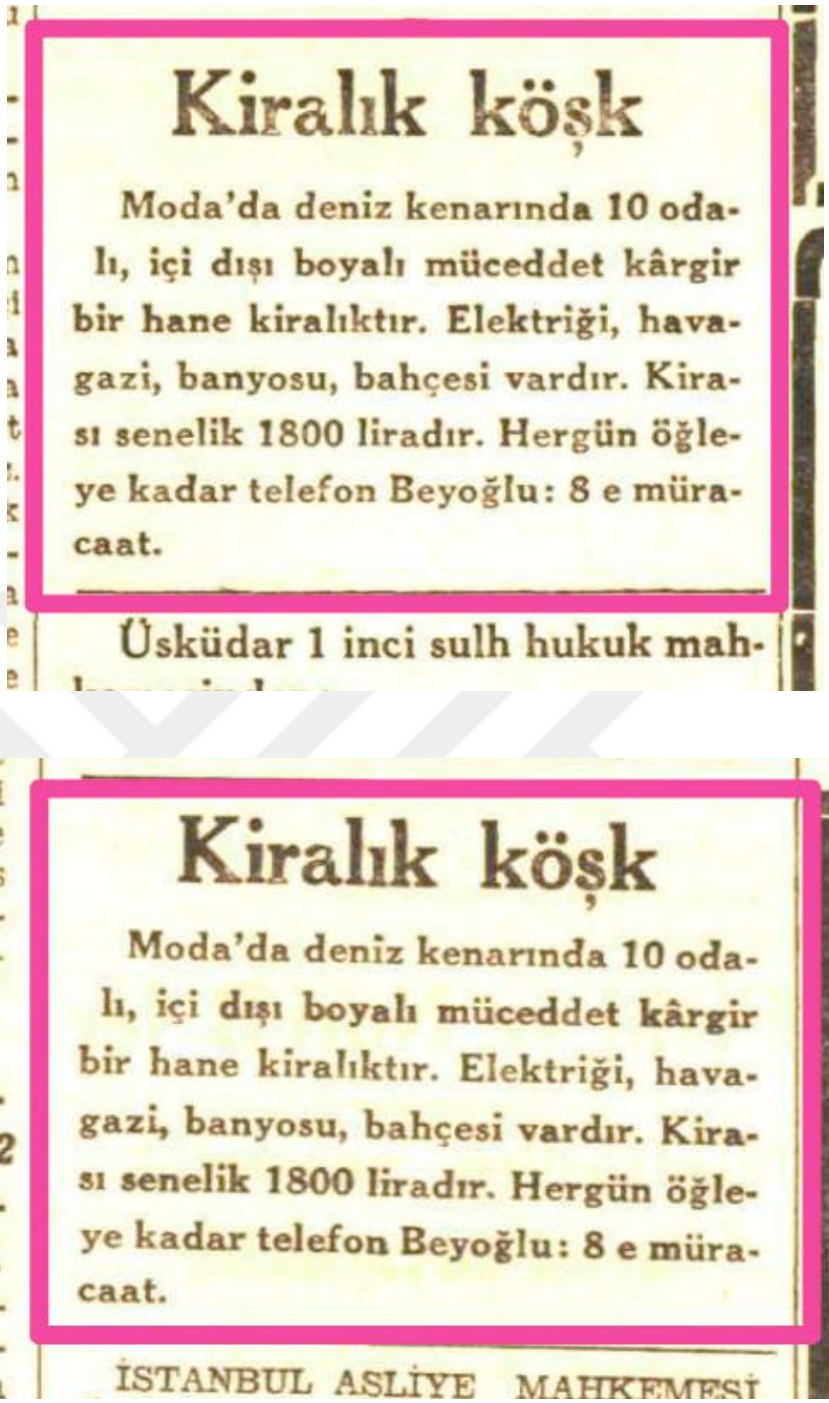
Ek bilgi için: 48 08 75 — 47 03 59 veya 44 90 19

(Cumhuriyet: 6824)

Figure 5.1f. *Sale ad for an apartment in Moda.*
Source: C*umhuriyet*, 25 September 1972



Figure 5.2a. *Sale ad for a köşk in Moda*
Source: C*umhuriyet,* 24 September 1930



Kiralık köşk

Moda'da deniz kenarında 10 odalı, içi dışı boyalı müceddet kârgir bir hane kiralıktır. Elektriği, havagazi, banyosu, bahçesi vardır. Kirası senelik 1800 liradır. Hergün öğleye kadar telefon Beyoğlu: 8 e müracaat.

Üsküdar 1 inci sulh hukuk mah-

Kiralık köşk

Moda'da deniz kenarında 10 odalı, içi dışı boyalı müceddet kârgir bir hane kiralıktır. Elektriği, havagazi, banyosu, bahçesi vardır. Kirası senelik 1800 liradır. Hergün öğleye kadar telefon Beyoğlu: 8 e müracaat.

İSTANBUL ASLİYE MAHKEMESİ

Figure 5.2b, 5.2c. *Sale ad for a köşk in Moda.*
Source: C*umhuriyet,* 4 April 1931 (Above), 6 Aprl 1931 (Below)

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

Date of the Interview:

Place of the Interview:

Personal Information	
Personal Information	
Date of Birth:	
Place of Birth:	
Sex:	
Profession:	

Questions on the Research

1. Why did you prefer Moda for residing?
2. Which year did you start living in Moda?
3. Please give the names of your previous residence, the streets where these residences were located, and the year span of your occupation there.

Year Span	Name of the Street	Name of the Residence

4. What is the reason of your preference for occupying your current residence? (Financial reasons, short distance to the pier/tram/school/church etc.) Which (grocery) stores are you using, Have you ever used another store for your daily shopping, what was the reason of this change?

5. What is the reason of your preference for occupying your previous residence? (Financial reasons, short distance to the pier/tram/school/church etc.)

6. Do you know that names of the architect and/or the contractor of your current residence?

7. Do you know that names of the architect and/or the contractor of your previous residence?

8. Can you give some details about the organization of your current residence? (Relationship between the entrance/kitchen/bedrooms etc.)

9. Which parts of your current house you changed on the interior organization? (Closing the balcony of the kitchen and making it a storage, cancelling the bathtub in the bathroom, combining two bedroom into one, etc.)

10. Regarding the furniture and equipment of your current house;

Type of the feature or furniture (Armchair, cupboard, refrigeratorı, etc.)	Year purchased	Custom-made or serial production	Store where it was purchased or the brand name	Space of use	Year span of use	Reason for changing (where applicable)

11. Which one of these was designed in the original plan of the apartment that you live in now?:

Parking lot	
Heating system	
Room for maid	
Ventilation and day-light shaft	
Storage area per residence	

12. Which district do your close relatives and friends reside in? If the district is Moda, which street do they reside in?
13. Which stores do you usually use on the Moda Avenue? What are the reasons of using the Moda Avenue in your daily-life? (Accessing to the public transportation spots, visit to friends or family, shortcut from somewhere, dining etc.)
14. How many days do you use the Moda Avenue per month or per week?
15. Which stores do you usually use on the Bahariye (General Asım Gündüz) Avenue? What are the reasons of using the Moda Avenue in your daily-life? (Accessing to the public transportation spots, visit to friends or family, shortcut from somewhere, dining etc.)
16. How many days do you use the Bahariye Avenue per month or per week?
17. What is the best memory that you have about Moda within the years before the 1970s?
18. What is the worst memory that you have about Moda within the years before the 1970s? How was your daily life affected? (What were the impacts of September 6-7, 1955 demonstrations into your daily-life routine?)
19. Can you share a memory that your elders and parents told you about the residences they had resided once in the old times of Moda? Which street is the memory about?
20. If you should choose a building, which symbolizes the Ottoman Empire in Moda, which one would you choose, and why?
21. If you should choose building which symbolizes the Republican Turkey in Moda, which one would you choose, and why?
22. Can you please share some anecdotes or sentences that you recall about Moda and the daily-life with these specified years: Before 1900, 1900-1923, 1923-1950s, 1950s-1980.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEWS

SEDEF EĞİLMEZ SUSMUŞ

Röportaj Tarihi: 4 Ekim 2015, Pazartesi

Röportaj Yeri: Yoğurtçu Parkı Caddesi, no: 84, Ebru Apartmanı, kendi daireleri

Kişisel Bilgiler	
Doğum yılı:	1955
Doğum yeri:	İstanbul Fındıklı
Cinsiyet:	Kadın
Meslek:	Matematik Mühendisi
İkamet ettiği konut:	Ebru Apartmanı, Yoğurtçu Parkı Caddesi 84 (eski numarası 120)

Araştırma ile ilgili sorular:

1. İkamet etmek için neden Moda'yı tercih ettiniz?
   Aile eskiden itibaren buradalardı
2. Moda'da hangi yıl ikamet etmeye başladınız?
   1956
3. Bugüne kadar hangi yıllarda ve hangi sokaklarda/caddelerde ikamet ettiniz?

Yıl aralığı	Sokak/Cadde adı	Konut adı
1956-1963	Yoğurtçu Parkı Caddesi 84	Köşk
1963-1969	Yoğurtçu Parkı Caddesi 84 Rahmeti Arat sokak başı (dönüşümde, yıkıldı)	Sebat Apt. (ev kiralandı)
1969- 1983	Yoğurtçu Parkı Caddesi 84	Ebru Apartmanı
1991-2017	Yoğurtçu Parkı Caddesi 84	

1. Şu an yaşadığınız konutta ikamet etmeyi tercih etmenizin sebebi nedir? (Fiyat uygunluğu, iskeleye/tramvaya/okula/kliseye yakın olması vb.) Daha sık hangi bakkalı/marketi kullanıyorsunuz? Önceden farklı bir bakkal/market kullanıyor idiyseniz değiştirme nedeniniz?

(Ses kaydında detaylıca var) Dededen kalma yerimiz olduğu için. Ama bütün bunların hepsi bizim için çok cazip doğrusunu söylemek gerekirse. Yani buradaki yaşam neden şu an cazip? Evlendim, yaklaşık 9 sene Göztepe'de oturduk. O ara burası sapa geliyordu, çok yoğundu yaşam. Burası bizim için özellikle emeklilik döneminde çok özel. Hiçbir yere değişmeyeceğim bir yer burası. Çünkü hala sizinle aynı kafada olan insanlar var çevrenizde. Çok büyük bir geri dönüşümle göç alan bir semt değil. Benim ve benzeri insanlar ayrılamadığı için buradan, buradalar. Ya da mesela Kadıköy Anadolu'da St. Joseph'te çocuğu var, buraya kiraya gelen bir kesim de var. E Moda'da oturanlar zaten Modalıdır, Modalı olmak bir ayrıcalıktır gerçekten. Halkıyla , görüşüyle bambaşkadır.

Bizim içinse kortumuz önümüzde, daima tenis oynuyoruz, köpeğimiz var, park önümüzde, çık-yürüyüşünü yap, Kadıköy'e daime yürüyerek gideriz, hiçbir zaman vasıta kullanmayız, önümüzden dolmuşa bin caddeye git piyasaya çık… Her bakımdan rahat. Kafamız rahat, önümüz açıklık, bir kalabalık güruh içinde değiliz, daha sakiniz nispeten. Bizim için şu an altın değerinde doğrusu.

2. Bundan once yaşadığınız konutlarda ikamet etmeyi tercih etmenizin sebebi nedir? (Fiyat uygunluğu, iskeleye/tramvaya/okula/kliseye yakın olması vb.)

Birkaç kuşaktır burada yaşıyor olmamız.

3. Şu an yaşadığınız konutun inşa edildiği yılı ve mimarını biliyor musunuz?

Mimarı Atay Aliyazıcıoğlu, Proje tarihi 1967, 1969'da bitmiş ve girmişler. Müteahhit Halil Köseoğlu – Moda'ya gelen ilk laz müteahhit.

4. Önceden yaşadığınız konutların inşa edildiği yılı ve mimarını biliyor musunuz?

Güven Sokak, Göztepe, Neşe Apartmanı 71-72 yılları. Yapıldığı zaman geri dönüşüm değil, bir bağ, bağın içine yapılmış. Geri dönüşümde değildi yani.

5. Şu an yaşadığınız konutun ev iç düzenini aktarabilir misiniz? (Giriş/Mutfak/Salon/Odalar/Banyo ilişkisi vb.)

Planlar var. Fotoğraflardan da aktarılabilir.

6. Evin düzeninde orijinalinden dönüştürdüğünüz/değiştirdiğiniz alanlar: hangileridir? (Mutfağın balkonunu kapatıp kiler yapmak, banyonun orijinalinde küvetli olması, iki odayı birleştirip tek oda yapmak, aydınlığı kapatmak, vb.)

Mutfak koridora açılıyordu, eve geldiklerinde kapıyı koridordan kapatıp, ortada daha rahat hareket alanı olsun diye. 1991.
Arka balkonu içeri aldılar.

7. Evinizin iç düzenindeki mobilyalar ile ilgili;

Mobilya cinsi (Çalışma koltuğu, büfe, buzdolabı, vb.)	Satın alındığı sene	Özel yapım / Seri imalat	Satın alındığı dükkan / Marka
Çamaşır makinesi	1983	-	Arçelik Toç
Çamaşır makinesi	50ler'den 1983'e kadar	-	Merdaneli çamaşır makinesi
Buzdolabı	1983'e kadar	-	-

8. Apartmanın ilk yapıldığı original halinde hangileri mevcuttu?

Otopark (yoksa arabalar nereye parkediliyor?)	Yoktu. Arabalarını tenis kortunun olduğu yere park ediyorlardı, boş bir alandı. Şu anda da belediyenin verdiği bir alanı otopark olarak kullanıyorlar karşı parselde.
Kalorifer sistemi (yoksa kaç yılında geçildi?)	İlk yapıldığında vardı. 2 kez kazan değişti. Doğalgaz'a 96'da geçildi.
Hizmetçi odası	Kapıcı dairesi var. Dairelerin hizmetçi odası yok.
Aydınlık	Var.
Her daireye özel depo alanı/Bodrum	Yok.

9. Akrabalarınız ve aile dostlarınız hangi semtte ikamet ediyorlar?

Moda'da ikamet edenlerin yaşadığı sokak ismi nedir?
Genelde Moda.

10. Moda Caddesi'nde sık uğradığınız dükkanlar hangileridir? Günlük yaşamınızda Moda Caddesi'ne uğrama sebepleriniz nelerdir? (Toplu taşımaya ulaşım, akraba ziyareti, kısa yol, restoran vb.)

Çarşı alışveriş için gidilir. Kadıköy çarşı'ya Moda Caddesinden geçerler. Ali'de dondurma yenir, Pasifik'te oturulur, pastaları yenir, Nur Kasap'tan et alınır.

11. Moda Caddesi'ne haftada veya ayda yaklaşık kaç kez uğrarsınız?

Haftada iki üç kez.

12. Bahariye Caddesi'nde sık uğradığınız dükkanlar hangileridir? Günlük yaşamınızda Bahariye Caddesi'ne uğrama sebepleriniz nelerdir? (Toplu taşımaya ulaşım, akraba ziyareti, kısa yol, restoran vb.)

Çarşı alışveriş için gidilir. Kadıköy çarşı'ya Moda Caddesinden geçerler. Çarıkçı mahallesinden Lokman fırınından ekmeğini al, aşağıya in çarşı içindeki Şöhret'ten lokum al, Yalı çiftliği'nden peynir al.

13. Bahariye Caddesi'ne haftada veya ayda yaklaşık kaç kez uğrarsınız?

Haftada iki üç kez

14. 1970 öncesine dair Moda ile ilgili hatırladığınız en hoş anı nedir?

Moda Deniz Hamamı. Ayrı teknesi vardı herkesin, her gün denize girilir. Moda bizim için Zeynep Kamil demektir, çay bahçesinin adı. Tenis kortunun yanındaki çay bahçesi.

15. 1970 öncesine dair Moda ile ilgili hatırladığınız en kötü anı nedir? Günlük hayatınızı nasıl etkilemiştir? (6-7 Eylül olaylarının günlük yaşamınızdaki etkileri ne olabilir? Bakkalın/şarküterinin taşınması, komşularınızın/akrabalarınızın başka bir semte/ülkeye taşınması, semtteki huzursuzluktan dolayı sizin başka bir mahalleye taşınmanız vb.)

15-16 Haziran 1968 işçi olayları, korkunç.Yanan ev: Çarıkçı Mahallesi'nde bir ev, Bahariye Caddesinden balıkçılara inen caddesi. Anneannesinin kendi ailesinin evi imiş, sarayın mabeyinci başı babası, 70'lerde yandı. Sirkeci Neyir-Han (Sedef Hanım'ın babasının müteahhitliğini yaptığı bina)

16. Cumhuriyet dönemi Modası'nı simgeleyen veya anımsatan bir yapı/konut sorsak hangisini örnek verirdiniz? Sebebi nedir?

Riviera oteli, tek ya da çift katlı, bahçe içerisinde, ağaçlar arasında, Villa görünümde. Yıkılmış. Yerine Ebru Apartmanı'nın karşısındaki apartman yapılmış. Eski Tarık Akan filmleri burada çekilirmiş.

Anneannem dedemin evine buraya gelin gelmiş, o tarihten bu tarihe yaklaşık hesaplarsak onun buraya gelmesi 150 sene gibi oluyor. Ev kaç yıllıktı çok iyi bilmiyorum, bir ahşap ev. Bu ahşap ev şu anda oturduğumuz apartmanın parselinde bulunuyor. Apartmanın bulunduğu yer evin arka bahçesiydi, konum olarak bu şekildeydi. Bu evin yanında 2 ev daha var, keskin bir viraj vardı. Daha sonra bu virajda kalan şu 2 ev istimlak edildi. Kavşak genişletildi. Diğer parçaya da otopark yapıldı.

Ben bu evde doğdum. O evde çok geniş bir aile olarak yaşıyorduk. Zamanında çok zengin bir konakken, dedem rahmetli maddi durumu çok iyi bir aileden gelmekteydi. Hatta şöyle bir anısı varmış, annesi eline altınları verirmiş, oğlum

altınlarla oynasın gözü tok olsun diye. Fakat tabii o gözü tokluk sonradan acayip bir müsrifliğe dönüşmüş. Ve daha sonra dedem rahmetli, anneannemin üzerine başka hatunlar bulmuş. Bu Kuşdili Çayırında eskiden kumpanyalar kurulurmuş, şu anda otopark alanı olan yerde, oraya çadır tiyatroları gelirmiş, zamanının Eftelyaları vs.leri. Oradan kendilerine gore çok basit düzeyde bir hanımla ilişkiye girmiş vs. O paraları pulları altınları bir güzel yemiş savurmuş ve olayı bitirmiş. Benim çocukluğumda ise o ihtişamın zavallı geçmiş bitmiş döküntü bir hali vardı. Çünkü artık onu onarıp ayakta tutucak bir hal kalmamıştı. Dedem zaten vefat etmişti ben onu hiç görmedim. Yalnızca bu hikayeyi biliyorum. Ben burada 1955'te doğdum ve ilkokula burada başladım. Ev o kadar haraptı ki evin içinde yaşayamaz hale gelmiştik ben ilkokul 2/3'teyken. Maddi gücümüz de onarmaya müsait değildi. Dolayısıyla biz ufak ufak evi terketmeye başladık. Aile aile terketmeye başladık çünkü biz burada toplam 4 aileydik. Her ne kadar beraber olsak da ailelerin yaşam alanları farklıydı. Kapımızın kilidi yoktu ama herkesin odası, yemek yediği yer, içtiği yer, mutfağı, banyosu ayrıydı.

- Bu köşk isim olarak ne olarak geçiyordu?

Öyle isim olarak bilmem ne köşkü olarak zikredilmiyordu. O zamanlar soyadı kanunu yoktu. Dedemin soyadı Aydıner idi. Ama şunların köşkü diye bir şey hiç duymadım ben.
Bu ev dedem ve kız kardeşinin evi aslında . Dedemin çocukları ve kızkardeşin çocukları burada yaşıyordu. Dedemin çocukları annem olmuş oluyor, kızkardeşin çocukları da kardeş çocukları olmuş oluyor. Halamın oğulları var.

- Siz doğduğunuzda burada hangi aileler yaşıyordu?

Biz doğduğumuzda (sol tarafı gösteriyor) şu tarafında biz yaşıyorduk olduğu gibi. Burası oturma odamızdı. Eskiden mutfak dışardaymış. Arka bahçede ayrı bir binaymış. Benden once bu şekildeymiş, annemin anlattığı bu. Daha sonra bu bina yıkılmış mı ne olmuşsa arka odalardan birini mutfağa çevirmişler. Ön odada biz oturuyorduk, arka oda mutfak yapılmıştı. Bunun altı benim bildiğim zaman bakımsız hurda bir bodrum katıydı. Hatta şöyle bir anımı anlatayim, babam da mimardı, tarihi eski eserciydi, sayılı insanlardandı bu konuda - Ertuğrul Eğilmez ismi. Çok gezerdi tabii babam, camii ve kilise restore ederdi. Babam gezdiğinde bana Edirne'den bir kuzu getirmişti, aşağıda bodrum dediğim yerde demirden bir yer yapılmıştı kuzuyu orada besliyorduk. Ama bundan once orada hamamları varmış. En altta kata bu evin ihtişamlı olduğu yıllarda varmış bu hamam, ben doğmadan once. Belki de anneannem evlenmeden once de olabilir. Ön odayla arka oda arasındaki yer banyoya dönüştürüldü sonrasında, banyo dediğim: kurna, alaturka tuvalet vb. Şeyler vardı. Üst katta yine biz yaşıyorduk. Önde bir yatak odamız vardı, arkada bir yatak odamız vardı. Yani bu şekilde bir yaşam alanımız vardı. Bir mutfağımız, bir banyomuz, üst katta da odalarımız vardı. Burada (sağ tarafını gösteriyor evin) – tabii annemler üç kız kardeşler-, diğer iki kız kardeş evlenip gitmiş. Dolayısıyla biz evin yarısını işgal etmiş vaziyetteyiz. Öteki yarıda da garibim dayımlar, birinci katta 3 çocuğuyla bir dayı, ikinci katta yine ön oda arka oda olarak yine ikinci dayı. En genç dayı da – o bekardı- o da halasıyla birlikte şu ortadaki odayı işgal etmiş vaziyetteydi. Şuraya girdiğimizde (orta üstü işaret

ediyor) kocaman sofa denilen bir alan vardı. Kocaman… (Şu anda yaşadıkları salonu göstererek "buradan büyük sofa" diyor). Çok iyi hatırlıyorum, tahtalar vardı, tahtalar birazcık aralanmıştı, biz orada misket falan oynardık çünkü benim kuzenlerimin hepsi erkekti, bir kız bendim. Biz erkek çocuk oyuncakları oynuyorduk o zaman, o misketler biz aralardan aşağılara düşerdi sofada. Yine keza o zaman, yani biz doğmadan evvel, evde hep bir müzik aleti çalınırmış. Mesela anneannemler hepsi ud çalarmış. Bir piyanoyu biliyorum ben, o piyano orta malı olmuş bu sofada dururdu. Ve herkes onu çalardı, her oturan piyanoyu çalardı. Büyükler tabii, biz hiç öğrenemedik. Ama piyanonun akordu gitmiş her bir şeyi gitmiş eski bir piyano. Zamanında hepsi ders almışlar, muhakkak evde bir enstürman çalınmalıymış o zamanlar, statü simgesi diyebiliriz. Şu alan (çatı katını gösteriyor tam üzerinde), muhteşem bir manzaraya bakan – benim bildiğim zaman tavan arası deniyordu oraya. Ama annemin anlattığına gore, mehtaplı gecelerde yatağı döşeyi buraya taşırlar ve burada yatarlarmış. Ama görmesin kimse diye de korkarlarmış büyüklerinden. (Cüneyt Bey araya giriyor, o dönemde Bakırköy'deki köşkleriyle birebir aynı olduğunu söylüyor tipolojik olarak Sedef Hanım'ın anlattığı evin).
Evin arka bahçesi tamamen meyvalık vs. ve kuyu vardı.

- Orta odayı banyoya çevirmiştik demiştiniz…

Benden once, ben doğmadan once olmuş o. Aklımda kalan şöyle, bir kurna vardı. Nasıl ısınıyorduk, içine bir şeyler atıp da ısınıyorduk, herhalde kazanlı bir şeyler vardı. Herhalde bakır kazanlı bir şey, kocaman bir kazan olabilir. Bir de çinko gözümün önünde var. Çinkolu bir şeyler vardı. Nasıl banyo yapıyorduk, oturuyorduk öyle yıkanıyorduk.

- Peki mutfak ortak mıydı iki ailenin de?

Hayır, herkesin ayrıydı. Bizim yerimiz olduğu için kocaman bir tezgah vardı arka odayı çevirdiğimiz için mutfağa. Şöyle bir L tezgah vardı, gerisinde de oturmak için masa sandalye vs vardı. Ama benim dayımlar ufak yerleri paylaşmak zorunda oldukları için mesela yengem (Bizim öyle bir şey ki, mesela bu ev apartmana döndüğü için tüm bu bahsettiğim kişilerin daireleri vardı. Ve çok şükür ki aslında genetik olarak sağlam bir nesildik ve biz bugüne kadar yaşlılarımızı taşıdık. Ama öyle bir rüzgar esti ki şu an, ard arda ard arda hepsi gidiyor. Geçen sene, 1,5 sene oldu, burada oturan dayı 31 Mart'ta gitti, ondan sonraki 16 Nisan'da annem gitti. Annem 99 yaşındaydı öldüğünde. Teyzem üstte şu anda çok kötü durumda, yenge de dayının eşi de geçen hafta 7'sini yaptık yeni.) Hep birlikte bir yaşam, kaç yıllık beraber yaşantı olduğu için insana çok zor geliyor. Bütün bu geçmiş çok zor geliyor. Çok uzun birlikte olunca insan kederleniyor. Konak yıkılsa da sonrasında bina (apartman) yapıldı yine buradaydık.

İki kocaman berjer vardı, yeşil kadife kaplıydı, kolları oymalı büyük berjerlerdi. Ayna konsollar vardı, girdin mi eve böyle karşına üzeri mermer küçük bir şeyler vardı. Bahsettiğim berjerleri babam almış getirmiş, anneannemle dedemden kalma değildi onlar. Annem evlenmiş, evlenince bu evden çıkmış ve karşıda bir eve gitmişler. Sonra ben doğunca bir şekilde tekrar buraya gelme kararı almışlar. Doğumdan sonra orayı kapatmışlar

buraya gelmişler. Benim de kaderim böyleydi, evlendikten sonra babam vefat etti, annem yalnız kalmasın diye biz de buraya yerleştik.

Ev (köşk) çok harap durumdayken yine bu civarlarda kiraya çıkmaya başladık. O arada da başka hissedarlar da girdiği için (parselin hissedarları), evle ilgili araştırmalar başlandı. Köşkün içinde de bir adam yerleştirdik. Çünkü tüm eşyaları alamadık, dünyanın eşyası vardı. Yerleştirdiğimiz kişi de adamın tekiydi, mahalleden yoksul bir adam, bir ücret karşılığında içinde birisi yaşasın diye. O adam soyup soydu evi. Büyük dedelerden hatıraların hepsini bir bir soymuş. Bir tane hezaren kaplama (hasır kaplama) sallanan bir koltuk vardı mesela ona çok üzülüyorum, çok severdim. Lake takımlar vardı. Hepsini adam satmış yemiş. Biz bir gittik ki ev tam takır.

- Ebru Apartmanı'nda yapılan değişiklikler nelerdir?

Mutfak koridora açılıyordu. Biz onu, tekrardan geldiğimizde eve, bir mimar akrabamız bize yardım etti daha genişletmek için yardım etti. Çünkü eski ev ve mutfaklar genelde aydınlığa bakan mutfaklar. Kapıyı koridordan kapattık, antreye açılan bir şekilde dönüştürdük muftağı. Daha rahat ve düzgün bir hareket alanı bırakacak şekilde yeniden bir mutfak yaptık. Bunun üzerinden de bir 20 sene geçti şu anda. Hala da öyle duruyor. Mutfak 1991'de değiştirildi. Banyoyu hiç yaptırtmadık. En eski haliyle duruyor. Bir de arka balkonu içeri aldık, sene 1995 olsa gerek.
1983'te Arçelik TOÇ ilk defa çıkmıştı, evleniyoruz diye almıştık. Banyodan kalkar koridora kadar yürürdü. Bu evde ben evlenene kadar merdaneliyle yıkıyordu annem.

VOLKAN AYMAN (CAFERAĞA MAHALLESİ MUHTARI ZEYNEP AYMAN'IN EŞİ)

Röportaj Tarihi: 5 Ekim 2016
Röportaj Yeri: Caferağa Mahallesi Muhtarlık . (Cillov Apt 45-50, Denizlili bir aile)

Kişisel Bilgiler	
Doğum yılı:	1962
Doğum yeri:	İstanbul, Moda
Cinsiyet:	Erkek
Meslek:	Serbest
İkamet ettiği konut:	Eski Cillov Apartmanı Sakini (19 yıl orada ikamet etmiş)

Araştırma ile ilgili sorular:

1. İkamet etmek için neden Moda'yı tercih ettiniz?
Burada doğdum.

2. Moda'da hangi yıl ikamet etmeye başladınız?
1962

3. Bugüne kadar hangi yıllarda ve hangi sokaklarda/caddelerde ikamet ettiniz?

Yıl aralığı	Sokak/Cadde adı	Konut adı
1962-1996	Hacı İzzet Sokak	Ayalp Apartmanı
1996-2016	Yenifikir Sokak	Cillov Apartmanı

4. Şu an yaşadığınız konutta ikamet etmeyi tercih etmenizin sebebi nedir? (Fiyat uygunluğu, iskeleye/tramvaya/okula/kliseye yakın olması vb.) Daha sık hangi bakkalı/marketi kullanıyorsunuz? Önceden farklı bir bakkal/market kullanıyor idiyseniz değiştirme nedeniniz?

Cillov'u tercih etmemizin sebebi, aslında kendi apartmanımızda da oturabilirdik. Ama orada benim oturabileceğim daire bize yetmiyordu metrekare olarak. Orada Cillov'da boş bir daire vardı. Orası önlü arkalıdır. Bir tarafı Kadıköy Kız Lisesi'ne bakar arka bahçeye, bir tarafı da Yeni Fikir Sokağı'na bakar. Cumbalı çok keyifli bir ev. Ailemize yakın, ahbaplara yakın. Biz dolmuşların geçtiği sokaktan buruna kadar olan kısmı Moda kabul ederiz, öbür tarafı Moda Kabul etmeyiz (Bademaltı Sokağı'nın buruna kadar olan

tarafı oluyor). Bir de bizim oturduğumuz Moda'nın Mühürdar kısmıdır. Çocukluğumun geçtiği yer olduğu için.

5. Bundan önce yaşadığınız konutlarda ikamet etmeyi tercih etmenizin sebebi nedir? (Fiyat uygunluğu, iskeleye/tramvaya/okula/kliseye yakın olması vb.)

Mobilya cinsi (Çalışma koltuğu, büfe, buzdolabı, vb.)	Satın alındığı sene	Özel yapım / Seri imalat	Satın alındığı dükkan / Marka	Varsa değiştirilme sebebi

Ayalp apartmanı idi, aile apartmanı olduğundan oradaydık - köşk yıkılmıştı.

6. Şu an yaşadığınız konutun inşa edildiği yılı ve mimarını biliyor musunuz?

45-50 arası, mimarı araştırılacak. (Bulunamadı)

7. Önceden yaşadığınız konutların inşa edildiği yılı ve mimarını biliyor musunuz?

Ayalp Apt. Mimarın adı Mahmut, 70 ya da 71.

8. Evin düzeninde orijinalinden dönüştürdüğünüz/değiştirdiğiniz alanlar hangileridir? (Mutfağın balkonunu kapatıp kiler yapmak, banyonun orijinalinde küvetli olması, iki odayı birleştirip tek oda yapmak, aydınlığı kapatmak, vb.)

Küçük tuvaleti kullanmadık hiç, ayakkabılık olarak kullandık. Mimari olarak çok değiştirmedik. Orası Fransız tuğlasıyla yapılmış yığma bir binadır. Aşağı yukarı tuğlalar 30 cm filandır. Yığma binada her duvar bir taşıyıcıdır, o nedenle herhangi bir duvarı yıkmak binanın sağlamlığıyla oynamak demektir. Mimari olarak herhangi bir değişiklik yapmadık. Evin iç konumuyla ilgili: Mutfağın dolaplarının bir kısmını değiştirdik, tezgahı değiştirmedik. Dolaplar yetmiyordu, dolapları ekledik. Banyomuza duşakabin yaptırdık, küvet değildi. Yine duşakabindi önceden. 2000 senesi diyebiliriz. 2008'de tüm beyaz eşyaları değiştirdik.

Salonlar eskiden ikiye ayrılırdı, salon – salle-a-manger gibi. Biz eve girer girmez o kapıları kaldırdık.

9. Evinizin iç düzenindeki mobilyalar ile ilgili;

Duşakabin	1983	-	-	Duşakabini değiştirmek istemişler
Banyo ince işler	2000	-	-	
Arçelik çamaşır makinesi	2008	-	-	
-	2008	-	-	Tüm beyaz eşyalar değişti

10. Apartmanın ilk yapıldığı original halinde hangileri mevcuttu?

Otopark (yoksa arabalar nereye parkediliyor?)	Hiçbir zaman olmadı. Sokakta uygun herhangi bir yere.
Kalorifer sistemi (yoksa kaç yılında geçildi?)	Orjinalinde soba varmış. 96'da doğal gaza geçilmiş, merkezi değil. Kalorifersiz bir bina idi.
Hizmetçi odası	Var. Aydınlğa bakan kısım olabilir
Aydınlık	Var.
Her daireye özel depo alanı/Bodrum	Yok.

11. Akrabalarınız ve aile dostlarınız hangi semtte ikamet ediyorlar? Moda'da ikamet edenlerin yaşadığı sokak ismi nedir?

Evet. Hacı İzzet ve Yeni fikir.

12. Moda Caddesi'nde sık uğradığınız dükkanlar hangileridir? Günlük yaşamınızda Moda Caddesi'ne uğrama sebepleriniz nelerdir? (Toplu taşımaya ulaşım, akraba ziyareti, kısa yol, restoran vb.)

Merhabalaşmak için bile gidiyoruz. Alışveriş de yapılıyor ev için. Her gün dönüş yolunda uğruyoruz. Çarşıya giderken evet. Günlük sabit ihtiyaçları Moda Caddesi'nden ediniyoruz ve çarşıdan. Çarşıya giderken Moda Caddesi'nden geçmeyi tercih ediyoruz, kestirme yol olduğu için.

13. Moda Caddesi'ne haftada veya ayda yaklaşık kaç kez uğrarsınız?

Her gün birkaç kez.

14. Bahariye Caddesi'nde sık uğradığınız dükkanlar hangileridir? Günlük yaşamınızda Bahariye Caddesi'ne uğrama sebepleriniz nelerdir? (Toplu taşımaya ulaşım, akraba ziyareti, kısa yol, restoran vb.)

Bahariye'den üst baş alınır, ara sıra o da.

15. Bahariye Caddesi'ne haftada veya ayda yaklaşık kaç kez uğrarsınız?

Haftada en az 3 kez.

16. 1970 öncesine dair Moda ile ilgili hatırladığınız en hoş anı nedir?

Hacı İzzet Sokak Orhan Bey Apartman arkasında bisiklet tamircisi.

17. 1970 öncesine dair Moda ile ilgili hatırladığınız en kötü anı nedir? Günlük hayatınızı nasıl etkilemiştir? (6-7 Eylül olaylarının günlük yaşamınızdaki etkileri ne olabilir? Bakkalın/şarküterinin taşınması, komşularınızın/akrabalarınızın başka bir semte/ülkeye taşınması, semtteki huzursuzluktan dolayı sizin başka bir mahalleye taşınmanız vb.)

Çok huzurlu bir yer Moda. Eskiden de öyleydi şimdi de öyle. 68'deki Haziran'daki gösterilerde anneanemin pencerede dayımı beklediğimi hatırlıyorum.

18. Aile büyüklerinizin ikamet ettiği konutlar ile ilgili size anlattığı, eski zamanlara dair Moda'ya ait anılardan birini paylaşır mısınız? (Bu anı hangi konutta ve sokakta geçiyor?

Eminoş vardı. Annem ile dayımın ninesi gibiydi. Dedemle anneannem onu yanımıza almış bizimle beraber yaşıyordu. Namaz kılardı ben de sırtına çıkardım.
O evde yemek holünde yemek yenilirdi, büyükçe yemek yenecek bir alanda. Girişte sağ tarafta da öne doğru mutfak, önünde bir teras, arkada iki oda vardı. Yanda küçük bir tuvalet vardı.

19. Osmanlı dönemi Modası'nı simgeleyen veya anımsatan bir yapı/konut sorsak hangisini örnek verirdiniz? Sebebi nedir?

Müdürdar Konağı, Mahmut Muhtar Paşa Köşkü.

20. Cumhuriyet dönemi Modası'nı simgeleyen veya anımsatan bir yapı/konut sorsak hangisini örnek verirdiniz? Sebebi nedir?
Moda iskelesi, Moda deniz klübünün eski hali, Koço restoran

Cillovlar aslen Denizlili. Apartman 45-50 arasında yapımıdır. Doğduğumda parselde köşk varmış, Ayalp Apartmanı şu anda.

- Neden dolmuşun geçtiği kısımdan bu tarafa kadar olan kısmı Moda kabul ediyorsunuz?
Moda oraya kadardı eskiden. Diğer tarafa Moda denmiyordu. Şimdi tabi lent büyüdü. Küçükken de böyle düşünüyorduk. Yoğurtçu Parkı kısmı hiç Moda kısmına girmiyordu şimdi de öyle.

Dayım o köşkte daha çok yaşamış tabii (Zeynep Hanım kendisi için aktarıyor). Annemin en üstte kızlık odası varmış çatı arasında. Biz aslen Rumeli'liyiz, anneanne tarafım Kavala, dede tarafım Deliormanlı. Baba tarafım da Macaristan'dan sürülerek gelen Rumelilerden.

Cillov eski tip bir apartman. Sokaktan girildiğinden bir oda büyüklüğünde bir lobisi vardı. Eskiden sobalar oraya koyulurmuş.

Salonun hemen yanında giriş kapısının karşısında küçük bir oda var, aydınlığa bakan. Oranın hizmetçi odası olduğu düşünülüyor.

Annem şunu söyler hep: Annem 41 dayım 50 doğumlu. 56 senelerinde, annemin arkadaşı Ayçiçek teyzeleri ile şortlarıyla mini etekleriyle dondurma yemeye giderlermiş.

SELAMİ AYALP (VOLKAN AYMAN'IN DAYISI)

Röportaj Tarihi: 6 Ekim 2016
Röportaj Yeri: Caferağa Muhtarlığı

Kişisel Bilgiler	
Doğum yılı:	1950
Doğum yeri:	İstanbul, Moda
Cinsiyet:	Erkek
Meslek:	Serbest Avukat
İkamet ettiği konut:	Ayalp Apartmanı

Araştırma ile ilgili sorular:

1. İkamet etmek için neden Moda'yı tercih ettiniz?

   Orada doğdum başka bir adresim de olmadı.

2. Moda'da hangi yıl ikamet etmeye başladınız?

   Burada doğdum.

3. Bugüne kadar hangi yıllarda ve hangi sokaklarda/caddelerde ikamet ettiniz?

Yıl aralığı	Sokak/Cadde adı	Konut adı
1950-1968	Hacı İzzet Sokak – bu köşk Muhtar Paşa Konağı'nın çalışanlarının kaldığı lojmanları gibi düşünülebilir. Sıra sıra bu tarz evler yapılmış yan yana o zaman.	Köşkleri (2,5 katlı eski müstakil bina – bodrumlu)
1968-1970	Yenifikir Sokak (kirada oturuldu ev yıkılınca)	Yenifikir Sokak köşeden 4. Bina. Fatma Hanım'ın evi. 1940larda yapılan bir apartman.
1970-2016	Hacı İzzet Sokak	Ayalp Apartmanı

4. Şu an yaşadığınız konutta ikamet etmeyi tercih etmenizin sebebi nedir? (Fiyat uygunluğu, iskeleye/tramvaya/okula/kliseye yakın olması vb.) Daha sık hangi bakkalı/marketi kullanıyorsunuz? Önceden farklı bir bakkal/market kullanıyor idiyseniz değiştirme nedeniniz?

Başka yerde yaşamak istemedim ve istemiyorum.

5. Şu an yaşadığınız konutun inşa edildiği yılı ve mimarını biliyor musunuz?

Ayalp Apartmanı – 1968-1970 arasında inşa edildi.

6. Önceden yaşadığınız konutların inşa edildiği yılı ve mimarını biliyor musunuz?

Ayalp Apartmanı, İnşaat Mühendisi 'nin adı Mahmut. Mimarın soyadı Uran.

7. Şu an yaşadığınız konutun ev iç düzenini aktarabilir misiniz? (Giriş/Mutfak/Salon/Odalar/Banyo ilişkisi vb.)

Ayalp Apartmanı'nda bir katta kendine özel başka bir odayı daha kendi dairesine ekledi. Normalde 2 artı 1 iken, yapılırken müteahhite 3 artı 1 yapılmasını istediler.

8. Evinizin iç düzenindeki mobilyalar ile ilgili;

Mobilya cinsi (Çalışma koltuğu, büfe, buzdolabı, vb.)	Satın alındığı sene	Satın alındığı dükkan / Marka	Kullanım yıl aralığı	Varsa değiştirilme sebebi
Buzdolabı	1962	Bosch – Almanya'dan getirilmişti	-	1962'ye kadar buzdolabı yoktu
Çamaşır makinesi	1965	Arçelik	1980lere kadar	Ahşap evde koyacak yer olmadığından merdaneli bile yoktu
-		Mobilyacılardan mobilyadan aldık. Kadıköy'de idi mobilyacı. Moda Caddesi'nde idi.	-	Koltuklar modülerdi yan yana koyardık.

Çamaşır makinesinin silindirleri bağlıydı otomatikti elle çevrilmiyordu. 1969-1970'te buzdolabı ve çamaşır makinesini her şeyi yeni aldılar.

9. Apartmanın ilk yapıldığı original halinde hangileri mevcuttu?

Otopark (yoksa arabalar nereye parkediliyor?)	Yoktu. Bulduğumuz yere parkediyoruz şu anda da
Kalorifer sistemi (yoksa kaç yılında geçildi?)	Vardı. Hala merkezi system devam ediyor.
Hizmetçi odası	Yok.
Aydınlık	Var.
Her daireye özel depo alanı/Bodrum	Yok. Kalorifer ve kapıcı dairesi var.

10. Akrabalarınız ve aile dostlarınız hangi semtte ikamet ediyorlar? Moda'da ikamet edenlerin yaşadığı sokak ismi nedir?

Moda'dalar. Yenifikir, Hacı İzzet, Rızapaşa, Fırıldak, Cemal Süreya Sokağı.

11. Moda Caddesi'nde sık uğradığınız dükkanlar hangileridir? Günlük yaşamınızda Moda Caddesi'ne uğrama sebepleriniz nelerdir? (Toplu taşımaya ulaşım, akraba ziyareti, kısa yol, restoran vb.)

Moda Caddesi'nde marketler, çiçekçiler var. Eczaneler var. Carrefour, şok, mahalle bakkalımız var Yavuz Bakkal oradan yapıyorum. 25-30 senelik bakkalımızdır.

12. Moda Caddesi'ne haftada veya ayda yaklaşık kaç kez uğrarsınız?

Mecburen her gün uğramak zorundayım çünkü ulaşımım oradan geçiyor.

13. Bahariye Caddesi'nde sık uğradığınız dükkanlar hangileridir? Günlük yaşamınızda Bahariye Caddesi'ne uğrama sebepleriniz nelerdir? (Toplu taşımaya ulaşım, akraba ziyareti, kısa yol, restoran vb.)

İşyerine ulaşmak için.

14. Bahariye Caddesi'ne haftada veya ayda yaklaşık kaç kez uğrarsınız?

Mecburen her gün uğramak zorundayım çünkü ulaşımım oradan geçiyor. Cem Sokak'tan biniyorum, Rıhtım'da ya da Altıyol'da iniyorum.

15. 1970 öncesine dair Moda ile ilgili hatırladığınız en hoş anı nedir?

Moda plajı, çocukluğumuz ve gençliğimiz orada geçti. Deniz klübü vardı. Moda İskelesi vardı, bizim için çok önemliydi çünkü piyasa yapılırdı. Balık tutulurdu orada, denize girilirdi, kayıkhanelerden sandal kiralayıp açılırdık. Koço vardı, ilk içkilerimizi orada içtik. Koço hala var.
Şimdiki Küçük Moda dediğimiz yerde, 70 öncesine Moda gazinosu vardı, Öztürk Serengil'in abidik gubidik diskosu orada açılmıştı. Erol Evgin orada sahneye çıkmıştı.
Ondan sonra, Moda Park Sinemamız vardı Moda'da, Ali dondurmacı'dan aşağı doğru inince sağdan ikinci apartmanın olduğu yerdeydi. Şimdiki Dodo'nun olduğu yerde idi. (Ferit Tek Sokak 23 Numarayı kastediyor). Orası yazlık sinemaydı. Ali'nin olduğu yer de bizim için çok önemliydi çünkü orası paten sahasıydı, tekerlekli paten.
Sonra Kadıköy Spor'un olduğu yerde, klisenin olduğu yerdeki otopark basket sahasıydı. Orada yazları minyatür futbol turnuvaları tertiplenirdi.

Muhtar Paşa Konağı'nın açık arttırması yapıldı. 1976'da satışa çıkardılar. İçindeki eşyalar için müzayede yapıldı. Aşağı yukarı 1 ay boyunca İstanbul'da ne kadar zengin varsa buraya geldi. Bizim sokaklar o zamanın Cadillacları ile doldu. Alışverişlerini yaptılar. Çok güzel bir konaktı hala çok iyi anımsıyorum. Bunun bahçesinde Bronz bir at heykeli vardı, şimdi bu at Emirgan'daki

Sabancı Müzesi'nin bahçesindedir. Maalesef şimdi bu binayı Milli Eğitim aldı ve lise olarak kullanılıyor.

16. 1970 öncesine dair Moda ile ilgili hatırladığınız en kötü anı nedir? Günlük hayatınızı nasıl etkilemiştir? (6-7 Eylül olaylarının günlük yaşamınızdaki etkileri ne olabilir? Bakkalın/şarküterinin taşınması, komşularınızın/akrabalarınızın başka bir semte/ülkeye taşınması, semtteki huzursuzluktan dolayı sizin başka bir mahalleye taşınmanız vb.)

Moda'da yangınlar oldu. Ben iki tane yangını hatırlıyorum. Bir tanesi şimdiki Marmara apartmanı var, Sporellerin apartmanı. Yanındaki parseldeki ahşap bir köşktü –ben de 6-7 yaşlarındaydım heralde. Fırtınalı bir günde yangın çıktı. O kadar şiddetliydi ki, fırtınadan yanan tahta parçaları bizim çatıların üstlerine düşmeye başladı. Annem babam o kadar korktu ki kova ile çatıya su dökmeye başladılar yanmayalım diye.

Sonra aynı yerde, Moda İskelesi'ne parketmiş bir araba yandı.

Kıbrıs Mütarekesinde 7 gün ya da 10 gün izin verdiler. O dönemlerde yaklaşık Moda'nın %50'si gibi terketmek zorunda kaldılar.

En vahşeti 6-7 Eylül hadisesidir bu anılardan.

BÜLENT ARKUNLAR

Röportaj Tarihi: 8 Ekim 2016
Röportaj Yeri: Gün Apartmanı (tam karşısında Cavit Bey Apartmanı bulunuyor)

Kişisel Bilgiler	
Doğum yılı:	1953
Doğum yeri:	Ankara
Cinsiyet:	Erkek
Meslek:	-
İkamet ettiği konut:	Şu anda Gün Apartmanı, eski Cavid Bey Apartmanı sakini

Araştırma ile ilgili sorular:

1. İkamet etmek için neden Moda'yı tercih ettiniz?

Ankara'dan sonra geldiler.

2. Moda'da hangi yıl ikamet etmeye başladınız?

1959'da

3. Bugüne kadar hangi yıllarda ve hangi sokaklarda/caddelerde ikamet ettiniz?

Yıl aralığı	Sokak/Cadde adı	Konut adı
1959-1961	Şair Latifi Sokak No: 79	3 katlı ahşap ev
1961-2013	Yoğurtçu Parkı Caddesi No: 36	Cavit Bey Apartmanı
2013- …	Cevahir Sokak No: 2	Gün Apartmanı

4. Şu an yaşadığınız konutta ikamet etmeyi tercih etmenizin sebebi nedir? (Fiyat uygunluğu, iskeleye/tramvaya/okula/kliseye yakın olması vb.) Daha sık hangi bakkalı/marketi kullanıyorsunuz? Önceden farklı bir bakkal/market kullanıyor idiyseniz değiştirme nedeniniz?

(Cevap verilemedi).

5. Şu an yaşadığınız konutun inşa edildiği yılı ve mimarını biliyor musunuz?

(Hepsi paylaşıldı, cevaplar röportaj sırasında ortaya çıktı.)

6. Önceden yaşadığınız konutların inşa edildiği yılı ve mimarını biliyor musunuz?

(Hepsi paylaşıldı, cevaplar röportaj sırasında ortaya çıktı.)

7. Şu an yaşadığınız konutun ev iç düzenini aktarabilir misiniz? (Giriş/Mutfak/Salon/Odalar/Banyo ilişkisi vb.)

(Bülent Arkunlar detaylı olarak çizim yaptı ve bu soru cevaplandırıldı.)

8. Önceden yaşadığınız konutların inşa edildiği yılı ve mimarını biliyor musunuz?
Cavit Bey Apartmanı, Yüksek Mimar Cavit Tamkan, 1961. Müteahhit yok

9. Evinizin iç düzenindeki mobilyalar ile ilgili;

Tel dolap çok kullanıldı buz dolabı yerine, buz kalıplarıyla.
Buzdolabı Frigidaire (kulplu) kullanılıyordu,
Hoover çamaşır makinesi kullanılıyordu.
81'de evlendiğinde Arçelik Toç (yürüyen modeli) çamaşır makinesi, buzdolabı eski bir Arçelik (ablasından çıkma) kullanılıyordu.

12. Apartmanın ilk yapıldığı original halinde hangileri mevcuttu?

Otopark (yoksa arabalar nereye parkediliyor?)	-
Kalorifer sistemi (yoksa kaç yılında geçildi?)	Başlangıçta sobalıydı. 94'te kombiler ve kalorifer sistemine geçildi.
Hizmetçi odası	Yoktu. Belki.
Aydınlık	Vardı.
Her daireye özel depo alanı/Bodrum	Kömürlük var.
Asansör	Kovası var. Hiçbir zaman asansör olmadı.

10. Akrabalarınız ve aile dostlarınız hangi semtte ikamet ediyorlar? Moda'da ikamet edenlerin yaşadığı sokak ismi nedir?

Aynı sokak. Aynı apartman. Tam aile binasıyken dışarı satışlar başladı. 12 daireden galiba 4 tanesi dışarı satıldı.

11. Moda Caddesi'nde sık uğradığınız dükkanlar hangileridir? Günlük yaşamınızda Moda Caddesi'ne uğrama sebepleriniz nelerdir? (Toplu taşımaya ulaşım, akraba ziyareti, kısa yol, restoran vb.)

Moda bir cazibe merkezi. Bizim volta yerimizdi. Daha çok Kemal'in yeri, orada kız arkadaşlarımızı nasıl avlarız tavlarız meselesi vardı. Modu burnu vazgeçilmezdir, Moda çay bahçesi. Moda'da yazlık sinema vardı, çok gidilirdi.

Ondan sonra klüp o zaman vardı, çok önemliydi onun varlığı. Lisede her gün akşam çıkardım.

Her yer nasıl erozyona uğradı, kültürel anlamda hem de doğa anlamında, belki de Moda bu anlamda kendini en çok koruyan en az dokunulan yerlerden biridir. Kültür olarak sanat olarak bize dokunan yerler.
Çok güzel evler vardı buralarda, çoğuna yazık oldu.

12. Moda Caddesi'ne haftada veya ayda yaklaşık kaç kez uğrarsınız?

Her gün.

13. Bahariye Caddesi'nde sık uğradığınız dükkanlar hangileridir? Günlük yaşamınızda Bahariye Caddesi'ne uğrama sebepleriniz nelerdir? (Toplu taşımaya ulaşım, akraba ziyareti, kısa yol, restoran vb.)

Çömçe kebapçı - Bahariye ilkokulun tam karşısı. Kars pastanesi, hemen yanında saray var.
Kars pastanesi, çok önemliydi. Onun hemen yanında da Saray vardı. Orada da takılırdık.

14. Bahariye Caddesi'ne haftada veya ayda yaklaşık kaç kez uğrarsınız?

Okul için her gün önünden geçtiğimiz yerlerdi tabii Kars ve Saray'a ama her gün gidilemezdi para yetmezdi.

15. 1970 öncesine dair Moda ile ilgili hatırladığınız en hoş anı nedir?

Berkan abi ve Ercan abi (eniştesi, ablasının eşi) devlet bursuyla Fransa'ya okumaya gittiler. Sonra yazın onlar gelirlerdi buraya. Bir tane Citroen arabada 8-10 kişi dolarlardı ve Moda'yı turlarlardı ben de özenirdim.
Moda Deniz Hamamı da yaz için vazgeçilmezdi. Kadınlar hamamı diye de bir kısım vardı. Ablam beni küçükken götürdüğünde ben de oradan girerdim. 3 katlı trampleni vardı oradan atlanırdı. Ve biz buradan Kurbağalıdere'den sandal kiralardık ve Moda'ya denize girmeye giderdik.

16. 1970 öncesine dair Moda ile ilgili hatırladığınız en kötü anı nedir? Günlük hayatınızı nasıl etkilemiştir? (6-7 Eylül olaylarının günlük yaşamınızdaki etkileri ne olabilir? Bakkalın/şarküterinin taşınması, komşularınızın/akrabalarınızın başka bir semte/ülkeye taşınması, semtteki huzursuzluktan dolayı sizin başka bir mahalleye taşınmanız vb.)

Cavid Bey Apartmanı'nın tepesine çıkmıştı 15-16 Haziran '68 olaylarında, Söğütlüçeşme civarında silahlı çatışma olmuştu biz buradan hep duymuştuk hep.

Beni üzen şeylerden birisi de Karadenizli müteahhitlerin Moda'ya ele geçirmeye başlamasıdır. 65'ten sonradır bu. Kadıköy'ün yapısını bozdu bu

adamlar, btb'lerle vs. Gelip yıkıp yaptıkları şeyler genelde son derece kötü şeylerdir.

17. Osmanlı dönemi Modası'nı simgeleyen veya anımsatan bir yapı/konut sorsak hangisini örnek verirdiniz? Sebebi nedir?
Sarıca Köşkü. Moda'da onun gibi 2-3 bina vardı onlar sonradan hepsi yıkıldı malesef.

18. Cumhuriyet dönemi Modası'nı simgeleyen veya anımsatan bir yapı/konut sorsak hangisini örnek verirdiniz? Sebebi nedir?

Moda Deniz klübü – tarihi bina niteliğindedir.
St Joseph in karşısındaki konak – Dr. Esad Işık Caddesi No: 91'deki beyaz konak.
Bir de taş bina - Şair Latifi Sokak 35 numara.
Mahmut Atahan yeri/konak
Riviera tipli bir ev sahil şeridinde
Mermer Konak – Sabancı Müzesi'ne verilen bronz atın olduğu ev. Hacı İzzet Sokak'taki.

1960 küsürde bitti bina (Cavid Bey Apartmanını kastediyor). 1955 deniyorsa, 1956'da bina yıkılıyor (eski konaklarından bahsediyor). Yıkılıyor, bunun yerine, annemler 6 kardeşler, 6 kardeşten bir tanesi yüksek mimar Cavit Tamkan. Şimdi onunla ilgili de size bilgi vereyim. O bu binanın yerine, Fransız balkonlu çok karakteristik bir bina yapıp aile içinde yola çıkıyorlar. Ondan sonra fakat malesef zemin alüvyon olduğu için yani o zamanlar müteahhitlik konsepti yok tabii. Çok alüvyon olduğu için hiç hesapta olmayan bir beton enjeksiyonu gerekiyor. Yani ondan sonra da zaten bütün mali hesaplar alt üst oluyorlar. Çünkü binanın altına anjino hattı gibi bir beton enjekte ediliyor çünkü tam alüvyonların üzerinde bu zemin Yoğurtçu Parkı'nda. Cavid Dayı o yüzden kalp krizi geçirdi, ailede bir sürü finansal şeyler oldu. Sonradan bir yere kadar getirdi, sonra da "çocuklar biz bir yere kadar getirdik bundan sonrası da size ait olsun" dedi. Maalesef o güzelim binayı bu malum kentsel dönüşüm projesine kurban ettik 2013'te. Şu kadar yapıyoruzdan kastım nedir, mesela, bina bitti ama, mesela mutfaklar btb'lerle yapılmıştı. Binanın asansör kovası vardı ama asansör hiçbir zaman konulmadı.

Burası yıkıldığı için burayı terketmemiz gerekiyordu (Cavid Bey apartmanından bahsediyor). Eşim sayesinde bu evi bulduk, biz buraya kira olarak geldik. Oraya gerçi taşınanlar oldu ama biz altına imza attığımız sözleşmenin ardına duran bir kafayız, onun için o sözleşmemizde iskan alınmadan o binaya oturulmayacak diye bir ibare olduğu için biz iskan alınmadan oturmayacağız. Dolayısıyla iskan alınmasını bekleyene kadar burada oturuyoruz (Gün Apartmanı'ndan bahsediyor). Bir de malesef bu iş 3 yıldır sürüyor, Kasım sonunda bizim buradaki kontratımız bitecek herhalde yenisini yapacağız. Aralık'ta dördüncü yıla gireceğiz. Müteahhitle ters düştük maalesef, avukatlar devreye girdi.

Ankara'dan sonra buraya gelmemizin sebebi babamın işin dolayıdır, PTT Fen İşleri Müdürlüğü'ne atandı biz de buraya geldik. Ailece buraya yerleştik.

- Neden burayı tercih etmiş?

Baba evi. Anne evi. Onun için Ankara'dan sonra burayı tercih ettik. Tam biz buraya geldiğimizde ben Moda İlkokulu'na başladım. Moda İlkokulu'na geldiğim vakit, Sedeflerin evlerinin tam arkasında bir cami vardır (Şifa Camii'yi kastediyor). O camii'nin yanında bir ahşap bina vardı 3 katlı. O eve yerleştik burası bitinceye kadar (Cavid Bey Apartmanı'nı kastediyor).

- Cavid Bey apartmanının iç düzenini biraz anlatır mısınız?

Tabii. Apartman zemin, 3 kat ve çatı katı vardı. Bir de bodrum katı vardı. Bodrum katında kömürlükler vardı. Her katta 3 daire vardı. Toplamda 12 daire vardı. 12 daire olmasının esprisi şu, annemler 6 kardeşler, aile diyor ki 6 kardeş evlenip ikişer çocukları olursa onlara bırakacak daireleri olsun diye 12 dairelik bi yapılanma öyle çıkıyor. Metrekare olarak çok büyük yerler değildi doğal olarak. Evin ön cephesi Yoğurtçu Parkı'na bakardı. Arka tarafta inannılmaz cinslerde meyveler veren ağaçlar vardı. Tabii o zaman ev sobalıydı.

Cavid Dayı'nın çok önemli bir lafı vardı. Önemli olan evin trafiğinin iyi çözümlenmesi.

94'te Cavid Bey Apartmanı'na tekrar gelmeden once evi modifiye ettirdim. Mutfak alanine yaşam alanine çevirdik. O zaman su tesisatları kombiler vs sobalı durumdan oraya geçtik.

Aydınlık vardı. Mutfak, o küçük oda (babasının sonradan çalışma odası olarak çevirdiği yer) ve küçük tuvaletle banyo aydınlığa bakardı.

Eski sedefli oturma takımları Fatih'te Horhor'da bir yere verilip onarılmış. Hala kullanılıyor.

94'te döndükten sonra yapılanlar: Küçük tuvaleti misafir salonuna kattık. Küçük mutfağı açtık yemek alanı ve yaşam alanı birleştirildi. Banyo baştan aşağı elden geçirildi.

NECLA ERK

Röportaj Tarihi: 6 Ekim 2016
Röportaj Yeri: Yoğurtçu Parkı Caddesi , Şayan Apartmanı

Kişisel Bilgiler	
Doğum yılı:	1927
Doğum yeri:	-
Cinsiyet:	Kadın
Meslek:	Doktor
İkamet ettiği konut:	Şayan Apartmanı

Araştırma ile ilgili sorular:

1. İkamet etmek için neden Moda'yı tercih ettiniz?

Ben buraya gelin geldim. 1955'te evlendim ama. Nişanlılık dönemi o zamanlar talebe olduğum için bir hayli uzun sürdü. Ben 1947-1948'ten itibaren buraya geliyorum. O zaman bu yol sazlıktı, ve kurbağalar çıkardı yola (Yoğurtçu Parkı Caddesi), tratuar olan yer baştan aşağı sazlıktı. Eskiden bataklıkmış burası. Süreyya Paşa bu bataklığı kurtarıp park olarak kazandırmak (Yoğurtçu Parkı) için bu ağaçları diktirmiş. Süreyya Sineması'nı yapan kişidir Süreyya Paşa. Dua ederlerdi şu sineklerden kurtulduk diye. Derenin yaygın hali gibiymiş bu bataklık. Bir ara o kadar güzeldi ki burası yıldız çiçekleri vardı mesela, mis gibi kokardı. O zamanlar dere de temizdi tabii. Derenin kokmadığı zamanı biliyorum, o zamanlar oradan Moda Koyu'na veya Kalamış Koyu'na denize giderdik sandalla.

2. Moda'da hangi yıl ikamet etmeye başladınız?

1947

3. Bugüne kadar hangi yıllarda ve hangi sokaklarda/caddelerde ikamet ettiniz?

Yıl aralığı	Sokak/Cadde adı	Konut adı
1947- 1952	Yoğurtçu Parkı Caddesi'nde.	Bu binanın yerinde bu bina vardı (şu anki apartmanı). Arka parseldeki binada oturuyorlarmış. Şu anki apartmanın olduğu binada kiracılar varmış. Eşinin annesinin dedesi asıl bu parseldeki ahşap evi yaptırmış.
1952-2013	Yoğurtçu Parkı Caddesi	Muhlis Türkmen'in yaptığı 2 katlı apartman

4. Önceden yaşadığınız konutların inşa edildiği yılı ve mimarını biliyor musunuz?

Yoğurtçu Parkı Caddesi, 32, Muhlis Türkmen. 1952'te yapıldı.

5. Şu an yaşadığınız konutun ev iç düzenini aktarabilir misiniz? (Giriş/Mutfak/Salon/Odalar/Banyo ilişkisi vb.)

Bu balkonun arkasında bir yatak odası vardı, onun arkasında banyo vardı, onun arkasında da bizim yatak odamız vardı. Bunun arkasında da balkon vardı kocaman. Bu balkon o kadar kocamandı ki, kış gelene kadar tentenin altında burada kahvaltı ve yemek yerdik.

Kayınvalidem Anadolu'dan kimsesiz kızları alır ve yardım ederdi. O işi o başlatmıştı. Yardımcı da kapının yanındaki odada yatardı. Benim zamanımda da Emine diye bir kız vardı arka tarafa bakan küçük bir oda vardı orada yatardı.

Alt kat ile ayrı girişler vardı. Aslında burası 3 daire olarak yapıldı ama demir ve çimento bulunamadı. Yoksa 3 kat olacaktı 3 kardeş oldukları için. Alt katın da altında kalorifer dairesi vardı. Buraya içerden başka bir merdiven vardı. Arka balkonun altında çıkma gibi bir yer vardı alt katta.

6. Evin düzeninde orijinalinden dönüştürdüğünüz/değiştirdiğiniz alanlar hangileridir? (Mutfağın balkonunu kapatıp kiler yapmak, banyonun orijinalinde küvetli olması, iki odayı birleştirip tek oda yapmak, aydınlığı yıkmak)

Nova diye bir şirket, Harbiye'den bir dekoratör tutuldu. Sene: 1971 (1957'li kızı 14 yaşındayken)

7. Evinizin iç düzenindeki mobilyalar ile ilgili;

Mobilya cinsi (Çalışma koltuğu, büfe, buzdolabı, vb.)	Satın alındığı sene	Özel yapım / Seri imalat	Satın alındığı dükkan / Marka	Varsa değiştirilme sebebi
Buzdolabı	1957	Obodin marka		Küçük buzdolabı Yugoslavya'dan getirildi.

8. Apartmanın ilk yapıldığı original halinde hangileri mevcuttu?

Otopark (yoksa arabalar nereye parkediliyor?)	Hayır. Kendimiz yaptık arkadaki evin panjurları sökülmüştü onlarla yapmıştık.
Kalorifer sistemi (yoksa kaç yılında geçildi?)	Vardı. Merkezi sistem devam. Başlangıçta sobalıydı. 60'ta yaptırmıştık.
Hizmetçi odası	Mutfak ve salon arasında küçük bir oda vardı o nedenle tasarlanmıştı. Kendine ait bir tuvalet vardı.
Aydınlık	Var
Her daireye özel depo alanı/Bodrum	Kömürlük vardı.
Asansör	Yok

9. Akrabalarınız ve aile dostlarınız hangi semtte ikamet ediyorlar? Moda'da ikamet edenlerin yaşadığı sokak ismi nedir?

(Cevap verilmedi)

10. Moda Caddesi'nde sık uğradığınız dükkanlar hangileridir? Günlük yaşamınızda Moda Caddesi'ne uğrama sebepleriniz nelerdir? (Toplu taşımaya ulaşım, akraba ziyareti, kısa yol, restoran vb.)

İşim düştüğü zaman. Sağlık merkezine gidiyorum arada, camii'nin yanında.

11. Moda Caddesi'ne haftada veya ayda yaklaşık kaç kez uğrarsınız?

Ayda 3-4 kez geçiyorum.

12. Bahariye Caddesi'nde sık uğradığınız dükkanlar hangileridir? Günlük yaşamınızda Bahariye Caddesi'ne uğrama sebepleriniz nelerdir? (Toplu taşımaya ulaşım, akraba ziyareti, kısa yol, restoran vb.)
Bahariye Caddesi'nden geçiyorum. Çarşı'ya gitmek için oradan geçerim. Alışverişimi Kadıköy çarşıda yaparım.

13. 1970 öncesine dair Moda ile ilgili hatırladığınız en kötü anı nedir? Günlük hayatınızı nasıl etkilemiştir? (6-7 Eylül olaylarının günlük yaşamınızdaki etkileri ne olabilir? Bakkalın/şarküterinin taşınması, komşularınızın/akrabalarınızın başka bir semte/ülkeye taşınması, semtteki huzursuzluktan dolayı sizin başka bir mahalleye taşınmanız vb.)

6-7 Eylül olaylarını çok iyi hatırlıyorum. Çok sevdiğim hastam dostumuz terzi Dimitri, o sırada sarılık geçiriyordu, ameliyat olamıyordu. Üzülmesinler diye aramadım söylemek istemedim olayları. Hadiselerin karşıda olduğunu düşünmüştüm, Moda'yı etkileyeceğini düşünmemiştim. O üzülmesin diye de söylememiştim. O da sonra "ah be doktorcum keşke söyleseydiniz teyzeme giderdik" demişti.

14. Osmanlı dönemi Modası'nı simgeleyen veya anımsatan bir yapı/konut sorsak hangisini örnek verirdiniz? Sebebi nedir?

İçinde de gezdim. Dondurmacı Ali'nin tam karşısındaki köşkü gösterebilirim. Ayşegül Sarıca'nın yengesiydi hastam. İçinden gayet geniş merdivenler vardı iki tarafa döner. Banyosu bu oturduğumuz salondan büyüktür. Ayaklı gayet zarif bir küvet vardır.

15. Cumhuriyet dönemi Modası'nı simgeleyen veya anımsatan bir yapı/konut sorsak hangisini örnek verirdiniz? Sebebi nedir?

Mahmut Ata'nın evi vardı. Çok bilemiyorum. Liseyi de İstanbul'da okudum ama daimi değildim. Kandilli Kız Lisesi'nde kalıyordum.

Sonradan biz evleneceğimiz zaman bu ahşap bina yıkılıyor ve bu bina yapılıyor. Bu binanın inşa yılı 1950-1951'dir. Bahçemizde bir havuz vardı. O havuzun tulumbası bu (fotoğrafını gösteriyor).

Eski ev 1952 ya da 1953'te yıkıldı. O zamanlar demir yok çimento yok, allahtan Muzaffer abi Belediye'de bütçe komisyonu üyesiydi de o oradan bulabiliyordu. Müstakil olarak kalan Yoğurtçu Parkı Caddesi'nde son evdi bizimki. Bahçede bir havuzumuz vardı orada kırmızı balıklar yüzerdi.

- Peki Muhlis Bey'in kendisi mi istedi ben bu evi yapayim diye?

Muhlis Bey o zaman daha fakülteyi yeni bitirmişti, daha yeni mimar olmuş, çok genç bir mimardı. Benim kayınvalidemin görümcesinin karşıda (Derenin tam karşısını işaret ediyor) bir dere yalısı vardı, beyaz bir bina. Onun arkasında üvey oğlu bir bina yaptırmak istiyor, ve o da St. Joseph'den mezun kendisi, bir arkadaşı diyor ki "bizim arkadaşlardan birisi mimar oldu, onu çağır". Muhlis Bey ilk binasını oraya yaptı ama o evi gördükten sonra, onlar çok memnunlar ama, Turhan (Necla Hanım'ın eşi) dedi ki katiyen bunlar yapamaz dedi. O evi görmeyin hiç (bana diyor). Sonra öğrendik ki planını Hayrettin Abi çizmiş. Muhlis Bey hiç yardım edememiş bile. Yapsa zaten onunla çalışılmaz, imkanı yok.

- Siz nasıl karar verdiniz o zaman onunla çalışmaya?

Hayrettin Abi ile bayramlarda görüşüyoruz tabi aile olarak, ailenin büyüklerinden birisi. Gittiğimiz zaman Turhan dedi ki "Nasıl bir mimarmış burda?". Sonra etrafa soruşturuyorlar, bu nasıl bir insandır bu mimar diye. Diyorlar ki falanca yerde de binası var. Hakikaten Erenköy'de ve Göztepe'de

bir binası varmış. Sonrasında da kabul ediyorlar onunla çalışmayı. Onlar gayet iyi binalar. Zavallı Hayrettin Bey'in gazabına uğramış oluyor (derenin karşısındaki bina ile). Burada bu inşaatta söz sahibi olan daha çok Muzaffer abi idi verilen kararlarda.

- Kendisi kim oluyor?

Bir kayınvalide var, 3 çocuğu var. Eşimin ağabeyi.
Burada bir de çok enteresan Münir Nurettin'in evi vardı. Buranın ilerisindeydi. Oraya şimdi Derya Apartmanı yapıldı. Ben hatırlıyorum çünkü ben geceleri de hastaya giderdim, gece bana bekçi derdi ki "Doktor abla korkuyor musun ben de geliyim mi?", gece saat 2 veya 3 o zaman, "yok korkmuyorum". Sonra da "dur dur gel" derdim. Münir Nurettin'in köşkün önünden geçerken köpeklerden korkuyorum. O zamanlar saldırının hırsızlığın h si yoktu. Yıllar yılı bu böyle devam etti. 70'leri geçtik ondan sonra korkmaya başladık. Bir arkadaşımın arabasından paltosunu çalmışlardı , o derecede başladı.

Merdaneli çamaşır makinesini 10 sene kullandık. Sonra bir arkadaşım vardı, dedi ki "Sirkeci'de bir han vardı. Doğu bank. Oradan aldık". O bana bu makineyi getirdi. Maşallah 40 küsür senedir iyi çalışıyor. Markası Bosch.
Silindirliyi de dükkandan almıştık.

- Doğu bank dediğiniz şey nedir?

Sirkeci'de bir han. O zamanlar mallar kaçak geliyordu oraya. Ara ara Doğu Bank'a baskınlar oluyordu kaçak mal satıyorlar diye. Hatta Doğu Bank'tan zaman zaman tercih edilmiyordu garantisi olmadığı için. Fakat sonradan nasıl olduysa adamlar garantisini de vermeye başladılar resmi olmasa bile.

Bir kat 240 metrekare idi. Bu caddede öyle bir yapı yoktu, gelip bakarlardı hep eve. Kayınvalidemin ailesi madenciymiş eskiden, madencilerin evi diye bilinirmiş önceden. Sonra sonra benim muayenehanem olduğu için üzerinde benim tabelam olduğu için insanlar "Doktor Necla'nın evi" olarak bilmeye başladılar (gülüyor).

Mamafih bu cadde çok değişti. Bu caddeyi çok iyi bilirdim çünkü ekseriyesi hastalarımdı. Benimki ahbaplık arkadaşlıktan ziyade…

RÜÇHAN SEL

Röportaj Tarihi: 7 Ekim 2016
Röportaj Yeri: Ethem Bey Apartmanı, Feneryolu

Kişisel Bilgiler	
Doğum yılı:	01.01.1945
Doğum yeri:	Kadıköy
Cinsiyet:	Kadın
Meslek:	Lise tahsili
İkamet ettiği konut:	Şifa 5 numara, Denizli Apartmanı

Araştırma ile ilgili sorular:

1. Bugüne kadar hangi yıllarda ve hangi sokaklarda/caddelerde ikamet ettiniz?

Yıl aralığı	Sokak/Cadde adı	Konut adı
1945-1949	Kadıköy Hünkar imamı çıkmazı 3 numara	3 katlı betonarme. Tek kapıdan girilirdi, ev sahibi ve biz birlikte otururduk. Girişin altı ve giriş bizimdi kiracı olarak. Onun üstünde de ev sahibimiz otururdu.
1949-1973	Şifa Sokak No: 5	77-78'de yıkıldı
1973-1976	Ağa Yokuşu Şehzadebaşı Laleli	Selçuk Sel Apartmanı
1976-1989	Caddebostan Plajyolu	Durukan Apartmanı
1989-2016	Ethem Bey Feneryolu 1	

2. Şu an yaşadığınız konutta ikamet etmeyi tercih etmenizin sebebi nedir? (Fiyat uygunluğu, iskeleye/tramvaya/okula/kliseye yakın olması vb.) Daha sık hangi bakkalı/marketi kullanıyorsunuz? Önceden farklı bir bakkal/market kullanıyor idiyseniz değiştirme nedeniniz?
Babamız kendisine yakın diye satın aldı.

1947 yılında anneme milli piyangonun büyük ikramiyesi rastlamış. Dolayısıyla 47 yılında ummadıkları bir para söz konusuymuş. Önce çok sevinmiş ev de alırız araba da alırız onu da alırız bunu da alırız demiş. Sonra başlamışlar ev aramaya, ilk istenen şey ev tabii. Benim düşünceme gore ve biraz da onlarla da sonra konuşmuştuk, lüks bir semtte ev aldıklarını düşünüyoruz. Çünkü aldıkları ikramiyenin tümü bu Şifa Sokak'taki eve yatmış. Buraya gelince burası tabii deniz manzaralı, Kalamış Koyu'nu gören, balkonlu çok güzel bir evdi. İki katlı bir evdi. Aşağıda kiracı için bir kat, üstte de bizim oturduğumuz kat ve bahçe içindeydi. Dolayısıyla bu evin, Şifa Sokağı'nın tercih edilme nedeninin önemli bir kısmı da benden 3 yaş büyük bir ağabeyim vardı. Ben 4 yaşında olduğuma gore demek ki o da 7 yaşındaymış bu eve taşındığımızda, benim babam onun St. Joseph'te okumasını istediği için bu evin St. Joseph'e yakın olması çok büyük bir avantaj olarak görülmüş. Dolayısıyla başka semtlerde böyle iki ev alınabilecekken, biz Şifa Sokağı'nı tercih etmişik.
1947'de almamıza ragmen evi, evin içindeki kiracılar 2 sene çıkmamış. 2 sene mahkeme sürmüş. İçinde bir Alman (Emin Onat'ın Alman eşi) oturuyormuş ve Kalamış'a baktığı için ev, böyle bir manzara bir daha bulamam diye çıkmak istememiş. O nedenle 1949'da taşınabildik o eve.
Bizim iki kardeş yatak odası olarak kaldığımız odada çalışmalarını yaparmış. Projelerini çizermiş. Bir sure bizim evde oturmuş. Anıtkabir'in planını bizim evde çizmiş.
İnşa edildiği yıl 1935lere gelebiliriz.
Evi biz Kayserililerden.
Önce tek katlıymış, sonra üst kat çıkılmış. 1935'te tek katlı bir ev olabilir.

3. Şu an yaşadığınız konutun inşa edildiği yılı ve mimarını biliyor musunuz?

1940'ta tek katlı ev olabilir, bir Kayserili'den almışlar. 47'de almışlar 2 sene mahkeme sürdü. Oturan Almanlar çıkmak istememiş.

4. Önceden yaşadığınız konutların inşa edildiği yılı ve mimarını biliyor musunuz?

Yoğurtçu Parkı Caddesi, 32, Muhlis Türkmen. 1952'te yapıldı.

5. Şu an yaşadığınız konutun ev iç düzenini aktarabilir misiniz? (Giriş/Mutfak/Salon/Odalar/Banyo ilişkisi vb.)

(Paylaşıldı)

6. Evinizin iç düzenindeki mobilyalar ile ilgili;

Mobilya cinsi (Çalışma koltuğu, büfe, buzdolabı, vb.)	Satın alındığı sene	Özel yapım / Seri imalat	Satın alındığı dükkan / Marka	Varsa değiştirilme sebebi
-	-	-	-	Banyo odun termosifonlu, kurna vardı.
Merdaneli, silindirli çamaşır makinesi	1955	Aksel marka		1955 alınmış.
Elle çevirmeli çamaşır makinesi	1958		Arçelik	1958'da
Buzdolabı	1951	150 cm idi boyu	General Electric	Su-gaz-el mağazasında beyaz eşya satılrmış. 1951'de buzdolabı.
-	-	-	-	3'lü havagazı ocağı 49'da geldi

7. Apartmanın ilk yapıldığı original halinde hangileri mevcuttu?

Otopark (yoksa arabalar nereye parkediliyor?)	Yoktu. 71'de ağabeye alındı, bahçede 2 ağaç kesildi. 1 tanesi kayısı ağacıydı.
Kalorifer sistemi (yoksa kaç yılında geçildi?)	2 soba vardı, misafir odasında gaz sobası, holde kömür sobası. Holde yanan kömür sobasına oturma odası açılırdı.
Hizmetçi odası	Yok.
Aydınlık	
Her daireye özel depo alanı/Bodrum	Kiler vardı, mutfağın yanında.
Asansör	Merdiven

7. Akrabalarınız ve aile dostlarınız hangi semtte ikamet ediyorlar? Moda'da ikamet edenlerin yaşadığı sokak ismi nedir?

Hiç orada akrabamız olmadı.

8. Moda Caddesi'nde sık uğradığınız dükkanlar hangileridir? Günlük yaşamınızda Moda Caddesi'ne uğrama sebepleriniz nelerdir? (Toplu taşımaya ulaşım, akraba ziyareti, kısa yol, restoran vb.)

Her akşam. Pastane, Moda Deniz Klübü'nün iskelesi, önü. 1962 yılından itibaren yazın her akşam bisikletle modaya giderdim. Ondan sonra bisikletle eve gelirsiniz. Yemek yersiniz. Her akşam yürüyerek yine Moda. Mayıs'tan Ekim'e kadar Allah'ın emri gibi her akşam bu yapılır.
Şifa'daki evin tam karşısında bakla tarlası adında bir apartman vardı orada Erol Büyükburç otururdu. Ömür Göksel'I her akşam görürdük.

Bizim Şifa'daki evin bahçesine de hep babam bakla ekerdi. Hep bakla yerdik. Çok matah bir sebzeymiş.

9. Moda Caddesi'ne haftada veya ayda yaklaşık kaç kez uğrarsınız?

Her gün. Şifa'dan Yoğurtçu Parkı yokuşundan çıkarsınız (şimdiki Dr. Esad Işık Caddesi), meydana gelirsiniz Moda İlkokulu'nun olduğu yere, oradan Moda Caddesi'nden aşağı inersiniz, Kadıköy'e. İskeleye ulaşmak istiyorsan. Başka hiçbir şeye binmeye gerek yok.

10. Bahariye Caddesi'nde sık uğradığınız dükkanlar hangileridir? Günlük yaşamınızda Bahariye Caddesi'ne uğrama sebepleriniz nelerdir? (Toplu taşımaya ulaşım, akraba ziyareti, kısa yol, restoran vb.)
Her haftasonu Süreyya Sineması ve Opera Sineması'na giderdik. Kışın her Cumartesi sabahı Cumartesi akşamının bileti alınsın diye kuyrukta beklersiniz.

11. Bahariye Caddesi'ne haftada veya ayda yaklaşık kaç kez uğrarsınız?
Her gün.

12. 1970 öncesine dair Moda ile ilgili hatırladığınız en hoş anı nedir?
Bayram faslı. Şifa Sokağı'nda her evin yaşıtım çocukları ile bayram sabahı, şeker bayramında saat 12 gibi çocuklar giyinir kuşanır bizim Şifa Sokağ'ındaki çıkmazlardan birinin adı Küçük Asfalt'tı, Mahmut Ata'nın kliniğinin çıkmazı İlyas Bey çıkmazı idi. O çıkmazların köşesine çıkarsınız, bayram giysilerinizle, herkes yepyeni ayakkabılar elbiseler. Orada duvarın üstüne oturulurdu herkes birbirini seyrederdi. Giyinir kuşanır çıkardık. Ondan sonra da ziyaretlere giderdik. sonra naylon çorap zamanı geldi, naylon çorap giydiğimizi göstermek için de çıkılırdı. "Ben artık büyüdüm" demek için.

Bizim Şifa Sokağı'nda çok boş arsa vardı. O arsalarda hep saklambaç oynardık geceleri de, müsademiz vardı annelerimiz babalarımız bırakırdı. O da bize çok büyük bir eğlenceydi. Çünkü her evin çocuğu küçüklü büyüklü birbirini çok çok iyi tanırdı. Beraber yaşamak gibi bir şeydi. Bir saatten sonra sürekli mahallede isim duyardınız. Bütün anneler pencerelerinden bağırır: "Ahmeeet…" "Hüseyiiin…" … Alp vardı. "Aaaalp 1", "Aaaalp 2" … o böyle senfoni gibiydi, çocukların eve çağırılma vakti. "Baban geldi gel" bu cümleyi yıllarca duyduk. O arsalardan çok faydalanırdık hakkaten.

Bizim Şifa'daki evin bir başka özelliğini söyliyeyim, bahçesinde çok çok güzel meyva ağaçları vardı. Meyvelerın güzelliğini size anlatamam. Çok büyük ihtimalle Emin Onat diktirmiş onları. Öyle denirdi. Ben hayatımda o kadar

güzel kayısı hiç görmedim, o kadar tatlı incir hiç yemedim. Öyle bir can eriği, yeşil erik kadar iri vişne, malta eriği, armut… Bütün meyvaların en güzeli vardı bahçemizdi. Sonra benim babam veteriner bakteriyologdu aynı zamanda, bir büyük kümesimiz vardı. Bir de içinde küçük evi vardı. 10-12 tavuk beslenirdi. Ve onları besleme nedeni de biz taze yumurta yiyelim diye. Karantina için küçük evleri yapılmıştı. Her sabah biz o tavuklara bakardık, hangisi düşünüyor hangisi düşünmüyor diye, çünkü bir tavuk düşünüyorsa hasta denirdi. Bir kıyamet olurdu gıt gıt gıt diye o zaman "haydi koşun follukta yumurta var!" diye. Bir ritüeldi bu tavukların yumurtlaması, düşünmesi ve hastalığı. Babam bunun çok üstünde dururdu. Ve bütün tavuklarımızın da ismi vardı. İşte Küllü, Sarı Gazi, Kızıl. Böyle bir çocukluk geçirdik.

İnanılmaz güzel bir deniz faslımız vardı. Biz çok küçükken, ilkokuldayken, sandal kiralardı benim annem. Biz bir de kürek çekeni çocuk olan sandala binerdik, Kalamış'a giderdik. Bize orada yüzme öğretildi. Ondan sonra biraz daha büyüdük. Kalamış Koyu ve anneyle yüzme faslımız bitti. Aynı Kurbağalıdere'den yine sandal tutar bu sefer Moda'ya giderdik. Moda'nın denizi o kadar güzeldi ki, Türkiye'yi de doğru düzgün gezmediğimiz için, bu kadar güzel yerde oturmanın verdiği bir mükemmelikte başka bir yerin de ihtiyacını duymadığımız için, ben bilmezdim Bodrum Marmaris denizini. "Dünyada Moda'dan daha güzel bir deniz hiçbir yerde yoktur" derdim. Orada sandaldan denize girerdik, çok eğlenceliydi, çünkü herkes sandal tutar gelirdi oraya. Ondan sonra bir de mehtapta yine sandal tutulurdu. Orada da sandallar bağlanırdı. "7,5 amca" dediğimiz – herhalde 7,5 kuruştu o- müthiş müzikle çalar eder mehtap eğlencesi yapardı. Deniz faslı da çok çok güzeldi.

Tabii bir de Moda'nın kadınlar plajı da vardı. Moda plajı de çok meşhur bir plajdı. Çok büyüktü. Sandal faslında Moda Klübü'nde çok güzel klasik müzik konserleri olurdu. Sandallarla oraya giderdik ve klüpteki yüksek sosyeteyi seyrederdik.

13. 1970 öncesine dair Moda ile ilgili hatırladığınız en kötü anı nedir? Günlük hayatınızı nasıl etkilemiştir? (6-7 Eylül olaylarının günlük yaşamınızdaki etkileri ne olabilir? Bakkalın/şarküterinin taşınması, komşularınızın/akrabalarınızın başka bir semte/ülkeye taşınması, semtteki huzursuzluktan dolayı sizin başka bir mahalleye taşınmanız vb.)

Bir kere Beyoğlu'nda Zahariyadis diye bir mefruşatçı vardı. O tesadüfen 6-7 Eylül'ün gündüzünde rastlamıştı, herhalde annem görmüş hatırlamıyorum, kamyonda arkasında yerlerde top top kumaşla gidiyormuş.

Çok hatırlamıyorum Moda'da ama, çok üzülmüştük terkedip gidenlere, Kadıköy çarşısında Tanaş diye bir dükkanı vardı, zahire satardı, nohut fasülyeler satardı. Tanaş gitti çok üzüldük. Bir de sirke satan Apostol vardı ona da çok üzüldük. Bir de Bulgar vardı, ona da çok üzüldük.

Bir de 54-55 yıllarında Şifa'nın büyük yangınını hatırlıyorum. Baştaki evlerde. Terzi Adalet hanım'ın evinin ikizindeki ev 54'te yandı.

Şifa Sokağı'nda oturan Nazım Hikmet'in eşi Münevver Hanım vardı. Bizim evimiz Münevver Hanım'ın çok yakınında bir evdi Şifa Sokak'ta. Onu polis beklerdi gece gündüz, bir sivil polis beklerdi. Münevver Hanım'ın oğlu Mehmet idi. Bu polis onların yaşantısını izlerdi. Nereye gidiyor ne yapıyor. O da bizi çok meşgul eden bir konuydu, çünkü yaz kış o arabanın içinde polisler otururdu. Ben onlara çay götürdüğümü bilirim. Annem derdi ki "çok soğuk hava".

14. Aile büyüklerinizin ikamet ettiği konutlar ile ilgili size anlattığı, eski zamanlara dair Moda'ya ait anılardan birini paylaşır mısınız? (Bu anı hangi konutta ve sokakta geçiyor?

    (Cevap röportaj sonrasında paylaşıldı)

15. Osmanlı dönemi Modası'nı simgeleyen veya anımsatan bir yapı/konut sorsak hangisini örnek verirdiniz? Sebebi nedir?

    Halil Ethem Bey köşkü, Şifa Sokak'ta idi. Ahşap bir köşktü bu.
    Bir de Esvapçıbaşı köşkü vardır., (esvap elbise demek). Bu da Şifa Sokak'ta Halil Ethem'in yanında idi.

    1964'da salon ve salomanger 64'da açıldı. Tepebaşı Ada Mobilya'dan yemek takımı alındı.
    Ondan once de holde basit bir masada yeniyordu.

    Şifa Sokağa çok yazık oldu çünkü hepsi bahçeli evlerdi. Herkesin sıra sıra isimlerini bilirim. Mesela meşhur Kadıköy'ün terzisi Adalet Hanım vardı, ahşap köşkü yandı. Herkes birbirini çok iyi bilir. Şifa'ya 4 yaşında geldim.

    Ben evlendim, eşim Şehzadebaşında doğmuş büyümüş. Kayınvalidem bile beni isterken bu canım yeri bırakıp nasıl karşıya geleceksin demiş. Ben taşındım gittim. O Kadıköy tarafında oturulup karşı tarafta çalışılmayacağına inanan biriydi (eş). Sonra biz evlendikten 3 sene sonra Caddebostan'a yazlık geldik. Oraya hayran kaldı tabii.

    Önce çamaşır makinesi hiç yoktu. Banyosu odun termisifonluydu. Kurna vardı. İlk çamaşır makinesi Aksel marka ve merdaneliydi, 1955'te alındı bu. Merdanesi makinenin duvarındaydı. Aksel marka olan kola çevirilirdi. 1958'ta da Arçelik otomatik silindirliye geçildi. Ondan evvel nasıl çamaşır yıkanırdı, onu da söyleyeyim. Şifa'daki evin mutfağında bir tezgah vardı o tezgahta çamaşır teknesi vardı. O çamaşır teknesinde yıkanırdı çamaşır evde.

    Tel dolap kullanırken buz kalıplarını komşulardan alıyorduk. Tel dolabı buzdolabı gelene kadar kullanılıyordu. Yemek tekrardan kaynatılırdı tekrar tel dolaba konurdu taze kalsın diye.

Şimdi telefon ettiğim arkadaşım (Ayşen Hanım) – bizim bir tarafımız Şan bir tarafımız Ayşen'in evidir. Ayşen'in babasının Su-Gaz-El isminde Kadıköy'de bir beyazeşya mağazası vardı. Biz taşındık, 2. Yılında bizim kapıya buzdolabını yolladı. Yani demek ki 1951'de buzdolabı sahibi olmuşuz. Annem çok üzülmüştü çünkü hiç para vermeden buzdolabı ve gaz ocağımız olmuştu. Çünkü biz o evdeyken annem kahveyi mangalda yapıyordu. Ayşen'in babası bize hoşgeldine gelip mangalı görünce ertesi gün ocağı yolladı. Ordan bir yıl sonra da buzdolabı geldi. Buzdolabı General Electric'ti. Buzluğu küçüktü. Dardı. Ocak da 3'lü havagazı ocağı idi.

Yukarıya çatıya iki oda yaptık. Abimle benim için yaptırıldı. Derme çatma bir şeydi. 1970'de yapıldı. Bu ihtiyaç niye, "ben müstakil odam olmasını istedim". Ben kullandım, soba da kurdum oraya. Orası benim müstakil evim oldu. Orası 2 derece olurdu soba yakmazsam. Manzara çok güzeldi, çatı ve Kalamış koyu. Mehtap inanılmaz güzel olurdu.

Hizmetçi odası yoktu ama çok güzel bir kileri vardı evin. Mutfağın yanında hiç görülmeyen, bir kiler.

- Şifa ve çevresindeymiş arkadaşlarınız, çok Moda Burnu tarafında arkadaşlarınız yokmuş sanırım?

Evet Şifa ve çevresindeydi. Moda Burnundakiler biraz daha snobumsuydu. İki taraf da birbirine yanaşmıyordu. Neden ayırıyordu Moda Caddesi bizi hiç bilmiyoruz ama öyleydi gerçekten.

AYŞE ÜLGEN

Röportaj Tarihi: 11 Ekim 2016
Röportaj Yeri: Dr. Esat Işık Caddesi, Tanay Apartmanı

Kişisel Bilgiler	
Doğum yılı:	18.7.1951
Doğum yeri:	Moda
Cinsiyet:	Kadın
Meslek:	Resim Bölümü
İkamet ettiği konut:	Tanay Apartmanı, Dr. Esad Işık Caddesi

Araştırma ile ilgili sorular:

1. Bugüne kadar hangi yıllarda ve hangi sokaklarda/caddelerde ikamet ettiniz?

Yıl aralığı	Sokak/Cadde adı	Konut adı
1924'de gelmişler		Köşk. (Sofa daha kareydi çizilenlerden)
1951-1965	Köşkte yaşadım.	
1971-1983		Lütfi Zeren mimar. Müteahhit Ekşioğlu. Daire 135 metrekare.
1983-1991	Göztepe kurukahveci sokak	
1991-2004	Esad Işık Caddesi	Şebboy Apartmanı
2004-2016		Tanay Apartmanı

2. Moda'da hangi yıl ikamet etmeye başladınız?

   Doğduğumdan beri, 1951.

3. Bugüne kadar hangi yıllarda ve hangi sokaklarda/caddelerde ikamet ettiniz? (Moda dahilinde)

   (İlk soruda cevaplandı.)

4. Şu an yaşadığınız konutta ikamet etmeyi tercih etmenizin sebebi nedir? (Fiyat uygunluğu, iskeleye/tramvaya/okula/kiliseye yakın olması vb.) Daha

sık hangi bakkalı/marketi kullanıyorsunuz? Önceden farklı bir bakkal/market kullanıyor idiyseniz değiştirme nedeniniz?

Ailemin buraya gelmiş olması. (Detaylı hikaye röportajın devamında bulunuyor)

5. Bundan once yaşadığınız konutlarda ikamet etmeyi tercih etmenizin sebebi nedir? (Fiyat uygunluğu, iskeleye/tramvaya/okula/kliseye yakın olması vb.)

(Detaylı hikaye röportajın devamında bulunuyor)

6. Şu an yaşadığınız konutun inşa edildiği yılı ve mimarını biliyor musunuz?

Lütfi Zeren mimar. Müteahhit Ekşioğlu. Daire 135 metrekare.

7. Önceden yaşadığınız konutların inşa edildiği yılı ve mimarını biliyor musunuz?

Lütfi Zeren mimar. Müteahhit Ekşioğlu. Daire 135 metrekare.

8. Şu an yaşadığınız konutun ev iç düzenini aktarabilir misiniz? (Giriş/Mutfak/Salon/Odalar/Banyo ilişkisi vb.)

(Detaylı hikaye röportajın devamında bulunuyor, Ayşe Ülgen'in çizimlerinde de bulunabilir.)

9. Evin düzeninde orijinalinden dönüştürdüğünüz/değiştirdiğiniz alanlar hangileridir? (Mutfağın balkonunu kapatıp kiler yapmak, banyonun orijinalinde küvetli olması, iki odayı birleştirip tek oda yapmak, vs.)

(Detaylı hikaye röportajın devamında bulunuyor)

10. Evinizin iç düzenindeki mobilyalar ile ilgili;

Mobilya cinsi (Çalışma koltuğu, büfe, buzdolabı, vb.)	Satın alındığı sene	Özel yapım / Seri imalat	Kullanım yıl aralığı	Varsa değiştirilme sebebi
Buzdolabı Kelvinatör	51-67	-	-	-
Norge	67-	-	-	-
Necchi dikiş makinesi	57	-	-	-

11. Apartmanın ilk yapıldığı original halinde hangileri mevcuttu?

Otopark (yoksa arabalar nereye parkediliyor?)	Yoktu
Kalorifer sistemi (yoksa kaç yılında geçildi?)	Vardı
Hizmetçi odası	Vardı (değiştirildi)
Aydınlık	Var
Her daireye özel depo alanı/Bodrum	Yok.
Asansör	Asansörlü tasarlamış

12. 1970 öncesine dair Moda ile ilgili hatırladığınız en hoş anı nedir?

Mahalle kavgaları olurdu, sosyal hayat çok güzeldi. Komşular birbirleriyle yer, muhabbet eder. Her şey çok güzeldi.

13. 1970 öncesine dair Moda ile ilgili hatırladığınız en kötü anı nedir? Günlük hayatınızı nasıl etkilemiştir? (6-7 Eylül olaylarının günlük yaşamınızdaki etkileri ne olabilir? Bakkalın/şarküterinin taşınması, komşularınızın/akrabalarınızın başka bir semte/ülkeye taşınması, semtteki huzursuzluktan dolayı sizin başka bir mahalleye taşınmanız vb.)

(Cevap verilmedi.)

14. Cumhuriyet dönemi Modası'nı simgeleyen veya anımsatan bir yapı/konut sorsak hangisini örnek verirdiniz? Sebebi nedir?
Kaykamakamlık binası

Babannemler Adana'dan kaçıyorlar. Fransız ve Ermeni okul pansiyonundan. Develer üzerinde Konya üzerinden bütün mücevherleri o esnada gidiyor. Babam da kundakta amcamla birlikte. Ondan sonra buraya geliyorlar, Şişli'ye yerleşiyorlar. Büyükbabam hububat ticareti yapıyor ama Adana'dayken Matematik hocasıymış. Babannemin babası da doctor. Ve öğrettiği lisede okulun doktoru aynı zamanda. Çok beğeniyor ve bir şekilde babannem ile büyükbabam evleniyor. Sonra babamlar buranın ilkokulu varmış, St. Joseph'in ilkokulu, babamlar burada ilkokula başlasın diye Şişli'den buraya geliyorlar ve dedem bu ahşap evi alıyor. Amcam ve babam 1918 ve 1919 doğumlu, yani 8-9 aylıkken amcam taşındıysa yani 1924-1925 yıllarında bu evi alıyorlar. Son padişahın oğlu Yusuf İzettin Paşa'nın Çamlıca'daki sarayından eşyaları alıyor, bütün bu evdeki eşyaları alıyor. Yataklara kadar her şeyi alıyor. Sonra babannem iki çocukla geldiğinde ev müthiş, her şey hazır. Fakat aynı zamanda, burası çift dairedir, bir de yan daire var balkonsuz olan (Tanay apartmanından bahsediyor) – yanda da gene bundan biraz daha küçük, havadar olsun diye, boş arsayı da alıyor. Babam da bunları son senelerinde söyledi. Koç gibi falanmış, Rus şoförleri varmış hiç araba yokken. 4 kişi yerleşiyorlar, amcam, babam, babannem, büyükbabam. Sonra büyükbabam 34 yaşında kalp krizi geçiriyor ve kaybediyorlar (1952 yılına denk geliyor) – babannem de 29 yaşındaymış dul kaldığında. Bana çok yakınırdı, ah ben genç yaşta dul kaldım filan diye. Tabii bu sefer müşkül bir durum oluyor (bolluğun zıttı olarak

kullanıyor). Babannemin kardeşi Adana'da Devlet Demiryolları'nın bölge müdürü, ve bir Fransız kız arkadaşı varmış. Madalyaları da var. Ferruh Dayı. Annem hiç evlenmiyor o nedenle dayı da amcama ve babama babalık yapıyor ablasının yanında bu evde. Sonra hangi sene bilmiyorum ama amcam St Joseph liseyi bitiriyor, babam Galatasaray lisesini bitiriyor. Sonra onlar gençken bir ara burada yangın oluyor, eski ahşap evde yangın oluyor. Hatta buranın (Tanay Apartmanı) planını çizen de onların gençlik arkadaşı Lütfi Zeren. İTÜ'de hoca idi. Kedisi varmış, dumanda kedisi uyandırıyor. Lütfi amca da Şifa'daymış o da geliyor.
Sonra benim çocukluğumda, benim bir de abim vardı onu çok genç yaşta kaybettik 60 yaşında ama ne oldu şimdi. Tabii Ferruh dayıyı ben hiç tanımadım. Babannem, babam, annem, ben ve abim bu ahşap evde yaşamaya başladık. Artı, benim annemin babası da devlet demiryollarında çalışıyordu ve görev icabı Eskişehir'deydi. Annemler 6 kardeş, en küçük teyzem Gönül teyzem de burda Akademi'ye okumaya geldi bir de Gönül teyzem ve bir de bol miktarda kediler.
Boş arsa'da (yandaki balkonsuz apartmanın bulunduğu parsel) kömürlük vardı, yandan aşağıdan taşınırdı. Bahçede de yine devlet demiryollarından emektarımız bir Ahmet Ağa vardı onun için bir müştemilat vardı. Ev yapılırken yapılmış bir müştemilattı bu büyük. Bir de çamaşırhane vardı ama çamaşırhane hiçbir zaman kullanılmadı.
Bu sırada da köşede de yine boş bir arsa vardı karşı tarafında da paşalar otururdu. Hatta Atanur Oğuz vardı İstanbul Büyükşehir Başkan Yardımcısıydı Bedrettin Dalan zamanında onun karısı falan babannemin eski ahbaplarının eviydi. Bu taraftaki köşeyi de bizler için oyun bahçesi yaptılardı. Bütün tahterevalli, salıncak bir lükstü. Ve dizi dizi yine ahşap evler vardı. Hatta Ahmet Ağa burada St. Joseph'in heykeli vardır etrafında da küçük pul havuz vardır, alabalıklar yüzer, ben 3-4 yaşında balıkları seyretmeye falan giderdik.
Ama mesela ahşap olduğu için yangın olmuştu Şifa'da 57-58 yılında, bana çok yer etmiştir. Ve bebeğiyle anne vefat ediyor orada, o beni çok etkilemişti. Bir de Moda Burnu'nda Marmara apartmanı'nda da yangın olmuştu çok etkilendim.
Hasan Subaşı'nın eşi Deborah'nın büyükannesi ile büyükbabasınınmış orası. Fato Hanımlara satmışlar, Cimcozların köşklerinden bahsediyor. Deborah'da bu Cimcozların köşkünün çizimleri ve fotoğrafları var. Tenis kortunun yanında. Cimcoz ailesi Fikret Mualla'ya çok bakmış. Ayşegül Sarıca'yı ve Deborah'yı çok iyi tanıyorum.
Bu ahşap ev bir Ermeni'den alınmış olabilir, ama ne zaman inşa edildi bilinmiyor.
Kelvinatör (Amerikan markası) buzdolabı ben kendimi bildim bileli vardı. 1967'ye kadar bu vardı. Norge'u sonradan 1967'de aldık.
Misafir odasında gaz sobası var – misafir gelince çabuk olsun diye
Diğeri Oturma odasındaki normal soba.
Necchi marka dikiş makinesini babam anneme 1957 yılına aldı.
Annem dedi ki kat karşılığı yapmayalım. Babannem daha çok istedi. Herhalde Ankara'daki amcamların istekleri doğrultusunda yapıldı. Annem "gelin bunu kendimiz yapalım, 3 kat olsun, paramız oldukça çıkalım" demişti, çok iyi hatırlıyorum. Sonra müteahit Ekşioğlu firması idi galiba laz Ekşioğlu.

Tanay apartmanında 14 daire var. Lütfi Zeren yalnızca çizim yaptı sonra biz alterationlar yaptık. Çünkü bu taraf güney bu taraf kuzeye bakıyor, o mesela yüksekte pencereler yapmıştı, altı duvarlı, biz böyle istemeyiz dedik. Biz aslında bu işleri müteahhitle hallettik. Ama Lütfi Amca da şey diyordu yani demiri vs.'si çok sağlam bir bina, statiğini iyi yapmış.
Giriş katını babannem almıştı müteahhitle anlaşmamızda. Zeminin bir üstünde biz oturuyorduk annemler. Sonra babannem vefat edince ortaklaşa satıldı o daire. Burası 135 metrekare. Fakat yapılırken sanıyorum bina ahşap eve gore daha derin yapıldı.

SEVİL ENGİNSOY EKİNCİ
Röportaj Tarihi: 7 Ekim 2016
Röportaj Yeri: -

Kişisel Bilgiler	
Doğum yılı:	1963
Doğum yeri:	İstanbul
Cinsiyet:	Kadın
Meslek:	Mimar/Öğretim Görevlisi
İkamet ettiği konut:	Caferağa Mahallesi Safa Sokak No: 18/8

Araştırma ile ilgili sorular:

1. İkamet etmek için neden Moda'yı tercih ettiniz?

2014 yılında Ankara'dan İstanbul'a taşınmaya karar verip ev aramaya başladığımızda denize yürüme mesafesinde bir yerde oturmak en büyük isteğimizdi. Moda'yı seçmemizin nedeni de, İstanbul'un "kurtarılmış bölgelerinden" biri olduğunu hemen anlamamızdı.

2. Moda'da hangi yıl ikamet etmeye başladınız?

Temmuz 2014'de Ankara'dan İstanbul'a, Moda'ya, bu daireye taşındım.

3. Bugüne kadar hangi yıllarda ve hangi sokaklarda/caddelerde ikamet ettiniz? (Moda dahilinde)

Bir önceki cevabım, bu soruyu da kapsıyor.

4. Şu an yaşadığınız konutta ikamet etmeyi tercih etmenizin sebebi nedir? (Fiyat uygunluğu, iskeleye/tramvaya/okula/kiliseye yakın olması vb.) Daha sık hangi bakkalı/marketi kullanıyorsunuz? Önceden farklı bir bakkal/market kullanıyor idiyseniz değiştirme nedeniniz?

Moda'da ev aramaya başladığımızda, önce belli bir fiyat aralığı belirledik ve bu aralıktaki aşağı yukarı yirmi seçenek arasında bu daireyi almaya karar verdik. Nedenlerini şöyle sıralayabilirim:
a. Denize yürüme uzaklığında olması,
b. Benzer şekilde, parklara, Fenerbahçe Statı'na ve her türlü ulaşım ağına yürüme uzaklığında olması,
c. Süreyya Operası, Rexx sineması, Moda Sahnesi gibi kültürel mekânlara yakın olması,
d. Yine benzer şekilde, bu semte özgü ve çok çeşitlilik sunan kafe/lokantaya ve günlük ihtiyaçlarımızı kolaylıkla karşılayabildiğimiz dükkânlara yakın olması
e. Bina içinin (ortak alanların) bakımlı ve aydınlık olması

f. Dairenin hem ön hem de arka cephesinin yeşilliğe ve açıklığa bakması.
Sorunuzun ikinci kısmına cevaben de, Kadıköy çarşısındaki çeşitli manav, balıkçı, şarküteriye ek olarak Moda ve Fenerbahçe stadındaki Migros'ları kullandığımızı söyleyebilirim.

5. Bundan once yaşadığınız konutlarda ikamet etmeyi tercih etmenizin sebebi nedir? (Fiyat uygunluğu, iskeleye/tramvaya/okula/kliseye yakın olması vb.)

Bundan önce Ankara'da oturuyordum, en son oturduğumuz daire Gaziosmanpaşa Turan Emeksiz sokaktaydı, o daireyi seçmemizin en önemli nedeni, binanın ön cephesinde olması ve karşısındaki Kanada Elçiliği Residansı'nın müthiş yeşilliğine bakmasıydı.

6. Şu an yaşadığınız konutun inşa edildiği yılı ve mimarını biliyor musunuz?

Mimarı olduğunu sanmıyorum ama müteahhidi üst kat komşumuz. Tapudaki bilgiye göre inşa edildiği yıl da 1966.

7. Önceden yaşadığınız konutların inşa edildiği yılı ve mimarını biliyor musunuz?

Ankara Gaziosmanpaşa'da oturduğumuz son apartman binasının mimarı Vedat Dalokay'dı, yılını kesin olarak bilmiyorum ama 1970'lerin ilk yarısı olduğunu tahmin ediyorum.

8. Şu an yaşadığınız konutun ev iç düzenini aktarabilir misiniz? (Giriş/Mutfak/Salon/Odalar/Banyo ilişkisi vb.)

Daire, küçük bir ara mekânla (bu mekânda küçük tuvalet de yer alıyor) yaşama alanına açılıyor, yaşama alanı da solda, ön cephede yer alan oturma ve yemek yeme alanlarından, sağda da açık mutfaktan oluşuyor. Açık mutfağın yer aldığı bölüm, aynı zamanda dairenin arka cephesine açılan, arka bahçeye bakan yatak odasıyla (balkona açılan) çalışma odasını, aydınlığa bakan (daha önce mutfak olan, bizim tadilatla odaya dönüştürdüğümüz) giyinme odasını ve banyoyu bağlayan koridora geçişi sağlıyor.

9. Evin düzeninde orijinalinden dönüştürdüğünüz/değiştirdiğiniz alanlar hangileridir? (Mutfağın balkonunu kapatıp kiler yapmak, banyonun orijinalinde küvetli olması, iki odayı birleştirip tek oda yapmak, vs.)

Bir önceki cevabımda belirttiğim gibi, yaptığımız en büyük tadilat, daha önce mutfağın olduğu kapalı mekânı giyinme odasına ve yine daha önce muhtemelen yemek yeme alanı olarak kullanılan bölümü açık mutfağa çevirmekti. Bunun da nedeni, ihtiyacımız olan bir odayı eklemekti (tamamen kapalı bir mekân gibi düşünmedik yine de bu odayı, girişini diğer odaların ve banyonun girişlerinin olduğu yöne aldık ve mekân kaybını da minimuma

indirebilmek için sürgülü kapı kullandık). Bundan başka, banyoyu tümüyle yeniledik (küveti kaldırdık), daha önce iptal edilmiş ve küçük bir depoya çevrilmiş olan girişteki küçük tuvaleti yine tümüyle yenileyerek kullanıma geçirdik. Ayrıca, daha önce alüminyum doğrama kullanılarak kapalı bir mekâna dönüştürülmüş balkonu (sadece gerektiğinde kapatılan ama kapatıldığında da görsel açıklığı engellemeyen doğramasız/şeffaf bir sistemle) arka bahçeye açtık.

10. Bu değişikliği yapmak günlük yaşamınızda size ne gibi kolaylıklar sağladı?

Sanıyorum, bu soruyu da bir önceki cevabımda açıkladım.

11. Evinizin iç düzenindeki mobilyalar ile ilgili;

(Ev içindeki mobilyalar, eşyalar ve armatürlerle ilgili bu soruya cevap verilmedi)

12. Apartmanın ilk yapıldığı original halinde hangileri mevcuttu?

Otopark (yoksa arabalar nereye parkediliyor?)	Yok/sokakta uygun olan yerlere
Kalorifer sistemi (yoksa kaç yılında geçildi?)	Kat kaloferi (taşındığımızda vardı ve yenilenmişti)
Hizmetçi odası	Yok
Aydınlık	Var
Her daireye özel depo alanı/Bodrum	Kısmen var
Asansör	Yok

13. Akrabalarınız ve aile dostlarınız hangi semtte ikamet ediyorlar? Moda'da ikamet edenlerin yaşadığı sokak ismi nedir?

Moda'da yaşayan akrabamız ya da aile dostumuz yok, bazı tanıdıklarımız var, Mühürdar caddesinde ve Kadife sokakta oturduklarını bildiğim.

14. Moda Caddesi'nde sık uğradığınız dükkanlar hangileridir? Günlük yaşamınızda Moda Caddesi'ne uğrama sebepleriniz nelerdir? (Toplu taşımaya ulaşım, akraba ziyareti, kısa yol, restoran vb.)

Moda Caddesi üzerinde, saat tamircisi, manav, Migros, Selanik Kuru Fasulye Lokantası, Eczane, Akbank, Köyüm Pide, Dondurmacı Ali Usta, Koço Balık Lokantası ve Cadde'ye çok yakın mesafelerde, kuru temizleyici, çiçekçi, Yer ve Dün isimli kafeler hemen aklıma gelenler.

15. Moda Caddesi'ne haftada veya ayda yaklaşık kaç kez uğrarsınız?

Her gün geçiyorum, Kadıköy iskelesi ile evim arasındaki yürüyüş güzergâhımı kestiğinden ve ayrıca, bir önceki cevabımda yazdığım yerlere gittiğimde.

16. Bahariye Caddesi'nde sık uğradığınız dükkanlar hangileridir? Günlük yaşamınızda Bahariye Caddesi'ne uğrama sebepleriniz nelerdir? (Toplu taşımaya ulaşım, akraba ziyareti, kısa yol, restoran vb.)

Aynı şekilde, Bahariye Caddesi'nden de her gün geçiyorum, Kadıköy iskelesi ile evim arasındaki yürüyüş güzergâhımı kestiğinden. En çok gittiğim dükkanlar da, bir kırtasiye, Yves Roche ve Cadde'ye çok yakın mesafedeki Tasarım Yayın Grubu'nun kitapçısı (dergi ve bazı İngilizce gazeteleri oradan alıyorum).

17. Bahariye Caddesi'ne haftada veya ayda yaklaşık kaç kez uğrarsınız?

Bir önceki cevabım bu soru için de geçerli sanıyorum.

18. 1970 öncesine dair Moda ile ilgili hatırladığınız en hoş anı nedir?

(Cevap verilmedi.)

19. 1970 öncesine dair Moda ile ilgili hatırladığınız en kötü anı nedir? Günlük hayatınızı nasıl etkilemiştir? (6-7 Eylül olaylarının günlük yaşamınızdaki etkileri ne olabilir? Bakkalın/şarküterinin taşınması, komşularınızın/akrabalarınızın başka bir semte/ülkeye taşınması, semtteki huzursuzluktan dolayı sizin başka bir mahalleye taşınmanız vb.)

(Cevap görüşülen kişi ile ilgili değil, bu senelerde Moda'da yaşamıyordu.)

20. Aile büyüklerinizin ikamet ettiği konutlar ile ilgili size anlattığı, eski zamanlara dair Moda'ya ait anılardan birini paylaşır mısınız? (Bu anı hangi konutta ve sokakta geçiyor?

(Cevap verilmedi.)

21. Osmanlı dönemi Modası' nı simgeleyen veya anımsatan bir yapı/konut sorsak hangisini örnek verirdiniz? Sebebi nedir?

Moda Caddesi'nin (Moda Burnu'na doğru) sonunda, köşedeki Sarıca ailesine ait (Ayşegül Sarıca' nın ailesi) konak, terkedilmiş gibi duruyor ama hâlâ (çok şükür) aile tarafından kullanılıyor bildiğim kadarıyla ve yıpranmışlığına rağmen ya da belki de bu yüzden, ölçeğiyle, mimarî üslûbuyla ve bahçesiyle geç Osmanlı döneminin pek etkileyici bir örneği bence.

(Cevap verilmedi.)

22. Cumhuriyet dönemi Modası'nı simgeleyen veya anımsatan bir yapı/konut sorsak hangisini örnek verirdiniz? Sebebi nedir?

Bir önceki cevabımdan farklı olarak, bu soruya tek bir örnekle cevap vermem pek mümkün değil galiba, genel olarak, farklı dönemlerin izlerini, mimarî

özelliklerini taşıyan apartman binalarının Moda'yı simgelediğini söyleyebilirim, bu konut dokusunun, yer yer ciddi şekilde bozulmuş olsa da, hâlâ Moda'nın en tipik özelliği olduğunu düşünüyorum.

Bizim binamızın da, tüm mütevazılığı içinde, cephe düzeni ve oranlarına ek olarak (ince profilli demirden kare-kafesli) Fransız balkonu tabir edilen elemanlarıyla, 1960'ların çizgilerini taşıdığını gözlemleyebiliyorum.

23. Moda'daki günlük yaşamı aşağıdaki gibi yıllara ayırdığımızda aklınıza gelen/size anlatılan bazı cümleleri paylaşır mısınız?

(Cevap verilmedi.)

PINAR SEZGİNALP

Curriculum Vitae



EDUCATION

MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY, *2011-2017*
Ph.D. History of Architecture
Thesis Subject: Transformation of Residential Interiors in the Moda District of Istanbul, 1930s-1970s
Thesis Supervised by Prof. Dr. Tomris Elvan Altan

KATHOLIEKE UNIVERSITEIT LEUVEN, *2013-2014*
Doctoral Erasmus Exchange Student, Fall Semester
Faculty of Engineering Sciences
Department of Architecture
Research conducted by Prof. Dr. Hilde Heynen

IZMIR UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS, *2008-2011*
Master of Design, Design Studies
Thesis Subject: Deleuzian Concepts in Relation to Contemporary Artworks
Thesis Supervised by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Güven İncirlioğlu

BILKENT UNIVERSITY, *2004-2008*
Bachelor of Arts, Interior Architecture and Environmental Design

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY STATE CONSERVATORY, *2001-2005*
Classical Guitar, Part-time

WORK EXPERIENCE

MEF UNIVERSITY, *2015-2016*
Part-time Instructor in Faculty of Arts, Design and Architecture
Department of Interior Design
Courses lectured:
Visual Communication Design Studio, Spring

KADIR HAS UNIVERSITY, *2015-2016*
Part-time Instructor in Faculty of Art and Design
Department of Interior Architecture and Environmental Design
Courses lectured:
Basic Design Studio, Spring
History of Architecture and Interior Design, Fall and Spring
History of Art and Design, Fall

TONER ARCHITECTS, *2014-2016*
Interior Architect
Hilton Izmir Hotel Guestfloors Renovation Project Coordinator
Responsibilities:
Managing the project through both the renovation site works and FFE coordination with Hilton Worldwide Design Team in UK

ENTEGRE PROJECT MANAGEMENT, 2014
Interior Architect
Conrad Hotel Istanbul Renovation Project Design Coordinator
Responsibilities:
Managing the project through both the renovation site works and FFE coordination with Hilton Worldwide Design Team in UK

PINAR SEZGİNALP

Curriculum Vitae

IZMIR UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS, *2008-2013*
Teaching and Research Assistant in Faculty of Fine Arts and Design
Courses:
Art and Design Studio I, 6 Semesters
Art and Design Studio II, 6 Semesters
Introduction to Visual Communication, 3 Semesters
Introduction to New Media, 1 Semester

KORIDOR CULTURE, ART AND LITERATURE, 2011
Monthly Published Periodical
Responsiblities:
Art Director, Referee, Editor, Desktop Publisher

XL ARCHITECTURE, *2007*
Interior Architect, Architectural Office Practice
Responsibilities:
Project Management, Architectural Drawings, Architectural Modeling
Research on Construction Materials

MESA CONSTRUCTIONS, *2006*
Interior Architect, Construction Site Practice
Responsibilities:
Coordinating the site and finishing material application and installation within the gated community site containing 6 of 20 floored apartments

CONFERENCES

GENDERED PERSPECTIVES IN DESIGN:
TURKISH AND GLOBAL CONTEXT, 5T CONFERENCE,
YAŞAR UNIVERSITY, *9-10 May 2013*
Paper Presentation:
"Gazing Through the Anatolian House:
The Hidden Features of Invisible Femininity"

MOBILITY AND FANTASY IN VISUAL CULTURE:
FIRST INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON VISUAL CULTURE,
BAHCESEHIR UNIVERSITY, *20-21 May 2011*
Paper Presentation:
"Evolution of Viewer Emancipation within Interactive
Works of Art"

CONNECT, CONTINUE, CREATE:
THIRD INTERNATIONAL DELEUZE CONFERENCE,
AMSTERDAM SCHOOL FOR CULTURAL ANALYSIS,
UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM AND CENTRE FOR
THE HUMANITIES AT UTRECHT UNIVERSITY, *12-14 July 2010*
Paper Presentation:
"Deleuzian Concepts in Relation to Contemporary Artworks"

RESONANCES: A DELEUZE AND GUATTARI
CONFERENCE ON PHILOSOPHY, ART AND POLITICS
BILGI UNIVERSITY, *8,9 July 2010*
Paper Presentation:
"Deleuzian Concepts in Relation to Contemporary Artworks"

COMPUTER SKILLS

AUTOCAD, *Highly proficient*
ADOBE PHOTOSHOP, *Highly proficient*
ADOBE INDESIGN, *Highly proficient*
MICROSOFT OFFICE, *Advanced working knowledge*

PINAR SEZGİNALP

Curriculum Vitae

LANGUAGES

TURKISH, *Native speaker*
ENGLISH, *Fluent*
FRENCH, *Intermediate*
DUTCH, *Beginner*

REFERENCES

CHRISTOPHER WEBB
Senior Director of Interior Design at Hilton Worldwide
Architecture, Design and Construction EMEA
e-mail: chris.webb@hilton.com
mobile: +44 0 7530 260032

PROF. DR. GULSUM BAYDAR
Architectural Theorist and Historian, University of California, Berkeley Ph.D.
Chair of Department in Yaşar University
e-mail: gulsum.baydar@yasar.edu.tr
mobile: +90 533 761 7992

Contact

E-mail: *psezginalp@gmail.com*

Personal Information

Date of Birth: *24.01.1986*
Nationality: *Turkish*
Marital Status: *Single*

Interests

Design development
Concept design
Tracking project development
FFE follow-up
Desktop publishing
Surveying history of architecture
Modern architectural theory
Modern architectural history of Turkey
Gender and architecture

APPENDIX D

TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

İSTANBUL MODA BÖLGESİ KONUTLARININ İÇ MEKAN DÖNÜŞÜMLERİ, 1930LAR-1970LER

Son yıllarda, Türkiye'de şehirlerde kentsel bağlamda olağanüstü hızlı bir yıkım ve inşaat sürecine tanık olunmaktadır. Eskiyi yıkmak, geçmişi kent panoramasından silmek ve yeniyi inşa etmek - ki bu zarif estetiği ve eski mimari ve mekânsal nitelikleri içermez- geçmişle ilgili kayda değer bir nostalji duygusunun gelişmesiyle sonuçlandı. Bu çalışma, 20. yüzyılın kentsel ve konut ölçeğinde nasıl benzer bir dönüşüme uğradığına dair bir yansımanın ve bu sürecin daha önceki safhaları ile ilgilidir.

Moda, bu tezin vaka çalışması alanı olarak 20. yüzyılda Türkiye'de kentlerde yaşanan böylesi bir dönüşüme örnek teşkil etmektedir. İstanbul'un Asya yakasında yer alan bu bölge, bu taraftaki ilk yerleşim bölgesi olduğu için yüzyıllar boyunca Asya yakasının kalbi olarak kabul edilen Kadıköy ilçesine bağlıdır. Moda nüfusu 19. yüzyılın sonuna kadar çoğunlukla Gayrimüslim ailelerden oluşuyordu. Daha sonra, Osmanlı hanedanı ve İmparatorluk kamu kurumları ile bağlantıları ve ilişkileri olan bir çok Müslüman da Moda'da ikamet etmeyi tercih ettiler.

Moda sadece böyle bir çok kültürlü karakteri tarihsel perspektifte sunmakla kalmaz, aynı zamanda 1923'te kurulan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti için de önemli bir yere sahiptir. Moda Deniz Klübü, 8 Nisan 1935'te yeni devletin kurucusu Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün emrinde kuruldu ve ilçenin ilk Cumhuriyet sembolü oldu. 1927 yılında Atatürk yatında (Ertuğrul) deniz seyrinde bulunduğu

sırada, Moda burnu ve kıyılarının güzelliğini fark etti ve bu yerde bir spor kulübünün kurulmasını istedi.[1] Atatürk, bu bölgeyi 1920'li ve 1930'lu yıllarda Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin "yüzü" olarak adlandırmış ve özellikle yelken sporu başta olmak üzere, burada kurulacak tesislerin Cumhuriyet "kıyıları" için önemini vurgulamıştır. Bu nedenle, Moda Deniz Klübü, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti gençleri için spor merkezi olarak kurulmuştur. Moda'nın ana arteri Moda Caddesi'nin kulübün yanında sona ermesi, metaforik olarak daha fazla vurgulanan Moda burnunun en güneyindeki kıyı şeridinin kıyısında yer alır. Moda Deniz Klubü, Cumhuriyet döneminde bu bölgede yaşayan nüfusun çoğunun kimliğini simgeleyen, sosyal açıdan üst sınıf ailelerin buluşma mekanı olan çarpıcı bir mekan olarak da öne çıkmıştır.

Moda'nın tarihsel gelişiminde, Moda burnu, özellikle Yoğurtçu Parkı ile Moda sahili arasında ilk olarak M.Ö. 658 yıllarında Fenikeliler tarafından bir yerleşim bölgesi olarak tercih edilmiştir.[2] Moda ve genel anlamıyla Kadıköy Bölgesi'ne 1350'de Osmanlı Türkleri yerleşmeye başladı; bununla birlikte, Tanzimat döneminden itibaren yerleşim modelinde önemli bir değişiklik, yani özellikle "elit" in günlük hayatını değiştiren Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun "batılılaşma" dönemi yaşanmıştır. Müslüman olmayan azınlık aileleri ve Osmanlı Türkleri, imparatorluğun gayrimüslim azınlıklarını yeniden konumlandıran reformların yapıldığı bir dönem olan Tanzimat döneminin sonlarına doğru Moda'ya yerleşmeye başladılar.[3] Bu azınlıklar çoğunlukla ticaretle ilgilenmekte olup, Katolik kökenli Fransız, İtalyan ve İngiliz sakinler ile Ermenilerden oluşmaktadır. Eski taş köşkler ve konaklardan oluşan bir yerleşim biçimi, çok kültürlü ortamın

[1] Moda Deniz Klübü Derneği (2010). *Dünden Bugüne Moda Deniz Klübü*. Portakal Basım, İstanbul, s. 13.

[2] Age., 15.

[3] Zürcher, bu kitabında özellikle Hıristiyan topluluklarının konumunu vurgular. Bkz: Zürcher, Erik. J. (1993) *Turkey: A Modern History.* I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., Londra, s. 56.

bir sonucu olarak geç Osmanlı dönemi bağlamında Moda'nın mimari kimliğini yaratmıştır.

Bu köşkler ve konaklar hem Gayrimüslim hem de Müslüman ailelerin yerleşim yerleriydi.[4] Çoğunlukla iki veya üç kuşağın bir arada yaşadığı üç katlı binalardan oluşuyordu. Her katta bir aile yaşıyordu ve bu bazı durumlarda birden fazla aile de olabiliyordu. Çoğu durumda yaşam alanları paylaşılmıştı; aksi takdirde, her ailenin kendi yaşam alanı - sofa vardı.[5] Bir Müslüman ailesinin yaşadığı bir köşk ya da konut, bu ailenin zengin bir kökenden geldiğini ve Osmanlı idari ofislerinde çalışan baba ya da büyükbabanın çok miktarda altın birikimi olduğunu gösteriyordu. Bu çalışmada görüşülenlerin çoğundan elde edilen ve Moda semtinin toplumsal statüsünü anlama açısından önem taşıyan çoğu söylenceye dayalı bilgilere göre bu konak veya köşklerin sahiplerinin altınları taşımak için develeri olduğunu ve çocukların altınlarla oynadığını anlatır.[6] Bunlar, Moda semtine ilk taşındıklarında bir konak veya köşk satın alan veya yaptıran ailelerdi.

Moda, yalnızca Osmanlı'da değil, aynı zamanda erken Cumhuriyet döneminde de üst sınıf ailelerin varlığıyla tanımlanmıştır; özellikle bu araştırmanın kronolojik odağının başlangıcını oluşturan yaklaşık 1930'lardan itibaren, elitler burada yaşamayı ve arazi satın almayı tercih ederek, Cumhuriyet'in yeni ve modern yaşam tarzına uyacak modern evler inşa etmek üzere mimarlarla anlaştılar.

[4] Bu köşklerde ve konaklarda yaşayan Osmanlı Elitlerinin günlük yaşam döngüsü ve hane halkı özellikleri hakkında daha fazla istatistiki bilgi aşağıdaki kaynaklarda bulunabilir: Duben, A., Behar, C. (1991). *İstanbul Households: Marriage, family and fertility, 1880-1940.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. Ayrıca, özellikle 20. yüzyılın başında sadece Moda'nın değil, aynı zamanda İstanbul'un farklı etnik ve dini kökene sahip bir şehir kenti olduğu da unutulmamalıdır: bu kişilerin büyük kısmı Yunan, Ermeni ve Yahudilerden oluşmaktaydı ve toplumun Müslüman kısmıyla içiçe yaşamaktaydılar (Age., 7).

[5] Sadece İstanbul'un köşk ya da konakları değil, 19. yüzyılın son çeyreğinde inşa edilen apartmanlarda da sofa bölümü vardı. Galata bölgesinde örneklenen dönemin yeni daireleri hakkında daha fazla bilgi için bkz: Öncel, Ayşe Derin (2010). *Apartman: Galata'da Yeni Bir Konut Tipi*. Kitap Yayınevi, İstanbul.

[6] Bu aileler de röportaj yapılanlar arasında yer alır.

1960'lardan sonra, bölge sakinlerinin mali durumu, üst orta ve orta sınıf insanların da üst sınıf Moda nüfusuyla karışmaya başlamasına neden olan yeni göçlerle değişmeye başlamıştı. 1960'lı ve 1970'li yıllarda Moda'da yerleşik olan vatandaşlar o tarihlerde rezidansların ana türü haline gelen konutlarda daire veya apartmanlar inşa etti ve bu yerleşim şekli erken Cumhuriyet dönemi ve orta yirminci yüzyıl dönemlerini kapsayan bu çalışmanın kronolojik odağının bitiş noktası olan 1980'lerde yoğun kentsel bağlamın temeli haline geldi.

Şunu belirtmek gerekir ki, bir kişinin Moda'da kökleri olduğu anlamına gelen "Modalı olmak" terimi halihazırda orada yaşayan bir ailenin ferdi olmak demektir ve onur duyulacak bir durumdur; ve en önemlisi, bu deyim, Moda'daki insanların "eski" ile olan ilişkilerini üst sınıf /sosyete ile tanımlamaya çalışmalarını da göstermektedir. Burada "eski", eski anıların, çocukluğun anılarının toplamı ve geçmişte Moda'da geçirilen günlük yaşam biçimi için kullanılan geniş bir terimdir.

Bu çalışmanın amacı, 20. yüzyılda Moda'da iç mekan konut alanının karakteristik özelliklerinin kent ve mimari bağlamla birlikte nasıl değiştiğini, 20. yüzyılda meydana gelen günlük yaşamdaki değişikliklerden ve sosyal dönüşümden ne şekilde etkilendiğini, süreç boyunca kaybolan ve Moda'da yaşayan halkın kimliğinin bir parçası addedilen unsurlar temelinde ele almaktır. Odak noktası, 1930'lardan 1970'lere, daha büyük bir kapsamın küçük bir kısmı olup, araştırılan iç mekan yerleşim alanlarındaki bahsedilen dönüşümü, 20. yüzyılda ülkede yaşanan modernleşme sürecine atıfta bulunmak amacıyla değerlendirmektedir. Duanfang Lu'nun belirttiği gibi, "moderni düşünmek, *her zaman değişen sosyal, politik ve kültürel çarpıtmalara* kaçınılmaz olarak yakalanan şimdiyi düşünmektir".[7]

[7] Lu, Duanfang (2011) *Third World Modernism: Architecture, Development and Identity*. Routledge, Oxford, s.3. Vurguyu, çalışmanın yazarı yapmıştır.

Çalışmanın daha geniş kapsamı, 20. yüzyılda Moda'da inşa edilmiş konutlara odaklanarak yazılmış olan Türkiye'de iç mimarlık tarihidir. Moda'nın kentsel ve mimari dönüşümüne ilişkin olarak, Cumhuriyet dönemindeki siyasi ve toplumsal dönüşümü etkileyen modernizasyon sürecinde iç yerleşim alanını analiz eder ve dolayısıyla içeriyi üreten aktörlerin sosyal kimliği perspektifinden çözümler.

Bu araştırmanın odak noktası, konutların iç mekanlarındaki dönüşümü ortaya koymak ve bu yumuşak dönüşümleri, günlük yaşamın modernleşme sürecinde Cumhuriyetin kuruluşundan sonraki yıllar boyunca yaşanan toplumsal değişime atıfta bulunarak okumaktır. Okuyucuların Moda'daki konutlar aracılığıyla bu modernleşmenin sonuçlarını anlamalarını amaçlayan çalışma, bu konutların hikayeleri ve geçmişleri hakkında kapsamlı bilgiler vermektedir. Sadece bir iç yerleşim alanının küçük perspektifi değil, aynı zamanda bu çalışmanın süresi boyunca konutla ilgili politikalar ve düzenlemelerle ilgili tarihi bağlamın daha geniş perspektifi de sunulmuştur: Amaç, yerleşim alanındaki dönüşüm noktalarını anlamaya yardımcı olan zaman aralığının atmosferini yakalamaktır.

Birinci Bölümde araştırmanın amacı, kapsamı, yöntemi ve yapısının açıklanmasını takiben; İkinci Bölüm, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kentsel ve mimari modernizasyonunun tarihi bağlamını inceleyecektir. Çalışmanın coğrafi çerçevesi İstanbul şehridir ve bu bölüm İstanbul'un ilk olarak 1930'lardan başlayan Cumhuriyet dönemine, ikinci olarak da 1970'lere uzanan yirminci yüzyılın ortalarına odaklanarak modernleşme programına kronolojik olarak daha geniş bir perspektif sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır Mimari ve kentsel dönüşüm anlamında erken Cumhuriyet döneminin en önemli işareti İstanbul'da uygulanan Prost Programı'ydı. 1950'lerden 1970'lere doğru geçen süre zarfında, çağdaş hükümetler tarafından kentsel ve mimari gelişmeyle ilgili yeni kodlar gibi amaçlar belirlendi. Buna ek olarak, bu bölümde bahsedilen 6- 7 Eylül 1955 Gösterilerinin, Moda'nın sosyal - kentsel ve mimari - modelini de değiştiren en etkili katalizörler haline geldiğinden bahsedilecektir. Kentin dönüşümünün büyük

kapsamı ile İkinci Bölümdeki siyasi ve sosyal gelişmelerin araştırılması, Çağdaş modernleşme programının Kadıköy'ü nasıl etkilediğinin incelenmesi ile birlikte, Moda ilçesine 1980 yılına kadar konut bağlamında odaklanılarak incelenmeye devam edecektir. Kentsel ve mimari dönüşüm siyaseti, konut düzenlemeleri ile birlikte, Moda ve Kadıköy'deki yerleşim bağlamında her değişikliği anlamak için kılavuz görevi görecektir. Kısacası, İkinci Bölüm, bu çalışmanın zaman aralığı içinde modernizasyon programı kapsamında kentsel ve mimari dönüşümün tarihi bağlamını sunacaktır.

Moda'daki konutların üretilişi Üçüncü Bölümde sunulacaktır. Üçüncü Bölümün ilk kısmında, meyve bahçelerinden ve geleneksel evlerden tek ailelik evlere ve dairelere Moda'nın konut üretimi, bu çalışmada incelenen vakaları örneklendirerek ayrıntılı olarak sunulacaktır. Üçüncü Bölümün ikinci kısmında, kronolojik olarak izlenebilecek bu üretimin arkasındaki aktörlerin rolleri sunulacaktır. İlk olarak, Moda'daki ailelerin sosyal kimliklerini anlamak için, 1930-1950 yılları arasında inşa edilen, mimar tarafından tasarlanan tek ailelik evler ve apartman daireleri, arazi sahipleri ve konut sahipleri hakkındaki bilgilerle gösterilecektir. İkinci olarak, 1960 ile 1970'ler arasında inşa edilen apartman bloklarının mülkiyeti, mimar tarafından tasarlanan birkaç daire örneğine ek olarak müteahhitlerin inşaatlerini sunarak tartışılacaktır. Konunun bitiminde konut üretim sürecinin ve aktörlerinin sona erdirilmesi yapılacaktır. Bu bölüm, Moda'nın hem kentsel hem de mimari modelinin şekillendirilmesi ve bu dönüşümünün anlaşılmasının yanı sıra ailelerin yerleşim yerlerini etkileyen günlük yaşantılarını değerlendirmek üzere ailelerin sosyal statüsünü göstermek için bir temel teşkil etmesinde de önem taşımaktadır.

Moda'daki konutların iç mekanları Dördüncü Bölüm'de analiz edilmektedir. Bu bölümün amacı açısından, planlardan aşağıdaki hususları belirtmek için kılavuz olarak yararlanılacaktır: Modernizasyon sürecinin etkisini değerlendirmek için konutların alansal dağılımını ve kullanım alanını sunmak. Dördüncü Bölümün ilk

kısmında, yayınlarda yansıtılan iç yerleşim alanı fikri, ikinci bölüm için bir zemin oluşturmak üzere ele alınacaktır. Dördüncü Bölümün ikinci kısmı, alanın mekansal dağılımını ve kullanımını değerlendirerek toplumsal statülerin iç mekan üzerindeki yansımalarına odaklanacaktır. Konutların planları konutların iç mekanlarının nasıl bir dönüşüm geçirdiğini anlamak için ana kaynaklar olacak ve bunun, iç mekanlarda yaşanan tanıtım ve mahremiyet kavramını nasıl etkilediği ele alınacaktır. Hizmet alanlarında ve hizmetçi odalarında incelenen ev içi yönetim, burada analizin odak noktası olacaktır. Son olarak, ailelerin / mülk sahiplerinin sosyal statüsünün maddileştirilmesi, kullanılan aksesuarlar, özellikler, mobilyalar ve demirbaşlar incelenerek analiz edilecektir. Bu araştırmada, diğer konutlar arasında sadece bir tanesi planlarıyla öne çıkmaktadır: Necla Erk'in konutu. Bu konutun planı, alanların tahsisi mantığının yanı sıra ayrı bir alt bölüm olarak iyice incelenecektir. Bu bölümün üçüncü kısmı, Moda'daki iç mekan yerleşim alanlarının, 1930'lu yıllardan 1970'lere kadar, bağlam ve alan kullanımıyla ilgili tartışmaları özetleyecektir.

Sonuç bölümünde, Moda'daki iç yerleşim alanlarının analizinin sonuç argümanları ele alınmakta ve bölge halkı geleneksel evlerden modern evlere veya apartmanlara geçmeyi seçtikten sonra günlük yaşamdaki değişikliklerin ayrıntılarını vurgulamaktadır.

Moda, İstanbul'un bir bölgesi olarak, coğrafi yerleşimi açısından önem taşımaktadır Üç farklı yönden Marmara Denizi'ne bakan Moda Burnu ve kıyısı, bölgenin sosyal yaşamını ve kentsel planlama şeklini tanımlamıştır. Sahil, Moda İskelesi, Moda Deniz Kulübü ve kesintisiz sahil şeridinin (Moda Sahilyolu) görsel bir kombinasyonu vasıtasıyla semt kimliğinin sosyal toplantılarda sergilendiği sosyal yaşam içindeki Moda'nın arterlerinden biridir ve Yoğurtçu Parkı'ndan başlayıp Kadıköy İskelesi'ne kadar devam eder. Hem deniz hem de kara ulaşım araçlarının gelişmesi, İstanbul'un tüm ilçeleri arasında, Moda özelinde ayırt edici bir özellik yaratmıştır. Moda sakinleri, günümüze kadar farklı zaman aralıklarında

buharlı gemi (vapur) ve tramvay vasıtasıyla istedikleri yere ulaşabilmekteydiler. Hem Osmanlı döneminin çok etnisiteli üst sınıf nüfusunun 'yerleşim alanı' hem de 20. yüzyıl ortalarına dek Cumhuriyet elitinin "yüzü" olan Moda, kimliğini, melez bir etnisite ile kazanmış olup, bu da ilçedeki mimari çeşitliliğin ve zenginliğin oluşmasına katkıda bulunmuştur. Ana arterler olarak Bahariye ve Moda Sokakları, sosyalleşmenin başlıca aşamalarının yanı sıra günlük ürünlerin ve her çeşit iyi mağazanın bulunduğu ana arterlerdir. Bu çalışma için röportaja katılan herkes, akşamları bu sokaklarda yürümek ve kıyı şeridinde rotalarını sonlandırmak gibi unutulmaz alışkanlıklarından bahsettiler. Moda, yerleşik olanlar tarafından "Modalı" olmak gibi gurur verici bir duruma atıf yapılarak önemli bir durum olarak yadedilmektedir. Üstelik, bu çalışma kapsamındaki görüşmelerde çoğunlukla sosyal yaşam ve geçmişi yaşama kalitesine yönelik açık bir şekilde hissedilen nostalji ile hatırlatılmaktadır. Hem sosyal yaşam hem de ev içi yaşam açısından Moda'da yirminci yüzyıl boyunca devam edegelen bir dönüşüm, nostalji ile hatırlanmaktadır.

Dönüşümü anlamak için incelenen konutlar, çeşitli mekansal ayırmalar ve mobilya özelliklerini yansıtıyor: İç mekanla ilgili bu zengin çeşitlilik, erken Cumhuriyet döneminden yirminci yüzyılın ortalarına dek Moda'daki evlerin üretimini etkileyen siyasi, ekonomik ve sosyal koşulların yanı sıra sahipleri, mimarları ve müteahhitleri gibi farklı aktörlerin rollerinden kaynaklanmaktadır.

1930'lar ve 1940'larda Moda'nın mimari modeli esas olarak, Osmanlı'nın son dönemi Müslüman ve gayrimüslim ailelerin mülklerine ait olan geleneksel ahşap ve taş konak ve köşklerden oluşmaktaydı. Goad, Necip Bey ve Pervititch tarafından çizilen Moda haritaları ile zamanın fotoğrafları incelendiğinde meyve bahçeleri (bostan), bahçeler ve tarlalar gibi boş yeşil alanların konut amaçlı binalara kıyasla daha fazla yer kapladıkları görülmektedir. Cumhuriyet döneminin başlarındaki yeni "modern" konutlar, 1930'lardan başlayarak, çoğunlukla entelektüel sınıf - akademisyenler, doktorlar ve

mühendisler- olmak üzere üst sınıf ailelere ait olmaya başladı. Dr. Sani Yaver Villası, İhsan Bey Konutu, Sıdıka Haydar Hanım Malikanesi, Prof. Dr. Tevfik Taylan Villası, Seza Apartmanı, Dr. Kamil Röntgen Apartmanı, Moda'da bir Villa ve Birgiler Apartmanı gibi tek ailelik ya da kiraya verilen apartmanlan, o dönemde Moda'daki boş alanlar üzerine inşa edilenlerden bazılarıdır. Bu konutların mimari tasarımı, iç mekânsal dağılımı ve döşenmesi, üst sınıf bir ailenin çağdaş modernist ideolojisini yansıtmakta ve modern bir ailenin günlük yaşam gereksinimleri için mekânsal bağlamı sağlayarak bu statü taleplerini karşılamaktaydı.

IV. Bölümde bu konutların iç bölümleriyle ilgili pek çok perspektiften ayrıntılı bir şekilde açıklandığı gibi, Cumhuriyet döneminin ilk iç mekan tasarımı ve plan tipolojilerine ilişkin kararlar ailenin "ekonomik olarak iyi durumda olduğu" özelliğini göstermenin yanı sıra; geniş giriş holleri, servis alanlarına ya da konutların kuytu köşelerine ayrı ayrı yerleştirilen hizmetçi odalarına, banyolarda küvet ve bide gibi modern özelliklere sahip modern bir ev ortamı sağlamak için olduğu kadar, mahremiyeti de koruyacak mimari özellikler taşırlar. En önemlisi, 1930'lu ve 1940'lı yıllarda yapılan konutlarda, gıda hazırlama ve ilave depolar ve bu konutların iç mekanının önemli bir bölümünü işgal eden mutfak gibi iç yönetim alanları vardı. Mimarların kodları da bu yaşam biçiminin doğasında olan tasvirleri idi: Arkitekt'teki bu konutlarla ilgili mimarların planları ve açıklamaları, bu yılların modernist havasını yakalamamıza yardımcı oldu: İnşaatta betonarme kullanım, cephelere yerleştirilen pencerelerin büyüklüğü ve miktarı, hizmetçi için bir odanın varlığı, bir salomanje varlığına vurgu yapılması ve bir ısıtma sisteminin sağlanması.

1950'ler, Moda'nın çoğunlukla boş arazilerde ve bazen de yıkılmış eski geleneksel evlerin arazisine inşa edilen çok katlı yeni apartmanlarla karşılaştığı yıllar oldu. Örneğin, Cumhuriyet döneminin önemli mimarı Emin Onat, Moda'da bu yıllarda iki daire tasarladı; Marmara ve Atıfet (Sporel) apartman daireleri. Bu binaların konumları Prens Adaları, Moda İskelesi ve Moda Dilinin uzak kenarı ile karşı

karşıya olan popüler konak ve köşklerin yerleri kadar son derece değerli idi: Üst sınıf statüsü için bir diğer güçlü gösterge. Burada vurgulanması gereken şey, Moda'nın dönemin öncü mimarları yardımıyla Cumhuriyet mimarisinin yeni dili ile 1950'lerde daha belirgin bir şekilde parlamaya başlamış olmasıdır. Bu istisnai konutlar arasında, belirli bir aile için özel planlama tipolojisi ve tasarım çözümü açısından en dikkat çekici olanı 1954 yılında inşa edilen Necla Erk Malikanesi'dir. Mimarı Muhlis Türkmen, 1958 Brüksel - Expo'daki Türk Pavyonu ile olduğu kadar, Moda'daki üst sınıf bir aileye iç mekan yerleşimi için akıllı tasarım çözümü ile de hatırlanmalıdır. Erk Malikanesi, özel, yarı-özel ve yarı-kamusal mekanların, her mekanın mahremiyetinden taviz vermeksizin ve herhangi bir kusura neden olmaksızın, nasıl bir araya getirilebileceğinin açık bir yansımasıdır. Genel olarak, 1950'ler, özel alan, günlük yaşamın modernleşmesinin bir işareti olarak daha fazla önem kazanmaya başladıkça, konut iç mekanlarının dönüşümünün eşiği olarak adlandırılabilir; ve bu dönüşüm sonraki on yıllar boyunca devam etmiştir.

1950'ler, Moda'da da sosyal hayatı etkileyen önemli bir olaya tanık oldu: Moda bölgesi Bahariye ve Moda Caddesi'nin ana arter caddelerinde bulunan mağazaların çoğu, gayri-Müslim cemaatine yönelik nefreti sergileyen, 6- 7 Eylül 1955'te yapılan milliyetçi gösterilerin ardından, sonsuza kadar hizmet vermeyi bıraktı . Bu mağazalar, ailelerin sahipleri ile bire bir "güvenilir" ve "dostane" ilişki kurabildikleri yerlerdi. Röportaj yapılan kişilere göre mağazaların sahipleri en azından 20. yüzyılın başından beri mağazalarını babadan oğula geçirerek işletmekteydiler. Dolayısıyla, bu arter caddelerini kullanan yayaların miktarı, söz konusu gösteriler sonrası azaldı. Bu "can sıkıcı" olaylardan sonra, görüşülenlerin önemli bir kısmının belirttiği üzere Modalılar Moda Caddesi boyunca uzun bir akşam yürüyüşüne çıkmak yerine, evlerinde daha fazla zaman geçirmeye başladılar.[8] En sevdikleri mağazanın sahipleri veya terziler olan Gayrimüslimler hakkında üzülüyorlardı.

[8] Evde daha fazla zaman geçirmek ya da Gürel'in sözleriyle evin içinde stabil olmak, 1960'lı yılların sonuna doğru televizyonların ortaya çıkmasının bir sonucuydu. Gürel,

1960'lı yılların sonraki on yıllarındaki diğer sosyal değişimler, Moda'da dönemin günlük hayatının dönüşümü için de etkili oldu: İlçenin iki sembolik yeri olan; seçkinlerin toplantılar düzenlediği Moda Deniz Klubü ve esas sosyal cazibe merkezi olan Moda Plajı o yıllarda faaliyetine son verdi. Son olarak, 29 Ekim 1939'da faaliyete geçen tramvay hattı, 14 Kasım 1966'da iptal edildi.[9] Tramvay; Moda'daki toplumsal hayatın arterleri olan Moda Caddesi, Bahariye Caddesi ve Cem Sokak üzerinden Moda çevresine dolaşımı sağlayan tek toplu taşıma aracıydı. Nancy Stieber, toplumdaki birçok sorunun şu şekilde dönüşümüne ilişkin güç kodlarını özetliyor: "Kentin eserleri, sokakları, meydanları, çarşıları ve binaları sosyal, ekonomik ve siyasal süreçlerin görünür işaretleri olarak yorumlanabilir".[10] Bu nedenle, bölgedeki günlük yaşam pratikte, yalnızca mimari anlamda değil, 1960'lı yıllarda sosyal anlamda önemli bir dönüşümle karşı karşıya kaldı.

23 Haziran 1965'te oluşturulan Kat Mülkiyeti Kanunu ile ilgili düzenlemeler ve değişiklikler, İstanbul'un geri kalanında olduğu gibi Moda'daki daire sayısının da artmasına yol açtı. 1965'ten itibaren gerçek Modalı olarak kabul edilen hem gayrimüslim hem de Müslüman aileler, evleri yerine apartman inşa edilmesi için müteahhitlerle anlaşma imzalamaya başladı.[11] Bu anlaşmalar Moda'da bir

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Meltem (2009) 'Defining and living out the interior: the 'modern' apartment and the 'urban' housewife in Turkey during the 1950s and 1960s', *Gender, Place & Culture*, 16: 6,s. 706.. Bununla birlikte, Moda örneğinde, günlük alışkanlıkların dönüşümü, görünüşe göre diğer sosyal etkilerin sonucuydu.

[9] Martin, Anais M. (2010). *Her Yeri Resim Gibi: Küçük Moda*. Heyamola Yayınları, İstanbul, s. 24.

[10] Stieber, Nancy (1999). Microhistory of the Modern City: Urban Space, Its Use and Representation. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 58, No. 3, Architectural History 1999/2000 (Sep., 1999), s. 387.

[11] 6-7 Eylül 1955'de yapılan gösteriler sonrasında gayrimüslim cemaatin çoğunluğu İstanbul'dan göç ederken, geriye kalan birkaç aile de bu yasal düzenleme sonrası konak ve köşklerini sattılar.

apartman dairesi satın almak isteyen yeni kişilere daireler satarak yuvalarından para kazanmalarını sağladı. Bu apartmanları satın alanlar sadece 1960'lı ve 70li yıllarda büyük şehirlere hızlı göç döneminde bankalar birçok türde ipotek sağladığı için üst sınıf ailelerden değil aynı zamanda orta sınıf ailelerden oluşuyordu. 1960'larda konut konusundaki yeni kanun düzenlemelerinin yardımıyla, orta sınıf aileler de ev sahibi olmaya başlamıştı. [12] Keyder'in de belirttiği gibi, konut üretimindeki büyük dönüşüm, İstanbul'un Anadolu yakasında, özellikle geleneksel taş evlerin bulunduğu bölgelerde daha yoğun oldu. [13] Bu nedenle, Moda'nın sosyal ve kentsel modeli, ilçeye yeni gelen orta sınıf ailelerin sayesinde yavaş yavaş melezleşmeye başlamıştı. Carel Bertream, romanları "hafızanın ve bellek imgelerinin üreticileri ve taşıyıcıları" olarak açıklıyor ve [14]Orhan Pamuk'un kat mülkiyeti yasasının sosyal etkileri üzerine şu sözlerini hatırlatıyor:

> ... 1960'lı yıllardan sonra İstanbul'da birkaç nesildir yaşayan ve şehirde bir arsa elde etmeyi başaran herkes bir anda gelen bu para miktarı karşısında şk geçirmiştir. Bu insanların zengin olduklarını ispatlamak için yapacakları ilk iş, tabii ki, mülkiyetin bölünmesi konusunda birbirleriyle tarışmak oldu. [15]

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[12] Keyder, Çağlar (2000). *Küresel ile Yerel Arasında.* Metis Yayınları, İstanbul, s. 181.

[13] Age, s. 183.

[14] Bahsedilen cümle şöyledir: "Romanların, kültürel ve tarihsel açıdan incelenmek üzere kapatılmış bir yer olan" Türk evi "ne girmek için eşsiz bir fırsat verdiklerini iddia ediyorum. Ayrıca, kişisel yaşam dramalarını sahneye koyarak, mekanlara büyük bir grup için sembolik bir rezonansa girilebilecek en önemli arena olabilir; bu, özellikle ayarlarını dikkatle seçen tarihsel romanlar için geçerlidir. Bu nedenle, "eski Türk evinde" ortaya çıktığı zaman, tarihsel romanlar, yazarın ve çevrenin geçmişin evleri hakkında nasıl düşündüğünü yansıtıyor. Bu durumda romanlar, bellek ve bellek görüntüleri üreticileri ve taşıyıcılarıdır. " Bertream, Carel (2004). “Housing the Symbolic Universe in Early Republican Turkey: Architecture, Memory, and “the Felt Real” in *Memory and Architecture*, ed. Eleni Bastea, University of New Mexico Press, New Mexico, p. 165.

[15] Pamuk, Orhan (2013) *İstanbul: Hatıralar ve Şehir*. YKY, İstanbul, p. 185.

Bu yeni daireler gazetelerde birkaç reklamla pazarlanmıştır; Şekil 5.1a - 5.1e yeni konutları pazarlamak için kullanılan "modern" kodların geniş bir perspektifini sunmaktadır. Böyle kodlu sözcüklerin betonarme, katlarda tam parke, radyatörlü ısıtma, asansör, duş, tuvalet, hizmetçi için bir oda şeklinde kullanılması, modern bir konuta taşınmak isteyen potansiyel alıcıları da cezbetmiştir. Hiç şüphe yok ki, reklamların her bir kodu arka planda pek çok anlam ifade etmiştir. Örneğin, binada betonarmenin kullanılması potansiyel alıcılara düşük bir bakım maliyeti ile daha güçlü, daha temiz ve yangına dayanıklı bir ikametgahı garantiler. Batılı günlük yaşamın modern davranışları, bir alafranga tuvalet (ve bazen bir bide) ile tasarlanan radyatörlü ısıtma, asansör, duş ve tuvalet: Bunların birçoğu geleneksel evlerin çatlayan ahşap zeminlerinden, gitmekten korktukları yerlere bulunan tuvaletlerden ya da çocukların canavarların bulunduğu yerler olarak düşündüğü ahşap merdivenlerin olduğu evlerde yaşıyorlardı ve bu yeni evler onlara hayal gibi geliyordu.

Bu tür reklamlar insanları modern bir daire almak için teşvik etti, ancak en önemlisi, bu daireler için en çok tercih edilen yer Moda'ydı: Moderniteyi herkesten erken kabul eden üst sınıf ve seçkin toplumu ile tanımlanan bir bölge. Moda'nın konutları, denize, Kalamış'a veya Fenerbahçe'ye, Adalar'a ya da Yeşilköy'den Kabataş'a kadar geniş "panoramik bir görüntü"ye sahipti. 1930'larda ve 1940'larda ahşap köşkler ve konakların nasıl pazarlandığı, Moda bölgesinin cazip kimliğini anlamamıza yardımcı olmaktadır. Modernleşmeye doğru bu dönüşüm, bu reklamlarda kullanılan aslına uygun kodları farklı dönemlerde inceleyerek kolayca okunabilir: Bir apartman dairesinde yaşamak, şehrin modern bir bölgesindeki benzer insanlar arasında yaşama önceliğine sahip olmaktı. [16]

[16] Özbay, Ferhunde (2015). *Dünden Bugüne Aile, Kent ve Nüfus*. İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 121.

Yemek hazırlama ve depolama alanları ile hizmetçi odalarından oluşan iç yönetim alanları 1960'lı ve 1970'li yıllarda yeni bölmelerde önceden bölünmüş yiyecek hazırlama ve depolama alanlarının tek bir mutfak alanına dönüştürülmesiyle değiştirildi. Yeni mutfakların alanı daha önceki konutlara kıyasla daha büyük oldu. Büyük bir mutfağa sahip olmayanlar, mutfaklarında genişleme için duvarları yıkarak iç mekanda değişiklikler ve dönüşümler yapmaya başladılar.

Büyük mutfaklara ve banyolara yapılan değişikliklerin bir kaç nedeni bulunmaktaydu: Birincisi, yeni elektronik ev aletlerinin ve özelliklerinin, yani buzdolabının, çamaşır makinesinin, dahili küvetin veya küvetin kullanılmaya başlanmasıdır. Diğer nedeni, hizmetçinin ailenin günlük yaşantısından uzaklaşmasıydı ve bu da hizmetçinin odası artık gerekli olmadığından daha fazla alan sağladı. Ailenin statüsünün ilk olarak gösterildiği geniş geçiş alaları, önceki mekansal ayırma türlerine kıyasla daha küçük olmuştur; ve en önemlisi, apartmanlarda yeni ve tüm apartman sakinlerine hizmet sunan kapıcıların işe alınması da çekirdek aileye doğru bir toplumsal dönüşüme yol açtı. Kadınların ailelerdeki rolü, hem çalışan kadınlar hem de çalışan anneler olduğunda bu bağlamda değişti: Kapıcının her gün apartman dairelerine teslim ettiği malzemelerle mutfakta meşgul olmak, Cumhuriyet döneminin güçlü ve gururlu kadını imajını destekliyordu. Moda'daki üst sınıfın çekirdek ailelerindeki kadınlar genellikle iyi eğitimli olup, mühendis veya tıp doktorları olarak prestijli işlere sahiptiler. Bu nedenle, evde kalan hizmetçinin ortadan kalması ve kapıcının devreye girmesi, aslında, Moda'daki nüfusun alt sınıf haline geldiğini ima etmedi; ancak bu dönüşüm, Moda nüfusunun üst ya da orta sınıf kimliğini belirtmeye devam etti.

Konutların mekânsal dağılımı, 1960'lı yılların ortalarından itibaren müteahhitlerin "bir apartman içinde mümkün olduğunca çok daire tahsis etme" arzusunun bir sonucu olarak benzer bir resmi dili paylaşarak monoton ve standart hale geldi ve sözde "modern" Yatak odalarının küçültülmüş ve daha dar

geçiş alanlarının sağlanabileceği apartmanın en ucuna yerleştirilmesi tasarımı sunulmaya başlandı. Daha önce de belirttiğim gibi konut sakinlerinin özel alanı, konutları tasarlarken dönemin müteahhitleri ve mimarları tarafından daha fazla önem kazanmaya başladı. 1970'lere doğru, pencere açıklıklarının oranı bile küçültüldü ve bu da aynı zamanda daha az açık, daha az görünen ve kamusal alana daha az görünen koşulların bir göstergesi oldu. Özbay, mahremiyet konusunun ortaya çıkışı ile çağın sosyal ve mekânsal dönüşümünü tasvir etmek üzere bir röportajından bir kişisel hatırayı paylaşır:

> Her zaman bir dairede yaşamak istemişimdir, çünkü iki katlı ahşap evimde yaşarken çocuklarımıza ayrı oda veremediğimden suçluluk duygusu yaşıyordum. Bir dairede oturmaya başlayınca, bütün ailenin toplanıp oturma odasında televizyon izlemesini umuyordum. Ancak, yeni evimize taşındığımızın ilk günü, çocuklarım kendi odalarında vakit geçirmek için gitti. Kocam ve ben büyük oturma odasında yalnız kaldık. Çok üzüldüm ve sonrasında ağladım. [17]

Bu çalışmada görüşülen Modalıların birçoğu geleneksel evlerinden modern apartman dairelerine geçtiklerinde benzer düşünceleri paylaştı. Odaların büyüklüğü metrekare olarak arttıkça, ortak yaşam alanları ve geçiş alanları, modern yaşam tarzının gerektirdiği şekilde özel alana daha fazla yer sağlamak için 1970'li yıllara doğru küçültüldü. Moda'daki iç mekan yerleşimlerindeki bu değişim, böylece Türkiye'de Cumhuriyetin ilk dönemlerinden yirminci yüzyıl ortalarına kadar modernizasyonun farklı evrelerinin hikayesini anlatıyor.

Görüşülen kişilerin konutlarının ne zaman inşa edildiği veya yıkıldığı önemli olmamakla beraber, bunların her birinin vurgulanması gereken ortak noktaları vardı: Nostalji duygusu. Heynen'in belirttiği gibi, bir konut daima "gelenek, güvenlik ve uyum" ile ilişkiliyken, yaşam "bağlılık ve anlamlılık" ile devam

[17] Age., 124.

etmektedir.[18] Moda'daki konut sakinleri, geçmişlerine dayanan aksesuarlar, mobilya ve demirbaşlar - yani gelenek ile bu bağlılık duygusunu sağladılar. Bu çalışma, incelenen 20. yüzyılda tanımlanan sürekli bir modernizasyon süreci ve toplumsal dönüşüm sürecini sundu. İncelenen konut vakaları, Türkiye'de modernleşme hikayesinin örnek bir bölümünü bize anlatan ve inşa edildiği veya yıkıldığı belirli tarihleri belirtir ve konut iç mekanlarının dönüşümünün ayrıntılı analizi, günlük hayatın, kaybolmakta olan nostaljik olana yönelik güçlü duygulara rağmen, çağdaş politik ve ekonomik duruma nasıl adapte edildiğini gösterir:

> Modern olmak, kendimize macera, güç, sevinç, büyüme, kendimizi ve dünyayı dönüştürme vaat eden bir ortamda bulunmaktır - ve aynı zamanda sahip olduğumuz her şeyi, bildiğimiz her şeyi, her şeyimizi yok etme tehdidinde bulunur.[19]

[18] Heynen, Hilde (1999) *Modernity and Architecture: A Critique.* MIT Press, Massachusetts, p. 18.

[19] Berman, M. (1988) *All That is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity,* Penguin London, p. 15.

APPENDIX E

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü ■

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Sezginalp
Adı : Pınar
Bölümü : Mimarlık Tarihi

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : Transformation of Residential Interiors in the Moda District of İstanbul, 1930s-1970s

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans ☐ Doktora ■

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ■

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: