

**A READING OF THE LATE 19TH-CENTURY
ISTANBUL PUBLIC LIFE AND SPACE THROUGH
THE TANZIMAT NOVELS**

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ABSTRACT

A READING OF THE LATE 19TH-CENTURY ISTANBUL PUBLIC LIFE AND SPACE THROUGH THE TANZIMAT NOVELS

The modernization attempts in the Ottoman Empire began in the 18th century and accelerated in the 19th century with the Tanzimat Charter (1839). This charter was for regulating the governmental issues, the physical environment, and the social rights of the society. The center of these regulations was the capital city, Istanbul. So, the physical and social landscape of the city began to change rapidly in the 19th century. Hence, the impacts of these transformations began to be observed in daily life, especially in public spaces.

The transformations in the physical environment include construction of new building types and activity spaces as well as the transformation of old areas for new uses. This thesis focuses on the public side of these transformations and attempt to understand how these spaces were perceived through the analysis of twenty-one contemporary novels, which have been acknowledged within the genre of Tanzimat Novels by the literary critics.

The objective is to analyze the relation between the public spaces of Istanbul and the spatial practices that are depicted in these novels. Significantly, the thesis attempts to explore how social class and gender differences are portrayed in the narrative discourse.

ÖZET

ON DOKUZUNCU YÜZYIL İSTANBUL’UNDA KAMUSAL YAŞAM VE MEKÂNLARININ TANZİMAT ROMANLARI ÜZERİNDEN OKUNMASI

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda 18. yüzyıldan itibaren başlayan modernizasyon çalışmaları, 19. yüzyılda Tanzimat Fermanı (1839) ile hız kazanmıştı. Tanzimat Fermanı devlet işlerini, fiziksel çevre ve sosyal hakları düzenlemeye yönelik bir fermanı. Bütün bu düzenlemelerin merkezi olan başkent İstanbul’da fiziksel ve sosyal çevre 19. yüzyılda hızla değişmişti. Dolayısıyla bu dönüşümlerin etkileri günlük hayatta, özellikle kamusal alanlarda görülmeye başlamıştı.

Bu çalışmanın amacı İstanbul’un 19. yüzyıldaki değişen fiziksel çevresinin, özellikle kamusal mekânlarının ve bu mekânlardaki mekânsal pratiklerin nasıl algılanıp değerlendirildiğini Tanzimat romanları aracılığı ile incelemektir. Bunun için 21 roman seçilmiş ve bu seçki aracılığı ile yazarların dönemlerinin başlıca gözlemcileri olarak İstanbul’un fiziksel ve sosyal topografyasını eserlerine nasıl yansıttıkları incelenmiştir. Özellikle, sosyal sınıf ve cinsiyet farkının kamusal alan pratikleri bağlamında romanlarda nasıl ele alındığı incelenmiştir.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Approach and Framework of the Study

The objective of this thesis is to trace the effects of physical transformations and modernization works on the public life and spaces in the 19th century Istanbul through their representations in the Tanzimat novels.

The modernization of the Ottoman Empire has been studied in detail with respect to the administrative reforms, architectural and urban issues, and socio-economical issues.¹ At this point, the contribution of this thesis to this field of study is, to understand the experience of this transformation portrayed in the contemporary novels. This experience includes the moral values and social norms attributed to the spatial practices. To reread the Tanzimat novels broadens our view and deepens our understanding on one hand how the relationship between certain urban spaces and different members of the society was perceived, and on the other hand, regulated by the Tanzimat authors.

Tanzimat novels are appropriate cases for studying how spatial practices in general, and public uses in specific, were perceived, commented upon, and even judged by the authors who were important actors of society in their time. Since the main objective of Tanzimat literature was to write for and guide the society during the era of westernization, the authors acknowledged themselves as actors of regulation between

¹ See Metin Kunt, "Siyasal Tarih (1600-1789)," Sina Akşin (ed.) *Türkiye Tarihi 3 Osmanlı Devleti 1600-1908* (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 2002); İlhan Tekeli, *The Development of the Istanbul Metropolitan Area: Urban Administration and Planning* (İstanbul: IULA-EMME, 1994); Gül Güleriyüz Selman, "Urban Development Laws and Their Impact on the Ottoman Cities in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," M.S. thesis (Ankara: METU, 1982); Serim Denel, *Batılılaşma Sürecinde İstanbul'da Tasarım ve Dış Mekânlarda Değişim ve Nedenleri* (Ankara: METU, 1982); Doğan Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996); Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul. Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1993); Nur Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera* (İstanbul: Literatür, 2002); Ekrem Işın, *İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat; İnsan, Kültür ve Mekân Üzerine Toplumsal Tarih Denemeleri* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995).

“east and west”, “the traditional and the modern”, and the things that were seen to be belonging to Ottoman and Western.²

As it is argued by Terry Eagleton “[d]iscourses, sign systems and signifying practices of all kinds, from film and television to fiction and the languages of natural science, produce effects, shape forms of consciousness and unconsciousness, which are closely related to the maintenance or transformation of our existing systems of power.”³ In this context, Tanzimat literature manifests how certain power interests of the certain parts of society, especially in relation to class and gender relationships, are maintained and transformed, and to what degree, in the narrative discourse.

While analyzing the ways in which these relations are portrayed in the novels, the thesis is in parallel to previous studies that focused on the space-text relationship in seeing space as one of the fundamental elements of the narrative, not a background to the plot.⁴ In addition, for the theoretical and methodological framework, previous works locating the social experience of urban transformations within literature⁵, and feminist studies, especially studies in the field of art history⁶ have been influential.

In this thesis, 21 Tanzimat novels are analyzed. However the Tanzimat Literature is not limited to this number of works. In this selection the first of the criteria was to focus on the novels. So the stories, poems, plays and memories were eliminated. The second one was the storyline of the novels. Only those novels of which the storylines take place in the 19th century Istanbul were selected. Lastly, one Ziya Paşa’s *Zafernâme* (1868) and *Rüya* (1893) and Nabizade Nazım’s *Seyyie-i Tesâmuḥ* (Hoşgörülülük Günahı, 1892) are out of print so these novels could not be accessed and included to this study. The selection of Tanzimat novels are listed below.

² See Şerif Mardin, “Tanzimat’tan Sonra Aşırı Batılılaşma,” in *Türk Modernleşmesi, Makaleler 4*, ed. Mümtaz’er Türköne, Tuncay Önder (İstanbul: İletişim, 2008); Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış I Ahmet Mithat’tan Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar’a* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2008).

³ Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), p. 210.

⁴ See Brian Richardson, Peter Rabinowitz et al, ed., *Narrative Dynamics: Essays on Plot, Time, Closure, and Frames* (Ohio: The Ohio State University Press, 2002); İ. Emre Işık and Yıldırım Şentürk, eds, *Özneler, Durumlar ve Mekânlar, Toplum ve Mekân: Mekânları Kurgulamak* (İstanbul: Bağlam, 2009).

⁵ See Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air* (USA: Penguin Books, 1988); David Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity* (NY: Routledge, 2003); Robert Alter, *Imagined Cities, Urban Experience and the Language of the Novels* (New Heaven, London: Yale University Press, 2005).

⁶ Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference* (London: Routledge, 1988).

1. Akabi Hikayesi (*The Story of Akabi*), 1851, Vartan Paşa (1813-1879)
2. Taaşşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat (*Love of Talat and Fitnat*), 1872, Şemsettin Sami (1850-1904)
3. Felâtun Bey ile Rakım Efendi (*Felâton Bey and Rakım Efendi*), 1875, Ahmet Mithat Efendi (1844-1913)
4. İntibah (*Renaissance*), 1876, Namık Kemal (1840-1888)
5. Henüz Onyedî Yaşında (*Still 17 Years Old*), 1880, Ahmet Mithat Efendi
6. Vah (*Alas*), 1881, Ahmet Mithat Efendi
7. Esrar-ı Cinayat (*Mystery of a Murder*), 1884, Ahmet Mithat Efendi
8. Çingene (*Gypsy*), 1886, Ahmet Mithat Efendi
9. Dürdane Hanım, 1888, Ahmet Mithat Efendi
10. Sergüzeşt (*Adventure*), 1889, Samipaşazade Sezai (1858-1936)
11. Şık (*Chic*), 1889, Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar (1864-1944)
12. Bir Kadının Hayatı (*Life of a Woman*), 1890, Mehmet Celal (1876-1912)
13. Müşâhedat (*Sight*), 1891, Ahmet Mithat Efendi
14. Turfanda Mı Yoksa Turfa Mı? (*Early Grown or Weird?*), 1891, Mizancı Mehmet Murat (1854-1917)
15. Muhaderat (*Improvement*), 1892, Fatma Aliye Hanım (1862-1936)
16. Araba Sevdası (*Love of a Carriage*), 1896, Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem (1847-1914)
17. Zehra, 1896, Nabizade Nazım (1862-1893)
18. İffet, 1896, Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar
19. Refet, 1897, Fatma Aliye Hanım
20. Metres (*Mistress*), 1899, Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar
21. Bir Sevdâ Denklemi (*An Equation of Love*), 1899, Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar

1.2. Literature Review

Although the intention in their making may not be so, literary works are one of the most important ways of transmitting the experience of a period from past to present. Especially in the realist genre, this experience is constitutive of the everyday life of a society, social norms, places, and actors related with this life. Literary works also

include social memory giving references to history of the society, of the places that they inhabit, of the spaces that they perceived and internalized.⁷

Gürhan Tümer claims that the authors are the prime observers who analyze the individuals and the societies of their epoch in an attentive way and depict their observations effectively.⁸ In other words, an author depicts the physical and social environment in “[t]he narrated space of the novel” which “is concretized as the ‘literary space’.”⁹ Although “[m]emory has been represented [...] as dependent and mendacious (fictional, fickle) and therefore of dubious authority and reliability”¹⁰ there can be references to the real world in the fictitious spaces of these literary spaces.¹¹ Additionally, it can also be the opposite: real spaces can also gain fictitious characteristics. However, although it should not mean that, literature is a platform that the realities are directly transmitted;¹² the characteristics of the literary spaces are usually parallel with the characteristics of the real-life spaces.¹³ In other words, the literary spaces —the fictional allusions— are not the reality however they resemble it and could be probable scenes of the real-life.¹⁴

So, these literary works constitute “a repertoire which strengthens the relations between the social memory and the spaces”.¹⁵ As Foucault states, literature is an “archive” of collective memory which can be analyzed with the method of “the

⁷ Ömür Harmanşah, “Mekansal Hikayeler, Kentin Kalbine Bir Yürüyüş,” *Mimarlık* 274 (Mart 1997): 22-23; Funda Uz Sönmez, “Mekanın Yazınsallığı ve Bir Taşkıyla Deneyimi,” *Arredamento Mimarlık* 112441 (3/2007): 53.

⁸ Gürhan Tümer, *Mimarlık – Edebiyat İlişkileri Üzerine Bir Deneme*, Aragon’un “Le Paysan de Paris” (Paris Köylüsü) Adlı Yapıtı Üzerine Bir Örnekleme (İzmir: Matbaa Kavram, 1982), p. 29.

⁹ Zeynep Tuna Ultav, “Reading Science Fiction Novels as an Architectural Research Method: The Case Study of J. G. Ballard’s High Rise,” *The ‘Radical’ Designist Online Journal*, 1: 3.

¹⁰ Antoinette Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive, Women Writing House, Home, and History in Late Colonial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 21.

¹¹ A. Ayşegül Uğurlu, “Orhan Pamuk Romanında Atmosfer,” M. S. thesis, Istanbul: Istanbul Technical University, 2003, p. 7.

¹² Uğurlu, “Orhan Pamuk Romanında Atmosfer,” p. 7.

¹³ Nur Çağlar and Zeynep Tuna Ultav, “Emile Zola Yazınından Mimari/Kentsel Mekana Dair Okumalar ve Düşünceler,” *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 21:2 (2004): 45.

¹⁴ Berna Moran, *Edebiyat Kuramları ve Eleştirisi* (İstanbul: Cem, 1994), p. 10.

¹⁵ Sönmez, “Mekânın Yazınsallığı ve Bir Taşkıyla Deneyimi,” p. 54.

archeology of knowledge.”¹⁶ Thus, “[the literary works] should be read *both* as archival sites *and* as history-in-the-making”.¹⁷

Despite, it is dubious to claim that literature should be the primary source for the academic works, it can be said that “[literature is the] ‘third space’: neither primary or secondary”.¹⁸ Relating to this statement, Kemal Karpat claims that literary works are not exact historical studies but include some clues about the economical, social, political and spatial issues of the period that they produced.¹⁹ Moreover, literary works tell us about the ways in which authors negotiate with the social and cultural constructs and limitations of their time. In other words, the literary spaces give us valuable knowledge about that time.

Mikhail Bakhtin explains the relation between time and space with the notion of *chronotope*, which means “the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature.”²⁰ The etymology of this word is “from the Greek ‘chronos’, meaning time, and ‘topos’ meaning space.”²¹ According to Bakhtin, “[i]n the literary artistic chronotope, spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out, concrete whole.”²² Rendering the Bakhtinian thoughts, space and time are strictly tied together and especially in literature the fictional spaces and the real-life spaces have some similarities but they are not fused into each other; they are interconnected via language which transmits the knowledge of

¹⁶ Gilles Deleuze, *Foucault* (Minneapolis, MN, USA: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), p. 1.

¹⁷ Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive*, p. 26.

¹⁸ Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive*, p. 26.

¹⁹ Kemal H. Karpat, *Osmanlı’dan Günümüze Edebiyat ve Toplum*, trans. Onur Güneş Ayas, (Istanbul: Timaş, 2009), pg. 7-27.

²⁰ Mikhail M. Bakhtin, “Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel: Notes toward a Historical Poetics,” in *Narrative Dynamics: Essays on Plot, Time, Closure, and Frames*, ed. Brian Richardson, Peter Rabinowitz et al. (Ohio: The Ohio State University Press, 2002), p. 15.

²¹ Sue Vice, *Introducing Bakhtin* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), p. 200.

²² Bakhtin, “Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel,” p. 15.

the period in texts.²³ Hence, “chronotope is also textual, fictional but within the linguistic extent of it the real world, history, geography effuse in it.”²⁴

Furthermore, “it is accepted that a narrative comprises knowledge concerning the physical and cultural dimension of architectural and urban space,” hence the utilizing literary works as resource can deepen and strengthen our understanding of architectural and urban experience of a certain period.²⁵

1.2.1. Studies that Referred to Literature for Understanding the Urban Experience of Modernity

Many academic works have studied the effects of modernity as the transformation of physical and social landscapes in the 19th century. Among these, certain works stand out with their emphasis on the social experience of modernity next to their critique of the radical physical transformations that cut through the existing fabric while leaving solid traces both on the city and society. In these works we can see that authors consult the novels and poems that were written during the period when radical changes were happening fast. For instance, to discuss Paris, Marshall Berman refers to Charles Baudelaire’s (1821-1867) works; while David Harvey refers to Honoré de Balzac’s (1799-1850) novels and Robert Alter refers to Gustave Flaubert’s (1821-1880). In this part of the chapter three works, Berman’s *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air*; Harvey’s *Paris, Capital of Modernity*; and Alter’s *Imagined Cities, Urban Experience and the Language of the Novels* are discussed.

In *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air*, Marshall Berman writes on the changing physical and social landscape of the city with the effect of modernity through how Baudelaire observes and portrays Paris. Berman says that “modernity, modern life,

²³ Sibel Yardımcı and Tuğba Doğan, “Mekân-Zaman-Anlam: Sait Faik Öyküsünde Ada,” in *Özneler, Durumlar ve Mekânlar, Toplum ve Mekân: Mekânları Kurgulamak*, ed. İ. Emre Işık and Yıldırım Şentürk (Istanbul: Bağlam, 2009), p. 69.

²⁴ Yardımcı and Doğan, “Mekân-Zaman-Anlam,” p. 69.

²⁵ Çağlar and Ultav, “Emile Zola Yazınından Mimari/Kentsel Mekâna Dair Okumalar ve Düşünceler,” p. 45.

modern art—these terms occur incessantly in Baudelaire's work."²⁶ So he nominates Baudelaire as the first modernist.²⁷

According to Berman, Baudelaire examines the city via "irony".²⁸ In *The Eyes of Poor* run-down houses of the poor and new glittering cafés are depicted side by side on the boulevard. There is a couple in such a café and eyes of a poor family on the boulevard. They look at each other but do not interact. The young man feels embarrassed of his luxurious life when he catches the eyes of this family. Then he catches his girl friends eyes but the only thing that he sees in her eyes is disgust at this family. This moment changes their relationship because; he does not love her any more.

Loss of a Halo is about the loss of innocence and also takes place on the boulevard. The artist drops his halo on the mire of macadam and cannot take it back. Because there is a heavy traffic so he chooses to be alive. The "ordinary man" is amazed. Because he is not used to see such an artist on this bad side of the boulevard. As an ordinary man he dignifies the artist. According to the artist, on the other hand this is a chance to experience the life on this side of the boulevard. After the loss of halo the artist says "Now I can walk around incognito, do low things, throw myself into every kind of filth [...], just like the ordinary mortals."²⁹

Loss of a Halo takes place on the same new boulevard as in *The Eyes of Poor*. But although these two poems tell about different worlds, the space is the same; the boulevard. The boulevard is the scene of contradiction, confrontation, construction, destruction, dignity and gutter. In other word the boulevard has its own irony with comprising all of these contrasts.

In *Paris, Capital of Modernity* David Harvey examines how Balzac reflects Paris in his works. Harvey also matches the literary depictions in Balzac's works with Daumier's engravings.

Harvey mentions that "several of the novelists of the period struggled to come to terms with [...] what the city was and might become."³⁰ He says, in order to this "they

²⁶ Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air* (USA: Penguin Books, 1988), p. 132.

²⁷ Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air*, p. 133.

²⁸ Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air*, p. 137.

²⁹ Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air*, p. 156.

³⁰ David Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity* (NY: Routledge, 2003), p. 24.

decoded the city and rendered it legible, thereby providing ways to grasp, represent, and shape seemingly inchoate and often disruptive processes of urban change.”³¹

Paris is the central character of Balzac’s novels and he attributes many metaphors to it. Harvey uses those metaphors to understand how Balzac reads the city. According to Balzac Paris is “the rushing stream” which ““is endlessly on the march and never taking rest,”” it is “a monstrous miracle, an astounding assemblage of movements, machines and ideas, the city of thousand different romances...a restless queen of cities.”³² It is “an inferno” where “everything flares up, falters, dies down, burns up again, sparkles, crackles and is consumed.”³³ And it is also “a labyrinth” where one can find “the emptiness of bourgeois life” is based on “the necessity for money, glory or amusement” at the core of it.³⁴

Apart from these metaphorical descriptions, Harvey points to the relationship of spatial and social class stratifications depicted in Balzac’s novels. For instance in one, it can be seen that the city is divided into two parts: the urban and the rural, which also divides the people as the peasants and the citizens; the citizens are comprised of aristocracy, bourgeois and proletarian. In another, Harvey interprets the stratification which Balzac describes in an apartment building. At the bottom of the building, there is the proletariat, at the second level there is the lower middle class, at the third floor the upper middle class is situated. Above all of these the artist’s and the aristocrat’s world exist.³⁵

Apart from this vertical stratification Balzac portrays the social division in the horizontal level, which is manifested on the streets. Harvey quotes from Balzac that “the streets of Paris have human qualities and such a physiognomy as leaves us with the impressions against which we can put up no resistance.”³⁶ Harvey describes it in that sentence: “The hopes, desires, and fears of Balzac’s characters give meaning and character to the streets and to the neighborhoods they traverse. In other words Balzac

³¹ Harvey, *Paris*, p. 25.

³² Harvey, *Paris*, p. 32.

³³ Harvey, *Paris*, p. 35.

³⁴ Harvey, *Paris*, p. 33.

³⁵ Harvey, *Paris*, p. 36.

³⁶ Harvey, *Paris*, p. 40.

provides “a ‘psychogeography’ of the streets and neighborhoods of the city.”³⁷ To visualize this phenomenon Harvey uses Daumier’s engravings in which he compares two boulevards.



Figure 1.1. Classes on the boulevard des Italiens and the Boulevard du Temple.
(Source: Harvey, 2003)

And Harvey writes in the caption “Daumier captures Balzac’s distinctive physiognomies of the different classes in this depiction of the affluent classes on the Boulevard des Italiens (top) and the “anxious” middle classes on the Boulevard du Temple (bottom).”³⁸

With all the class differences and social stratification in Balzac’s works, Harvey claims that Balzac fought against “the exclusive power of the bourgeoisie,” and “the capitalist class of financiers in alliance with the state.”³⁹ So he “dissect[s] and represent[s] the social forces omnipresent within the womb of bourgeois society.”⁴⁰

³⁷ Harvey, *Paris*, p. 40.

³⁸ Harvey, *Paris*, p. 37.

³⁹ Harvey, *Paris*, p. 55.

⁴⁰ Harvey, *Paris*, p. 25.

In *Imagined Cities, Urban Experience and the Language of the Novels* Robert Alter examines how “the city effected certain fundamental transformations in the nature of urban experience” and how the writers describe it in the language of fiction.⁴¹

According to him “experience” is the key term which differentiates a journalist from a writer.⁴² So he focuses on what he names “experiential realism” which is used in novels in order to “[feel] new reality of the European city.”⁴³ He focuses on Flaubert not Balzac and explains that the reason is the notion of “experience” which was more a central theme in Flaubert’s works. He also prefers to begin with Flaubert instead of Balzac because “Balzac is more a mythographer of Paris than a realist witness to the experience of the city.”⁴⁴ Also he sees “Balzac as authoritative guide to Paris”⁴⁵ and adds that “his language is [...] like catalogues, insisting on thematic unities” and “reinforcing them with the terms of reference of taxonomical science.”⁴⁶ However, according to Alter, Flaubert perceives “the modern metropolis simultaneously as a locus of powerful, exciting, multifarious stimuli and as a social and spatial reality so vast and inchoately kinetic that it defied taxonomies and thematic definition.”⁴⁷ In that point Alter claims that “it was Flaubert who would fashion a language to register this sense of the city.”⁴⁸ So, he comes up with that, Flaubert’s language is not about the catalogues but it is about the senses. Furthermore he claims that, Flaubert sets aside “authoritative narratorial perspective distinct from the perspective of the characters.”⁴⁹

For representing a character’s point of view, “narrated monologue” in Flaubert’s works “became the instrument for expressing a new sense of reality.”⁵⁰ Alter mentions

⁴¹ Robert Alter, *Imagined Cities, Urban Experience and the Language of the Novels* (New Heaven, London: Yale University Press, 2005), pg. xi, 5.

⁴² Alter, *Imagined Cities*, p. xi.

⁴³ Alter, *Imagined Cities*, p. xi.

⁴⁴ Alter, *Imagined Cities*, p. 7.

⁴⁵ Alter, *Imagined Cities*, p. 8.

⁴⁶ Alter, *Imagined Cities*, p. 9.

⁴⁷ Alter, *Imagined Cities*, p. 20.

⁴⁸ Alter, *Imagined Cities*, p. 9.

⁴⁹ Alter, *Imagined Cities*, p. 24.

⁵⁰ Alter, *Imagined Cities*, p. 6.

that, in Flaubert's works "the narration of external events and the representation of mental events are thoroughly intertwined."⁵¹ So the senses of the city and the mood of the character intermingled in Flaubert's works. The feelings of the character make the city a spectacle according to his/her mood.⁵² All the experiences about the masked balls with all the sexual reminding, the rebellions and the revolution-wracked streets and the street covered with mud in a dark night those scenes juxtaposes with the characters mood.⁵³ So, it is the "urban reality that imposes an overload of stimuli on the experiencing mind."⁵⁴

So, Flaubert tries to describe the changing city with reference to the experience of people. Balzac defines it with the impacts of this change in the society. And Baudelaire's aim is to define modernity with the help of the city and the citizens. The rapidly changing city and its impacts on the social and physical topography of Paris led these writers to observe their environment and try to reflect it in their works. Hence the academics try to clarify the physical and social environment of Paris in the 19th century referring to these prime observers' works. In that sense through the connections that Berman, Harvey, and Alter construct with urban spaces and literary texts we can understand the criticism of social injustice in that period. These novels manifest the ways in which certain parts of Paris, a modernizing capital, and different parts of the same street had different lives parallel but one part being indifferent to the other.

1.2.2. Studies that Refer to the Tanzimat Novels for Understanding Their Spatial Reflections

In order to understand the reflection of Istanbul in Tanzimat Novels, three masters thesis, Ferda Zambak's "*Türk Romanında Mekân*" (Place in Turkish Novel), Ayşegül Utku Günaydın's "*Tanzimat Romanında Kamusal Alan ve Serbest Zaman Etkinlikleri*" (Public Spheres and Leisure Activities in Tanzimat Novels), Hayal Meriç Uğraş's "*Erken Türk Romanında Fiziksel Çevre Sorunsalı*" (The Problematic of Physical Environment in Early Turkish Novel), and Mehmet Doğanay's article "Bir

⁵¹ Alter, *Imagined Cities*, p. 35.

⁵² Alter, *Imagined Cities*, pg. 14-16.

⁵³ Alter, *Imagined Cities*, pg. 1-42.

⁵⁴ Alter, *Imagined Cities*, p. 37.

Mekan Unsuru Olarak İstanbul'un Ahmed Midhat Efendinin Romanlarına Tesiri" (Effect of Istanbul to Ahmed Midhat Efendi's Novels as A Place Factor) are reviewed.

Ferda Zambak in her thesis, "Türk Romanında Mekân", examines whether the space in novels is an element leading the storyline or not. She categorizes the spaces in novels as concrete and abstract spaces. She divides concrete spaces into two. The first one is "open space" where the movement is basic, and the second one is "indoor space" which reflects the psychology of the characters. And the abstract spaces are defined as utopic, fantastic, metaphysical and sensual spaces.

The novel that Zambak studies in the Tanzimat Literature is Namık Kemal's *İntibah*. She analyzes this novel under five categories: the physical atmosphere, the mental atmosphere of the characters, cultural atmosphere, religious spaces and the objects with a tendency to be space. She mentions the place that the characters of *İntibah* Ali Bey and Mahpeyker meet is Çamlıca. In this way, Zambak classifies Çamlıca as the physical space that the incidents occur. According to Zambak, Çamlıca is also the mental atmosphere of *İntibah* with the description of it relating to the terms spring and love. Cultural atmospheres in novel are Çamlıca and Beyoğlu where the women and men spend time together. The religious space is the cemetery where Ali Bey frequently goes to visit his mother's and his wife's graves. Lastly Zambak points out as Ali Bey's bed as the object in tendency to be space. It turns into a torment space with Ali Bey's boredom when he cannot meet with Mahpeyker. Zambak evaluates that in *İntibah* the spaces mentioned frequently are the physical spaces. And she interprets that the relation between space and storyline is interrupted sometimes.

Ayşegül Utku Günaydın in her thesis, "Tanzimat Romanında Kamusal Alan ve Serbest Zaman Etkinlikleri", claims that, the Westernization attempts and the social transformation can be seen in the daily life of the 19th century Ottoman Empire. She adds that the impact of this transformation reflects on the public spaces and leisure activities. Günaydın examines whether the practices of public space differ according to class and gender. She evaluates that, according to the five Tanzimat novels that she examined, the leisure activities of men and women are different from each other. She concludes that the bureaucratic class creates its own leisure spaces differentiated from the others.

The first novel that Günaydın examines is Vartan Paşa's *Akabi Hikayesi* in which he portrays the daily life of the Armenian community. The second one is Ahmet Mithat Efendi's *Esrar-ı Cinayat*. Günaydın chooses this novel to render how a

newspaper became a public space via the public opinion with the articles. The third novel is Rezaizade Mahmut Ekrem's *Araba Sevdası* in order to examine the spatial practices of the bureaucratic class. The other choice is Fatma Aliye Hanım's *Udi* in order to render the condition of women in working life and the public practices of women. The last novel is Mehmet Celal'in *Bir Kadının Hayatı* is chosen to indicate how the streets become judgment spaces.

Günaydın looks into the excursion grounds and the spatial practices of these spaces in *Akabi Hikayesi* and *Araba Sevdası* and indicates the differences between the Christian and Muslim communities' public space practices.

She examines in *Esrar-ı Cinayat*, how a murder creates public opinion via the newspaper columns. Remarkable feature of this novel is its attention to interesting details; such as police man masquerading in order to enter the private space of a Muslim woman and a Muslim woman who strolls with a Christian man.

Günaydın states that in *Araba Sevdası*, Çamlıca is represented as the place where "the bureaucratic class spends time for both entertainment and leisure", accordingly she emphasizes that "public space [means to] means socialization for the ruling class."⁵⁵ Actually, when we look into this novel in detail, we understand that Rezaizade Mahmut Ekrem criticizes this differentiation. In other words, the author criticizes that according to the ruling class who is keen on Westernization; these places are so-called prestige spaces. And he satirizes that how the spaces become a symbol of statue for the ruling class.

When analyzing *Udi*, Günaydın derives that women's knowledge about public space is limited and their access to it is by means of men. According to her, in *Udi* it is narrated that how the main character Bedia begins to stand on her own feet when the dominant male figures of her family died. Apart from this novel which Günaydın analyzes, it is seen that Fatma Aliye creates strong female characters in her other novels, *Refet* and *Muhaderat*. But it is seen that the female figures of these two novels get the knowledge of public space by their own, not by means of the male figures.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Ayşegül Utku Günaydın, "Tanzimat Romanında Kamusal Alan ve Serbest Zaman Etkinlikleri", M. S. thesis, Ankara: Bilkent University, 2007, p. 41.

⁵⁶ In *Refet* and *Muhaderat*, like Günaydın's statements for *Udi*, the outdoor spaces are not mentioned frequently and the described ones are not in detail. However, it can be said that the author encourages the attempts of women's in order to define themselves in the public space.

Günaydın states that, in Mehmet Celal's *Bir Kadının Hayatı*, the streets are reflected as the spaces for judgment and abasement for women. However, when we look into the novel it is understood that the society insults the main character Melek because she is a beggar not because of she is a woman.

Hayal Meriç Uğraş in her thesis, "Erken Türk Romanında Fiziksel Çevre Sorunsalı", analyzes certain novels from Tanzimat to 1950's. She tries to portray how the physical spaces are perceived and reflected in these novels. Uğraş focuses on how the Turkish authors write their novels according to their period's ideological and political situations and in this context how the physical landscape is reflected in their works. Uğraş interprets that because the Tanzimat authors have a didactic view point, the characters are the "type" characters that are efficacious to their goals. Uğraş claims that the spaces that the "type" characters spend their time are not described physically and the author uses the names of the spaces as indicators which evoke the features of the spaces in the readers' memory. For instance she states that Beyoğlu has Westerner connotations. So, Beyoğlu is identified with the "type" character who is keen on Westernization. Thus, she emphasizes that by means of the social memory the spaces that the type characters spend their time become "type-spaces" in Tanzimat novels.

Mehmet Doğanay in his article, "Bir Mekan Unsuru Olarak İstanbul'un Ahmed Midhat Efendinin Romanlarına Tesiri", analyzes Ahmet Mithat's novels under these titles: the history of Istanbul, the natural and architectural beauties of Istanbul, the districts of Istanbul and the social life in Istanbul. Doğanay mentions that Ahmed Midhat's *Hasan Mellah* and *Hüseyin Fellah* are historical novels. Under the title the natural and architectural beauties of Istanbul, he mentions the panoramic views of Istanbul and the descriptions of the fountains and the mosques. He claims in the section of the districts of Istanbul that Ahmet Mithat mentions almost all the districts of Istanbul. However, Doğanay states that these places are not "functional spaces". Doğanay emphasize that Beyoğlu is distinguished among the other districts of Istanbul with being the center of Westernized life style. He says that in Ahmet Mithat's novels the districts take place in "the main Istanbul"; such as Eminönü, Sirkeci and Bahçekapısı which are frequently mentioned. Besides Doğanay mentions that according to Ahmet Mithat "the main Istanbul" is not sufficient to provide the needs of civilization. Then he quotes from Ahmet Mithat's *Hayret*: "In fact, it is proper to

assume the Istanbul side of our capital city as a high and huge village rather than assuming it as a city.”⁵⁷

Doğanay mentions that “the main Istanbul” is basically composed of commercial and residential districts. The Anatolian side of the capital has also residential zones, however it is mentioned that there are numerous excursion grounds. Doğanay looks into the excursion grounds under the title of social life and emphasizes that according to Ahmet Mithat these spaces create the background for criticizing the nasty situations happened between females and males in these grounds.

To summarize, Zambak classifies the spaces in novels then analyze each novel relating these spaces. Uğraş interprets that especially in Tanzimat novels there are “type” characters for “type spaces”. Günaydın divides her thesis into two parts: public spaces and leisure activities. She collates five novels in order to render the public spaces, leisure activities and the class and gender differences in spatial practices. Lastly, Doğanay focuses on Ahmed Mithat’s works to render the social and physical environment of Istanbul.

Regarding the previous works on Tanzimat Literature and Istanbul, it is seen that the scope of this thesis and the topics of the reviewed works relating to social issues, such as gender, “alafranga” characters, and their behaviors are parallel. However previous studies are based on certain novels. But with the idea that the period novels constitute a general discourse, in this thesis all the Tanzimat novels related with the 19th century Istanbul are analyzed. So, we have a chance to collate all the novels to understand the authors’ perceptions and how physical and social landscape of Istanbul is reflected in the narrative. Analyzing the physical and social landscape of the 19th century Istanbul with all its contemporary Tanzimat novels is the main contribution of this thesis. In this approach, we are able to observe and compare spatial practices as they are depicted and loaded with socio-cultural values in the novels.

Apart from this chapter this thesis has four chapters. In Chapter 2 the physical and social transformations that prepared the Tanzimat Charter are examined. Moreover the consequences of the Tanzimat Charter on physical and social landscape of the 19th century Istanbul are reflected referring to the published works.

⁵⁷ “Hakikat payitahtımızın İstanbul cihetini bir şehir addetmekten ise, azim ve cesim bir köy addetmek daha münasip olur.” (Hayret: 6)”. Mehmet Doğanay, “Bir Mekân Unsuru Olarak İstanbul’un Ahmed Midhat Efendinin Romanlarına Tesiri,” *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 15 (Ağustos, 2006): 100.

In Chapter 3 the effects of the Tanzimat Charter on the nascence of the Tanzimat Literature is explained. Additionally the literary critiques on Tanzimat Literature are examined. Furthermore, spatial analyses of the novel are made and displayed in tables; the uses of spaces are interpreted.

Chapter 4 is based on the interpretations of the uses of spaces in the 19th century Istanbul in both physical and social context. Especially the spatial practices in the novels are analyzed in terms of gender and social class differences; and also the different meanings associated with the Istanbul side and Beyoğlu is compared.

And Chapter 5 concludes with a final discussion and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

ISTANBUL IN THE 19TH CENTURY

2.1. The Transformations that Prepared the Tanzimat Period

The eighteenth-century Istanbul is accepted as being extremely different both physically and socially than its earlier periods; it was a pleasure and peace time. It “was a perpetual source of sensory pleasures” with the “[a]lry waterfront palaces exhibiting their richness to the passerby; public gardens where age, gender, rank, and status mixed; and lively urban squares around large and extravagant fountains emerged as the new landmarks of the growing Ottoman capital.”¹ In this period “[t]he old Ottoman theater of power and piety competed [...] with a new theater of leisure and consumption.”²

The eighteenth century was “[a] new era of peace and diplomacy with Europe”³ which began with the affects of the Karlowitz treaty (1699) and led changes in the attitudes of the Ottoman toward Europe.⁴ In this century, contradictory with the lush and spectacle entering into the everyday life the political and the economical power of the empire began to decline⁵ and it was a kind of “faltering of [Ottoman] self-confidence.”⁶ For the first time the empire had a different viewpoint on Europe, the old enemies turned into a focus of inspiration.⁷

¹ Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures, Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Canada: University of Washington Press, 2008), p. 3.

² Madeline C. Zilfi, “Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718–1730,” ed. Amira El Azhary Sonbol, *Women, the Family, and Divorce Laws in Islamic History* (Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press, 1996), p. 295.

³ Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, p. 5.

⁴ Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, p. 8.

⁵ Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul. Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1993), p. 28; Nur Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera* (Istanbul: Literatür, 2002), p. 3.

⁶ Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, p. 5.

⁷ Zilfi, “Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718–1730,” p. 302.

In the second half of the 18th century the Westernization movements were mostly realized in the Ottoman army.⁸ Many novelties such as “construction methods, planning, ornament, new materials, mathematics, drawing, painting, cartography, urban issues,” were first utilized by the military.⁹ Not only that, the new constructions for the shipyards, military barracks and schools, were also built in the Western style.¹⁰

This period was “the ushering phase of cultural Westernization in the history of the empire” and also in this era “the adoption of Western ideas and motifs was perceived [...] as the main vehicle of architectural, and more generally cultural, change.”¹¹ In that way, the Ottoman ruling class began directing their attention to the European fashion¹² and the diplomats began to go to Europe in order to record their “personal observations about the buildings, institutions, governments, economy” and also “social and cultural” issues that they experienced in abroad.¹³ The first ambassador Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi was sent to Paris in 1720 and this decision is acknowledged as one of the first attempts of Westernization in the state ground.¹⁴ Mehmet Efendi reported his observations about the city and the French civilization.¹⁵ After his return to Istanbul he requested from the French government the plans of the certain French palaces and gardens which influenced then the new Ottoman designs.¹⁶ For instance, Sa’dabad at Kağıthane, which was built in 1722 under the supervision of the grand vizier Damad İbrahim Paşa for Sultan Ahmed III, is acknowledged as the prominent example of these designs.¹⁷ This palace was also important for the harem of

⁸ Doğan Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), p. 321.

⁹ Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi*, p. 329.

¹⁰ Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi*, p. 327.

¹¹ Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, p. 8.

¹² Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 29.

¹³ Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, p. 9.

¹⁴ Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi*, p. 310.

¹⁵ Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi*, pg. 310-311.

¹⁶ Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi*, p. 311.

¹⁷ Semavi Eyice, “İstanbul Halkının ve Padişahların Ünlü Mesiresi: Kâğıthane,” ed. Mustafa Armağan, *İstanbul Armağanı 3: Gündelik Hayatın Renkleri* (Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1997), pg. 82; 86.

the sultan because they could stroll freely in the palace area. This was something which they had not experienced before.¹⁸

The surroundings of Kağıthane had been developed beginning from the sixteenth century as the imperial gardens.¹⁹ However, Sa'dabad made Kağıthane a more attractive place in the eighteenth century; hence in that period “[p]alaces became the centers of urban subdivisions.”²⁰ Both the ruling class and the public directed their attentions toward Kağıthane, so, lots of mansions began to be built in its surroundings.²¹

Eventually Kağıthane had become one of the most preferred promenades in Istanbul. Evyapan describes the stroll of public in the surrounding of Kağıthane Stream:

The excursion grounds were so favored by the public that, on holidays, the face of the river could hardly be seen for the caiques; carriages and people on foot would swarm all over the river banks. People would swim, picnic, play music, glide in caiques, and have altogether a very enjoyable time.²²

Kağıthane, like the other gardens that Damad İbrahim Pasha integrated to the city, “invited the public to mix with other unrelated others in leisure time.”²³ In that way, “the boundaries between ruling elite and tax-paying society were becoming increasingly fluid,”²⁴ and “urban middle classes were becoming more visible in the public sphere.”²⁵

Additionally, according to Shrine Hamadeh the public gardens, “[were places where] a wide range of social classes, ranks, and ages appeared to share the same spaces of sociability and forms of entertainment”²⁶ and they were “managed to negotiate new territory (physical, cultural, and mental) and became part of mainstream urban culture.”

¹⁸ Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi*, p. 315.

¹⁹ Ekrem Işın, *İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat; İnsan, Kültür Ve Mekân Üzerine Toplumsal Tarih Denemeleri* (Istanbul: İletişim, 1995), pg. 46-47; Eyice, “İstanbul Halkının ve Padişahların Ünlü Mesiresi: Kağıthane,” pg. 101-103.

²⁰ Zilfi, “Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718–1730,” p. 294.

²¹ Eyice, “İstanbul Halkının ve Padişahların Ünlü Mesiresi: Kağıthane,” p. 85

²² Gönül Aslanoğlu Evyapan, *Old Turkish Gardens Old İstanbul Gardens in Particular* (Ankara: METU, 1999), p. 131.

²³ Zilfi, “Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718–1730,” p. 297.

²⁴ Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, p. 6.

²⁵ Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, p. 6.

²⁶ Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, pg. 110-111.

²⁷ She also claims that “this was because they expanded and proliferated partly at the hands of state elite” who was “in search of a fresh image” and also “concern[ed] about public order.”²⁸

Public life and public order were overlapping in the eighteenth century.²⁹ In this period, parallel to building new palaces and gardens, lots of renovation and restoration projects were done in order to refurbish the old imperial gardens and turn them into public pleasure grounds.³⁰ This was a mutual attempt between the Ottoman court and the society.³¹ Nevertheless the “[s]umptuary laws were enforced with unusual scrutiny and new habits of consumption and recreation, monitored continuously.”³² In these laws the main concerns were the “public attire and garden recreation.”³³

The regulations were mostly about the appearance of women, which was quite new for that era. In this century “[t]he streets were the province of men, [however] women were visitors to the street”³⁴ and “their presence tolerated only if their mission related to sanctioned obligation—as to faith or family—and so long as their dress and demeanor were appropriate.”³⁵ Especially the “Muslim women were expected to be chaste, untouched by even the breath of scandal,”³⁶ so, their outerwear should “ensure an appearance that was unsuggestive and anonymous.”³⁷ They should wear “an opaque veil (*yaşmak*) and collared long coat (*ferace*) of a single muted color [which] helped [to] keep the womanliness of the Muslim women’s body indeterminate and her identity unknown.”³⁸ Contrary to the idea of invisible identity, in order to differentiate the

²⁷ Hamadeh, *The City’s Pleasures*, p. 113.

²⁸ Hamadeh, *The City’s Pleasures*, p. 113.

²⁹ Hamadeh, *The City’s Pleasures*, p. 126.

³⁰ Hamadeh, *The City’s Pleasures*, p. 113.

³¹ Zilfi, “Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718–1730,” p. 298.

³² Hamadeh, *The City’s Pleasures*, p. 7.

³³ Hamadeh, *The City’s Pleasures*, p. 129.

³⁴ Zilfi, “Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718–1730,” p. 299.

³⁵ Zilfi, “Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718–1730,” p. 299.

³⁶ Zilfi, “Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718–1730,” p. 298.

³⁷ Zilfi, “Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718–1730,” p. 299.

³⁸ Zilfi, “Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718–1730,” p. 299.

groups that the women belong to, “[t]here were number of differences in outerwear between Muslim women and women of the various non-Muslim communities;” such as “each group was assigned particular colors, headgear, over garment; and Muslim women were entitled to wear finer cloths.”³⁹ But some of the women began to change their outerwear embracing the fashion with offending the regulations and these changes called as “whorish innovations” and the ones, “Muslim and non-Muslim, righteous and sinning,” who insisted on wearing such cloths, would be punished.⁴⁰

The outerwear was seen accepted as the representation of the moral order.⁴¹ In those days, “monitors were plentiful—family members and neighbors, both male and female, as well as police officials, including the Janissaries and the shore patrols” acted as controllers.⁴² For example the chief gardener (*bostancıbaşı*), was a kind of monitor in public life, who “operated under the direct authority of the grand-vizier” and he had a right to punish the ones who were “infringing on the limits of normative public behavior.”⁴³ As an example of the chief gardener’s authorization, Hamadeh quotes from the Kömürciyan chronicle: “God forbid—[he] should chance upon a [mixed] party of men and women singing on a boat. He would sink the boat without further ado.”⁴⁴

Additionally, there were some regulations about the stroll of women, for instance “[a] 1751 edict prohibited women from visiting a number of gardens in the areas of Üsküdar and Beykoz.”⁴⁵ Hamadeh quotes a phrase, about the days that women were free to stroll, from a traveler’s—Charles Pertusier—notes, “[Fridays], as well as Tuesdays, [are allocated to women for their [social] visits, promenades, or visits to the bath, depending on their wishes.”⁴⁶

As it was mentioned before, in the pleasure grounds of the eighteenth-century Istanbul “citizens of all ranks, of one and the other sex”⁴⁷ came together and despite all

³⁹ Zilfi, “Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718–1730,” p. 299.

⁴⁰ Zilfi, “Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718–1730,” p. 300.

⁴¹ Zilfi, “Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718–1730,” pg. 299-300.

⁴² Zilfi, “Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718–1730,” pg. 299-300.

⁴³ Hamadeh, *The City’s Pleasures*, p.127.

⁴⁴ Hamadeh, *The City’s Pleasures*, p.127.

⁴⁵ Hamadeh, *The City’s Pleasures*, p. 129.

⁴⁶ Hamadeh, *The City’s Pleasures*, p.129.

of the regulations, some of the chroniclers of that time claimed that “İbrahim’s spectacles were deliberate attempts to foster a climate of sexual immorality”⁴⁸ (Figure 2.1.). Some of the women “learned to behave badly.”⁴⁹ While a group of respectable “women came to the parks with their husbands’ permission, others, contrary to law and usage, came without such leave, claiming there was ‘general permission’.”⁵⁰ Because of these kind of situations, “[a]ccording to some, because of İbrahim, ‘there are not five women left in any quarter of the city who can be called virtuous’.”⁵¹



Figure 2.1. Couple arrested in a waterfront garden.
(Source: Hamadeh, 2008)

The comments led to spread a serious anger in society. In 1730, with the leadership of Patrona Halil, there began a rebellion against the new lifestyle of the era, blaming it as extravagant and leading immoral behaviors in society.⁵² They accused of

⁴⁷ Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, p.110.

⁴⁸ Zilfi, “Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718–1730,” p. 292.

⁴⁹ Zilfi, “Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718–1730,” p. 293.

⁵⁰ Zilfi, “Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718–1730,” p. 293.

⁵¹ Zilfi, “Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718–1730,” p. 293.

⁵² Eyice, “İstanbul Halkının ve Padişahların Ünlü Mesiresi: Kâğıthane,” pg. 87-88.

Damat İbrahim Pasha integrating novelties into the physical and social environment, which deteriorated the moral issues of Istanbul's social life. According to the group, the birthplace of those disgraceful situations was the grounds of Sa'dabad.⁵³ So, all the mansions of the elite class, and bureaucrats in and around Kağıthane were torn down, the palace Sa'dabad was harshly damaged and the grand vizier Damat İbrahim Pasha was hanged. This was the end of the Tulip Era.

The public gardens, where all the inhabitants of Istanbul were gathering and amusing, were actually the pleasure grounds which were the prime examples of the physical and social change in the eighteenth-century Istanbul. According to Hamadeh "the notion of pleasure" relates with "the process of social *décloisonnement*"⁵⁴ which means the "opening up".⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the *décloisonnement* was the opening up of from private to public, from court to urban traditions and opening up all the classes to the others.⁵⁶ And also, it can be said that this was one of the first attempts of the empire for opening up to Europe. It should be taken into consideration whether this "opening up" was a kind of "bordered-*décloisonnement*" with all the strict laws enforced by the state for controlling the public order while providing the society new public spaces.

In the eighteenth century, the political and the economical power of the empire began to decline rapidly. Nevertheless simultaneously with the decline of the power of the empire, a welfare era began in 1718 with the Pasarofça Pact.⁵⁷ 1718 was the beginning of the Tulip Era, which continued for twelve years.⁵⁸ This era is the period that the civil architecture, such as "palaces, public or private gardens and public fountains," began to appear in the Istanbul urban setting.⁵⁹ Doğan Kuban states that for the first time the Ottomans who were accustomed to live introvertedly began to live an

⁵³ Zilfi, "Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718–1730," p. 293.

⁵⁴ Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, p.14.

⁵⁵ Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, p. 4.

⁵⁶ Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, p.129.

⁵⁷ Metin Kunt, "Siyasal Tarih (1600-1789)," Sina Akşin (ed.) *Türkiye Tarihi 3 Osmanlı Devleti 1600-1908* (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi. 2002), p.57.

⁵⁸ Kunt, "Siyasal Tarih (1600-1789)," p.58.

⁵⁹ Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi*, p. 309.

extraverted life, which, according to him, should be acknowledged as a sign of the Westernization.⁶⁰

As another example of the indicators of extraverted life in the Ottoman Empire were the public fountains. For the first time, in this period, monumental public fountains, such as the fountain of Ahmed III near the Topkapı Palace, were built as space defining elements in urban context.⁶¹

The modernization movements in the 18th century had established a ground for the rapid changes in Istanbul that happened in the 19th century. Zeynep Çelik states that “[d]uring the nineteenth century, a concerted effort was made to transform the Ottoman capital of Istanbul into a Western-style capital.”⁶²

It can be claimed that serious attempts for Westernization were realized during the reign of Mahmut II (1808-39).⁶³ Çelik mentions that “Mahmut II was the initiator of a serious of military, educational, and administrative reforms based on Western models.”⁶⁴

One of the turning points of the Westernization Program was “the abolishment of the Janissary Corps, who were against the Westernization program of the sultan in 1826 (historically known as Vak'a-i Hayriyye).”⁶⁵ During this event Beyazıt Meydanı had become the scene of the power struggle between the sultan and the Janissaries. So “[b]y the abolishment of the Janissary Corps, Beyazıt Meydanı became the centre of the new army and the notable stage of the military ceremonies.”⁶⁶ But not only that, the scene left by the Janissaries was not only filled with the new army, “[n]ew forms of public life, such as strolling, women’s *promenade*, reading in *kıraathane*, going to theatres, were all staged in Beyazıt Meydanı and around.”⁶⁷

⁶⁰ Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi*, p. 309.

⁶¹ Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi*, p. 312.

⁶² Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. xv.

⁶³ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 32.

⁶⁴ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 32.

⁶⁵ Donald Quataert, “Age of Reforms, 1812-1914” in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert eds. (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994).

⁶⁶ Neşe Gürallar Yeşilkaya, “Transformation of a Public Space in the Nineteenth-Century İstanbul: Beyazıt Meydanı” Ph.D. thesis (Ankara: METU, 2003), p. iii.

⁶⁷ Yeşilkaya, “Transformation of a Public Space in the Nineteenth-Century İstanbul,” p. iv.

Yeşilkaya states that “one of the first steps in the creation of the Beyazıt Meydanı” was “the disappearance of the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque”.⁶⁸ She adds that “the demolition of the exterior courtyard [the *harim*] of the Beyazıt Mosque and opening a public square as Seraskerlik Meydanı, is part of the power struggle between the Sultan and Janissaries in Istanbul.”⁶⁹ The Janissaries had the tendency to rebel against the state so “[t]he uncontrolled power of Janissaries was causing an insecure life for people in Istanbul.”⁷⁰ When the Janissary Corps were abolished this security problem in the city was solved so Beyazıt became more crowded.⁷¹ Yeşilkaya states, according to the travel notes of Mac Farlane in 1828, “janissaries were causing limitations in the street life of women’s”, and she adds “[a]fter 1828, [...], women were going out without fear”.⁷² Additionally, according to the observations of Eugène Boré, in 1830 the women could stroll around in a free manner at Beyazıt and “women were not covering themselves as before”⁷³. Yeşilkaya adds that “‘Seraskeriye Meydanı’ basically a military square, as indicated by its name, was becoming a social space, where woman and men had a promenade”.⁷⁴ Such that Eugène compares it with Longchamp in Paris, which “demonstrates that the area was used as a space of ‘*piyasa*’ in the first half of the 19th century after the Vak’a-i Hayriyye.”⁷⁵ The space of “*piyasa*” changed “the social attitudes between the man and woman”.⁷⁶ Yeşilkaya mentions that “[t]he appearance of woman in public spaces was a matter of disgrace”.⁷⁷ Because they caused “‘*zenperestlik*’ (womanizing or debauchery)” with their existence in public spaces.⁷⁸ On the other hand, some intellectuals like Basiretçi

⁶⁸ Yeşilkaya, “Transformation of a Public Space in the Nineteenth-Century İstanbul,” p. 98.

⁶⁹ Yeşilkaya, “Transformation of a Public Space in the Nineteenth-Century İstanbul,” p. 109.

⁷⁰ Yeşilkaya, “Transformation of a Public Space in the Nineteenth-Century İstanbul,” p. 71.

⁷¹ Yeşilkaya, “Transformation of a Public Space in the Nineteenth-Century İstanbul,” p. 217.

⁷² Yeşilkaya, “Transformation of a Public Space in the Nineteenth-Century İstanbul,” p. 233.

⁷³ Yeşilkaya, “Transformation of a Public Space in the Nineteenth-Century İstanbul,” p. 233.

⁷⁴ Yeşilkaya, “Transformation of a Public Space in the Nineteenth-Century İstanbul,” p. 233.

⁷⁵ Yeşilkaya, “Transformation of a Public Space in the Nineteenth-Century İstanbul,” p. 233.

⁷⁶ Yeşilkaya, “Transformation of a Public Space in the Nineteenth-Century İstanbul,” p. 234.

⁷⁷ Yeşilkaya, “Transformation of a Public Space in the Nineteenth-Century İstanbul,” p. 234.

⁷⁸ Yeşilkaya, “Transformation of a Public Space in the Nineteenth-Century İstanbul,” p. 234.

Ali Efendi, “accused men for their behaviors”.⁷⁹ Yeşilkaya mentions that “after the proclamation of Tanzimat (1839), a series of orders were listed in which it was stated that men had to be respectful to the women around them in public spaces and that they should not obstruct their passing”.⁸⁰

2.2. The Social and Physical Transformations in Istanbul during the Tanzimat Period

In the 19th century Istanbul was composed of three main regions. The first region was the old Istanbul side, the walled city, which we now call the historical peninsula. The second region was the Galata-Pera region at the opposite side of the walled city; separating them laid the Golden Horn in between. Apart from these two regions, the third region was the Anatolian side, consisting the Üsküdar, Kadıköy and Haydarpaşa districts.

In the old Istanbul and Galata-Pera regions, there were residential, commercial and governmental zones with different characters. For instance Eminönü Square and the Grand Bazaar were the busy commercial zones in the old Istanbul. In the governmental zone there was the Topkapı Palace at a remarkable location, which then had been loosing its role to Dolmabahçe Palace which was constructed in 1856 as the center of control of the empire. But, there was the Bab-ı Ali district at the same area, where the state offices were being located. As the old Istanbul was getting denser within the walls, seeds of new neighborhoods were being built right outside the old defense walls.

In the Galata-Pera region, Galata was specified as a commercial zone and in Pera (Beyoğlu) although there were residences, the area was frequented more for its shops and entertainment spaces such as restaurants, cafés and theatres.

Galata Bridge, which was built in 1845 and renewed in 1863, 1878 and 1909,⁸¹ was a remarkable feature of the 19th century Istanbul. It was not only connecting the two shores of the Golden Horn but was also the main transportation node of Istanbul in that era. The tram was stopping there, the hackney carriages were serving to traverse the bridge to get the people to Galata and Beyoğlu and there were the quays of Şirket-i

⁷⁹ Yeşilkaya, “Transformation of a Public Space in the Nineteenth-Century İstanbul,” p. 234.

⁸⁰ Yeşilkaya, “Transformation of a Public Space in the Nineteenth-Century İstanbul,” p. 237.

⁸¹ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, pg. 87-90; Özendeş, *The Last Ottoman Capital İstanbul*, p. 34.

Hayriye, which was founded in 1851 to provide the transportation between Istanbul and Bosphorus by ferries.⁸²

Üsküdar and Kadıköy districts were developing during that era; the fabric was relatively sparse. The transportation between this region and old Istanbul would for a long time be via the sea.

Along the shores of the Bosphorus there were small villages from the Marmara Sea to Black Sea and among them were the summer residences (*yalı*) which were inhabited mostly by summer vacationers. Since the built fabric was not dense, and the Bosphorus shores and the Anatolian side were used for leisure and recreational activities, the old imperial hunting grounds and greenery turned into public gardens and excursion grounds.

The modernization movements in the eighteenth century had established a ground for the rapid changes in Istanbul that happened in the nineteenth century. It was the century that “a concerted effort was made to transform the Ottoman capital of Istanbul into a Western-style capital.”⁸³ One of the most important efforts in this period was the Tanzimat Charter which was proclaimed in 1839.⁸⁴ There were two important reforms in this charter. One was related with the rights of the people living within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire and the other was related with the regulation of the urban issues and administration. Mainly, the charter was about equality and order.⁸⁵

With the Tanzimat Charter, the minorities in the empire got the equal rights with the Muslims.⁸⁶ This item reassured the different ethnic groups, and gave them more freedom. Before the Tanzimat Charter the residential areas and the building activities of the minorities were limited.⁸⁷ Beginning from 1839 they accelerated the building activities, especially in Galata and Pera.⁸⁸

⁸² Murat Koraltürk, “Şirket-i Hayriye’nin Kurucu ve İlk Hissedarları,” ed. Mustafa Armağan, *İstanbul Armağanı 2: Boğaziçi Medeniyeti* (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1996), p. 257.

⁸³ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. xv.

⁸⁴ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 32.

⁸⁵ Serim Denel, *Batılılaşma Sürecinde İstanbul’da Tasarım ve Dış Mekânlarda Değişim ve Nedenleri* (Ankara: METU, 1982), p. IX.

⁸⁶ Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, p. 3.

⁸⁷ Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, pg. 18-20.

⁸⁸ Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, p. 20.

Like was in the previous century, the relation between men and women during their public promenade was regulated in the nineteenth century also.⁸⁹ For instance, the meadows of Veli Efendi, Çırpıcı and the promenades of Bayrampaşa, Üsküdar, Çamlıca, Merdiven Köyü, Duvardibi, Beylerbeyi and Havuzbaşı were open all men and women in each day, however to spend time together was not permitted so they had to stroll in separate places.⁹⁰ Additionally, in Fridays, the promenades in historical peninsula, Boğaziçi and Üsküdar were only open to women and in Sundays only for men. And if anyone would not follow these regulations, he or she would be punished.⁹¹

From the eighteenth century there were lots of restrictions about women's clothes, which were determining their "public identity."⁹² The non-Muslim women had to wear identical cloths with the Muslim ones when they were in public; however some nuances were defined in order to clarify their ethnic or religious groups.⁹³ For example the color of the shoes codified for identification; Muslim women's shoes were yellow, Armenians had red, Rum's had black shoes and Jewish women should wear blue ones.⁹⁴ Additionally, the color of the long coat (*ferace*) of the non-Muslim women should be pale than the Muslim women's ones.⁹⁵

The main concern of these rules was monitoring the public appearance, especially the appearance of women. Because of this unusual encounter with the other gender, women became sexual objects for the male gaze, not a sister any more.⁹⁶ In the nineteenth and the previous centuries, among the women the ones who "enjoyed greater freedom in public" were the "[o]lder women and the very poor [ones]".⁹⁷ Adding to this, for all the other women to be chaperoned was a must, by a male relative or an older

⁸⁹ İlbeyi Özer, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Yaşam ve Moda* (Istanbul: Truva, 2009), p. 203.

⁹⁰ Özer, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Yaşam ve Moda*, p. 205.

⁹¹ Özer, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Yaşam ve Moda*, p. 205.

⁹² Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, p. 169.

⁹³ Özer, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Yaşam ve Moda*, p. 247.

⁹⁴ Özer, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Yaşam ve Moda*, p. 247.

⁹⁵ Özer, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Yaşam ve Moda*, p. 247.

⁹⁶ Özer, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Yaşam ve Moda*, p. 253.

⁹⁷ Zilfi, "Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718–1730," p. 299.

woman.⁹⁸ It can be seen in the period novels as well. The female character, as a respectable woman, in the novels, spends most of her time in the interior spaces but if she is going out, there is always a nursemaid accompanies her.

The ideas of equality in each group of the society, opening up in physical and socio-cultural environment and the rights of women, began to be constituted from the beginning of the eighteenth century. Their spread accelerated in the nineteenth century, even could not be developed properly and had some contradictory points. These were the key points of the transformation of Istanbul, established by the state. All in all, these were the state-initiated transformations and the modernity of the empire was top-down modernity.

If the reform made for the rights of the people living within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire was one fundamental issue of the Tanzimat, the other was the regulation of the urban issues consist of many reforms on the urban administration.⁹⁹ Çelik states that “[a]ccording to Tanzimat philosophy, reform meant codification, systematization, and control. As a consequence, the centralized Ottoman bureaucracy was replaced by a centralized hierarchy of civil servants.”¹⁰⁰

In the traditional system the position of *kadılık* had the control of the neighborhood.¹⁰¹ So, “[t]he administrative jurisdiction was transferred from the *kadis* to the new European-style ministries”.¹⁰² The new style ministries called *şehremini* who was responsible for “the provision of basic needs (mainly foodstuffs), regulation and collection of taxes, construction and repair of roads, cleaning and embellishment of the city, and control of markets and guilds”¹⁰³. Later, “[i]n May 1855 the government formed the Commission for the Order of the City (İntizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu) to carry out a more fundamental program.”¹⁰⁴ This commission was responsible for the

⁹⁸ Zilfi, “Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718–1730,” p. 299; Özer, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Yaşam ve Moda*, p. 247.

⁹⁹ For further information about urban administration, see İlhan Tekeli, *The Development of the Istanbul Metropolitan Area: Urban Administration and Planning* (Istanbul: IULA-EMME, 1994), pg. 12-30.

¹⁰⁰ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 43.

¹⁰¹ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 43.

¹⁰² Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 43.

¹⁰³ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 44.

¹⁰⁴ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 44.

“embellishment [of the city], regularization, road enlargement, street lighting, and improvement of building methods”¹⁰⁵.

With these implementations “the capital became an arena of experimentation with the installation of a European-style municipality and the application of nineteenth-century Western planning principles.”¹⁰⁶

Istanbul suffered with many fires for centuries and in the 19th century there had been many devastating ones.¹⁰⁷ According to the Tanzimat reformers those burnt areas were good empty spaces for them to implement their experiments on Istanbul’s urban image.¹⁰⁸

The Aksaray Fire in 1855 was one of the big fires that took place in the Historical peninsula.¹⁰⁹ In order to plan that burnt area an Italian planner Luigi Storari was called.¹¹⁰ He designed a grid plan for this district with wide streets and more regular plots.¹¹¹

The most destructive fire was the Hocapaşa Fire in 1865.¹¹² After this fire a commission was formed, called *Islahat-ı Türuk Komisyonu* (*Commission for Road Improvement*) with the aim of the renovation of Hocapaşa vicinity.¹¹³ That commission made many laws¹¹⁴ for opening wider streets, constructing masonry buildings in order to prevent probable fires, which at the same time gave way to the Westernization process.¹¹⁵ In the following years the projects of this commission began to take the

¹⁰⁵ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 44.

¹⁰⁶ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 33.

¹⁰⁷ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, pg. 52-67.

¹⁰⁸ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 53.

¹⁰⁹ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 53.

¹¹⁰ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 53.

¹¹¹ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, pg. 54-55.

¹¹² Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 55.

¹¹³ İlhan Tekeli, “19. Yüzyılda İstanbul Metropol Alanının Dönüşümü,” ed. Paul Dumont and François Georgeon, *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1999), p. 26.

¹¹⁴ For further information about urban development laws, see Gül Güleriyüz Selman, “Urban Development Laws and Their Impact on the Ottoman Cities in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century,” M.S. thesis (Ankara: METU, 1982), pg. 27-191.

¹¹⁵ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, pg. 52-67.

whole Istanbul in to create a unified urban renovation, in other words “the [Islahat-ı Türuk Komisyonu] was also empowered to bring modern planning to the entire city”.¹¹⁶ For instance the opening of the front part of Hagia Sophia and Beyazıt Square, construction of Unkapanı Avenue, Azapkapı-Karaköy Avenue, the tramline of Beyazıt-Aksaray and the reorganizations in Sultanhamam and Bahçekapı was initiated by the Islahat-ı Türuk Komisyonu.¹¹⁷

In 1870, the Pera Fire destroyed many buildings.¹¹⁸ It affected the life of the Westerners and the minorities who were living there. The renovation projects were held immediately, and the new buildings were constructed according to the new building codes.¹¹⁹

Another important application of the Commission for the Order of the City (İntizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu) was to divide the capital into fourteen districts in 1857.¹²⁰ This was similar to the *arrondissement* system applied by Baron Haussmann in Paris during the same years.¹²¹

2.2.1. Pera-Beyoğlu Being the Showcase of Westernization

There are important differences between the historical peninsula and Pera-Beyoğlu with respect to the Westernization movements. The urban renovation projects in the historical peninsula were “patchy” applications because the project areas were limited to the burnt spaces.¹²² In other words, there was no integration between the planned zones and the neighborhoods near these areas. Contrary to this, the renovation of the vicinity Galata and Beyoğlu was planned and in order to apply these renovations a municipality was founded in Galata and Beyoğlu.

¹¹⁶ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 57.

¹¹⁷ Tekeli, “19. Yüzyılda İstanbul Metropol Alanının Dönüşümü,” p. 26.

¹¹⁸ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 64.

¹¹⁹ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, pg. 64-67.

¹²⁰ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 45.

¹²¹ Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, p. 98.

¹²² Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, pg. xvi, 79.

The first founded district in 1858 was the Sixth District Administration with the name The Sixth District Municipality of Galata and Beyoğlu (Beyoğlu ve Galata Altıncı Daire-i Belediyesi).¹²³ The planned modernization projects would start in this district which had increasing population of Western merchants, bureaucrats and ambassadors till the eighteenth century.¹²⁴ Because of the way of life of this population, Galata and Pera had been developing according to the European effects.¹²⁵

In 1858 Sultan Abdülmecit clarified that it was very difficult to deal with all the works that should be done simultaneously in these fourteen districts, hence the Sixth District would serve as a model for the other ones.¹²⁶ As it can be understood that this region, Galata-Pera-Beyoğlu, set a precedence. Nur Akın claims that, the increasing population of Westerners and Non-Muslims, who had the equal rights with the Muslims and Turks after the Tanzimat Charter, led the region change according to their way of life in time,¹²⁷ which made this district all the more appropriate for applying the Westernization projects.

The fundamental works of the Sixth District Administration, related with the European norms were to enlarge, pave, illuminate and entitle the roads, to collect the garbage and to construct sewage system.¹²⁸ Adding to these renovations and regulations, many buildings were constructed such as churches, hotels, warehouses, department stores, passages, arcades, educational buildings, post offices, banks, theaters, clubs, restaurants and cafes.¹²⁹

Apart from these, in order to beautify this district, the buildings which were in bad condition and danger were demolished.¹³⁰ The historical city wall of Galata was also demolished, in 1864, in order to get more empty plots.¹³¹ This project recalls the

¹²³ Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, p. 98.

¹²⁴ Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, pg. 95-96, 98.

¹²⁵ Denel, *Batılılaşma Sürecinde İstanbul'da Tasarım ve Dış Mekânlarda Değişim ve Nedenleri*, p. 15.

¹²⁶ Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, p. 98.

¹²⁷ Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, pg. 30-40; 86.

¹²⁸ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 45; Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, p. 97-122.

¹²⁹ Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, pg. 171-315.

¹³⁰ Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, p. 106.

¹³¹ Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, pg. 106-108.

project of Ring Strasse in Vienna realized between the years 1857-59.¹³² Approximately in ten years in this area many new masonry buildings were constructed and many streets were opened.¹³³ With the new roads, such as Yenikapı Avenue, Şişhane Street, Büyük Hendek Street, Boğazkesen Avenue, Yorgancılar Avenue and Galata Avenue, the transportation is developed in Galata.¹³⁴

The roads were enlarged, paved and clean; alongside these roads there were “new urban places and amenities like cafe’s, opera houses, shops, theatres, restaurants, beer halls, hotels, bookstores and public parks.”¹³⁵ There were flocks of people who were strolling around, visiting the shops, glazing at the shop windows during day time and going to the concerts and balls during night time in those illuminated streets¹³⁶ (Figure 2.2). All of these attractions led a different life style, which was the state in search of during this century.



Figure. 2.2. Grand Rue de Pera.
(Source: Özendes, 1995)

¹³² Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, p. 108.

¹³³ Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, p. 116.

¹³⁴ Tekeli, “19. Yüzyılda İstanbul Metropol Alanının Dönüşümü,” p. 26.

¹³⁵ Arus Yumul, “A Prostitute Lodging in the Bosom of Turkishness: Istanbul’s Pera and its Representation,” *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 30:1 (February 2009): 59.

¹³⁶ Yumul, “A Prostitute Lodging in the Bosom of Turkishness,” p. 61.

There are important differences between the Westernization movements of Galata and Pera region and the historical peninsula which were at the facing sides of the Golden Horn. These urban applications focusing on Pera led to a binary opposition in the nineteenth-century Istanbul, which made it a dual-cored city; the traditional one and the modern one.¹³⁷ In relation with its spatial binary, there was a duality in socio-cultural life of Istanbul¹³⁸ which was mainly discussed in the period novels. The fundamental concern was to describe the imitative way of life of the rich and elite class, which, according to Özer, led them into a cultural schizophrenia.¹³⁹

2.2.2. Parks as New Public Spaces

The residents of Galata and Pera began to demand an open space —a public park— in this district in 1855s.¹⁴⁰ There were two cemeteries called Petit-Champs des Morts (Small Cemetery) which was in Tepebaşı and Grand-Champs des Morts (Big Cemetery) which was in Taksim.¹⁴¹ Beginning from the 1860s news were published related to the need of a public park in this district.¹⁴² The construction of Taksim Public Park began in 1864 and completed in 1869.¹⁴³ According to Çelik it was “the first of its kind in the Ottoman capital, to be realized”¹⁴⁴ However Akın mentions the news dated 1852 about Tophane Bahçesi.¹⁴⁵ Contrary to these, Gönül Aslanoğlu Evyapan gives two different dates, 1867 and 1870, for the opening of “[t]he Municipality Park, one of the first organized public parks, [...], under the name Çamlıca Garden, and was later known

¹³⁷ Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, p. 18.

¹³⁸ Denel, *Batılılaşma Sürecinde İstanbul'da Tasarım ve Dış Mekânlarda Değişim ve Nedenleri*, p. VI.

¹³⁹ Özer, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Yaşam ve Moda*, p. 23.

¹⁴⁰ Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, p. 149.

¹⁴¹ Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, pg. 148-149.

¹⁴² Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, p. 149.

¹⁴³ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 69.

¹⁴⁴ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 69.

¹⁴⁵ Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, p. 23.

as the Park of the Nation”.¹⁴⁶ Also Evyapan mentions another Municipality Garden founded in 1824 in Major Çamlıca.

Çelik describes the plan of the Taksim Public Park:

The park was a perfect rectangle, which had a symmetrical layout that combined formal Beaux-Arts principles in its central part with a looser and more picturesque scheme toward the edges.¹⁴⁷

Evyapan mentions in her *Old Turkish Gardens* book that:

[I]n the city center Pera, there were seven outdoor sports grounds of which the most important was located within the Taksim Municipality Park. This sports area of 250 ms x 200 ms, included two football courts; and provided facilities for horsemanship, donkey riding, motorcycle tracks, as well as five children’s playgrounds; the whole surrounded by entertainment establishments like coffee-houses, casinos, gambling saloons, and movie-theatres.¹⁴⁸

Taksim Public Park became a very popular recreation area at this time.¹⁴⁹ Çelik quotes from Edmondo De Amicis’ *Istanbul* in order to depict the life in this area:

[...] on Sunday afternoons it is crowded with people and equipages, all the gay world of Pera pouring out to scatter itself among the beer-gardens, cafes, and pleasure resorts.¹⁵⁰

Although it became a very popular Public Park, certain group of people could use the area, not everyone. Çelik states that, in this park, the Turkish women were not allowed to stroll and ride a carriage and adds that this situation shows the difference between the lifestyles of the Turks and the Westerners in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵¹

Akın also mentions the rules set for regulating the promenade of Muslim women which were published in the newspapers in 1861 and 1867. The Muslim women could only stroll in certain days and in certain public promenades with simple clothing and at nights they could only stroll by riding a carriage not by walking.¹⁵² According to Akın,

¹⁴⁶ Evyapan, *Old Turkish Gardens*, p. 111.

¹⁴⁷ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 69.

¹⁴⁸ Evyapan, *Old Turkish Gardens*, p. 138.

¹⁴⁹ Tekeli, *The Development of the Istanbul Metropolitan Area*, p. 36.

¹⁵⁰ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 69.

¹⁵¹ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 70.

¹⁵² Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, pg. 10-11.

this situation can be interpreted as Muslim groups attempt to protect several aspects of the Ottoman life style.¹⁵³

The other public park was the Tepebaşı Park —Jardin de Petits-Champs— which was one of the favorite promenades of Istanbul.¹⁵⁴ The inhabitants of Pera demanded a public garden and for the construction of it they donated to the municipality.¹⁵⁵ The construction of this site took approximately one or two years, beginning from 1879.¹⁵⁶ In the news published in 1880, this public park likened to a European park with its pavilion, lake, bridge, and the Tepebaşı Municipality Theatre (Tepebeşi Belediye Tiyatrosu).¹⁵⁷ With all these features Tepebaşı Park attracted the inhabitants of Istanbul. They strolled here in large crowds, the same as they did in the other strolling areas.¹⁵⁸

In 1880s there still existed many empty plots and the Sixth District announced those plots' sale announcements.¹⁵⁹ This situation disturbed the residents because they tried to create an open space around the Galata Tower in order to emphasize its monumentality, and they refused the sale. The oppositions were taken into consideration by the Sixth District Administration and the sales were cancelled.¹⁶⁰ This situation can be interpreted as an example of a democratic administration which was encouraged with one of the codes of Tanzimat Charter related with the rights of the people.

Çamlıca, was another prominent open space in Üsküdar at the Anatolian side of Istanbul. Evyapan states that “Çamlıca [...] began to be developed in the 17th century when Murad IV had a few kiosks and pavilions built at the Old and New Çamlıca, the two excursion grounds above Istavroz”.¹⁶¹ She claims that at the 18th century this

¹⁵³ Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, p. 10.

¹⁵⁴ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 70.

¹⁵⁵ Çelik Gülersoy, *Tepebaşı: Bir Meydan Savaşı* (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığı Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı, 1993), p. 29.

¹⁵⁶ Gülersoy, *Tepebaşı*, p. 29.

¹⁵⁷ Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, p. 151, from *La Turquie*, 26 July 1880.

¹⁵⁸ Gülersoy, *Tepebaşı*, pg. 28-45.

¹⁵⁹ Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, p. 119.

¹⁶⁰ Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, pg. 119-120.

¹⁶¹ Evyapan, *Old Turkish Gardens*, p. 109.

district “became a much favored resort and a picnic ground”.¹⁶² The reason of this situation can be the increasing population in the park’s vicinity. Population followed the sultan and the statesmen, whose life took place more at the outdoor strolls than indoor in the 18th century. For that reason they preferred to live in Haliç, Boğaziçi and Üsküdar; so that, many mansions and gardens were built in those vicinities.¹⁶³

In the 19th century Çamlıca became more vital and seemed more Europeanized with the garden parties and masked balls; “the first of which was given by Sultan Abdülaziz (1861-1876)”.¹⁶⁴ Also during his reign, in 1870, the Millet Garden was opened in Kısıklı which is in the Minor Çamlıca.¹⁶⁵ Ali Rıza Bey depicts the 19th century life of Istanbul occurring in Major Çamlıca in his Peyam-ı Sabah newspaper:

The Major Çamlıca has long been accepted as an excursion place. Particularly on the weekly holidays, people first arrive in carriages at Çamlıca, then stroll leisurely in Bağlarbaşı and Meşatlık. In 1824, at that vicinity, the Municipality Garden was founded where people flocked to have a pleasant time and around which even the carriages of the harem would drive to take the air. At night time, the numerous lamps of the gardens would be alighted; Turkish and European music would be played in turns.¹⁶⁶

The new public parks in the 19th century Istanbul are listed below with the opening dates and the previous functions.

Table 2.1. List of new public parks in the 19th century Istanbul.

Parks	Opening Date	Previous Function	Source
Municipality Garden in Bağlarbaşı (Major Çamlıca)	1824	Private gardens of royal family members	Evyapan, 1999
Tophane Garden	1852	Cannot be found	Akın, 2002
Çamlıca Park	1867/1870	Private gardens of royal family members	Evyapan, 1999
Taksim Public Park	1869	Cemetery	Çelik, 1993
Tepebaşı Park	1880	Cemetery	Gülersoy, 1993

¹⁶² Evyapan, *Old Turkish Gardens*, p. 109.

¹⁶³ Denel, *Batılılaşma Sürecinde İstanbul’da Tasarım ve Dış Mekânlarda Değişim ve Nedenleri*, p. 46.

¹⁶⁴ Evyapan, *Old Turkish Gardens*, p. 110.

¹⁶⁵ Tekeli, *The Development of the Istanbul Metropolitan Area*, p. 36.

¹⁶⁶ Evyapan, *Old Turkish Gardens*, p. 110.

The open public spaces are not limited to these public parks. There are green spaces which were previously royal excursion grounds and serve as public excursion grounds beginning from the 18th century. However there are some differences between the public parks and excursion grounds. For instance as Çelik, Gülersoy and Evyapan state that the parks are planned and there are some attractions such as theatres, artificial lakes, restaurants and cafés.¹⁶⁷ On the other hand, the excursion grounds are more like picnic grounds. Some of the main public excursion grounds are listed below.

Table 2.2. List of the main public excursion grounds in the 19th century Istanbul.
(Source: Abdülaziz Bey, 2002 and Evyapan, 1999)

Alemdağı	Duvarıdibi	İbrahim Ağa Meadow	Şemsipaşa Mansion spot
Anadolu Feneri	Fenerbahçesi	Kalamış	Silahtarağa Fountain
Aynalıkavak	Florya	Kalender	Siyavuş Paşa Farmstead
Bahariye Mansion spot	Fulya Garden	Kağıthane	Söğütluçeşme
Bayrampaşa Meadow	Göksu Meadow	Kavacık	Sultaniye Meadow
Baltalimanı Meadow	Havuzbaşı	Kuşdili Meadow	Susuz Bağı
Büyükkada	Haydarpaşa Meadow	Küçüksu Meadow	Tokad Kasrı Meadow
Büyükdere	Hekimbaşı Farmstead	Libade	Veli Efendi Meadow
Çiftehavuzlar	Heybeliada	Paşabahçesi	Yoğurtçu Meadow
Çubuklu Meadow	İhlamur	Sakızağacı	Yuşa Hill

¹⁶⁷ See also the following novels *Şık*, *Araba Sevdası*, *Vah*, *Zehra* and *Dürrane Hanım* for information about the public parks.

CHAPTER 3

ANALYSIS OF THE TANZIMAT NOVELS

3.1. The Literary Climate of the Tanzimat Period

From the 18th century on the Ottoman Empire had directed its attention to the European states and the first ambassadors were sent in order to observe the European capital cities' economical, political, social and physical conditions; which were then begun to be applied by the Ottoman ruling class.¹ These modernization / westernization efforts infused into different administrative and social areas in time but the summit of these modernization applications was, as stated earlier, the Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayun, also called the Tanzimat Charter² which was declared on November 3rd in 1839. Tanzimat means administrative reforms, but the effects of that charter seen in every part of the empire from governmental issues to education and social life. It was not a restoration; it was a renovation of the empire.³ The basic aim of this renovation was on one hand, to regain the political and the economical power of the empire⁴ and, on the other, to unify and equalize different transformations on a common ground. One of the important reforms in this charter was to give more rights to the people living within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire; in other words, to equalize the different ethnic groups and try to gather the people in the idea of being “Ottoman” in order to avoid the fragmentation.⁵

However one of the fundamental issues was the equality, the class, which has more rights than the others, was the ruling elite.⁶ Rather than being equal, the modernization process was a means for the ruling elite in order to define their status in

¹ Şerif Mardin, “Tanzimat’tan Sonra Aşırı Batılılaşma,” in *Türk Modernleşmesi, Makaleler 4*, ed. Mümtaz’er Türküne, Tuncay Önder (İstanbul: İletişim, 2008), pg. 9-10.

² Mardin, “Tanzimat’tan Sonra Aşırı Batılılaşma,” p. 12.

³ İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı* (İstanbul: Timaş, 2008), p. 114.

⁴ Mardin, “Tanzimat’tan Sonra Aşırı Batılılaşma,” p. 86.

⁵ Mardin, “Tanzimat’tan Sonra Aşırı Batılılaşma,” p. 12.

⁶ Mardin, “Tanzimat’tan Sonra Aşırı Batılılaşma,” p. 86.

society.⁷ On the other hand it was a formal and patchy Westernization, not an internalized one. From the 18th century the ideas of Westernization, were attempted to be integrated into the empire by the ruling elite, but diffused into the everyday life with the Tanzimat movement.⁸ First of all Sultan Abdülmecit left Topkapı Palace, which was located in the Historical Peninsula, and moved to a new palace called Dolmabahçe, which was designed in the western architectural style of that period. Nearly all the statesmen followed and moved near the sultan.⁹ From then on the Historical Peninsula began to be a disfavored area while the Pera region began to be appreciated as favorable.¹⁰ The ones, who were keen on living a Western style life, spent their time in the cafes, theatres, restaurants, hotels and shops in Pera.¹¹ This led to a binary opposition in the nineteenth-century Istanbul, which made it a dual-cored city; the traditional one and the modern one.¹² In relation with its spatial binary, there was also a duality in socio-cultural life of Istanbul.¹³ The gap between the ruler and the ruled, in other words “high culture” and “low culture” began to deepen.¹⁴ The New Ottomans movement began in this climate as a reaction to the patchy Westernization attempts of the ruling class in every aspect of the empire from administration to the social life.¹⁵ Including Namık Kemal, the group defended the ideas of equality, freedom and democracy and argue that the thing should be done in Westernization movement is to understand the science and the philosophy of the West, rather than doing the patchy applications.¹⁶ They also blamed the ruling class that isolated itself from the society.¹⁷

⁷ İlbeyi Özer, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Yaşam ve Moda* (İstanbul: Truva, 2009), p. 45.

⁸ Mardin, “Tanzimat’tan Sonra Aşırı Batılılaşma,” p. 15.

⁹ Özer, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Yaşam ve Moda*, p. 45.

¹⁰ Özer, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Yaşam ve Moda*, p. 45.

¹¹ Arus Yumul, “A Prostitute Lodging in the Bosom of Turkishness: Istanbul’s Pera and its Representation,” *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 30:1 (February 2009): 59-61.

¹² Nur Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera* (İstanbul: Literatür, 2002), p. 18.

¹³ Denel Serim Denel, *Batılılaşma Sürecinde İstanbul’da Tasarım ve Dış Mekânlarda Değişim ve Nedenleri* (Ankara: METU, 1982), p. VI; Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış 1*, p. 21.

¹⁴ Mardin, “Tanzimat’tan Sonra Aşırı Batılılaşma,” pg. 21-75.

¹⁵ Mardin, “Tanzimat’tan Sonra Aşırı Batılılaşma,” p. 13; Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış 1*, p. 15.

¹⁶ Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış 1 Ahmet Mithat’tan Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar’a* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2008), pg. 15-17.

In order to reach the society which the high culture could not do, the new Ottomans thought that they had to spread their ideas and for that they argued that there were two ways to use: “the newspaper and the literature.”¹⁸ The development of the new Turkish literature is held under these conditions. Nearly after 20 years from the declaration of the Tanzimat Charter and four years from the Islahat Charter (1856), the era that can be called the second phase of the Tanzimat, the first novels of new Turkish literature began to be written.¹⁹

Although it is called Tanzimat Literature, it is not simply related with the Tanzimat Charter; it comprises the whole effect of the ideology of Tanzimat. Novel was a new genre, a new aspect for the Turkish literature and its development was different from the way it was in Western literature.²⁰ Berna Moran claims that novel made progress in Western societies with the development of philosophical background, the changing conditions of the socio-economical issues and “the emergence of the bourgeoisie in the transition period from feudality to capitalism.”²¹ So, İnci Enginün states that the works of Western literature —especially the French literature²²— inspired the first Turkish novelist.²³

Although the first Turkish novelists were willing to try this new literary genre they were continuing on to use the traditional technique which the society got used to: “meddah” culture which is public story telling and mimic art, which they thought was more appropriate for their pedagogical purposes.²⁴ Enginün and Moran mention that the new Ottomans were trying to combine the old tradition with novel, the new Western technique in literature.²⁵ This can be seen as a contribution to the new Turkish literature.

¹⁷ Mardin, “Tanzimat’tan Sonra Aşırı Batılılaşma,” pg. 13; 46.

¹⁸ Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış 1*, p. 17.

¹⁹ İnci Enginün, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e (1830-1923)* (İstanbul: Dergâh, 2007), p. 15.

²⁰ Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış 1*, p. 9.

²¹ Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış 1*, p. 11.

²² Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış 1*, p. 44.

²³ Enginün, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, p. 26.

²⁴ Enginün, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, p. 197; Jale Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar, Tanzimat Romanının Epistemolojik Temelleri* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2004), p. 50.

²⁵ Enginün, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, p. 183; Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış 1*, p. 46.

However Jale Parla states that it is a kind of mixture which is neither hybrid nor synthesis.²⁶ She quotes from Orhan Akay for whom literary works were “mülemma” which means patchy.²⁷ Parla states that the reason for this patchiness was epistemological; the Western literature was based on science and empiricism however Tanzimat literature was still defending the old epistemology of absolutism.²⁸ According to Parla, although the authors pretended as modernists, they actually defended a controlled modernization process based on Islamic rules.²⁹ She also states that the absolutism is the basic concept of Tanzimat rather than the binary situation in physical and socio-cultural life.³⁰ For Mardin and Özer, the effect of Westernization created a dominant cultural schizophrenia in the Ottoman society.³¹ This schizophrenia mostly affected the elites who could not internalize the Westernization. They could not be neither Westerner nor quit being Ottoman.³² The new Ottomans were against to this Westernization in appearance.³³ According to the new intellectuals the Westernization attempts had to be under control and the basic needs, such as science, technique, languages and philosophy, had to be added on the Islamic foundation.³⁴ They proposed a combination of basic Western issues with a strong Ottoman-Islamic background.³⁵

Şeyda Başlı has a different approach from the critiques mentioned above. Başlı argues in her book *Osmanlı Romanının İmkanları Üzerine* that the post-republican criticisms have common viewpoint on degrading the Tanzimat Literature claiming that it is “imitative” and “technically insufficient”.³⁶ She argues against the claim that the

²⁶ Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar*, p. 12.

²⁷ Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar*, p. 12.

²⁸ Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar*, pg. 9; 15; 43.

²⁹ Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar*, pg. 12; 13.

³⁰ Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar*, p. 37.

³¹ Mardin, “Tanzimat’tan Sonra Aşırı Batılılaşma,” p. 43; Özer, *Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e Yaşam ve Moda*, p. 23.

³² Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış 1*, p. 23.

³³ Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış 1*, p. 15.

³⁴ Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış 1*, p. 16.

³⁵ Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış 1*, pg. 16-17; Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar*, pg. 57-58.

³⁶ Şeyda Başlı, *Osmanlı Romanının İmkanları Üzerine, İlk Romanlarda Çok Katmanlı Anlatı Yapısı* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2010), pg. 7-8.

Tanzimat writers imitate especially the French Literature. According to her, these claims have a political background which has a Western basis, influenced by the climate of the post-republican era. Başlı re-reads six Tanzimat novels³⁷ and analyses them according to a multi-layered narrative structure. She indicates the novels have different layers related with the socio-political condition of the empire.³⁸ Especially, she asserts that these novels had a critical standpoint and writers used characters, plots, and spaces symbolically.

3.2. Summaries of the Selected Novels

In this selection of 21 Tanzimat novels, the first of the criteria was to focus on the novels. So the stories, poems, plays and memories were eliminated. The second one was the storylines which take place in the 19th century Istanbul of the novels. Lastly, some of the novels are out of print so these novels could not be accessed and included to this study.

1. *Akabi Hikayesi* (1851)

Vartan Paşa narrates the life of an Armenian community in the mid 19th century Istanbul. It is about the relationship between two young Armenians Hagop and Akabi, who first see each other at Büyükdere and fall in love. However their marriage is impossible according to the priest Fasıdyan and their families. Although they are both Christians, their sects are different. So, the storyline is based on their attempt for breaking free from the social pressure around them. Through this story, Vartan Paşa presents the reader the public and private life of the Armenian society in Istanbul.

2. *Taaşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat* (1872)

In this novel Şemsettin Sami criticizes the society via the relationship of Talat and Fitnat. Fitnat can never go outside her house. Because her stepfather is anxious about her losing virtue, he never gives permission to Fitnat to visit somewhere. Therefore her public experience is based on what she sees through the window. One day Talat and Fitnat see each other and fall in love. Talat learns that she cannot go out because of her

³⁷ The novels are *Akabi Hikayesi*, *Felâhî Bey ile Rakım Efendi*, *Taaşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat*, *İntibah*, *Turfanda Mı Yoksa Turfa Mı?* and *Araba Sevdası*.

³⁸ Başlı, *Osmanlı Romanının İmkanları Üzerine*, p. 414.

stepfather; he decides that the only way to talk to Fitnat would be in her house. Therefore he disguises himself as a woman named Ragıbe Hanım. As Ragıbe he experiences the situation of women in the public spaces. After a while Fitnat's stepfather wants to marry her to a rich man. She rejects but cannot manage to prevent this marriage. Finally she commits suicide and Talat dies of sorrow. Hence, the author criticizes the unwilling marriages and the pressure of parents on young individuals.

3. *Felâatun Bey ile Rakım Efendi* (1875)

Ahmet Mithat Efendi compares two figures of the Ottoman society in this novel. The first one is Felatun Bey who is keen in Westernization; the other one is Rakım Efendi who learns Western sciences and languages and at the same time, he never quits his Ottoman origin. He is a hardworking man, he saves money, has good friends and every women fall in love with him in the storyline, because he is depicted as being perfect. On the other hand Felatun never works and wastes his family fortune, and has a mistress who steals money from him. Finally he goes bankrupt and leaves the city. The author idealizes the second character Rakım Efendi and humiliates Felatun Bey. In that way two characters are presented as Mr. right and Mr. wrong to the society.

4. *İntibah* (1876)

In this novel Namık Kemal narrates how a young man's life changes after a stroll in Çamlıca. Although Ali Bey does not go for a stroll to Çamlıca in crowded days when his friends insist and they go to Çamlıca on Friday (the holiday) where he sees Mahpeyker. The author emphasizes that this meeting at Çamlıca changes his life completely. Mahpeyker is a prostitute but he believes in her faith. One day he cannot find her in the house and breaks up with her. Ali's mother brings an odalisque to him, Dilaşup who is narrated as a virtuous woman. Mahpeyker cannot stand this and wants to get her revenge on them. The storyline ends tragically, and it brings to mind that the author reminds the readers to be careful about whom one meets and where.

5. *Henüz Onyedı Yaşında* (1880)

Ahmet Mithat Efendi narrates the life of a 17-year-old prostitute Kalyopi. Kalyopi had to be a prostitute in order to look after her family. Ahmet, the other main character, wants to save her from this lifestyle. But at first he has to be sure whether Kalyopi wants to get rid of this job. Hence, he listens to her story in detail. At the end he saves her from the brothel and rents a house for her and her family. In the storyline the author depicts the restaurants, theatres, cafes and brothels in Beyoğlu and frequently criticizes Beyoğlu as a non-virtuous place.

6. *Vah* (1881)

In this novel Ahmet Mithat Efendi bases the storyline on a woman's life. At the beginning of the story, because she strolls around freely Ferdane Hanım is depicted as a frivolous woman. Also, many men make improper suggestions to her because of her beauty. But she feels uncomfortable because of these gestures. So in further sections the reader realizes that she is a virtuous woman. Ahmet Mithat considers the publicity of woman in terms of virtue in this novel and tries to criticize the social pressure on woman about her public appearance.

7. *Esrar-ı Cinayat* (1884)

This is a detective novel of Ahmet Mithat Efendi. Osman Sabri Efendi is the head of the police department and tries to find the murderer of a serious crime. During this investigation he lets the evidences leak out in press and benefits from the public opinion on this case.

8. *Çingene* (1886)

In this novel Ahmet Mithat Efendi criticizes the feeling of prejudice among different groups of people in the society. Ziba is a gypsy who earns money with singing and dancing in Kağıthane. When Hikmet Bey sees her, he falls in love with her. He prevails upon Ziba to have education. He finds a teacher for musical education and etiquette. However Hikmet's family does not accept her. In the end, Hikmet dies of sorrow and Ziba never gets married to another one.

9. *Dürdane Hanım* (1888)

In this novel Ahmet Mithat Efendi narrates the lives of two women, Ulviye Hanım and Dürdane Hanım. Ulviye and Dürdane are neighbors but do not know each other. One day Ulviye realizes that Dürdane is in trouble. Ulviye tries to understand the problem by eavesdropping at Dürdane's balcony but notices that she cannot do this as a woman. Hence she decides to disguise herself as a man. She learns that Dürdane is pregnant and wants to get marry before her family realizes her pregnancy. However her boyfriend Mergup Bey does not take it seriously. Ulviye, as Acem Ali Bey, decides to solve Dürdane's problem. She goes to Galata pubs to find someone to help her plan; she kidnaps a nurse for the birth of Dürdane's child and goes into fights during her adventures. It is important that, in order to help Dürdane, Ulviye, as Acem Ali, experiences more things than an ordinary man does in his life.

10. *Sergüzeşt* (1889)

Samipaşazade Sezai narrates the life of a slave girl. Dilber comes from the Caucasus and was sold to a slave merchant in Istanbul in her childhood. The people are disdainful of her because of her slavery in the houses where she is being sold one after the other. When Dilber grows up she and Celal Bey fall in love with each other. But Celal's family does not accept this marriage, because they want to find a proper girl from an elite family. So Dilber is sold to a slave merchant in order to take her away from Celal. Her next house is in Egypt and she is sold as an odalisque. But she cannot accept it and commits suicide. The author criticizes the social stratification and restrictions over freedom.

11. *Şık* (1889)

Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar narrates the life of Şatırzade Şöhret Bey who is keen on Westernization. The author states that, Şöhret believes that if he wears a-la-mode clothes and spends time with his mistress in favorite places in Beyoğlu he will be like an "alafranga". But he is not a rich man to afford these needs, so he steals from his mother and his friends. The storyline is based on his ridiculous attitudes and the author humiliates him. In that way Gürpınar tries to warn the society about consequences of such attitudes, like Ahmet Mithat does in *Felâhî Bey ile Rakım Efendi*.

12. *Bir Kadının Hayatı* (1890)

Mehmet Celal bases the storyline on unfortunate incidents of a woman's life. Melek is raped by her boyfriend and her family drives her away. So she comes to Istanbul and gives birth to twins. They suffer from hunger and try to survive as beggars. So they are disdained by the society. One day a slave merchant kidnaps her children and she spends her years to find them.

13. *Müşâhedat* (1891)

Ahmet Mithat Efendi narrates the lives of two Armenian women. In this novel Ahmet Mithat is also a character. He sees Agavni and Siranuş on the ferry and overhears their talks. He is interested in the topic and decides to learn the story in details. So he follows them to their apartment in Beyoğlu. Then he meets with Siranuş, Agavni and her boyfriend Refet frequently in order to talk about the story. At the same time Ahmet Mithat begins to write some drafts for the novel based on their story. He reads these chapters to them, and if there is a mistake they correct the storyline. Therefore they take place in the writing process of the novel. Meanwhile, their daily life also changes the

way things are going in the storyline. Via narrating their daily life Ahmet Mithat depicts the life in Beyoğlu.

14. *Turfanda Mı Yoksa Turfa Mı?* (1891)

Mizancı Mehmet Murat depicts an ideal Ottoman man in this novel. The main character Mansur Bey is a young patriot who is hardworking, religious and well educated. He attends school in France but his aim is to use this knowledge for the Ottoman Empire. His favorite activity is to read articles and books on politics. Unlike Mansur, his cousin İsmail Bey is a kind of dandy who courts women and entertains himself in Kağıthane grounds and Beyoğlu clubs. Other than the comparison between these two characters, the author compares and contrasts the female figures. Mizancı depicts Sabiha Hanım as a woman who likes to stroll in excursion grounds and wants to attract males with her physical appearance. Zehra, on the contrary is narrated as respectable woman who is not keen on strolling around. She wants to improve his knowledge and foreign language skills. So, the storyline is based on defining the ideal Ottoman individual who is well educated, religious and a patriot person.

15. *Muhaderat* (1892)

Fatma Aliye Hanım narrates the life of a woman, Fazıla, in this novel. Fazıla's mother died so her father married again. Her stepmother and Fazıla do not like each other. She separates Fazıla and her fiancé, and she is the initiator of another marriage for Fazıla. Soon after this marriage Fazıla's husband Remzi cheats herso she wants a divorce. However Fazıla's father rejects her decision. Fazıla leaves the house pretending that she committed suicide. Then she begins to experience the life outside her mansion. Fatma Aliye criticizes women's confinement and focuses on the problems of women with a female gaze in this novel.

16. *Araba Sevdası* (1896)

In this novel Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem narrates a dandy's life. Bihruz Bey is keen on Westernization and tries to show off in public. So he wastes his money for his outfit and carriage. He hears about the opening of Çamlıca Park then he convinces his mother to move to Çamlıca; because he wants to be close to this new public park. He frequents Çamlıca Park with his carriage wanting to present his class to the others. He thinks that his carriage is a good medium to show off his status. . One day, he goes for a stroll to Çamlıca and sees Periveş Hanım. This is a turning point in the storyline. Then he begins to spend his time writing letters to her and strolling around with his carriage to see her. In the mean time, he continues to spend his money extravagantly. First he loses his

carriage, and then some of the real estates are sold; and at the end nearly his whole family fortune is out of his hands. The story which starts with the chic carriage ends with the scene of Bihruz running to the sidewalk being run over by a carriage.

17. Zehra (1896)

Nabizade Nazım structured this storyline on a woman's jealousy. The main character Zehra gets angry when her husband Suphi leaves the house with the odalisque Sim Cemal. She wants to get her revenge on them. In order to accomplish this she decides to separate them with the help of Ürani, a demi-monde prostitute from Beyoğlu. Suphi falls in love with Ürani. They stroll in excursion grounds, drink at pubs; go to the theatres and waste lots of money. Sometimes the author compares Ürani the prostitute with the "virtue symbols" Zehra and Sim Cemal through Suphi's thoughts narrated in the novel. However Suphi cannot break up with Ürani. So Sim Cemal commits suicide. And finally Suphi goes bankrupt because of the extravagant lifestyle that Ürani influenced on Suphi. When Suphi's money is over Ürani leaves him and finds another man. Suphi cannot stand this and kills Ürani and her new boyfriend. The police arrest him and the government sends him into exile. Then Zehra falls sick when Suphi leaves Istanbul and finally she dies.

18. İffet (1896)

In Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar's *İffet*, he narrates a drama of a young woman. The main character, İffet, is a well educated, virtuous woman who comes from a high-income family. However her family begins to suffer from poverty after her father dies. The other main character, Hüseyin, is an author who visits İffet's house with his doctor friend. İffet's mother is sick and needs help because they do not have enough money for her treatment. After a while Hüseyin and the doctor cannot find the family in their house. They moved to a further quarter. One year later, Hüseyin and the doctor come across with İffet's fiancé in a cemetery. They find him crying, because İffet is dead. After this point in the storyline, the author narrates İffet's life through her diary. After her father's death they moved to a peripheral quarter of Istanbul. For them it was getting harder to cope with hunger. In those days a woman comes to her house and tries to provoke her about prostitution in order to get rid of hunger. At first she rejects but then accepts the offer. For the first time she goes out to buy some clothes. When she returns home, she feels sick about this idea and gets depressed. Finally she cannot cope with this mental illness and dies as a virtuous woman.

19. *Refet* (1897)

Fatma Aliye Hanım, in this novel, emphasizes the importance of education and occupation in a woman's life by narrating Refet's story. After her father's death, Refet and her mother move to Istanbul. Her mother works as a cleaning lady to provide Refet's needs for school. The only aim of Refet is to complete her education and to be a teacher. She thinks that if she would be a teacher, she and her mother won't be in need of anyone. During her education period they suffer from poverty and hunger. In these days her mother dies but Refet graduates from school. In the mean time one of her merchant relatives proposes a marriage to her and he is sure that she cannot reject him because she is alone. But she does not accept this proposal and says that she has a job therefore she is not in need of a man's protection. Then she is appointed to a province as a teacher.

20. *Metres* (1899)

Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar narrates a complicated relationship between three men and a woman. Reyhan, Müştak and Hami fall in love with a demi-monde prostitute Parnas. This French woman lives an extravagant life in Beyoğlu. So these three men spend time with her as if they have enough money to afford her expenses. Their will to be with her leads them to bankruptcy and damages the lives of the other people around them.

21. *Bir Sevda Denklemi* (1899)

In this novel Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar narrates a deceived man's story by his wife. The story begins with a letter of Naki to Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar. Naki makes a request to Gürpınar to write a novel about his life. He comes to Gürpınar's house and begins to tell his story. Naki is divorced two times before he marries to Bedia. When Bedia does not want to be his puppet like his previous wives returns to her father's house and wants to divorce him. But Naki gets angry and does not accept a divorce. After a while Naki falls in love with her and it seems that she also loves him. However she cheats him with her previous boyfriend Fatin. Finally they get a divorce and Bedia marries to Fatin. In this novel Gürpınar mentions that Bedia wants to marry to Fatin instead of Naki but her family does not permit this choice. So, the author emphasizes that all of this situations happened because of an unwilling marriage.

3.3. Spatial Analysis of the Novels

The spaces in the novels inform us about the everyday life of the 19th century Istanbul. There are clues about the favorite places of that era, the different physical and social landscape of different districts and the use of spaces according to gender. The spaces where the incidents take place are analyzed in accordance with the storyline, under four groups: public (open) spaces, public (state) spaces, semi-public (indoor) spaces, and private spaces.

Categorization of spaces is a critical task. Especially the differences between public and private can be constructed in various layers according to physical, cultural, social and class aspects and definitions. In this case, the spaces in the novels are categorized according to the researcher's contemporary definitions, in which public space is free to anyone and has the potential to gather everyone. As such, streets, squares, parks and excursion grounds, transportation vehicles are considered as public spaces. There are also spaces, like a courthouse or police headquarters, which belong to everyone but controlled by the government. Since these spaces have been different in status in terms of their public-ness they were categorized separately under state institutions. Spaces under the semi-public category are those who belong to individuals but open to everyone for commercial purposes. Since individuals hold the right to choose to serve whenever and whomever they want, these spaces are acknowledged as semi-public in nature. And finally, the category of private space is comprised mostly of individuals' houses, where it is common to think that private space is strongly associated with the personal, family, private life, and that it is distinct from the public.

There are those spaces in the novels (as in real life) which resist fitting into categories more than others, such as hotel rooms, brothels, jails, cemeteries or transportation vehicles. These spaces bring to mind Foucault's heterotopias, which he defined as spaces reserved for crisis and deviance, spaces that have the power to juxtapose different activities and meanings as well as opposing functions in them, and those spaces that are stolen from time or without a place.³⁹

The critical question here is related to whether these categorizations that are used for analyzing the novels were practiced and experienced with parallel categorizations by the novel characters. In other words, what are the differences in

³⁹ Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," N.Leach ed., *Rethinking Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1997), p.350-56.

categorizations of publicity and privacy between today (the researcher in this case) and the second half of the 19th Century (Tanzimat authors' representations in that context). Chapter 4 dwells in this question and presents a socio-spatial discussion of the categorizations.

The analysis in this section is presented as tables with four columns. One end of the columns presents the spatial categories where the other end presents the labels or the names of specific spaces, it is important to note that space names are repeated even though some spaces are used and revisited in the story. The second column displays the connections between the categories and the space names. The third column explores the gender layer of the story and marks whether female or male characters are present in these spaces in the story.

Table 3.1. The spaces in *Akabi Hikayesi* of Vartan Paşa

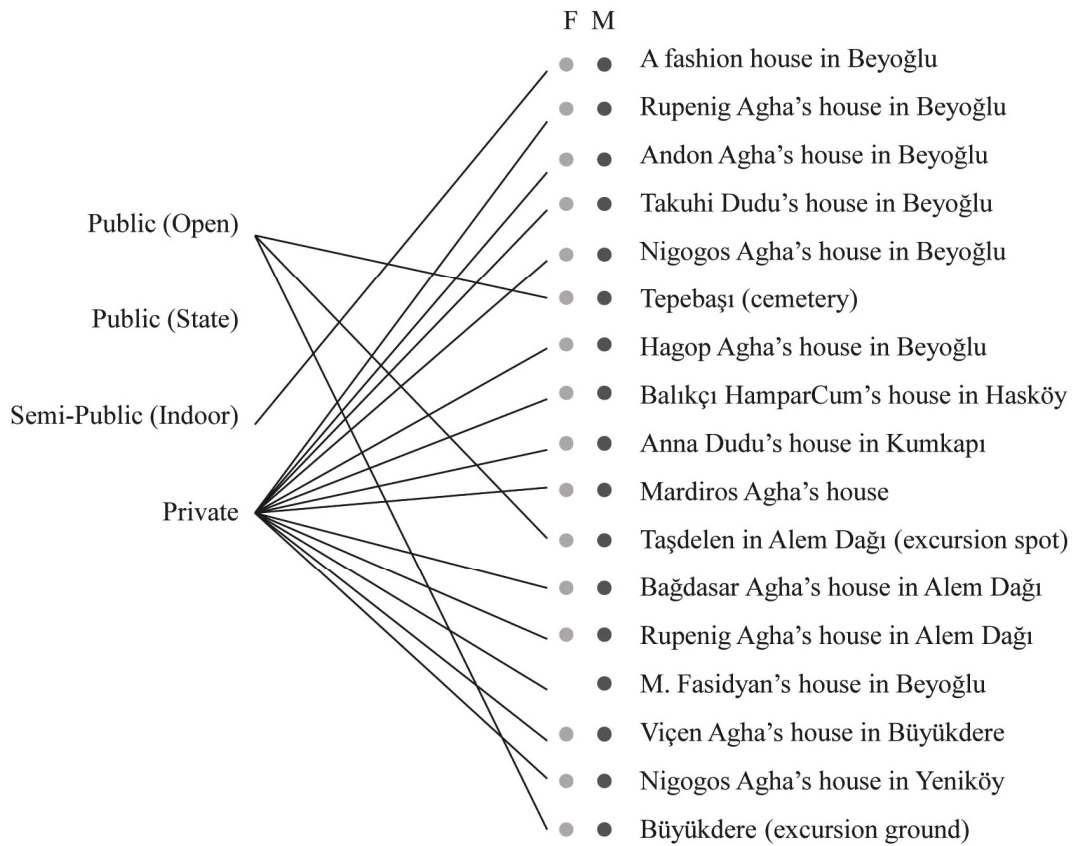
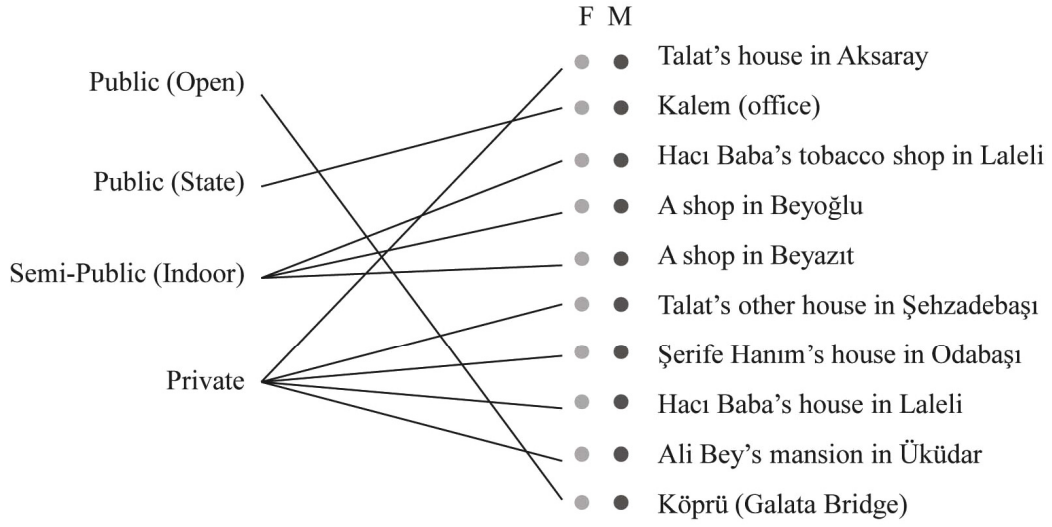


Table 3.2. The spaces in *Taaşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat* of Şemsettin Sami



- The main male character Talat visits Şerife Hanım's house and Hacı Baba's house disguising himself as Ragıbe Hanım.

Table 3.3. The spaces in *Felâh-ı Bey ile Rakım Efendi* of Ahmet Mithat Efendi

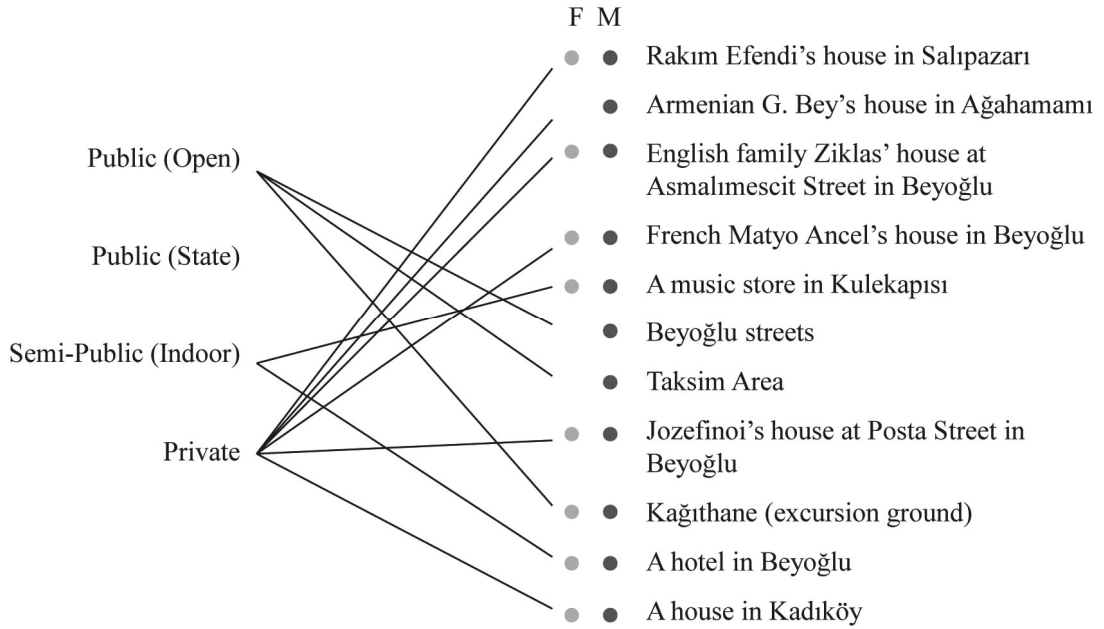
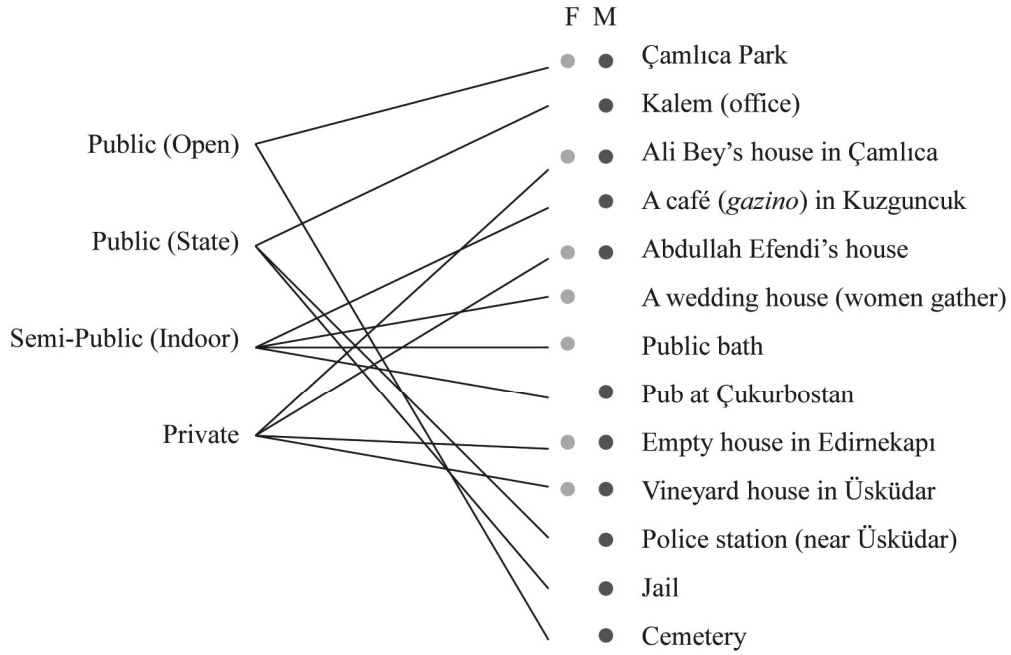
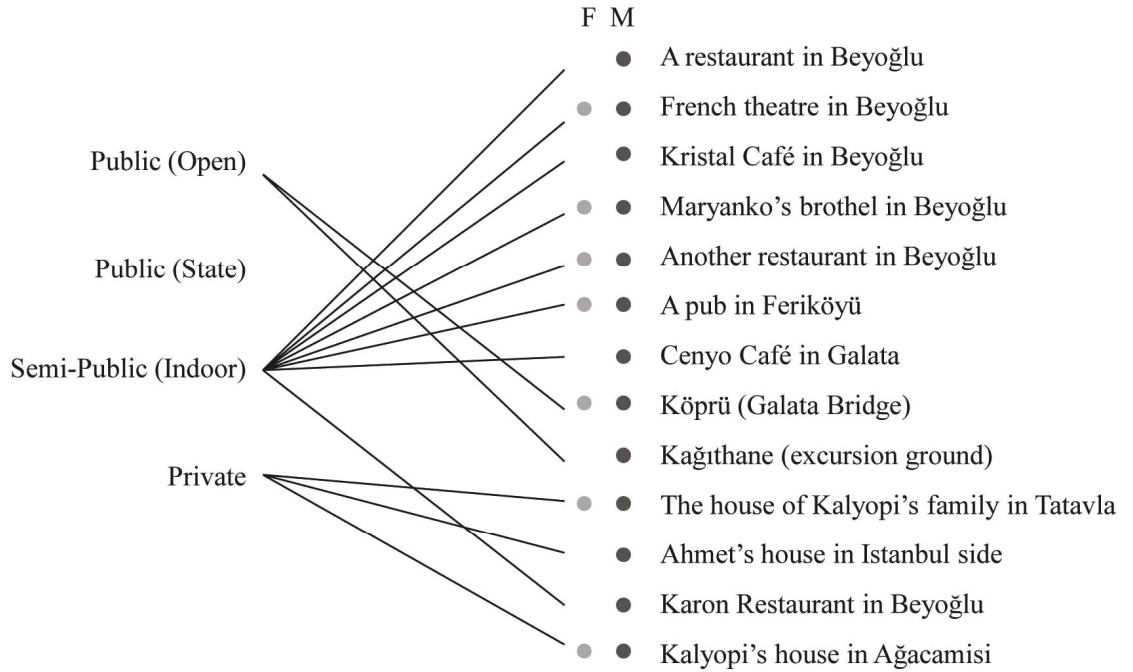


Table 3.4. The spaces in *İntibah* of Namık Kemal



- The female character seen in open public space is a prostitute.

Table 3.5. The spaces in *Henüz 17 Yaşında* of Ahmet Mithat Efendi



- The female characters visit semi-public spaces are non-Muslim women.

Table 3.6. The spaces in *Vah* of Ahmet Mithat Efendi

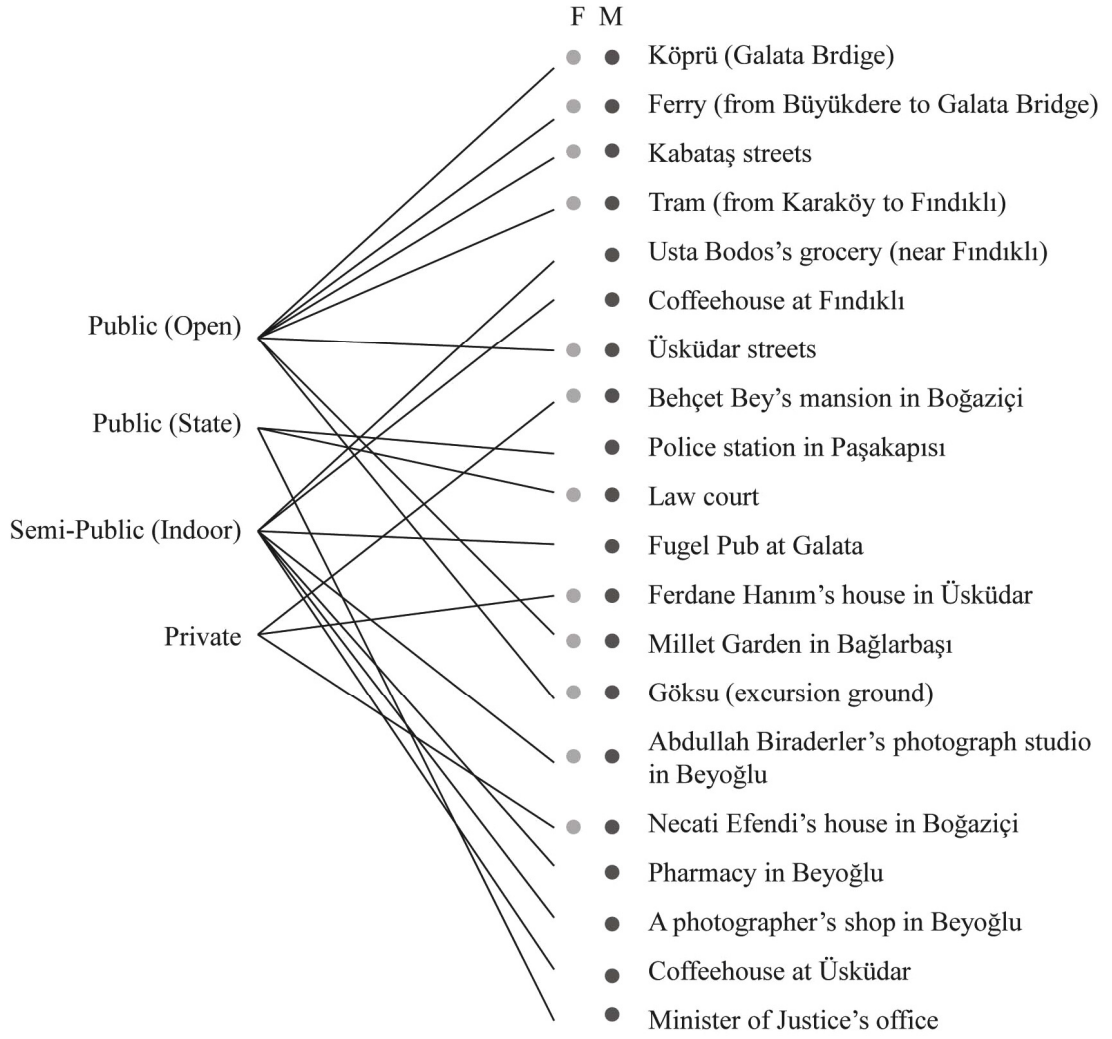


Table 3.7. The spaces in *Esrar-ı Cinayat* of Ahmet Mithat Efendi

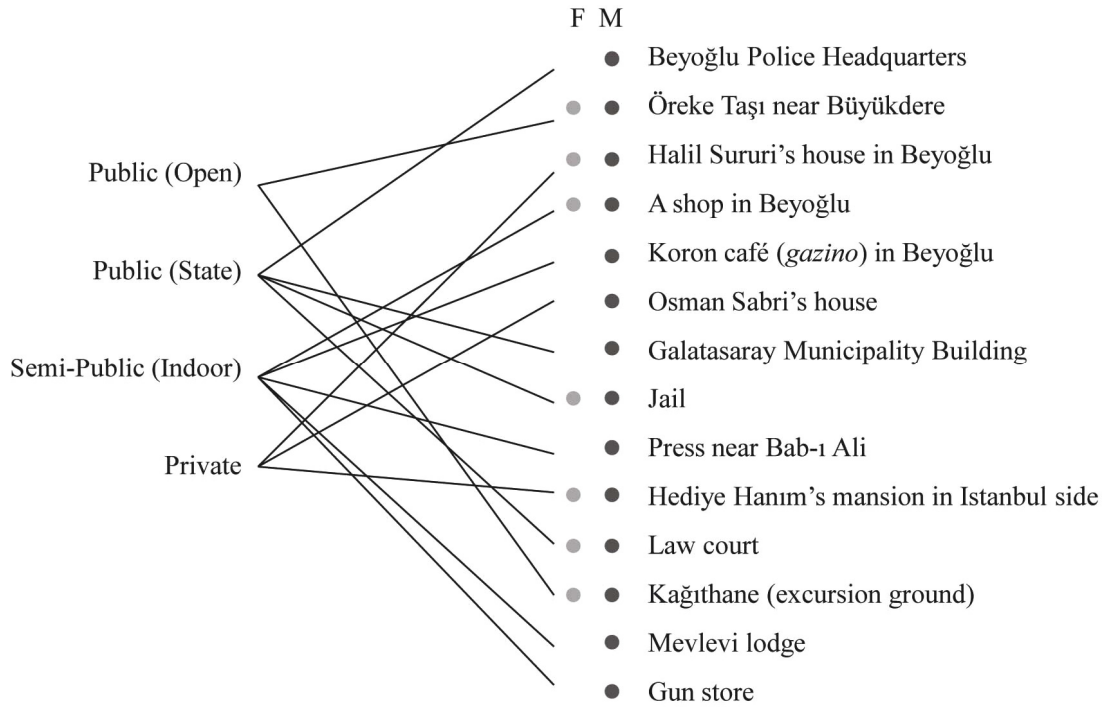


Table 3.8. The spaces in *Çingene* of Ahmet Mithat Efendi

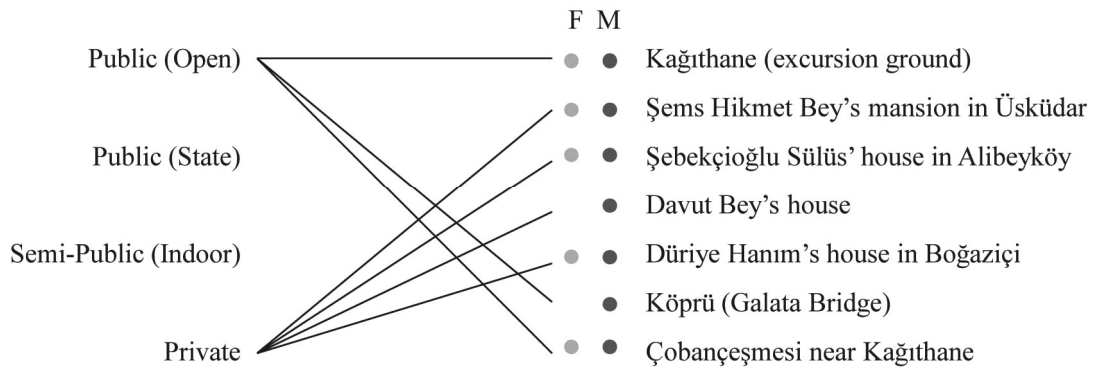
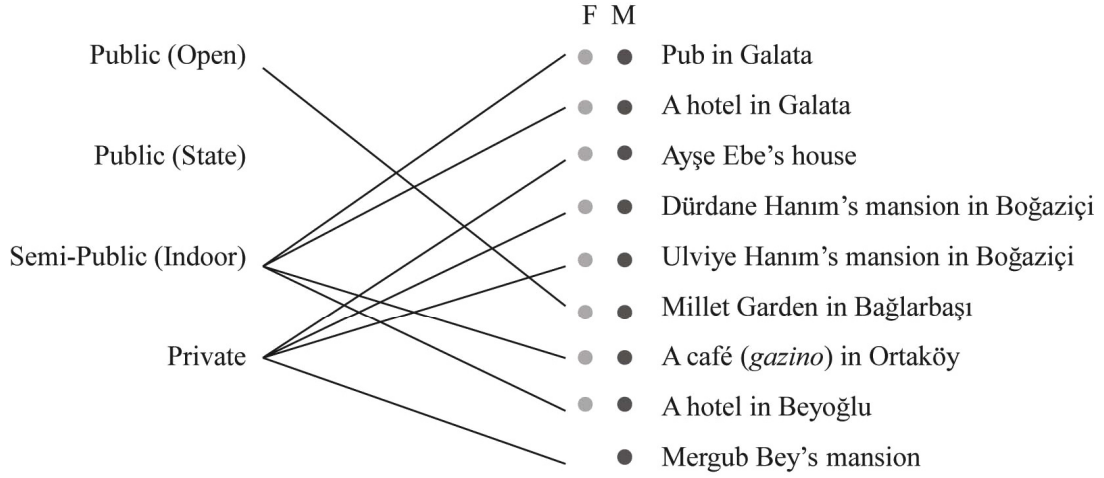
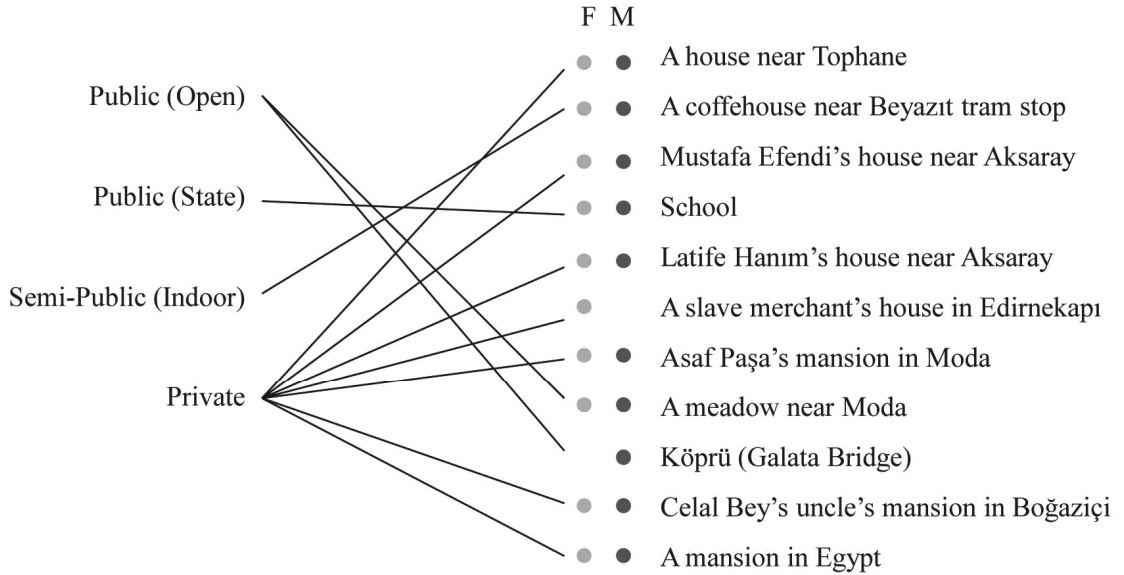


Table 3.9. The spaces in *Dürrane Hanım* of Ahmet Mithat Efendi



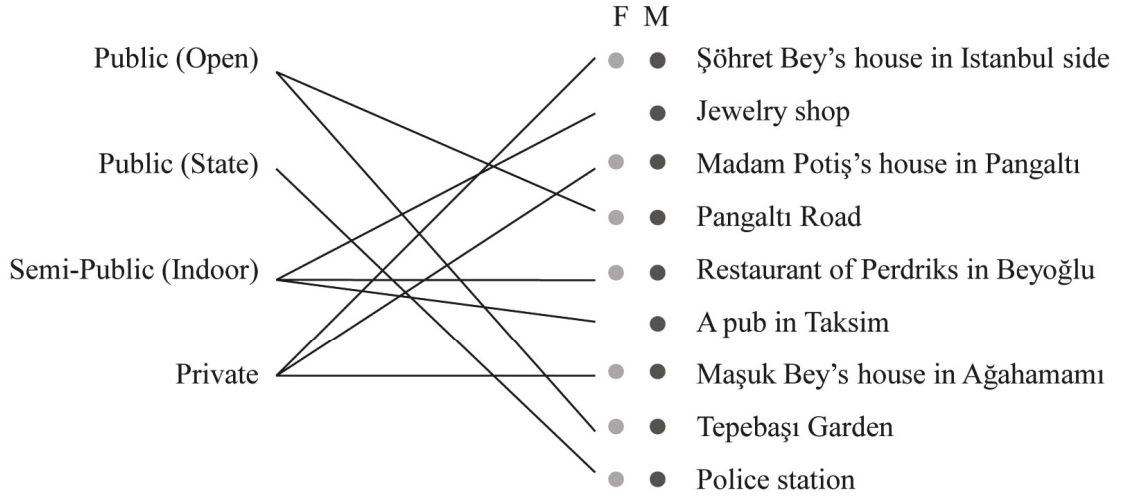
- The female character Ulviye visits semi-public spaces disguising herself as Acem Ali.

Table 3.10. The spaces in *Sergüzeşt* of Samipaşazade Sezai



- The main female character Dilber visits the coffehouse and attends school when she is in childhood.

Table 3.11. The spaces in *Şık* of Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar



- The female characters visit Tepebaşı Garden and restaurant are non-Muslim women.

Table 3.12. The spaces in *Bir Kadının Hayatı* of Mehmed Celal

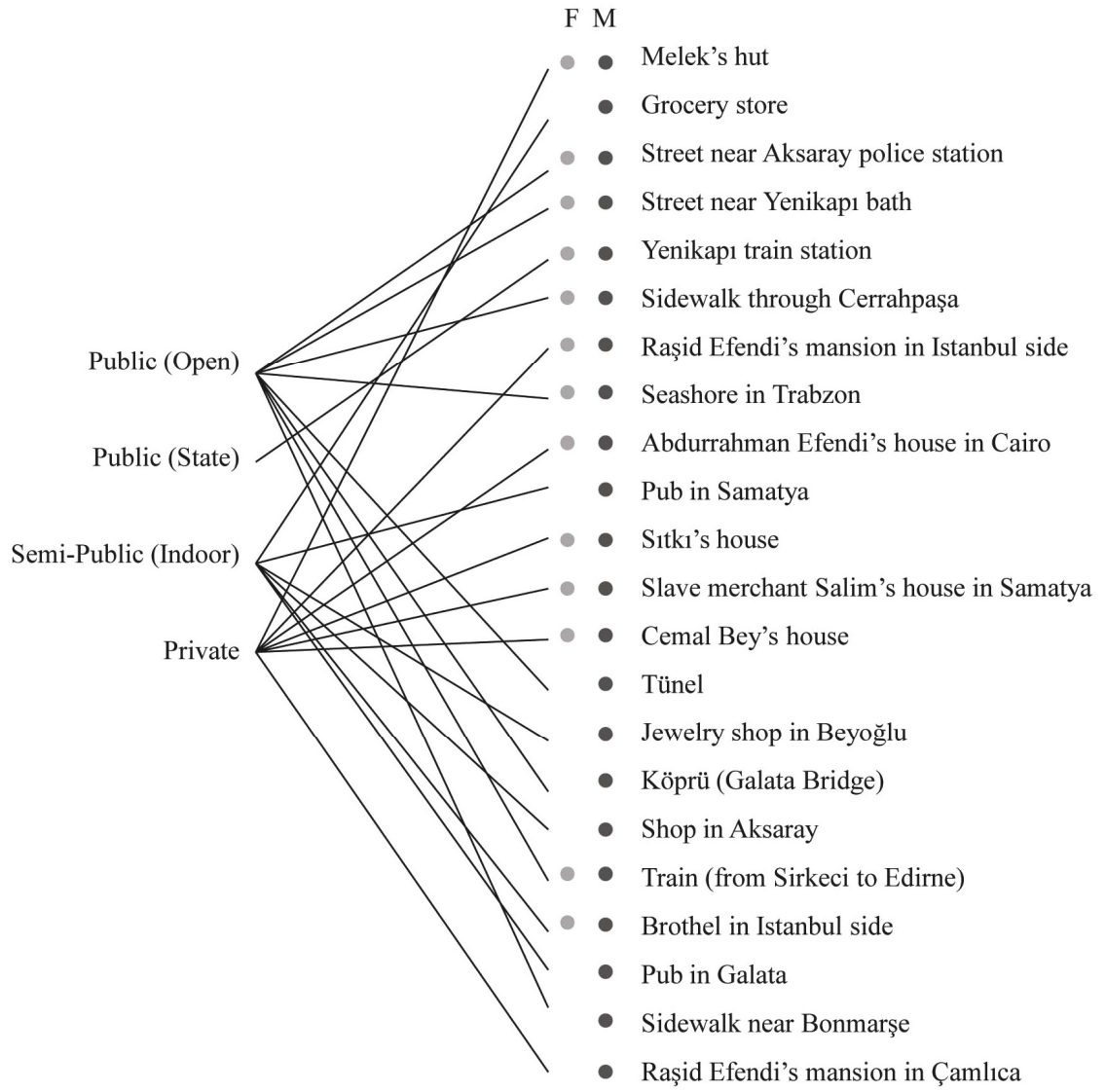
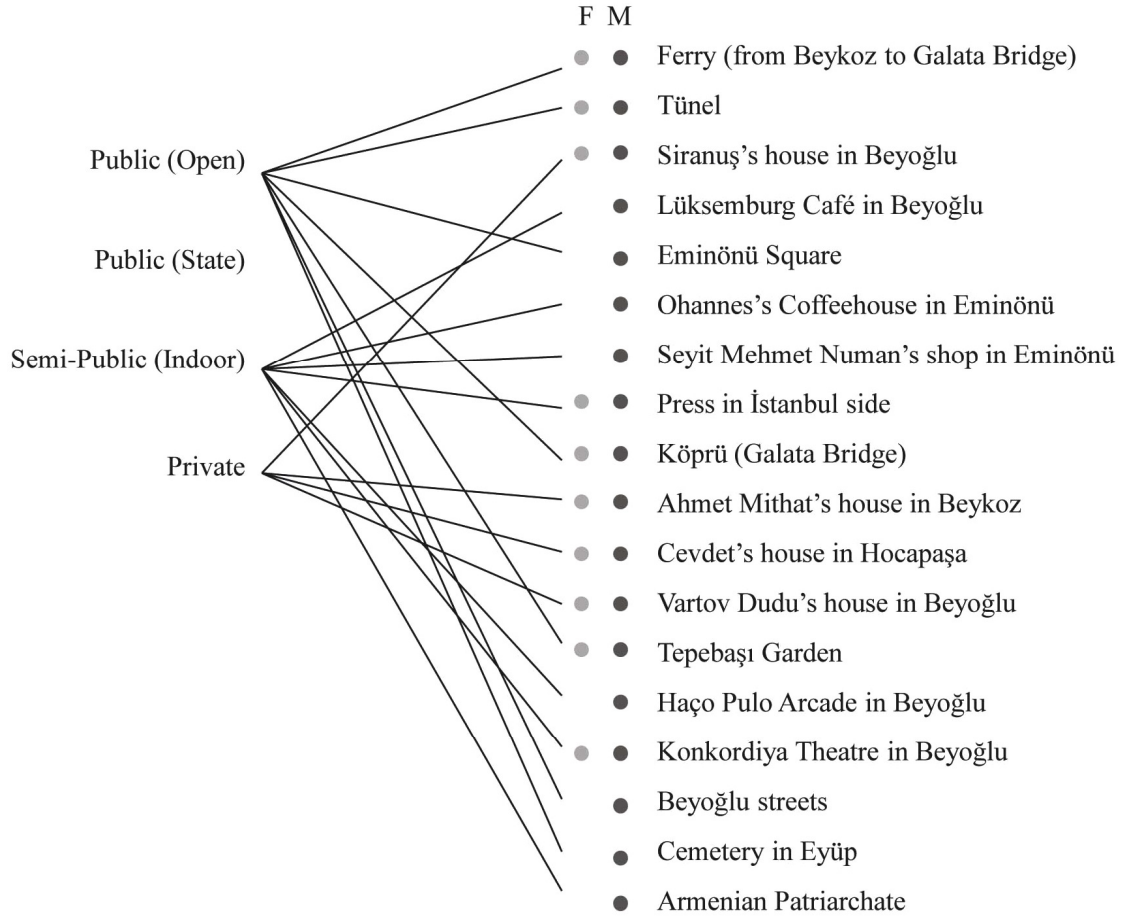


Table 3.13. The spaces in *Müşahedat* of Ahmet Mithat Efendi



- The female characters visit Tepebaşı Garden and the theatre are non-Muslim women.

Table 3.14. The spaces in *Turfanda Mı Yoksa Turfa Mı?* of Mizancı Mehmet Murat

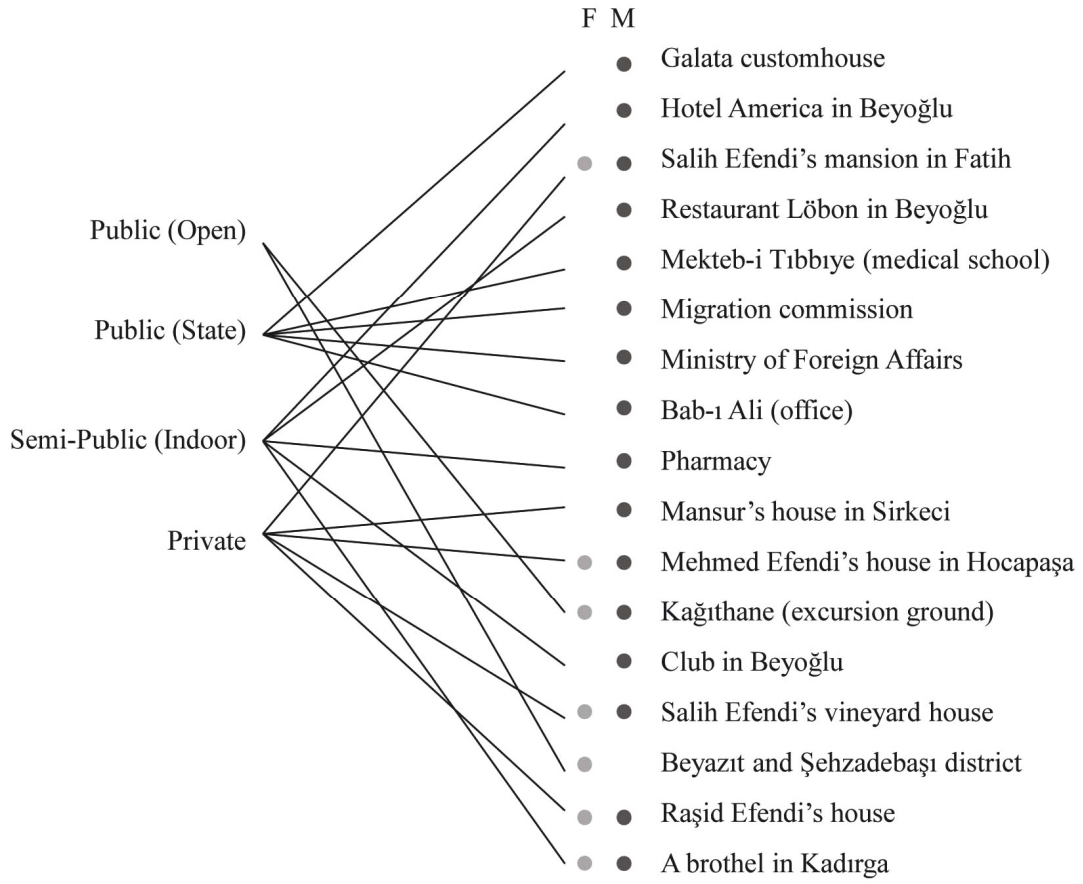


Table 3.15. The spaces in *Muhaderat* of Fatma Aliye Hanım

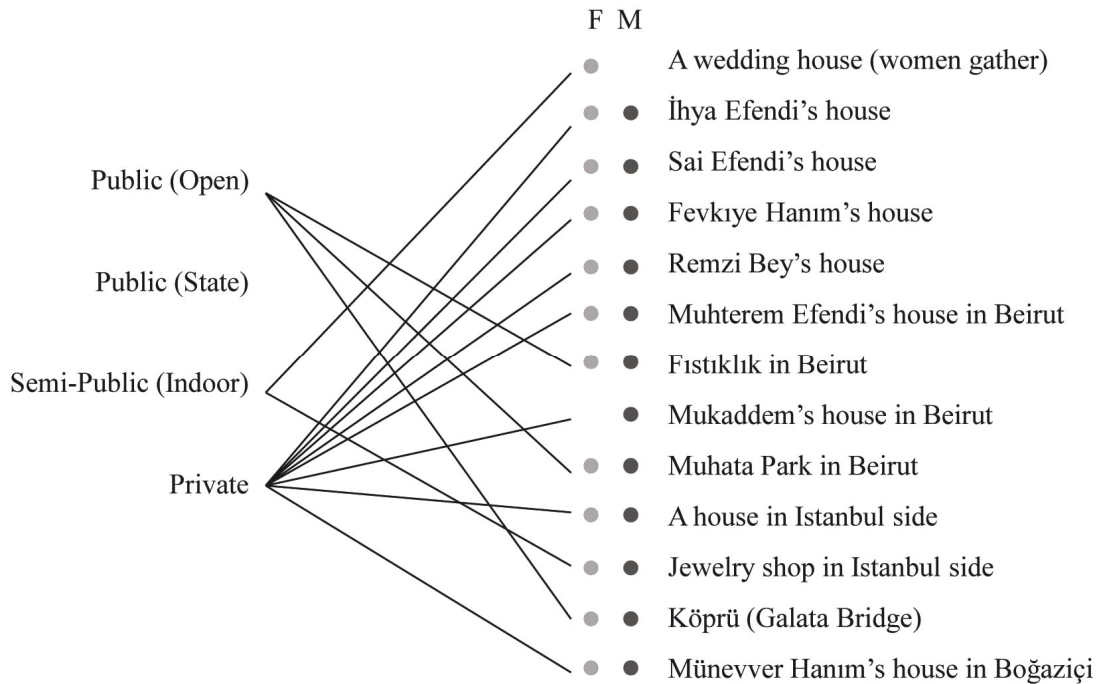


Table 3.16. The spaces in *Araba Sevdası* of Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem

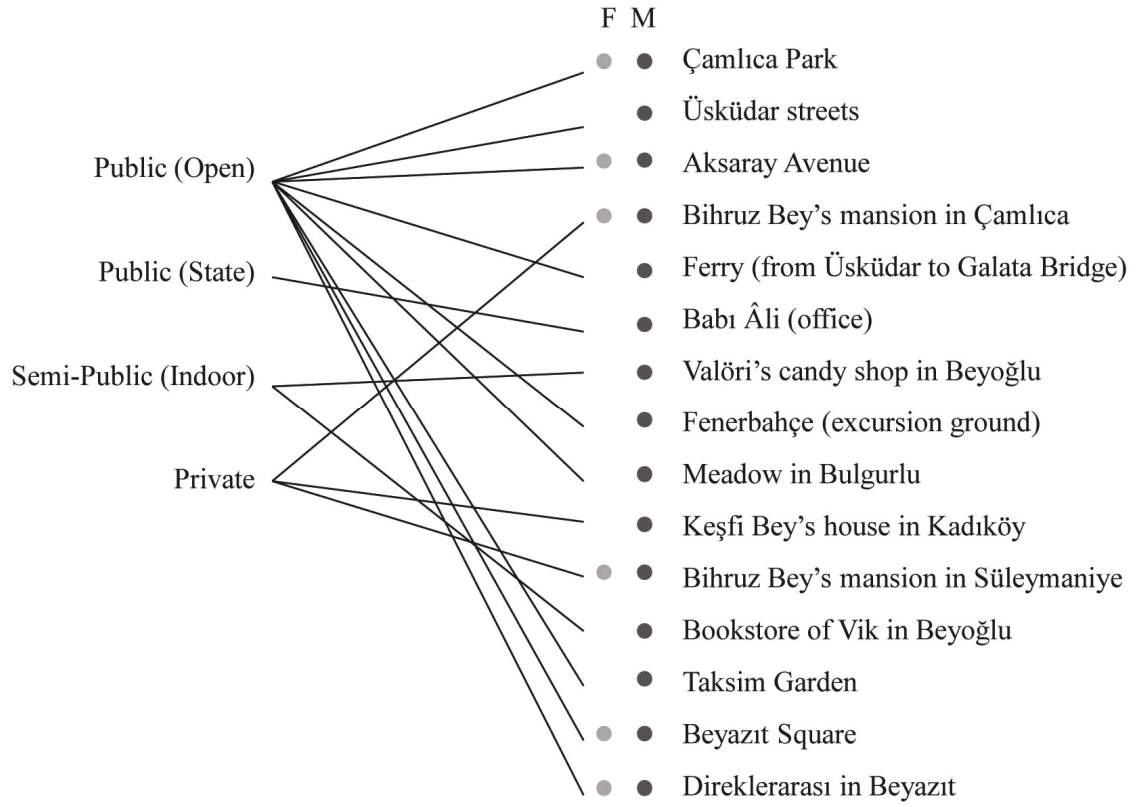


Table 3.17. The spaces in *Zehra* of Nabizade Nazım

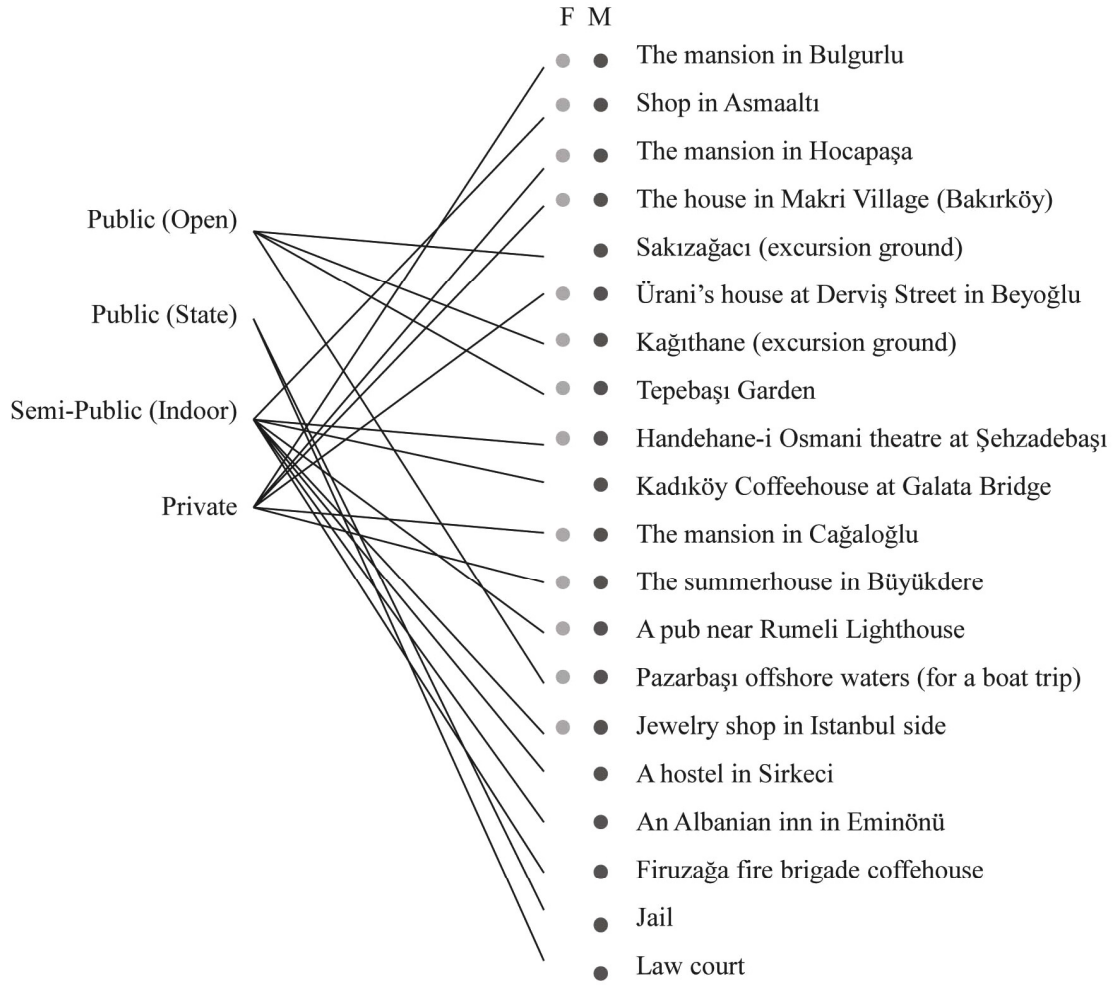


Table 3.18. The spaces in *İffet* of Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar

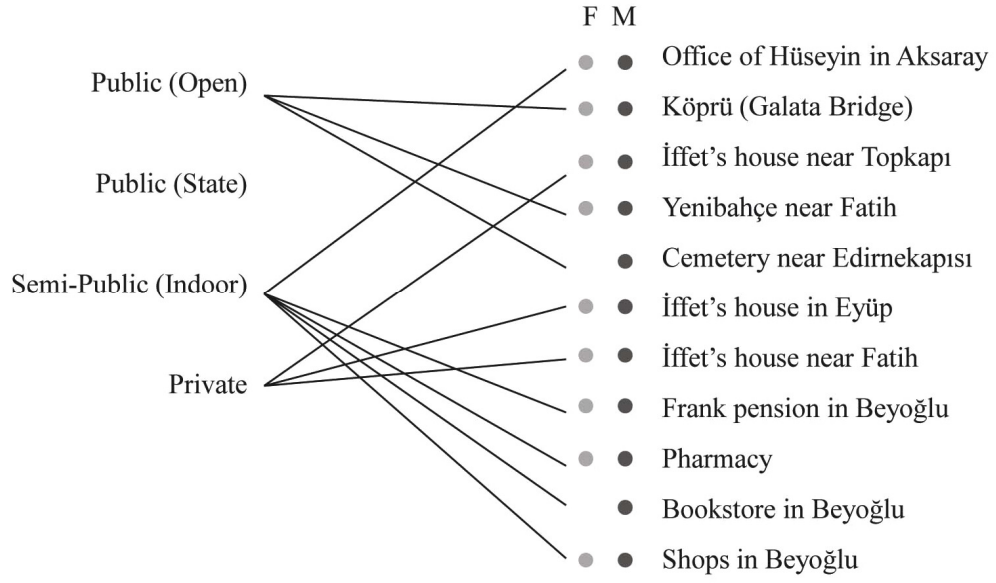


Table 3.19. The spaces in *Refet* of Fatma Aliye Hanım

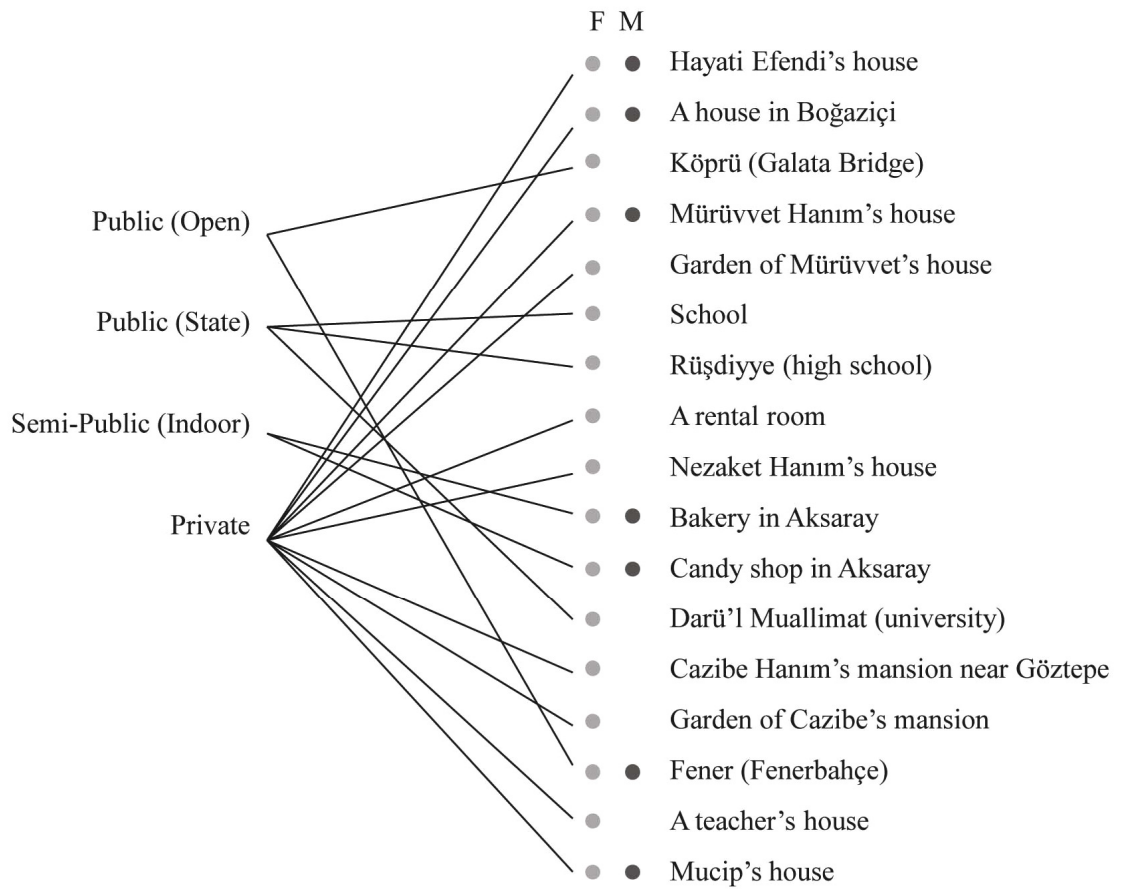


Table 3.20. The spaces in *Metres* of Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar

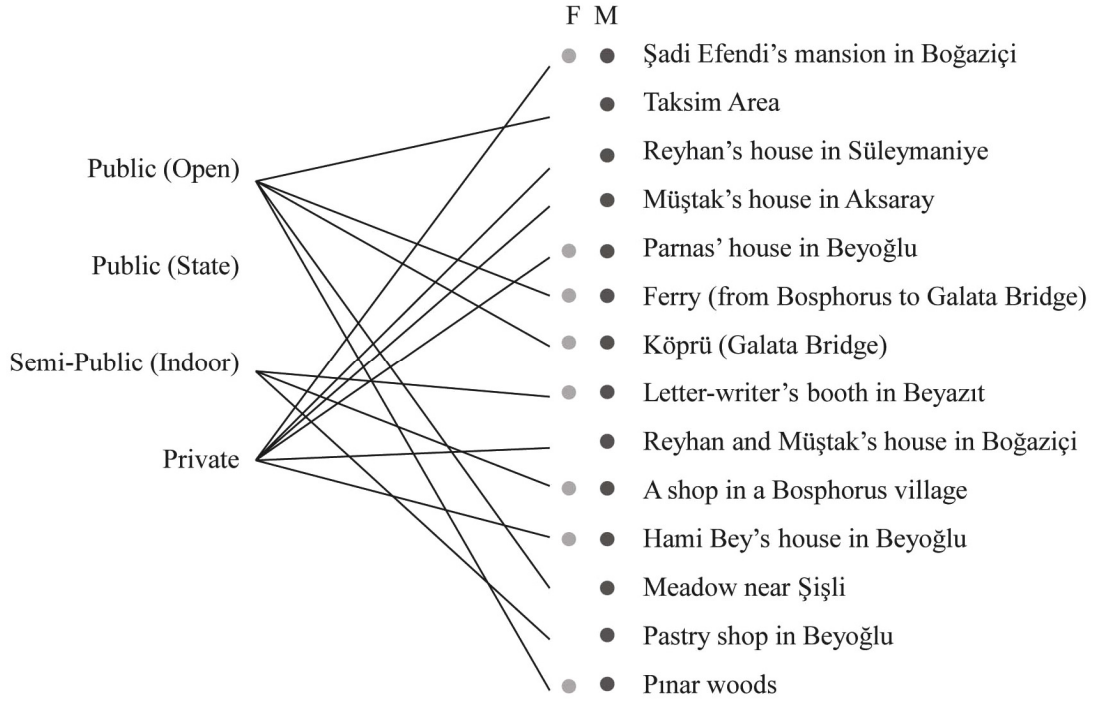


Table 3.21. The spaces in *Bir Sevdâ Denklemi* of Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar

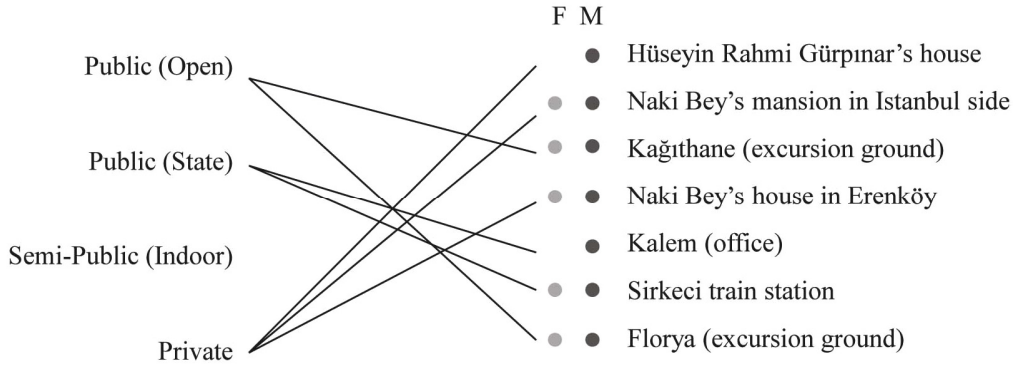


Table 3.22. Open public spaces in Tanzimat novels

Green Spaces		Streets and Squares	
Akabi H.	Büyükdere (excursion ground)	Araba S.	Aksaray Avenue
İntibah	Cemetery	Bir Kadının H.	Aksaray Streets
İffet	Cemetery in Edirnekapısı		
Müşahadat	Cemetery in Eyüp	Turfanda.	Beyazıt Square
Araba S.	Çamlıca Park (in Minor Çamlıca)	Araba S.	
Çingene	Çobançeşmesi (near Kağıthane)		
Refet	Fener (excursion ground)	Felatun B. ile R.E.	Beyoğlu Streets
Araba S.	Fenerbahçe	Müşahadat	
Muhaderat	Fıstıklık (in Beirut)		
Bir Sevda D.	Florya (excursion ground)	Bir Kadının H.	Cerrahpaşa Streets
Vah	Göksu (excursion ground)	Araba S.	Direklerarası
		Müşahadat	Eminönü Square
F B. ile R.E.		Muhaderat	Istanbul side's streets
Henüz 17 Y.		Vah	Kabataş Streets
Esrar-ı C.		Şık	Pangaltı Road
Çingene	Kağıthane (excursion ground)	Turfanda.	Şehzadebaşı
Turfanda.			
Zehra		Felatun B. ile R.E.	Taksim Square
Bir Sevda D.		Metres	
		Vah	Üsküdar Streets
İntibah		Araba S.	
Vah	Major Çamlıca		
Dürdane H.	(Millet Garden in Bağlarbaşı)	Bir Kadının H.	Yenikapı streets
Araba S.	Meadow in Bulgurlu		
Sergüzeşt	Meadow near Moda		
Metres	Meadow near Şişli		
Muhaderat	Muhata Park (in Beirut)		
Esrar-ı C.	Öreke Taşı (near Büyükdere)		
Metres	Pınar woods		
Zehra	Sakızağacı (excursion ground)		
Araba S.	Taksim Garden		
Akabi H.	Taşdelen (in Alem Dağı)		
Akabi H.	Tepebaşı (cemetery)		
Şık			
Müşahadat	Tepebaşı Garden		
Zehra			
İffet	Yenibahçe		
	(meadow near Edirnekapı)		

Table 3.23. Semi-public spaces in the Tanzimat novels

	Shops		Culture and Entertainment Spaces		Other
Akabi H.	a fashion house in Beyoğlu	Intibah	a <i>gazino</i> in Kuzguncuk a pub near Çukurbostan	F.B. ile R.E.	a hotel in Beyoğlu
T.Talat.	a tobacco shop in Laleli a shop in Beyoğlu a shop in Beyazıt	H. 17 Y.	a restaurant in Beyoğlu theatre in Beyoğlu a café in Beyoğlu a restaurant in Beyoğlu Cenyo café in Galata	İntibah Henüz 17 Y.	wedding h. public bath M's brothel
F. B. ile R.E.	a music store			Dürdane H.	a hotel in Galata a hotel in Beyoğlu
Vah	Usta Bodos's grocery A. Biraderler's photo studio a pharmacy in Beyoğlu another photo studio	Vah	a coffeehouse at Fındıklı Fubel pub in Galata a coffeehouse in Üsküdar	Bir K. H.	a brothel in Istanbul
Esrar-ı C.	a shop in Beyoğlu a gunstore	Esrar-ı C. Dürdane H.	a <i>gazino</i> in Beyoğlu a pub in Galata <i>gazino</i> in Ortaköy	Turfanda	Hotel America a brothel in Kadırga
Şık	a jewelry shop	Sergüzeşt	a café at Beyazıt	Muhaderat	wedding house
Bir K. H.	a grocery store a jewelry shop a shop in Aksaray	Şık	P. restaurant in Beyoğlu a pub in Taksim	Zehra	a hostel in Sirkeci an inn in Eminönü
Müşahadat	S.M.N.'s shop in Eminönü	Bir K. H.	a pub in Samatya a pub in Galata	İffet	Frank pension in Beyoğlu
Turfanda	a pharmacy	Müşahadat	L. café in Beyoğlu O.'s café in Eminönü K. Theatre in Beyoğlu		
Muhaderat	a jewelry shop				
Araba S.	V's candy shop in Beyoğlu Bookstore Vik in Beyoğlu	Turfanda	restaurant L. in Beyoğlu a club in Beyoğlu		
Zehra	a shop in Asmaaltı a jewelry shop at Ist. Side	Zehra	a theatre at Şehzadebaşı K. café at the Bridge a pub near Rumeli		
İffet	a pharmacy bookstore in Beyoğlu shops in Beyoğlu				
Refet	a bakery in Aksaray candy shop in Aksaray				
Metres	a letter writer's booth in Beyazıt a shop in a Bosphorus village				

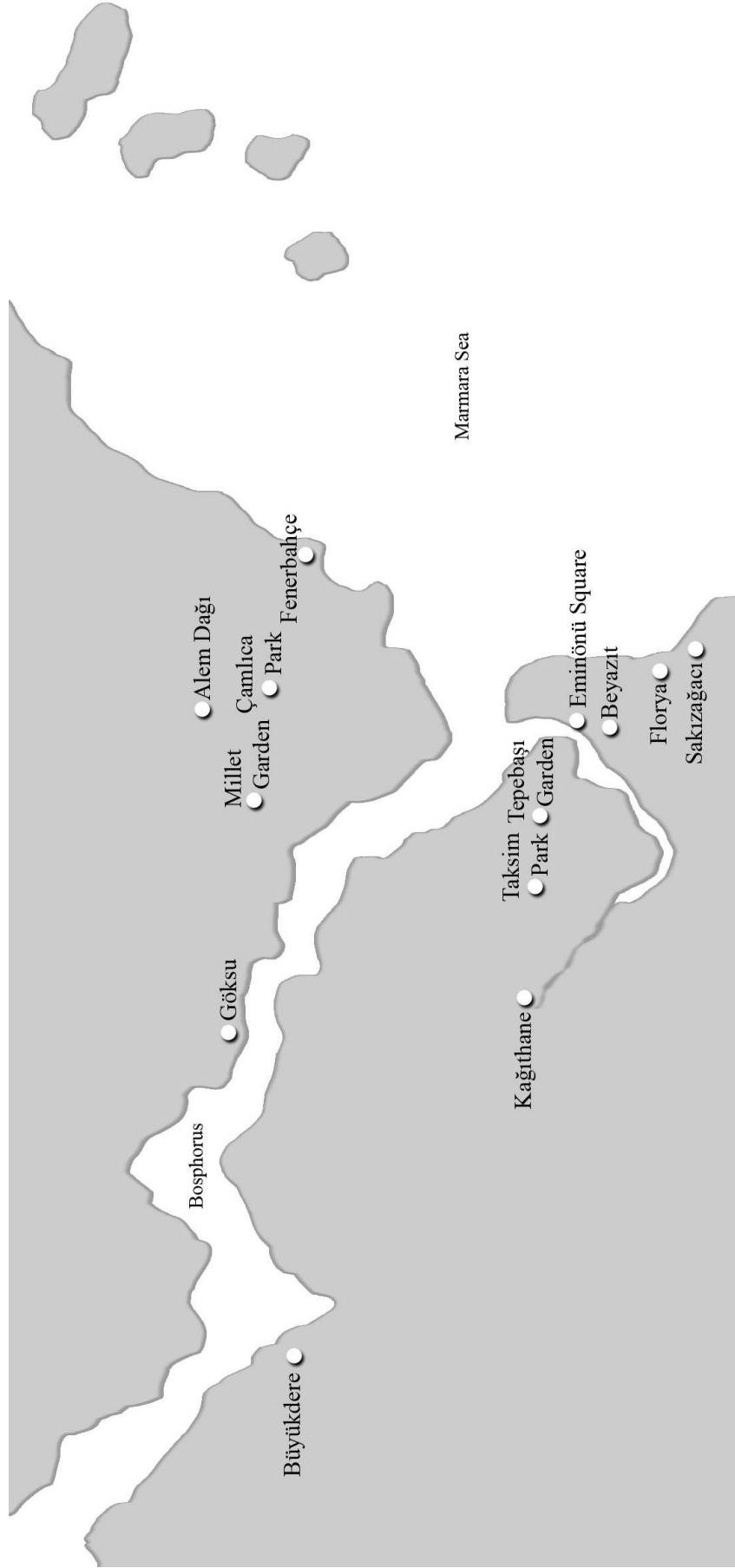


Figure 3.1. Map of the 19th century Istanbul showing the public parks and excursion grounds take place in the Tanzimat novels.

The spatio-analytical reading of the novels in this chapter shows that an excursion ground Kağıthane is the most favorite place among the open public spaces. Following, as public parks Tepebaşı Garden, Çamlıca Park and Millet Garden in Bağlarbaşı are the most preferred ones.

Also Köprü (the Galata Bridge) has an important place in the novels as the main transportation line and the connector of the two sides of the golden horn in the 19th century Istanbul.

Additionally the different physical environment of Beyoğlu is distinguished. As semi-public spaces such as cafés, pubs, theatres, restaurants and different kinds of shops are in the district of Galata-Beyoğlu, we can see that this area is frequently used as locations of the narrative.

Moreover, almost all of the public and semi-public spaces and the public buildings are used by the male characters. When we can see female characters in the public spaces, almost in none exists in the semi-public spaces. The few that visit the indoor semi-public spaces such as cafés and restaurants in Beyoğlu are non-Muslim women characters.

It is interesting to observe that authors do not usually depict any outdoor public spaces, thus it is hard to understand any physical or architectural characteristics of these spaces in that era. The exceptions are *Araba Sevdası* and *Çingene*. In *Araba Sevdası* Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem spends time in depicting the Çamlıca Park, and in *Çingene* Ahmet Mithat depicts the Kağıthane grounds and the way to get there.

Finally, when we compare public and private spaces as locations of narrated space in the novels, we can see that private spaces have much more dominance. However, the importance of the open public spaces in the storylines can be distinguished when one analyzes a novel according to its narrated time. These spaces are either revisited perpetually or are the locations of critical moments and events in the story. It is also interesting to note that the authors use these spaces to define the characters' personality. In the following section, Namık Kemal's *İntibah* is analyzed and mapped in detail according to the narrated time of the novel.

3.4. Mapping a Novel

In this part of this chapter, as a case Namık Kemal's novel *İntibah* is analyzed in detail in Table 3.24 and the spaces in the storyline are mapped (Figure 3.2).

İntibah is analyzed influenced by Gérard Genette's analytical framework in his book *Narrative Discourse*. He analyzes the narrative in five parts: order, duration, frequency, mood and voice.⁴⁰ We especially focus on the frequency and duration. To analyze the storyline in sequence gives a chance to view the frequency of the spaces that are used as locations of the story, as well as understanding the duration of an event in a corresponding space. Thus, we can deconstruct the role that certain spaces have in the narrative.

In order to measure the time of the story each two pages of the novel is counted and displayed as one unit. So with these two elements of analysis we can see the importance of the spaces in Namık Kemal's narration.

İntibah's spatial analysis is categorized into three parts: public spaces, semi-public spaces and private spaces in relation to the previous section. Additionally below each space, critical events that occur in these spaces are noted

Lastly, with this analysis we can understand the geography of the novel better as well as the importance of public spaces in relation to the rhythm of the narrative.

⁴⁰ Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse an Essay in Method* (NY: Cornell University Press, 1981).

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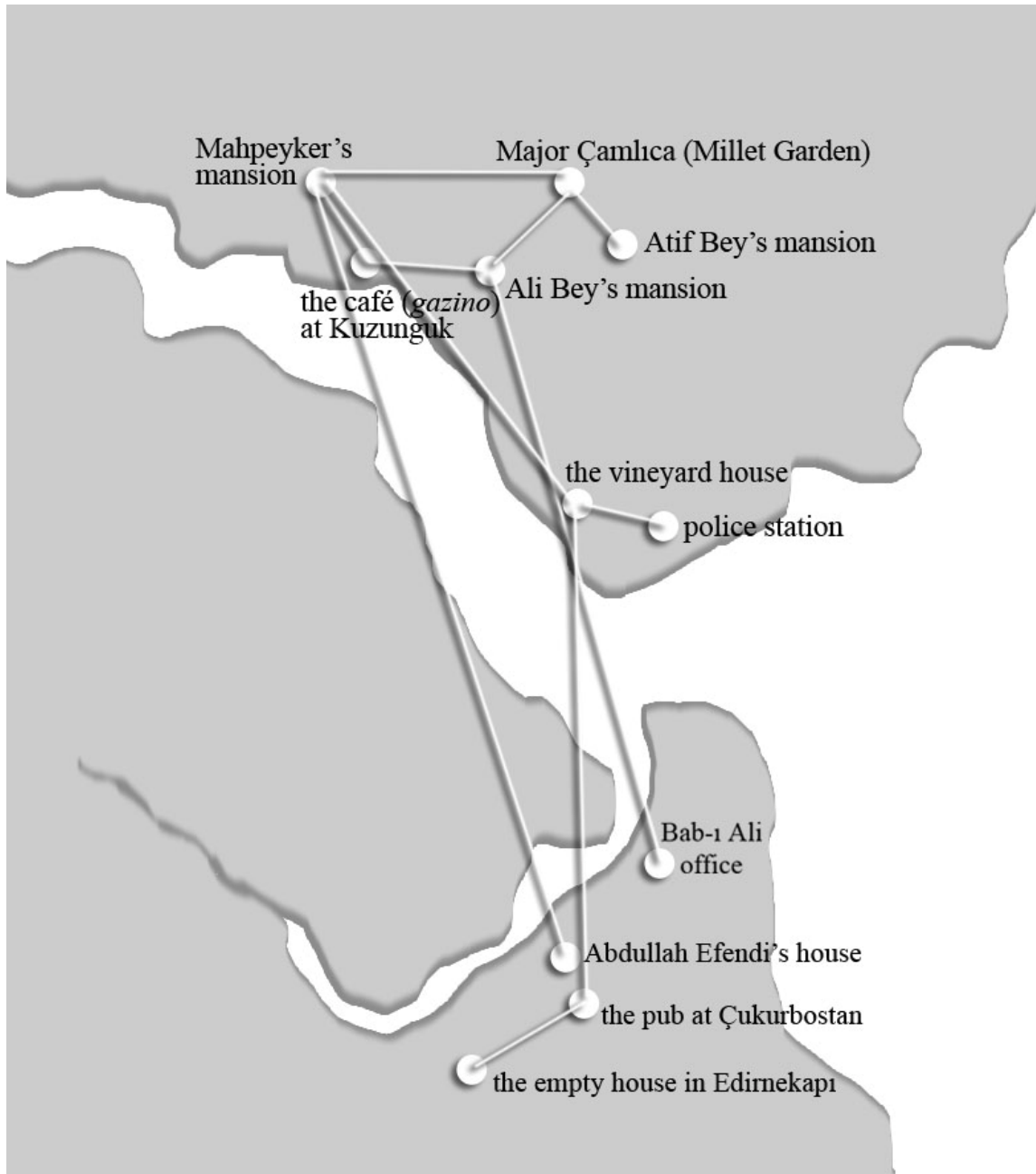


Figure 3.2. Map of the spaces in Namık Kemal's *İntibah*.

3.5. Concluding Remarks

In Chapter 3 the spaces in the novels are listed. It helps both to take inventory of the spaces in all the Tanzimat novels and to point the favorite spaces in the 19th century Istanbul. Also in these 21 tables made for each novel spaces are marked according to gender uses. So in that way, we gain a chance to review different and common spaces that male and female figures used. Additionally, in tables we see private spaces are predominant in the novels. However when the novels analyzed in detail it is seen that open public spaces are more significant than private spaces in storylines. So, as a case, *İntibah* of Namık Kemal analyzed in detail and the significance of Çamlıca as an open public space indicated on the table.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIO-SPATIAL INTERPRETATION OF THE TANZIMAT NOVELS

4.1. Stages of Visibility and Prestige

The authors of the Tanzimat Literature assert that an individual should, on one hand, have comprehensive knowledge of the western science and technology and, on the other hand, be a supporter of the Ottoman cultural values. Accordingly they criticize the ones who despise their culture with their will to apply the western fashion in their everyday life. They satirize the ones who are keen on westernization by calling them as “alafranga”.¹ As such, the authors point out that their attempts reside only in appearance. It can be seen in novels that, for those “alafranga”s to dress and to live like a westerner is an image perceived as a symbol of status. The one who has this image supposes that he has an appearance of an elite holding social prestige.

The reason for this is partly due to that fact that in the Ottoman Empire the westernization attempts were carried out by the ruling class and the elites, which gradually caused the terms westernization and upper class to overlap. In that sense, the Tanzimat authors criticized this overlap and its superficial image. Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem’s words in *Araba Sevdası* can be helpful to understand the way he used the term “alafranga”.

The incidents of the subject of this novel is not other than the disease of “alafranga” which infect, like an epidemy, some of our youngs, at first the members of the high society, afterwards the children of the officials, who have seen Europe. [...] To stroll in a natty and frankish style at the rate of their fathers’ position and finacial condition, to search for someone beating the pavements of Beyoğlu in order to say “Bonjur! Bonsuar! Vu zalle biyen?” (Good morning! Good afternoon! How are you?) in everyday from morning to night; to mix French words while speaking in Turkish; allways to hold a few French novels in their arms; coconstantly to keep a French newspaper or magazin in the way that the title of them can be read from outside, in their jacket’s side pockets; to imitate to make the money fly, to get into dept and to be proud of being illiterate in their mother tounge as assuming that Turkish is a language which is far from literature and impolite; to leave the national

¹ See *Felâhî Bey ile Rakım Efendi, Araba Sevdası, Şık, Vah, Akabi Hikayesi, Metres, Mürebbiye and Turfanda Mı Yoksa Turfa Mı?*.

traditions, national customs as much as possible are the basic skills of the indolents that we run into the examples of them today.²

The “alafranga” characters were criticized for smattering of science, literature and foreign language. At the same time they were criticized because, these characters show off their belongings such as dress, furniture, book, carriage, an attitude that does not fit into the Ottoman values. For instance, in Vartan Paşa’s *Akabi Hikayesi* (1851) the character Rupenig is satirized because of his “alafranga” attitudes. In a section of the novel Rupenig wants to lead Fulik, the girl he loves, to his room with an excuse of smoking.

Rupenig agha’s aim to lead Mrs. Fulik to his room was not to offer a cigarette. His aim was that, Sarkis agha’s son [Rupenig] wanted to show his room to Mrs. Fulik, because according to him he decorated it very well, *so-called* alafranga.³

In the following paragraphs the author adds that although Rupenig Agha’s room, had been decorated lavishly with the aim of demonstration, and was made with bad taste.

In the same novel a man “who does not like the ones carrying walking-stick” talks to his friends in Büyükdere excursion ground: “Aghas, this evening there are lots of seigneurs with tarbushes and walking-sticks.”⁴ The author gives reference to “seigneurs” in this sentence and in footnote he mentions that: “Seigneur means the one who is prone to being “alafranga” and favors the *franc* attitudes, and in that sense [that

² Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem, *Araba Sevdası* (Istanbul: Timaş, 2004), pg. 143-144. “Bu romanın konusu olan olaylar, yirmi beş, otuz yıl öncesine ait olup Avrupa görmüş bazı gençlerimizden, önceleri yüksek sosyete mensuplarına, sonraları da hali vakti yerinde yüksek memur çocuklarına, bulaşıcı bir hastalık gibi sirayet eden alafrangalık illetinden başka bir şey değildi. [...] Babalarının mevkii ve mali kudreti nispetinde frenkvari süslü gezmek, Fransızca bilir görünmek, “Bonjur! Bonsuar! Vu zalle biyen?” (Günaydın! Tünaydın! İyi misiniz?) diyebilmek için, her gün sabahtan akşama kadar Beyoğlu kaldırımlarını arşınlayarak adam aramak, Türkçe konuşurken araya Fransızca lakırdılar karıştırmak, koltuğunun altında daima Fransızca bir iki roman taşımak, Fransızca bir gazete veya dergiyi, ismi dışarıdan okunabilecek şekilde, daima ceketinin yan cebinde bulundurmak, har vurup harman savurmaya, borç etmeye özenmek ve Türkçeyi edebiyatsız, kaba bir lisan sayıp anadilinin cahili olmakla iftihar etmek, milli adetlerimizden, milli geleneklerimizden mümkün olduğu kadar sıyrılmak, örneklerine bugün de rastladığımız o zibidilerin başlıca marifetleriydi.”

³ Vartan Paşa, *Akabi Hikayesi* (Istanbul: Eren, 1991), p. 48. “Rupenig ağanın Fulik duduyu odasına götürmesinden müradı, çibık ikram itmek deyil[di]. [...] Müradı şu ki, Sarkis ağanın oğlu gendi odasına Fulik duduye göstersen, zira gendi fikrine göre pek eyi donatmış göya alafranka.”

⁴ Vartan Paşa, *Akabi Hikayesi*, p. 109. “Ağaler, bu ahşam çok bastonlu fesli sinyorlar var.”

means] he is so-called jabber.”⁵ Hence, the author not only insinuates his opinion in the text of the novel, but articulates it by giving a footnote.

Another well known “alafranga” of Tanzimat Literature is Felatun Bey from Ahmet Mithat’s *Felatun Bey ile Rakım Efendi*. But according to the author the real “alafranga” is Felatun Bey’s father Mustafa Merakı Efendi who is the reason of Felatun’s “alafranga” upbringing.

Our Mustafa Merakı Efendi was a man with western affectation. Moreover, do you know what kind of an obsessive man with west he is? You know, there used to be people obsessive with west in Istanbul about fifteen or twenty years ago? Well, he was one of them. He was well-situated, very well-situated indeed. Although he was from Üsküdar and he had a nice residence, vineyards and orchards there, he sold all his property not caring for whether they were sold cheap or expensive to live in an abstract and European style. On a land in the neighborhood of Tophane close to Beyoğlu, he built a nice house and settled there. You can understand the level of his interest in European style from the fact that he built his house as a stone building to realize the absolute European style.⁶

In this section the author disapproves Mustafa Merakı’s decision to move from Üsküdar to Tophane and change his house with a garden, which was probably constructed with wood, with a new one constructed with stone masonry. Here we see two decisions of the character associated with the desire to be westernized; the change of neighborhoods and the change in the building style. And perhaps more importantly Ahmet Mithat almost blames his character for selling his house, garden, and furniture for a less price. Such an act can be interpreted as being parallel to the Empire’s loss of control on the lands due to its diminishing economic power.

In the following pages of the novel Ahmet Mithat satirizes the attitudes of Felatun Bey, who was raised up in an “alafranga” way. Felatun is a man who does not care about his work, wants to appear in the public by going to Kağıthane on crowded days and wastes his family fortune with his mistress.

Besides these two “alafranga”s, Şatırzade Şöhret Bey, the main character of Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar’s *Şık* is another case of the same theme. Similar to Felatun

⁵ Vartan Paşa, *Akabi Hikayesi*, p. 109. “Sinyor manası alafrangaye meyillu olan ve efrenc hal’lerini makbul’ tutan kimseyi anğlatdırır, ve bu suretde göya zevzek.”

⁶ Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Felatun Bey ile Rakım Efendi* (İstanbul: Beyaz Balina, 2005), pg. 11-12. “Bizim Mustafa Merakı Efendi batı özentili bir adamdı. Hem de hangi batı takıntılı adamlardandır, bilir misiniz? Haniya bundan onbeş yirmi yıl önce İstanbul’da batı takıntılılar yok muydu? İşte onlardan. Hâli vakti pek yolunda hem de pek yolunda olduğundan kendisi zaten Üsküdarlı olduğu ve orada güzel konağı, bağı, bahçesi dahi bulunduğu hâlde soyut alafranga, yani rahat yaşamak için bütün malını ucuza pahalıya bakmayarak satıp gelmiş, Tophane’nin Beyoğlu’na yakın bir mahallesinde arsasından güzel bir ev yaptırıp yerleşmişti. Alafrangaya olan merakın derecesini şundan anlayınız ki yaptırdığı ev mutlaka alafranga olmak için taş bina şeklinde yaptırılmıştı.”

Bey and the other significant dandies of Tanzimat Literature, Şatırzade Şöhret Bey is eager to look like a westerner. According to Gürpınar, Şöhret Bey's will of being modern is only in appearance. So he can be called "alafranga". In that sense Gürpınar, humiliatingly, names the character and the book as *Şık*, which means chic.⁷ Gürpınar narrates that, if Şöhret has some money, he wants to spend it in favorite places in Beyoğlu with his mistress and his latest fashion clothes on. However, his costumes are not prepared by elite dressmakers of Beyoğlu. Because, unlike Felatun Bey, Şöhret neither earns lots of money nor has a family inheritance. But he is oblivious to his situation and for the sake of his "alafranga" appearance he steals his mother's jewelries and his friends' belongings.

Şatırzade Şöhret Bey believes that the only missing point in his "westernized" appearance is to own a dog. His mistress, Potiş, knows how obsessive he is on showing his "alafranga" life style; does her best to find a dog from her friends. When she cannot get one she finds a stray dog and name it Drol. In French *drôle* means funny, odd and strange. To make sure it seems like an expensive and a rare breed dog, she sews a hat for the dog which makes it more *drôle*. Şöhret believes that it is a special dog and wants to show it off. So he and Potiş decide to stroll in Beyoğlu with their pet. However Drol causes many funny situations to its odd owners. It is ironic to see that Şöhret's story and Drol's adventures become intertwined in the book. According to the storyline it can be asserted that there are some similarities between Şöhret and this dog: Şöhret wears *a la mode* cloths to look a special man. Madam Potiş makes a hat for the dog to make it look like a rare breed dog. Drol steals food from the kitchens of luxuries restaurants in Beyoğlu. Similarly Şöhret robs his friends; and these situations lead trouble for both of them.

In a sense Gürpınar portrays Şöhret as *drôle* as Drol. Gürpınar humiliates this "alafranga" character, first by naming the book *Şık*, and then by making connections with him and the stray dog. The difference between Şatırzade Şöhret Bey and the other "alafranga" characters is that he is neither rich nor elite like them. . But he believes that if he carries the symbols of the "alafranga" and frequents popular places in Beyoğlu, then he would look like a member of upper class.

Araba Sevdası is a prime example of criticizing the upper class members' will of becoming a westerner. However, it needs attention that, in *Araba Sevdası* Recaizade

⁷ Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, *Şık* (İstanbul: Özgür, 2005), p. 27.

Mahmut Ekrem includes this criticized upper class's point of view in the novel. Especially the author expresses the meanings attributed by the upper class to the public spaces and other social classes through Bihruz Bey's opinions.

Bihruz Bey is the son of a bureaucrat father, an "alafranga" who does not miss any opportunity to show off his status in the public. He buys his dresses at Terzi Mir, the most popular dressmaker of Beyoğlu, he never carries handkerchiefs that do not have brand name on them, his carriage is bought from the Bender Factory, which was then a preferred company in Beyoğlu and even on his carriage there is gilded "M.B.", initials of his name as Monsieur Bihruz. In fact, he is displaying himself like all the things that he purchased. Besides, the spaces that he spends time in have to have a social value, a prestige space where he can show off his appearance in public.

Çamlıca Park is the prime public space for Bihruz to show off his statue. As reads a passage in the novel, with the news that Çamlıca Park would open in the spring of 1870, "to benefit from this entertainment space various families rent houses and mansions at surrounding of Çamlıca, Bulgurlu, Kısıklı, Tophanelioğlu and Bağlarbaşı."⁸ Bihruz and his mother is one of these families. Recaizade writes Bihruz's will of moving to Çamlıca and his interest to Çamlıca Park:

When Bihruz Bey heard of the opening of Çamlıca Park before everyone at the beginning of March he swayed his mother to move to the summerhouse. The other day of their move to Minor Çamlıca, he immediately went to the public garden and interrogated the whole area and realized that this place is a favorable promenade to show off his elegance and alafranga style to everyone.⁹

It can be said that the reason why Bihruz thinks Çamlıca Park is appropriate for his elegance is the newness of the organization of the park. Thus Recaizade states that "Here is a park called Çamlıca Garden which was first to be arranged in Istanbul and open to public."¹⁰ Then he describes the features of Çamlıca Park in detail:

⁸ Recaizade, *Araba Sevdası*, p. 10.

⁹ Recaizade, *Araba Sevdası*, p. 16. "Çamlıca Parkı'nın açılacağını herkesten önce haber alan Bihruz Bey, daha mart başlarında annesini zorlaya zorlaya sayfiyeye taşınmaya razı etmiş, Küçük Çamlıca'daki köşke taşındıklarının ertesi günü hemen jarden poblik'e (umumi bahçe, park) koşarak içini, dışını alıcı gözüyle incelemiş ve burasının bilhassa şıklığını, alafrangalığını en kör gözlere bile göstermeye pek favorabl (elverişli, uygun) bir promönad (gezinti) yeri olabileceğini [anlamıştı]."

¹⁰ Recaizade, *Araba Sevdası*, p. 8. "Burası Çamlıca Bahçesi adıyla İstanbul'da en önce düzenlenen ve halkın istifadesine açılan parktır."

[...] [Y]ou see a structure like a pergola in the middle of a level ground and cottage style small buildings on [the sides of] the paths. You understand that [...] the pergola-like structure is a space for the musicians to perform in special days and the small cottages are built as buffets for selling food and drink, and you like them all.¹¹

Additionally, we understand from the definitions that there were artificial lakes, bridges, elegant cottages and a café.

When you move ahead a little, a big lake, a cute island in the middle of it and bridges connecting the island to the shore, with arbitrarily built fences, which give them naturalistic look, catch your eyes. On the island you see again an elegant cottage that was made of timber. [...] When you exit from the upper gate and pass the square, if you look at the building rising on the level, you immediately understand that it is a café and you confirm that this garden is a perfect park in all aspects of it.¹²

Recaizade also writes about landscaping, cottages, pools and benches as the striking features of the Çamlıca Park.

[...] There were many beautiful trees, flowers and grass beautifying the gardens. Apart from these, the elegant cottages and pools were pleasing the eyes of the viewers and beautifying here still more. Many colorful benches were settled both sides of the roads for the ones who tired of strolling. All these attractive features were reducing the public demand to the other strolling areas of Istanbul and were pulling even the ones inhabiting in furthest districts.¹³

After the opening of Çamlıca Park, like most of the inhabitants of Istanbul, Bihruz goes there for strolling and driving his carriage constantly. Çamlıca Park is a prestige area for Bihruz where there is and must be people who can appreciate his elegance and his “alafranga” style, which is basically him being “European”. His aim is to show his car and stylishness and be the most “European” among his “alafranga” piers. But one Sunday he observes the peddlers selling Turkish delight, hundreds of

¹¹ Recaizade, *Araba Sevdası*, p. 9. “[...] [B]ir düzlüğün ortasında üstü kapalı, etrafı açık kameriyemsi bir şey ve bazı kenar yollar üzerinde kulübe tarzında muntazam ufak ufak binalar görürsünüz. Bunlardan kameriyeye benzeyen şeyin, önemli günlerde çalmak ve okumak için getirtilecek saz takımına mahsus bir yer ve o kulübeciklerin de yiyecek içecek satışı için yapılmış birer büfe olduğunu anlar, bunları da beğenirsiniz.”

¹² Recaizade, *Araba Sevdası*, p. 9. “Biraz daha ilerleyince büyük bir göl, onun ortasında şirin bir adacık ve bu adanın kıyı ile irtibatını sağlamak üzere, düzensiz bir şekilde, gelişigüzel yapılan ve ilk bakışta insana tabiiymiş hissini veren çitten köprüler gözüne çarpar. Adanın üstünde yine işlenmemiş ağaç dallarından ve kütüklerden yapılmış zarif bir köşk görürsünüz. [...] En yukarıdaki kapıdan çıkarak mimli meydancığı geçtikten sonra, set üzerinde yükselen deminki binaya biraz dikkatlice bakarsanız bunun bir gazino olduğunu hemen anlar ve bu bahçenin her bakımdan mükemmel bir park olduğunu tasdik edersiniz.”

¹³ Recaizade, *Araba Sevdası*, p. 11. “[...] [B]ahçeleri süsleyen güzel manzaralı ağaç, çiçek ve çimenlerin her çeşidi bol bol mevcuttu. Bunlardan başka, zarif köşkler ve havuzlar seyredenlerin gözlerini okşuyor, burasını bir kat daha güzelleştiriyordu. Dolaşmaktan yorulanların oturup dinlenmeleri için yolların iki tarafına renk renk birçok banklar konmuştu. Bütün bu çekici şeyler, İstanbul’un diğer gezinti yerlerine karşı halkın rağbetini azaltıyor; en uzak semtlerde oturanları bile buraya çekiyordu.”

common people with shalwar and girdles in the Çamlıca Park and gets upset about this. According to Bihruz these people do not belong to the Çamlıca Park and they cannot turn it into a carnival area.¹⁴ Bihruz Bey cannot accept the common class in the Çamlıca Park, and thinks that they spoil the prestige of the place.

Bihruz regards not only common people visiting Çamlıca Park strange but also the districts which do not suit his understanding and lifestyle. As mentioned before he thinks that Periveş Hanım, whom he had seen in a stylish landau, is a high class lady because he expects everyone in Çamlıca Park belonging to the elite. It has to be mentioned that, not only the park, but the type and style of the carriage helps misleading Bihruz Bey in his opinions about where certain class members can have and belong. . For instance when Keşfi mentions that he recognizes the woman from his neighborhood Kadıköy, Bihruz responds in his mind: “That’s impossible...In a bourgeois quarter (middle class neighborhood) like Kadıköy, there exists such a chich equipage...”¹⁵ It can be said that Bihruz saw the carriage as a symbol of status and disregarded Kadıköy. In fact the writer adds these sentences after Bihruz’ thoughts:

He could not associate this elegant landau with Kadıköy; because Bihruz Bey acquired some strange opinions as a result of his friendship with highly European style men such as dividing the districts of Istanbul to three divisions whose first one is for nobles like him, civilized gentlemen with nobility and esteem, second one for bourgeoisie class which were not so aware of civilized opinions and who were rude-spirited with moderate means; and the third one is for trades people. However, when a social classification like this becomes subject of discussion, it would be more appropriate to classify Kadıköy not as the second but as the first class.¹⁶

Here it is interesting to see that Recaizade wants the readers to know that even though the stratification made by Bihruz may be incorrect, it is more important that placing Kadıköy to lower level and associating the neighborhood with the middle class is more of a mistake, when Kadıköy should belong to the upper level with the other

¹⁴ Recaizade, *Araba Sevdası*, pg. 95-99.

¹⁵ Recaizade, *Araba Sevdası*, p. 20. “Ne münasebet... Kadıköy gibi burjuva kartiye’de (orta tabaka mahallesi) bu derece şık bir ekipaj bulunsun...”

¹⁶ Recaizade, *Araba Sevdası*, p. 20. “Bu zarif landoyu Kadıköy’üne yakıştıramıyordu; çünkü pek alafranga beylerle arkadaşlık ede ede onlardan edindiği bazı garip fikirler cümlesinden olarak Bihruz Bey, İstanbul’un mahallelerini, birincisi kendi gibi nobles yani asalet ve itibar sahibi olan sivilize (medeni) kibarlara; ikincisi burjuva sınıfına, yani medeni fikirlerden pek o kadar haberi olmayan kaba tabiatlı orta halli halka; üçüncüsü de esnaf takımına mahsus olmak üzere üç bölüme, üç sınıfa ayırıyordu. Hâlbuki böyle sosyal sınıflandırma bahis konusu olduğu takdirde Kadıköy’ünü ikinci değil, hatta birinci sınıfa dâhil etmek elbette daha doğru olurdu.”

“civilized” neighborhoods. Moreover he states that Bihruz’s “weird ideas” are due to his friends, who are in love with the “alafranga” ideals.

Another example commenting on the disjunction between the “westernized” and the “traditional” members of society can be observed in the novel *İffet* of Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar. A family accepting the westernizing ideals of the period is portrayed being uncommon and highly criticized by the traditionalist people. The main character İffet had received a western style education and pursued an elite life style before his family lost its fortunes. However Gürpınar writes that İffet’s family is different from the other western admirers and is “westernized in the right way”. They do not belong to the “alafranga” class and live in the Fatih district. The hardship the family faces after the father’s death force them to move to inner parts of Istanbul. As their income decreases they move further away from the center and start to live in an area near Edirnekapı. But the traditionalists who have been living in the area do not want to accept them. They criticize the family’s dressing style and behavior. One of the women on the street, Gülsüm, gossips about İffet and her family “Arrogance arrogance arrogance, [...] since they have arrived to [this] quarter they did not serve a cup of coffee to anyone” and criticizes İffet’s outfit “If you see she goes out in such an outfit... Silk jilbab...On her hip [there is] a cupola like a parcel, lacily umbrella...”¹⁷ Gülsüm’s words show that İffet and her family do not belong to that quarter.

The middle class and the elite criticize each other and the areas that each occupy in the Tanzimat novels. The writers who critically look at this situation do not belong to either the middle class or the elite. The writers who criticize both the ignorance of the people and the extravagance of the elite have in-between positions. . They are as far away from a woman like “Gülsüm” as they are close to an “alafranga” like Bihruz. In that sense Ahmet Mithat’s Rakım Efendi character, who is portrayed as both internalizing the science and technology of the west and preserving the Ottoman social and cultural values at the same time, can be acknowledged as a suggested model of the Tanzimat.

¹⁷ Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, *İffet* (Istanbul: Özgür, 1998), p. 54. “Kibir kibir kibir, [...] mahalleye geldikleri günden beri kimseye bir fincan acı kahve içirmediler.” and “Sokağa bir kılıkta çıkar ki görseniz... İpekli çarşaf... Kıcının üstünde bohça kadar bir kümbet, dantelalı şemsiye...”

4.2. Spaces of Sin: Appearance of Woman in Public Spaces

Nilüfer Göle points out that the case of woman gaining visibility in the public area is “the milestone of turning to west”, when women’s appearance in the public is modernization (*asrileşme*)” for the supporters of westernization it is degeneration (*yozlaşma*) for the traditionalists’ point of view.¹⁸ In this context the Tanzimat writers also displayed a traditionalist behavior regarding the visibility of women in the public. This position is based on the relationship between the issue of virtue and having a presence in the public, where she can observe and be observed openly in the society. However if one looks at the Tanzimat novels in the context of the period’s social norms and cultural values one can observe that the writers are making radical statements for their time about the visibility of women. For the matters of virtue, it is closely related with the visibility of women in public places: excursion areas, parks, and streets, especially the streets considered to be not appropriate.

In the novels the situations faced in the excursion areas in Kağıthane or Göksu and Çamlıca Park describe current practice of leisure and entertainment. According to the point of view of the writers of the era, the understanding of fun is going to these places with carriage and view the crowd. It is also mentioned that men and women come together in these public spaces and sometimes men use this as an opportunity for courting, sending letters, or making inappropriate innuendoes to these women. The writers especially refer to this point and insinuate that if women go these places anyhow then they are not uncomfortable and disturbed with this situation so they cannot be chaste (*iffetli*).

Generally the female characters cast as virtuous are placed in the plot and in the scenes occurring in the inside or in enclosed harem gardens; frivolous (*hafif meşrep*) female characters on the other hand are placed in the open areas, public parks or streets in the narration.

In the novel *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?* by Mizancı Mehmed Murad Zehra Hanım, who is one of the main characters in the story, is depicted as being a model of a virtuous woman. Accordingly she is always seen inside the mansion that she lives in or in its private garden. Zehra is depicted as, besides being beautiful and smart, as hardworking, fond of reading and writing and a talented person. The writer introduces

¹⁸ Nilüfer Göle, *Modern Mahrem Medeniyet ve Örtünme* (Istanbul: Metis, 1991), p. 42.

Sabiha Hanım as an opposite character to Zehra. While talking about the extraordinary beauty of Zehra writer also warns the reader about the qualities of Sabiha, who does not have much indication of brilliance and all she cares about is her physical beauty, to roam the excursion spots, to wander around with boat in the moonlight, and to impress men with her sexuality. In addition to these two characters, there is also Gelin Hanım whose only care is going out and having fun like Sabiha Hanım. One day these three go to Kağıthane for an excursion. Sabiha and Gelin Hanım do not care about the innuendoes and words from the men around them and take them lightly. Zehra gets very mad and says “What an outrage, how shameful!” and adds “Government at least should ban this.”¹⁹ After saying this, an envelope thrown to their carriage infuriates her even more.

— (Zehra) How would this fellow dare send us a letter? And, why do you accept and read the letter of this fellow?

— (Sabiha) Oh my dear, it is none of your business? People come here to have a fun. What is it to you?

— (Zehra) It is none of my business? Did you say what is it to me? Come on, let’s leave our shame behind. If there is no chastity and dignity in women generally, how will we look into the faces of people? Did not you see how many rascals grinned unpleasantly while we were sitting in the car decently? It means that these impudent people think that there is no chaste woman in this world looking at the present state. Otherwise, only bad ones come here? What about our letter case? Which chastity and dignity approve this? Moreover, why did you bring me here? What are you doing here? Come on driver, turn the car and let’s go.

— (Sabiha and Gelin Hanım) What’s up man? Why does it matter to us if people behave dishonorably? We do not!

— (Zehra) How do you say that we do not? Just a moment ago, when the fellow who came behind us threw that letter to our car and trespassed our rights and morals and when another salaamed us by putting his fingers on his lips, what did we do to prohibit them to repeat their encroachments? Did we call a policeman and request their punishment? Whose mistake will it be if fellows repeat their misbehaviors? Is it difficult to think these things?²⁰

¹⁹ Mizancı Mehmed Murat, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?* (Istanbul: Klas, 2004), p. 94. “Bu ne rezalet, ne kadar ayıp!” and “Hiç olmazsa hükümet bunu yasaklamalı.”

²⁰ Mizancı Murat, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, pg. 95-96.

— (Zehra) [B]u herif bize ne hadle mektup atıyor! Siz de bu herifin mektubunu niçin kabul edip okuyorsunuz?

— (Sabiha) A canım, senin nene lazım? Halk buraya eğlenmek için gelir. Sana ne oluyor?

— (Zehra) Benim neme lazım mı? Bana ne oluyor mu buyurdunuz? Haydi, şimdiki rezaletimizi bırakalım. Umumiyet itibarıyla kadınlarda namus ve haysiyet kalmazsa ne yüzle kadın sıfatıyla sokağa çıkıp âlemin yüzüne bakacağız? Biz kendi edebimizle arabada otururken –görmediniz mi- kaç çapkın işaretler ederek yıldıztılar? Demek ki bu edepsizler ortalığın haline bakarak dünyada bir namuslu kalmamış zannediyorlar. Yoksa buraya yalnız fenalar mı gelir? Ya bizim şu mektup işi? Bunu hangi edep ve namus kabul eder? [...] Hem beni buraya niçin getirdiniz? Sizin de burada ne işiniz var? Haydi arabacı arabayı çevir de gidelim.

— (Sabiha ve Gelin Hanım) Adam ne oluyorsun? Halk rezalet ediyorsa, bize ne? Biz etmiyoruz a! [...]

— (Zehra) Nasıl etmiyoruz? Demin arkamızdan gelen herif şu mektubu atarak arabamıza atarak hukuk ve adabımıza tecavüz ettiği diğer biri de parmaklarını dudaklarına götürüp bize karşı temenna da bulunduğu vakit herifleri tecavüzlerini tekrar etmekten men edecek ne gibi bir harekette bulunduk? Bir zaptiye çağırıp herifleri teslim ile terbiyelerini istedik mi? Herifler terbiyesizliği tekrar ederlerse kabahat kimin olacak? Buraları düşünmek güç mü?”

Later, as Zehra insists they all go home. When Sabiha's mother asks them why they returned home Sabiha says that Zehra got bored and they got home to drop her off because of her firmness. Hearing this, her mother says "Well done Zehra Hanım! She is a proper woman. She is not a today's girl like you!"²¹

Zehra's reactions and her way of questioning things are offered to the reader to prove that she is a woman of virtue. Sabiha and Gelin, who, after dropping Zehra off at the house and go back to Kağıthane, become frivolous women. In another chapter Mizancı Murat writes: "Zehra said she cannot call the ones 'virtuous' who want to promenade and go shopping other than the special days to Sabiha and Gelin Hanım's face."²²

Similarly in Nabizade Nazım's, *Zehra* the two characters, Zehra and Sim Cemal, who are again depicted as role models, are always described being indoors or in domestic gardens,²³ Ürani, on the other hand, who causes the perish of the whole family is rarely seen inside, she is always at the excursion spots, boat trips, cafes and theatres of Beyoğlu. For example in the first parts of the novel Zehra watches the boat trips in the Bosphorus from her room with her husband Suphi. But in the following chapters the boat trips that were observed by Zehra and Suphi are replaced with Suphis's trips with his mistress Ürani. The changes and pleasures he has confuses Suphi's mind and the writer tells his mood as such:

Suphi was remembering Zehra involuntarily. The reason reminding her was this moonlight. While he was sitting with Zehra near the window of waterside residence in his village, moonlights like this, maybe merrier and more joyful than this slided away in front of his eyes. There was such a great difference in his mind between that time and the present time. There used to be Zehra, who can be considered as a chastity monument, with him; however, now that place belongs to a worthless and disrespectable person.²⁴

²¹ Mizancı Murat, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, p. 98. "Aferin Zehra Hanım! Tam bir hanım imiş. Sizin gibi zamane kızı değilmiş!"

²² Mizancı Murat, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, p. 116. "Zehra gezintiye, çarşıya özel günlerde sokağa çıkmadıktan başka çıkmasını isteyenlere 'namuslu diyemeyeceğini' Sabiha ile gelin hanımın yüzüne söylemişti."

²³ Additionally, it can be claimed that the author uses interior monologue as a narration technique in the sections of Zehra and Sim Cemal. Besides in Ürani's sections he doesn't prefer this technique.

²⁴ Nabizade Nazım, *Zehra* (İstanbul: Klas, 2004), p. 122. "Suphi, kendinde olmayarak Zehra'yı hatırlıyordu. Hatırasını canlandıran neden, şu mehtap âlemi olmuştu. Köyündeki yalı penceresinde Zehra ile otururken, bunun gibi ve belki bundan neşeli; bundan keyifli mehtaplar gözlerinin önünden akıp geçmişti. Beyninde o zaman ile bu zaman arasında ne kadar büyük fark vardı. O zaman yanında namus anıtı sayılabilecek bir Zehra bulunurdu; oysa şimdi o yeri iki paralık bir namussuz almıştı."

In the novel *İffet* of Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar which has a title matching its subject, the main character İffet is a well-educated, virtuous, pretty girl and she is never seen outside the house by herself. She gives her handwork for sale to a Rum woman to sell them for her, so she doesn't even go out for work, until she has no choice but prostitution because of poverty and hunger. The first moment the readers observe her leaving her house is right after İffet makes this decision and goes to Beyoğlu in a carriage. Going out of the house to the street is the first step of becoming a non-virtuous (*iffetsiz*) woman. Thus, in most of the novels going out and being virtuous or non-virtuous are connected. It can be interpreted that the boundary between inside and outside is the boundary of being virtuous or not. Generally, in novels home is presented as the ideal space for virtuous women. If an ideal woman goes out, it is made certain that, the reason is only for running errands. For instance in *Müşahedat*, a novel from Ahmet Mithat, the procession of Armenian Agavni from a non-virtuous woman to a life of virtue is praised as such:

Since Agavni used to make agreement with Refet really sincerely and naively, she did not use to go outdoors except for some necessities such as some shopping or going for bath. She also did not used to offer himself to the glances of community in promenades or so forth.²⁵

The association of the house with the image of an ideal woman suggests not only that the idea that home is the ideal place, but also, outside the house is a wrong place to be for women. For example in the novel *Felatun Bey ile Rakım Efendi*, Rakım Efendi asks the nanny Fedayi whether she took Canan to excursion spots. Fedayi answers: “Those places are bad sir! The women, the men! Too bad! The one is disturbed. Our house is better.”²⁶ Canan, who is represented as a perfect woman with her beauty, talent with the piano, success with learning, reading and writing in foreign languages, and having high morals, is also used for idealizing the home through the eyes of a male writer.

²⁵ Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Müşahedat* (İstanbul: Özgür, 2006), p. 269. “Agavni, Refet ile ettiği muahedeyi [*sözleşmeyi*] pek halisane ve safiyane bir surette akdettiğinden bazı mübayaattan [*alışveriş işlerinden*] veyahut istihmam [*hamama gitmek*] gibi zaruriyattan [*zorunluluklardan*] maada [*başka*] hiçbir şey için kapıdan dışarıya çıkmamakta ve kendisini öyle mesirelerde filanlarda halkın enzar-ı temaşasına [*seyreden bakışlarına*] arz etmemekte idi.”

²⁶ Ahmet Mithat, *Felatun Bey ile Rakım Efendi*, p. 104. “Oraları kötü efendim. Kadınlar, erkekler! Çok kötü! İnsan rahatsız oluyor. Evimiz daha iyi.”

The only known female writer of the Tanzimat era Fatma Aliye Hanım's novel *Muhaderat* is an interesting case for the issue. The comment of the main character Fazıla of "being free" (*hür olmak*) is remarkable. Fazıla's husband Remzi wants to be separated from her because he had found a mistress. Fazıla explains the situation to her father but her father declares that he would not accept Fazıla in the house if she gets a divorce. Fazıla worries about her life and what to do after the sheltered environment in the mansion, and decides to commit suicide as a solution. But she can not do it. So she decides to turn things into her favor and runs away from the house. With this flee she begins to experience the outside world. She passes to the Istanbul side (the historical peninsula) with a steamboat from Üsküdar and walks to the more deserted areas looking for a cheap room for rent. When she finds a room she decides to sell her ring for money, since she has no money. So with her landlord they go to a jewelry store in the market. But after all this she falls sick because of the emotional and physical troubles and she gets into debt in her sickness to her landlords. Eventually for payback she lets herself to be sold as a maid to Beirut. She talks about her life in Beirut: "Now I am freer than my mastery days. Whenever I want to go to the place that I choose it is enough to say my master 'I need to go somewhere'."²⁷ This is a case manifesting an interesting contradiction related with freedom and slavery. Fazıla feels more freedom as a slave in someone else's house away from her homeland than being the mistress of her own house as a married woman. This almost suggests that, from the perspective of a female writer the social pressure for women was more captivating than actual slavery was.

The main character Zehra in the novel called *Zehra* is seen outside her house only at the end of the novel and that is only for going to the market for a few businesses. In the novel *Vah Ferdane Hanım* is seen in a steamboat, in Galata and Fındıklı alone and people think that she is a frivolous woman, only later to find out that they were mistaken.

It is also striking to observe that in these novels that there is always a companion with the main female characters whenever they are in the public areas. For example in *Muhaderat* Fazıla does not wish to go to the bazaar on her own and ask the landlady to accompany her.²⁸ Likewise the women in exterior spaces are accompanied by either a

²⁷ Fatma Aliye Hanım, *Muhaderat* (Istanbul: Klas, 2004), pg. 293-294. "Ben şimdi hanımlığımdan daha ziyade hürüm. İstediğim zaman istediğim yere gitmek için hanıma yalnız 'Filanca yere gitmem lazım' demem kâfidir."

²⁸ Fatma Aliye, *Muhaderat*, p. 303.

servant girl or an old nanny. But old women going out alone, does not constitute a problem. Because they are purified from lust.²⁹ But the first one of the problems of a young woman to go out is that her body is a reminder of lust for the male gaze. The second is that, women are always men's "mahrem", what is secret and intimate, and no man wants his harem to be observed by other men with lust. In *Akabi Hikayesi* Rupenig says about the trips to Büyükdere:

Oh you don't know Büyükdere is such a place that the daughters of everyone is outside, all of them sees each other, do they let such a beautiful thing go, if it is allotted me by fate that without snatching her I [marry to] Fulik Dudu, do I let her go outside without yashmak [and] jilbab, God forbid, [...] that's impossible everyone sees my wife, after that how it will end.³⁰

We come across a similar dialog in the novel *Dürdane Hanım* displaying how much meaning a woman's appearance in public has and affects the degree of respect. Megrup Bey who goes for promenade in Bağlarbaşı, walks around Ulviye Hanım's carriage and courts her despite being with another woman: Dürdane Hanım. But when following Megrup in secret, Dürdane goes to Bağlarbaşı and discovers that he is flirting with other women, and after confronting him, Megrup's reply is: "If going to Bağlarbaşı is a fault, it is a fault for women not for men."³¹ After these words Dürdane gets embarrassed and concedes that what she has done was not proper.

It can be said that there is a common theme in the novels related with the time when female characters become visible in the public, in other words, when they are outside of domestic realm they are in risk of losing respect.

There was also the other side of the coin, as public spaces carried the risk of being related to notions of disrespect, sin and mistake. It seems that such associations also labeled some spaces suitable for social escape. In these novels public areas, such as excursion spots are seen as the places where moral values could be broken or ignored

²⁹ Göle, *Modern Mahrem Medeniyet ve Örtünme*, p. 43.

³⁰ Vartan Paşa, *Akabi Hikayesi*, p. 116. "Ah bilmezsin Böyük dere de öyle bir yerdir ki, her kesin kızı meydanda, hepsi birbirini görüyor, öyle güzel şeyi bırakırlar mı, eğer elimden kapdırmadan kismet olur [...] ben Fulik duduyı alır gendume mal' idersem, dışarı yaşmak feracesiz mi çıkarayım, Allah itmeye, amma köy olsun ne olursa olsun, ne minasibet her kes benim karımı görsün, sonğra nereye varır onun sonu."

³¹ Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Dürdane Hanım* (İstanbul: Klas, 2005), p. 89. "Bağlarbaşı'na gitmek bir hata ise erkek için değil kadın için hata olur."

and this could be accepted. For instance Ahmet Mithat states in his novel *Çingene* while relating one of the Kağıthane parties about the song that gipsy woman sings;

[All] started to sing a song by clapping all of a sudden. If we were to write the lyrics of the song here, it is for sure that press officers would ban it. This is because, even though there is nothing to say for taking so obvious scandals serious in places such as Kağıthane, all can be said for writing them on paper.³²

As it can be understood from in the novel, shameful acts is not taken seriously and acknowledged normal in public places like Kağıthane. Thereby certain public places were seen as the areas where moral rules are broken; they were areas almost fitting for committing sin.

In such meanings the time and day of the week when the excursion spot was used has a role. For example in *Çingene* the assessment of the area is as “most of the people going to Kağıthane on Friday and Sunday are accessible ones.”³³ The reason for this criticism was because in holidays or weekends the excursion spots were very crowded and so everyone could observe the other.

At this point, while mentioning Kağıthane as an excursion ground, it is better to quote Ahmet Mithat’s depiction of Kağıthane in his *Çingene* novel:

When going to Kağıthane, you direct your boat to the stream at right and leave Alibeyköy stream at your left. The bent and twisted canals and the bridges that you occasionally pass under, the fact that sea-water is turning into sweet-water never cause any doubts that you are traveling in a stream. Did not we say the season is the seventeenth of April? Especially in that season the two banks of this stream is a pleasure to the eyes, its green is like the paradise garden. You are moving on. Even you pass the Mirahor mansion. And once when you just turn around the canal an enormous meadow appears. Although it cannot be said that around Istanbul there is no such big meadow, Kağıthane is distinguished with the river that runs in the middle of its meadows, the boat quays that are constructed at its two shores, the glamorous water cascades that exists in the middle, the sultan’s kiosk resembling the heavenly kiosks at one side of this water cascade, the rest of the stream lying up in thousands of meters in a straight line behind the cascade, and the thousands of various beauties that are gathered in there but our pen is tired to depict with the fear that words would not be worthy of it.³⁴

³² Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Çingene* (Istanbul: Sel, 2009), pg. 18-19. “[Hepsi] birden el çırparak şarkı okumaya başladılar ki o şarkının güftesini buraya yazsak, basın yayın memurları mutlaka kaldırırlar idi. Zira bu kadar başı açık rezaletleri Kağıthane gibi yerlerde ciddiye almaya bir şey denilmez ise de kâğıt üzerinde kaleme almaya her şey denilir.”

³³ Ahmet Mithat, *Çingene*, p. 53. “Kâğıthane’ye cuma ve pazar günleri gidenlerin çoğu açık takımındandır.”

³⁴ Ahmet Mithat, *Çingene*, pg. 6-7. “Siz Kağıthane’ye gidecek olduğunuzdan, Alibeyköy deresini sol tarafınızda bırakarak, sağdaki dereye kayığınızı yönlendirdiniz. Ondan sonra eğri büğrü yolları ve yer yer altlarından geçtiğiniz köprüler ve suların tatlı su halini alması, bir nehrin içinde seyahat eylediğiniz hususunda şüpheye asla yer bırakmazlar. Mevsim nisanın on yedisi demedik mi ya? Özellikle o mevsimde bu nehrin iki sahili, gözlere şenlik vermekte cennet çayırırlarını andıracak şekilde yeşildir.

Yet, in pages that follow, Ahmet Mithat warns the reader that all these attractions in Kağıthane grounds would not be appreciated if one visited the area on weekends.³⁵ The particular interest on the holidays was for observing everyone and being observed. In the novel *Felatun Bey ile Rakım Efendi* Ahmet Mithat comments upon the situation:

Is not it a fact of creation that the aim of going on an excursion is to see the status of community, more precisely, to show and sell oneself to community besides seeing moors, fields, space, grass and flowers? It is because of this reason that excursion spots are crowded, isn't it? It is not possible to comprehend how people stand staying there while swallowing the dust of thousands of cars and what possess them to have pleasure in selling themselves[.]³⁶

As a matter of fact in the same novel, Rakım says about the visit to Kağıthane:

Kağıthane is really one the most beautiful places in the world. But the one cannot enjoy there in Fridays and Sundays” and adds “we will go there on one Tuesday or Wednesday. [...] The other days it turns into a fairground of the horses and carriages.³⁷

As a result Rakım Bey and his party decide to go to the area on Wednesday. Felatun Bey, on the other hand, who has the opposite character of Rakım Bey and is continually criticized for having an “alafranga” personality, visits Kağıthane on a Friday. As a matter of fact this visit is like a show of libertinage, he shows off by throwing out money to the musicians in front of his mistress’s carriage.

A similar distinction can be observed in novel *Intibah* of Namık Kemal. Ali Bey is a young man respectful to her mother, given to his job, dedicated to his education. So his excursions to Çamlıca Park are mediated only by the wish to observe nature.

Yolunuzda devam ediyorsunuz. Mirahor köşkünün dahi geçtiniz. Bir de tamam su yolunun bir kıvrımını dolaşır dolaşmaz karşınıza kocaman bir çayır çıkar ki, eni ve boyu o çayıra denk bir çayır daha İstanbul çevresinde yoktur denilemez ise de güzelliği yalnız büyüklüğünde olmayıp, belki Kağıthane çayırı gibi ortasından büyük bir dere akmasında ve o derenin iki sahilinde kayık iskelelerinin yapılmış olmasında ve tamam çayırın ortalık yerinde hakikaten sanatlı bir çağlayan vücuda getirilmesinde ve o çağlayanın bir tarafında cennet kasırları gibi bir kasr-ı hümayun bulunmasında ve hele derenin çağlayandan yukarı kısmının dümdüz bir çizgide binlerce metre kadar uzanıp gitmesinde ve burada kalemimizin layığınca tarif etmekten üşendiği diğer bin türlü güzellikleri içinde toplamış olmasındandır.”

³⁵ Ahmet Mithat, *Çingene*, p. 15.

³⁶ Ahmet Mithat, *Felatun Bey ile Rakım Efendi*, p. 125. “Yaratılışın bir gereği değil midir ki halkın gözünde gezintiye çıkmaktan amaç, kır, sahayı, açıklığı, çimenleri, çiçekleri görmekten başka halkın durumunu görmek, daha doğrusu halka kendini gösterip beğendirmek değil midir? Bu yüzden gezinti yerlerinde nüfus alabildiğince çok değil midir? Halk ise binlerce arabanın tozunu toprağını yutarak burada nasıl durur, hangi akla hizmetle kendini göstermekten zevk alır anlamak mümkün değil [.]”

³⁷ Ahmet Mithat, *Felatun Bey ile Rakım Efendi*, p. 101. “Kağıthane doğrusu dünyanın en güzel yerlerinden birisidir. Lâkin oranın zevki cuma ve pazar günleri çıkmaz” and “Bir salı yahut çarşamba günü gideriz. [...] Başka günler ise oraları at ve araba panayırına döner.”

However his colleagues from the office propose to visit Çamlıca Park for fun. When Ali Bey invites them to Çamlıca on a Tuesday it is met by laughter:

He understands that for his friends it is impossible to have fun in Çamlıca in the days other than Friday and Sunday because of the devoid of people. Although the aim of having fun is to view the crowd, they want to explain that there is no need to go to Çamlıca in Tuesday instead of the streets of Istanbul and Beyoğlu.³⁸

With insistence of the people from the office they decide to go to Çamlıca on Friday. The first impression of the entertainment in Çamlıca is as such: “For a while he sits next to the fountain and views the fair amount of the beauties of nature, the others have fun with viewing women’s coming and goings with their colorful dresses and faces.”³⁹ Ali Bey is not like his friends who visit excursion spots especially in the holidays and weekends to watch the women. Nevertheless Ali Bey, in order to fit in with his friends’ attitudes also selects a carriage shows it to his friends and makes a gesture to the woman inside. But at the first instant there is no answer from the carriage. So he is embarrassed with the thought that he bothers a virtuous woman. Then the woman in the carriage makes a sign back. After asking his friends Ali Bey finds out that this means: “It’s impossible to have a talk as long as the others are around” then he “begins to rely on her virtue strongly.”⁴⁰ At this point Namık Kemal intervenes and comments about the woman who signs back “How can such a naïve boy know that a virtuous woman cannot know such kind of signs?”⁴¹ This two way signing becomes the beginning of their relationship. How this beginning will end is made clear with these words of the writer “A move that he did for not to offend his friends directed his life into a tragedy.”⁴² Ali Bey’s moves on a Friday in a public area like Çamlıca for gaining his friends favor to a prostitute like Mahpeyker was the beginning of the end. In the

³⁸ Namık Kemal, *İntibah*, p. 21. “Anlar ki arkadaşları için cuma ve pazar dışındaki günlerde Çamlıca’nın تنها olması nedeniyle, orada eğlenmek mümkün değildir. Her ne kadar eğlenceden maksat kalabalık seyretmek ise, İstanbul ve Beyoğlu sokakları dururken salı günü Çamlıca’ya gitmeye hiç lüzum olmadığını anlatmak isterler.”

³⁹ Namık Kemal, *İntibah*, p. 22. “Bir müddet çeşmenin yanında kalarak Ali Bey tabiatın nice yüz bin çeşit güzelliğini, diğer beyler renkli ferace ve boyalı çehreleriyle [...] hanımların gelip, gidişini seyrederek [...] eğlenirler.”

⁴⁰ Namık Kemal, *İntibah*, p. 24. “Etrafta yabancılar oldukça konuşmamız mümkün değildir” and “hanımın namusuna olan inancı bir kat daha kuvvet bulmaya [başlar].”

⁴¹ Namık Kemal, *İntibah*, p. 24. “O kadar tecrübesiz bir çocuk namuslu bir kadının böyle işaretleri bilmesinin, doğal olarak bunlardan hiçbir haberinin olmayacağını nereden bilsin?”

⁴² Namık Kemal, *İntibah*, p. 23. “[A]rkadaş hatırı kırmamak için yaptığı bir hareket gelecekteki ömrünün gidişatını acıklı bir faciaya yöneltmişti.”

further chapters Ali Bey changes and becomes more rakish with his relationship with Mahpeyker, starts disregarding values which were very important for him. Consequently the parks and excursion spots as public areas possess different meanings in different days. Çamlıca while being a space with spiritual meanings with the purpose of observing nature and contemplation becomes an area with social, even sexual implications on the crowded visiting days. Thus in a crowded day, Ali Bey meets with Mahpeyker who makes money through her body. When the relationship is further developed “he forgets his poetic imageries, which were in his mind a week ago, relating to love; and prefers the bodily pleasures because of the somatic enjoyments that he experiences, rather than the spiritual loves.”⁴³ Consequently, body and public area has come together and the meaning of sin carried within the body is reflected in public area.⁴⁴ So it is possible to say that the first element of this connection is being in public space, second is the use of public space for the purpose of observing and being observed and the third is the meeting of men and women in the public space. So it can be argued that from these deductions that the appearance of women in the public space is insinuates lust and lust suggests sin. As Nilüfer Göle mentioned that:

[For] a woman to protect her virtue, namely the devotion of her to the moral rules in sexual subjects provides social order. Because the femaleness [and] the sexuality of woman are perceived as a threat for the social order (mischief), for a woman to be further from the male gaze, to be veiled [and] not to come to gather with men should be provided.⁴⁵

There are some control mechanisms formulated for public spaces. In the novel *Araba Sevdası*, in Çamlıca and in Direklerarası, women and men wander in different paths. In another novel *Felâhî Bey ile Rakım Efendi* it is made clear that it is not possible for men and women spend time together in the public eye. One can see that in the novels *Vah* and *Müşahedat* there is a curtain between male and female sections in the public transportation vehicles. But these matters of control seem to be more relevant with the Muslim women in the focus. As much as the sensitivity on the issue of veiling of Armenian women is made clear, in the *Akabi Hikayesi* where the life of Armenian

⁴³ Namık Kemal, *İntibah*, p. 83. “Aşka dair bir hafta önce zihninde dolaşan şairane hayalleri unutmuş ve tatlı maddi zevkler sebebiyle, bu cismani lezzetleri, o zamanki ruhani aşklara tercih eder olmuştu.”

⁴⁴ See Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar, Tanzimat Romanının Epistemolojik Temelleri* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2004), pg. 79-116, for the reflection of the terms “body” and “sin” on Tanzimat Literature.

⁴⁵ Göle, *Modern Mahrem Medeniyet ve Örtünme*, p. 42.

society has been related, one can observe that men and women can spend time together in the excursion spots like Büyükdere. In the novel *Müşahadat* a Turkish man accompanies Armenian woman in the parks like Tepebaşı Garden or Göksu. On the other hand, one can find one case in which Christian man accompanying a Muslim woman in a park only in *Esrar-ı Cinayat*. Muslim men and women spending time together in parks is normal only in weekdays when it is not so much crowded as in the novel *Felatun Bey ile Rakım Efendi* and *Vah*.⁴⁶ Apart from this one can see that Muslim Women has limited experience in Beyoğlu, while non-Muslim women live there as they wish. Unlike Muslim women, men, regardless of their ethnic background or religion, experience all quarters and areas of Istanbul comfortably.

Although when the public spaces are compared to private spaces, presented in Chapter 3 by the analysis and mapping of spaces in the novels, they may be less in number in terms of actors' situation and places of events, the use of spaces are representative in terms of gender differences. The main male characters usually occupy open air excursion areas; cafes, restaurants and theatres in Beyoğlu. This situation is supporting the argument of Janet Wolff about how the social and physical public sphere seems to belong to men and house, the private sphere, is the area of women.⁴⁷ The best example to this argument among the Tanzimat novels is *Taaşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat* of Şemsettin Sami. Fitnat is a girl who is keen on her education, skillful and pretty and again she does not set a foot outside her home, because her stepfather absolutely forbids her. Fitnat states that she would like to go to the excursion spots. Her father answers that he would not be able to take it because she would encounter verbal harassment from man which would cost her to lose her virtue and integrity. But while Fitnat is looking outside from her window she sees Talat and they fall in love. Talat finds out that Fitnat never goes outside and decides to go incognito to see her. He manages to go in the house and even in the Fitnat's own room while dressed as a woman. Wolff explains a similar situation giving an example from Paris of 1831. George Sand decides to dress like a man to be able to walk around in the public areas freely and goes around in the public spaces of Paris with a suit without encountering a problem. Wolff quotes Sand's experience as such:

⁴⁶ But the writer insists on the innocence of the meetings.

⁴⁷ Janet Wolff, *Feminine Sentences, Essays on Women and Culture* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), pg. 34–51.

So I had made for myself a *redingote-guérite* in heavy gray cloth, pants and vest to match. [...] I can't express the pleasure my boots gave me. [...] With those little iron-shod heels, I was solid on the pavement. I flew from one end of Paris to the other. It seemed to me that I could go round the world. And, then, my clothes feared nothing. I ran out in every kind of weather, I came home at every sort of hour, I sat in the pit at the theatre. No one paid attention to me, and no one guessed at my disguise... No one knew me, no one looked at me, no one found fault with me; I was an atom lost in that immense crowd.⁴⁸

In another words Sands get included into the public sphere of men as dressing like one of them, like Talat getting in the private sphere of women with dressing like a woman.

However while Talat is incognito he realizes a fact which is in line with why a woman in 19th century Paris would like to go out to the streets in man's clothing. After Talat leaves Fitnat's house and walks to his family house he meets a friend from work. With the fear that his friend may recognize him Talat tries to hide his face more. But his friend does not recognize him, and makes passes at him as a woman. Even though he cannot see Talat's face and he begins to follow him. Talat tries to walk faster away but his pursuer walks as fast behind him. He continues to harass him with words and crude gestures; Talat is disturbed from this situation. Afterwards Şemsettin Sami describes men and women relationship in the public sphere through Talat:

Oh poor women, how they suffer. We use them as puppets. We prevent them from walking freely and comfortably on the road. What a scandal! What impudence! When a man comes across with a man whom he does not know, he does not look into his face, he does not speak, however, when he comes across with a woman he does not know, he starts to look into her face smiling and starts to speak; and even if she repels him, he does not go away from her. This means that we do not consider women as human beings; we constrain their soul to entertain ourselves. We prevent their free walks and entertainment[.]⁴⁹

Talat only managed to comprehend the problems that women face outside the house when he is dressed like one of them. With this issue Şemsettin Sami had made a critic of the society and pointed out the fact that women do not have the freedom to act as they wish because of men's harassment and consequently their existence in the exterior spaces is limited.

⁴⁸ Wolff, *Feminine Sentences*, p. 41.

⁴⁹ Şemsettin Sami, *Taaşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat* (Istanbul: Akvaryum, 2007), p. 65. "Ah zavallı kadınlar neler çekerlermiş. [...] Biz onları kukla yerine kullanıyoruz. Yolda serbest ve rahat yürümelerine mani oluruz. Bu ne rezalet! Ne küstahlık! Bir erkek, tanımadığı bir başka erkeğe rast gelse yüzüne bakmaz, söz söylemez, fakat tanımadığı ve hiç başka defa görmediği bir kadına rast geldiği gibi, gülerek yüzüne bakmaya ve söz söylemeye başlar ve kovsalar bile yanından ayrılmaz. Demek oluyor ki biz karıları insan sırasına koymayız, kendimizi eğlendirmek için onların ruhunu sıkırız. Serbest gezip dolaşmalarına ve eğlenmelerine mani oluruz[.]"

Another case of cross-dressing can be found in the novel *Esrar-ı Cinayat* of Ahmet Mithat. The police department decides to go in the mansion of Hediye Hanım to get information which is thought to be related to a murder investigation. The Inspector Necmi goes incognito as an old peddler woman and manages to go into the house of Hediye Hanım, even into her private room, with the excuse of selling some stuff. Thus he manages to get information that he would not be able to access in other way.

Similar to these two cases, in Ahmet Mithat's *Dürdane Hanım* the main character disguises as a man. The main character, Ulviye Hanım, realizes that her neighbour Dürdane Hanım has some problems and to understand the details, she wants to listen to conversations through Dürdane's window. But Ulviye knows that if anyone sees her while she is by Dürdane's window, it might cause a scandal. So she decides to disguise as a man, if she is seen in that costume in front of the window, people might suppose that she is a thief. When the maid asks Ulviye why she was cross-dressing she answers "Are we born to be locked between the four walls!"⁵⁰ Then she goes for a stroll and Ahmet Mithat describes her tour:

Ulviye Hanım is so sure that she cannot be recognized in that man outfit, one day she calls a carriage [and] in spite she goes to the Millet Garden in Bağlarbaşı in that outfit [and] even she walks around, no one realizes her.⁵¹

This stroll entertains her and improves her self confidence. So she says that "Hitherto I have lived just as a woman. From now on I will try to earn bravely in this world."⁵² It can be said that, with these sentences Ulviye claims that her life as a woman is more passive than her life as a man.

Thus Ulviye disguised as Acem Ali Bey visits the pubs in Galata, the restaurants and hotels in Beyoğlu. She spends time in public spaces with other men or by herself. She gets into quarrels, uses gun, even she kidnaps a nurse in order to solve Dürdane's problem. In other words, she, as Acem Ali, experiences all the things she cannot do between the four walls as Ulviye; in a sense she, as a woman, is able to be included in the men's sphere just by pretending to be a man. We can understand how segregated

⁵⁰ Ahmet Mithat, *Dürdane Hanım*, p. 66. "Bu dünyaya dört duvar arasına tıklıp kalmak için mi geldik!"

⁵¹ Ahmet Mithat, *Dürdane Hanım*, p. 67. "Ulviye Hanım, şu erkek kıyafetiyle tanınmayacağından o kadar emin olur ki; bir gün bir araba çağırıp o kılıkla Bağlarbaşı'na giderek millet bahçesinde de piyade bile gezindiği halde hiç kimse onun farkına varmaz."

⁵² Ahmet Mithat, *Dürdane Hanım*, p. 68. "Şimdiye kadar sadece bir kadın gibi yaşadım. Bundan sonra dünyada mertçe kazanmanın ne olduğunu denerim."

men's and women's spheres in the 19th century. From a different viewpoint, Ahmet Mithat, as an author, criticizes invisibility of woman outside the house. But his criticism is not directed to the woman. Like in Şemsettin Sami's *Taaşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat* the Ahmet Mithat criticizes the mentality of that era. He emphasizes via Ulviye's adventures that a woman can stand on her feet like a man, even can manage more things than a man.

Another social criticism is seen again in Ahmet Mithat's *Vah*. The main female character Ferdane Hanım goes to theatre one Friday but there she encounters verbal harassment from three men. She gets angry and yells "Do you never feel ashamed? Because of your harm the virtuous women cannot go anywhere."⁵³ But they go on saying improper words so Ferdane and her maid get on a carriage and leave the place. The womanizers follow her carriage. Necati Bey witnesses the incidents and decides to follow the group. Next scene is at the Millet Garden in Bağlarbaşı. These three men go on their harassment and then Ferdane nearly faints. Necati cannot stand it anymore and for the sake of the "virtue of society" he beats the men. Ferdane wants to extend her thanks to Necati so they meet one Friday at the Millet Garden in Bağlarbaşı again. The following is their conversation:

— (Necati) [...] I cannot deny that your coming here, someone with the angel face and angel appearance, is something that my heart does not approve of even if it is to revive me.

— (Ferdane) [...] This choice of mine upon your self-sacrifice which you undertook for me is not something unthinkable for me. However, will it be humane if men of the present time assault so much as to prevent women from having some fresh air by going promenades and if men with honest ideas like you find them justified and therefore approve the deprivation of these women from their natural need?

— (Necati) If civil codes had been made according to my choices, I would have hung these attackers, preventing women from chastely benefiting from their personal freedom, at the beginning of Köprü [Galata Bridge] and made them exemplary. However, if I were a woman, I would have compromised from going on excursions to be away from these looks which condemn me seeing that men are free and independent and public opinion condemns women in all conditions.

— (Ferdane) [...] But is there something to condemn in this conversation of mine with you? If there is, then tell me and even I better my own self.

— (Necati) Community always considers the look as bad. However, I cannot approve the mention of a glare for you!

— (Ferdane) I regard myself independent from either bad or good views of community perspective. I am only responsible to my own conscience. It does not matter to me if my conscience approves this conversation rather than condemning it; whatever community perspective thinks of it.⁵⁴

⁵³ Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Vah* (Istanbul: Sel, 2007), p. 53. "Sizin hiç utanmanız, arlanmanız yok mu? Sizin şerrinizden âlemin muhadderatı (namuslu Müslüman kadınlar) hiçbir yere çıkmasınlar mı?"

⁵⁴ Ahmet Mithat, *Vah*, pg. 107-109.

It is noticeable that Ahmet Mithat criticizes the judgment of society related with public-ness of woman via a woman's ideas. Especially it is important that Ferdane indicates she is responsible to her conscience not for the society's. In that sense, there are some interesting points in the novel. Ahmet Mithat narrates that she strolls in Millet Garden on a crowded day, writes letters to Necati Bey, and goes to picnics with him. The other main character of the novel Behçet Bey expresses his thoughts when he hears about her attitudes in that way "A woman corresponds with men. A woman meets and talks to men in meadows and excursion grounds and is she not that kind woman still?"⁵⁵ But, via Despino's words, Ahmet Mithat says "This woman is virtuous as much as she is beautiful and natty and free."⁵⁶ Therefore, Ahmet Mithat criticizes the unfair comments on women and emphasizes that the freedom of women cannot cause a misunderstanding about their virtue. Even he says, via Ferdane's husband Talat Bey's thoughts, "To be jealous of woman is a deep revilement against them. Because it means not to rely on women. However they should be free and let alone in order to protect their virtue."⁵⁷

— (Necati) [...] [S]izin gibi bir melek yüzlü ve melek görünüşünün, bendenizi ihya için bile olsa buraya kadar gelmiş olmasını görmek, gönlümün hiç uygun görmediği bir şey olduğunu da inkâr edemem.

— (Ferdane) [...] [B]enim için kendinize görev edindiğiniz fedakârlık üzerine böyle bir seçimde bulunmam, sizin için akla gelmez bir şey olamaz. Fakat zamanımızın beyleri, kadının biraz taze hava alması için şöyle bir mesireye çıkmasını dahi imkânsız kılacak kadar saldırganlıkta bulunurlarsa, sizin gibi doğru düşüncelere sahip olanların da onları haklı görmesi ve böylelikle kadını şu doğal ihtiyacından mahrum bırakmayı uygun görmesi insanlığa sığar mı?

— (Necati) Medeni kanunlar benim seçimimle yapılmış olsaydı, bir kadının şahsi özgürlüğünden namusluca bir şekilde yararlanmasını engelleyen saldırganları Köprü başına asarak, benzerlerine ibret verirdim. Fakat mademki efendiler, beyler her taşkınlıkta özgür ve hür; her koşulda toplumsal görüş kadınları ayıplayıp azarlamaktadır, o halde ben kadın olsaydım, tek şu ayıplayarak bakan gözlerden uzak kalmak için gezip dolaşmayı da feda ederdim.

— (Ferdane) [...] Fakat şu söyleşmemiz gibi bir söyleşinin ayıplanacak hangi tarafı var? Varsa ihtar buyurunuz da ben dahi nefsimi ıslah edeyim.

— (Necati) Toplum bakışı daima kötüye çekme ile başlar. Ben ise sizin hakkınızda kötü bir bakışın söz konusu olmasını hiç uygun görmem!

— (Ferdane) Ben kendimi, toplumun bakışının kötü veya iyi görüşlerinden bağımsız görürüm. Kendimi yalnız vicdanım önünde sorumlu bilirim. Vicdanım bu görüşmeyi ayıpladıktan değil onayladıktan sonra toplumun bakışı nasıl görürse görsün, vazifem değildir."

⁵⁵ Ahmet Mithat, *Vah*, p. 141. "Bir kadın erkeklerle mektuplaşır. Bir kadın kırlarda, seyir yerlerinde erkeklerle görüşüp konuşur da, o kadın hala öyle bir kadın olmaz ha?"

⁵⁶ Ahmet Mithat, *Vah*, p. 65. "Bu kadın güzel olduğu kadar, süslü ve güzel ve süslü olduğu kadar serbest! Fakat güzel ve süslü ve serbest olduğu kadar da ırzına bütün bir kadındır."

⁵⁷ Ahmet Mithat, *Vah*, p. 88. "Kadınlara karşı kıskanç olmak, onlar aleyhinde büyük bir hakarettir. Çünkü kadınlara güvenmemek demektir. Hâlbuki kendi iffetinin şanını koruması için bir kadını kendince ve serbest bırakmalıdır."

Although, in general the public-ness of woman is indicated as a problem in novels, it can be claimed that some of the authors, such as Ahmet Mithat, Şemsettin Sami and Fatma Aliye, have radical criticisms towards the society in that era.

4.3. Beyoğlu and Istanbul: Two Districts, Two worlds

In the 17th century, foreign population has increased since the embassies had been founded in Pera-Beyoğlu region, and especially “after the 1850s, by the accumulation of foreign groups in Galata and Pera, a city which was totally different in terms of social, cultural and physical regards has emerged”.⁵⁸ Thus by the concentration of Westernization movements in Pera-Beyoğlu, which was accelerated together with Tanzimat, the difference of this region from Istanbul side by means of urban and social structures became discernible. Foundation of the first municipality in Beyoğlu, beginning of the urban-regulation works in this region, and by these works, adoption of Pera as a model for the other neighborhoods in Istanbul prove that the state attributed a particular importance to Pera-Beyoğlu region.⁵⁹

It may be claimed that Pera, which etymologically means “opposite shore, other side [opposite to the Golden Horn]”⁶⁰, is in contrast with Suriçi/Historical Peninsula which was mentioned as Istanbul. Thus, it can be seen in the novels that Beyoğlu is different from Istanbul side in physical regards. The characters inhabiting Beyoğlu live in the apartments, and spend their times in luxury entertainment-places like the theatres, restaurants, cafes, patisseries, ballrooms, or in Taksim Park and the Tepebaşı Garden, or the shopping malls like Bonmarche.⁶¹ In Istanbul side, in the other neighborhoods like Direklerarası and Beyazıt Square and Üsküdar, Fener, Kağıthane, the places for leisure times are the public spaces for picnic areas, or the Millet Garden. Hence, Beyoğlu’s built environment structured in the mind of reader is different from the others’.

Beyoğlu appears as a regulated region for the reader. The characters walk on the pavements, the roads are not muddy, walking during night is not a problem because the

⁵⁸ Nur Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera* (Istanbul: Literatür, 2002), pg. 31-33.

⁵⁹ See Chapter 2.

⁶⁰ Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, p. 83.

⁶¹ See *Müşahadat, Araba Sevdası, Henüz 17 Yaşında, Metres* and *Şık*.

streets are lit, and well-kept vehicles for public transportation serve permanently. Istanbul side and the other neighborhoods in Istanbul are in a contrasting situation with this profile. In his novel titled *Sergüzeşt*, Samipaşazade Sezai writes about Aksaray side of Istanbul that “while walking in these streets, by looking at their structures and arrays, one would suppose oneself as traveling through the Middle Ages”.⁶² In the novel of *Müşahedat* by Ahmet Mithat, when the characters walking from Beyoğlu towards Istanbul come to Galata Bridge, they have to buy torches, because, in Istanbul side, the roads are dark and walking without the torches is forbidden.⁶³ However, they could walk without the torches through Beyoğlu streets. Furthermore, in the novel of *İffet* by Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, Hüseyin, who got on the trolley to go from Aksaray to the Edirnekapi side, speaks as follows:

We came to the first station of the trolley travelling to Topkapı after passing the avenue. The Trolley Company assigns the oldest cars to this route. The dust and mud of the street obstruct the green-paint of the cars. [...] We jumped in this old car. [...] These passengers are the ragged ones appropriate to be the ornaments just for that old car.⁶⁴

Gürpınar complains about the oldness of the railway cars of trolley plying on the route to Istanbul side, and also denotes that the inhabitants of this region are low income people. For beyond that region, Hüseyin had to complete the remaining way by walking on the slimy streets due to the lack of trolley-route towards his destination. He describes the roads and environment he passed by as the slummed districts, and even he states that these areas remind him the cemetery.

Another work bringing to mind that Beyoğlu has a better maintained built-environment than the other neighborhoods in Istanbul is Ahmet Mithat’s novel *Vah*. In the novel, Behçet Bey decides to follow Ferdane Hanım when he saw her in Üsküdar Steamboat. The first phase of the pursuit beginning from Galata Bridge is the route of Karaköy, Tophane, Fındıklı, Kazancılar Yokuşu. After spending a little time in a house at Kazancılar Yokuşu, Ferdane Hanım takes the road towards Kabataş this time, and by getting in the ferryboat from Kabataş she passes to Üsküdar. Behçet Bey is again after

⁶² Samipaşazade Sezai, *Sergüzeşt*, p. 32. “İnsan bu sokaklarda yürüdükçe, yapılış ve sıralanışına bakarak, kendisini Ortaçağ’a doğru seyahat ediyor sanırdı.”

⁶³ Ahmet Mithat, *Müşahedat*, p. 224.

⁶⁴ Gürpınar, *İffet*, pg. 34-35. “Caddeye çıkıp Topkapısı’na işleyen tramvayın birinci durağına geldik. Tramvay Şirketi, arabalarının en köhnelerini bu hatta işletir. Sokağın tozu, çamuru arabaların yeşil boyasını göstermez olmuştur. [...] Bu köhne arabanın içine atladık. [...] Bu yolcular da ancak o köhne arabaya süs olabilecek eski püskü kılıklı kimselerdi.”

Ferdane, and follows her until her home. They make a turn from Üsküdar to the road leading to Şemsipaşa side, but they pass from a few nested streets. Ferdane enters her home, and Behçet following her says that “Because we detoured a lot of streets from the port until here, can I find this door, if I come again? The solution for this problem is mapping a draft of the streets from here to the port”.⁶⁵ Then he begins to draw the sketch on the paper of a cigarette box by a lead pencil. The author describes this scene as follows:

While he is walking, he also points to the streets, and though he keeps open-ended the street which is to be his own, he closes the other streets at the right and left sides with lines. At the same time, he notes the remarkable houses with their colors, and designates even the things like the fountains on the map in order to provide more accuracy to the map.⁶⁶

A novel character roaming in Pera-Beyoğlu region, however, does not need a cognitive map like this one. Because the streets are named and the houses are numbered, they can find their ways easily. For instance, in Ahmet Mithat’s novel, *Felatun Bey ile Rakım Efendi*, one of the destinations of Rakım is the house of Mister Ziklas at Asmalımescit Street, in Beyoğlu. Another day, he thinks “going up to Taksim over Fırzağa via Boğazkesen Avenue from Tophane”.⁶⁷ In Nabizade Nazım’s novel titled *Zehra*, on the other hand, Suphi’s visit to his Armenian mistress’s home is narrated as follows: “At half past twelve a.m., Suphi entered the house numbered with 16 at Derviş Street in Beyoğlu, and found Ürani’s room by asking”.⁶⁸ So the characters can easily find their ways in Beyoğlu, because the streets of Beyoğlu have names and the houses were numbered. Thus Nur Akın also denotes that the streets and houses were numbered in Pera-Beyoğlu region between the years of 1858-1865.⁶⁹ Though Akın emphasizes that these numbering works were completed for all streets of the capital city

⁶⁵ Ahmet Mithat, *Vah*, p. 25. “[İ]skeleden buraya kadar birçok sokaklar sapmış olduğumuzdan, acaba bir daha gelecek olursam bu kapıyı bulabilir miyim? Bunun çaresi, buradan iskeleye kadar olan sokakların şöyle karalama yollu olsun haritasını almaktır.”

⁶⁶ Ahmet Mithat, *Vah*, p. 25. “Hem yürür, hem sokakları işaret ederek asıl kendi caddesi olmak lazım gelen sokağı açık bıraktığı halde, sağda solda görülen diğer sokakları birer çizgi ile kapardı. Bununla beraber haritanın doğruluğuna bir kat daha kuvvet vermek için bazı dikkate değer olan haneleri renkleriyle beraber yazar ve çeşme gibi şeylerin dahi harita üzerinde yerlerini belirlerdi.”

⁶⁷ Ahmet Mithat, *Felatun Bey ile Rakım Efendi*, p. 44. “Akşam saat yarımında Suphi, Beyoğlu’nda, Derviş Sokağı’nda 16 numaralı haneye girmiş, sora sora Ürani’nin odasını bulmuştu.”

⁶⁸ Nabizade Nazım, *Zehra* (İstanbul: Klas, 2004), p. 81. “Akşam saat yarımında Suphi, Beyoğlu’nda, Derviş Sokağı’nda 16 numaralı haneye girmiş, sora sora Ürani’nin odasını bulmuştu.”

⁶⁹ Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, p. 126.

including the Istanbul side apart from Pera since 1865, the author of *Vah*, which was published in 1881, had the character draw a cognitive map of a district in Üsküdar.

Pera-Beyoğlu side also has a secondary meaning apart from its regulated structure and its adoption as the center for many novelties. In Tanzimat Literature, Beyoğlu is the origin of evil, at the same time. For the reason of this situation, it may be thought that Beyoğlu is accepted as the center of the reviled customs of “European style”. Beyoğlu is the latest fashion, resplendent, but it is also money, stranger, waste, and the origin of sin. According to the novelists, these European-style fashions caused the change in the senses of clothing of Ottoman women and men, and all the shops that they can buy these clothes were located in Beyoğlu. New style entertainments and dances together with both women and men are again organized in the cafes, ballrooms of the hotels, and the gardens open to public in Beyoğlu. All of these avenues, cafes, hotels are resplendent, but there are theft, murder, and prostitution in the back streets. In other words, one who goes along Beyoğlu also goes along the doom.

A good example for this situation is the protagonist of Gürpınar’s novel titled *İffet*. As mentioned before, İffet decides to work as a prostitute in order to rescue her family from hunger, and takes her first step towards Beyoğlu. Actually, the house that she will go for prostitution is in Kanlıca, but before going there, İffet wants to dress well, and thus, gets to Beyoğlu in no time. She returns her home with the lustrines, silken gloves, the latest fashion shoes, but the author makes the reader understand that there is a vicious purpose under possessing all of these beautiful things.

Women prostituting in the cheapest places in Beyoğlu, polite prostitutes called “demi-monde,” or mistresses are all mentioned in the novels. While, in Ahmet Mithat’s novel *Henüz 17 Yaşında*, Kalyopi is a non-Muslim girl who is one of the poorest prostitutes of Beyoğlu, Parnas in Gürpınar’s *Metres* and Ürani in Nabizade’s *Zehra* are smart, dangerous and polite prostitutes.

Zehra as the protagonist of *Zehra* novel is a jealous woman. Zehra’s jealousy increases when a bondmaid named Sim Cemal is employed as a servant. Her mood makes Suphi get close to Sim Cemal, and Suphi divorces Zehra and marries Sim Cemal. At this point, Zehra decides to get revenge, and her first address is a polite Greek prostitute dwelling in Beyoğlu. One day, “demi-monde” Ürani comes to Suphi’s shop, and gives him her card. On the card, her name and address are written in French: “M’lle

Uranic – 15 Reuederviche.”⁷⁰ Her being a foreigner, card written in French, dwelling in Beyoğlu make the reader feel the danger signals. Suphi decides to go to Ürani in that evening, and finds himself at Derviş Street. Suphi takes a step into Beyoğlu, and this is the beginning of the end. Beyoğlu and the luxurious life they lived with Ürani there, and unending requests of Ürani slowly result in Suphi’s bankruptcy. Finally, Sim Cemal commits suicide because Suphi left her. Suphi becomes a tramp, and in Beyoğlu he murders Ürani’s new lover and Ürani, who left him due to his lack of money. After this murder, he is exiled to Trablus from Istanbul. Zehra cannot stand to this situation, she becomes ill, and dies. Hence, through the novel, how Suphi living with a mistress in Beyoğlu falls into a decline, and how he makes strand the people around him are narrated.

A similar situation with *Zehra* can also be found in the novel of *Metres* by Gürpınar. As the name suggests, the lives around a mistress are narrated in this novel. Parnas living in Beyoğlu sweeps Müştak Bey off her feet, and exploits his wealth constantly. For her, the only thing having importance is money, and thus, the ones who have money can spend time with her. For this reason, Müştak, who is close to losing his wealth, dangles after his friends to borrow money from them. Reyhan Bey makes a strange suggestion. He will give the money in the case that he will also utilize the concubinage of Parnas. Müştak does not want to accept this offer at first, but he is so fascinated by this “demi-monde” woman that he admits afterwards. By this way, unwittingly Reyhan also falls into Parnas’ clutches. Parnas wastes the wealths of both of them. For a while, they cannot see their mistress, because they are in need of money. In the meantime, Parnas already found a spendthrift named Hami Bey to make him pay her expenses. Reyhan again makes a proposition in order to retrieve Parnas. Reyhan will get the mother of Hami, Firuze Hanım, and Müştak will get the wife of Hami, Saffet Hanım, and by this way, they will restrict Hami’s income by mulcting from these women, rupture the relationship between Hami and Parnas, and then, regain their mistress by this money. Reyhan easily gets Firuze who is already keen on Westernization in appearance. Müştak, however, cannot reach the virtuous Saffet who maintains the Ottoman customs. Reyhan continues to spend money with Parnas, which he extorted from Firuze, but at the same time, Parnas is in a relationship with Hami. One day, these events are heard, Hami learns the relationships of Reyhan with both

⁷⁰ Nabizade Nazım, *Zehra*, p. 80.

Parnas and his mother, and challenges him. At the end, Hami dies, Reyhan is imprisoned, Firuze perishes for losing her son, Saffet begins to mourn for her beloved husband, Parnas packs her properties and moves from Istanbul to find new victims, and Müştak miserably and without money looks at the ship ferrying Parnas. Beyoğlu and its life style full of with luxury as well as extravagancy, again, devoured many families. In this period, Gürpınar as an author attributing an extreme importance to virtue undertook this subject intensely in his mentioned work, and in some way, matched Beyoğlu and keenness of Westernization with the subject of virtue. It is also emphasized through the novel that there were similar furtives in the background of Firuze, who is keen on Westernization, and that she can easily be got by Reyhan refers the final proof for the said character of her. Similar to his mother, Hami is also keen on Westernization, and he lost himself with his wealth for a mistress. Müştak as a person addicted to Beyoğlu, again, admits all of the propositions of Reyhan in order to maintain his addiction, and finally, becomes a person struggling with the bankruptcy.

According to the authors, Beyoğlu is foreign, and contains a European character full of undesirable acts of daily life and nightlife, rather than emulating European science, make this region dangerous. For this reason, advices about being in control of oneself in Beyoğlu are given in the novels. In order to support this advice, Beyoğlu days, which include delight and pleasure as well as the pain and sorrow, do not have a happy ending. The end of the spendthrifts for the ones, who take a step into Beyoğlu, go out with the foreign women belonging to “demi-monde” with their un-ended requirements is bad according to the authors. The reason of the emphasis on the foreign women, here, is that there are no Turkish/Muslim women in Beyoğlu. Turkish woman is not seen in the cafes, theaters, or ballrooms of the hotels in Beyoğlu. Only in the novel titled *İffet* by Gürpınar, İffet comes to Beyoğlu, gets off the car for a while, buys a few magazines containing the latest fashion-plates, and then, again, gets on the car. She wants the coachman to continue towards Şişli. She skims over these magazines on the way, decides which clothes she will buy, and again, says to the coachman to run on towards Beyoğlu. İffet does not look into these magazines by sitting in a cafe or restaurant in Beyoğlu. She prefers to read them in a closed car, and while going on the route. Besides, the part about İffet’s shopping in Beyoğlu makes the reader think that she was very fast there, and made her shopping in a very short time. Apart from *İffet*, the female characters of the novel titled *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?* pass through

Beyoğlu by car to go to Kağıthane from their homes at Fatih side in Istanbul. However, it is never told that they stop at Beyoğlu and spend time there.

As it is understood from the current novels, Beyoğlu is a transition place, for the Turkish/Muslim women, or a place that they spend as little time as possible. Likewise Zeynep Çelik's statement about Muslim woman strengthens these ideas; she states that, in Taksim Public Park, the Turkish women were not allowed to stroll and ride a carriage.⁷¹ Again, as it is understood from the novels, the spaces of these women are the picnic areas in Kağıthane, Göksu, Çamlıca, Fener, and the promenades of Boğaziçi, or the places such as Beyazıt, Eminönü, and Şehzadebaşı located in Istanbul/Suriçi. However, in the novels, it is seen that the Non-Muslim women and foreign nationals called Frank can go to Beyoğlu as well as the places where Muslim women visit.

In contrast to Turkish/Muslim women, male characters in the novels appear, for the reader, in various places of Istanbul diversifying from Beyazıt to Beyoğlu, from Galata to the picnic areas in Göksu or Kağıthane.

In the novel of *Henüz 17 Yaşında* by Ahmet Mithat, though Ahmet Efendi and Hulusi Efendi dwell in Istanbul side, they do not fall behind of the entertainments of Beyoğlu, whenever the occasion arises. One day, after a long time, they, again, go to a restaurant in Beyoğlu, have meals, go to a cafe, and then, go to the theater. However, after the theater, they cannot return to Istanbul side, because the weather is too rainy. The time is late, and the hotels are closed, hence, Hulusi Efendi offers to go to a brothel to stay the night. Ahmet Efendi rejects this offer. Hulusi Efendi, however, implies that it is very normal to end the night in a house like that, after this kind of entertainment in Beyoğlu.⁷² Here it can be comprehended that Turkish men can ramble anywhere without restriction, and that Beyoğlu and prostitution are matched again.

Another example of this match is observed in the novel titled *Bir Kadının Hayatı* by Mehmed Celal. One night, Ziya, Cemal, and Yaver want to rescue a few women working in brothels, and Ziya talks as follows: "Tomorrow evening we must go directly to Beyoğlu. We must enter one of those miserable spaces!"⁷³ Ahmet Mithat emphasizes that "the emergence of brothels in our countries is in conjunction with the spread of

⁷¹ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 70.

⁷² Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Henüz 17 Yaşında* (Ankara: Elips, 2007), pg. 17–21.

⁷³ Mehmed Celal, *Bir Kadının Hayatı* (Istanbul: Anka, 2001), pg. 183-184. "Yarın akşam [...] doğru Beyoğlu'na gitmeliyiz. O sefaletanelerin birisine girmeliyiz!"

European civilization.”⁷⁴ Related with this subject, the author conveys the protagonist Ahmet’s thoughts as follows: “Are those the Franks, oh no! Whichever country they settled, this impurity was derived there.”⁷⁵ According to him, in Anatolia, prostitution is not taken as normal as it is in Beyoğlu, because in Anatolia there are not Frankish people.

In the novel titled *Müşahedat* by Ahmet Mithat, Beyoğlu is again described as a “sinister region” which, because of its increasing foreign population, becomes a place of moral corruption, and virtuous women can hardly be found.⁷⁶ Hence, by the foreign citizens, Beyoğlu and prostitution are connected to each other, and by this way, Beyoğlu is represented as a sinful city.⁷⁷

4.4. Concluding Remarks

This chapter concludes with the idea that the public appearance of woman is one of the main themes in Tanzimat novels. Tanzimat writers criticize the visibility of the woman in public spaces suggesting that woman’s public-ness damage her virtue. In most of the novels there is a comparison between the “respectable woman” and the “non-virtuous woman”. It is important that the authors benefit from the open public spaces in their comparisons. According to the writers, contrary to the “respectable woman”, the “non-virtuous woman” strolls in open public spaces in crowded days in order to view and to be viewed. There are also exceptions about the ways in which public-ness of the woman, such as Ahmet Mithat Efendi’s novel *Vah*. He asserts that to stroll in front of the public should not be perceived as an indicator of losing virtue for woman. The women are responsible to their conscience, not to the society.

Additionally to the “virtue of woman” issue, except from Ahmet Mithat Efendi’s novel *Müşahedat*, all the non-Muslim women are depicted as non-virtuous in the novels. Although they are seen as frivolous, it can be claim that they are freer than the

⁷⁴ Ahmet Mithat, *Henüz 17 Yaşında*, p. 123. “Bizim memleketlerde kerhanelerin çıkışı, Avrupa medeniyetinin yayılması üzerine olmuştu.”

⁷⁵ Ahmet Mithat, *Henüz 17 Yaşında*, p. 142. “[O] Frenkler yok mu, yok mu Frenkler? İşte onlar hangi memlekete girmişlerse orada bu murdarlık türemiştir.”

⁷⁶ Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Müşahedat*, pg. 136-137, 142.

⁷⁷ It can also be claimed that, in these novels, it is emphasized as a sub-text that the population of Beyoğlu is different in comparison with the other regions.

Muslim women in public. Whilst the non-Muslim women are spending time with males in cafés, theatres, restaurants and pubs, the Muslim women are not seen in this kind of spaces. Furthermore, in Vartan Paşa's *Akabi Hikayesi* the Armenian men and women, who are Christians, stroll in open public spaces together, unlike the Muslim ones. Hence, it can be claimed that especially the public-ness of the women differs according to religion.

The issue of public-ness is made a case also for men. The writers again use the open public spaces in order to define the personality of a man who is willing to show off in public. These are mostly the ruling class members. As it is mentioned in Chapter 2 that the modernization attempts were instigated by the ruling class in the 18th century and they continued in the 19th century. So these changes affected first the elite class and their daily life. They cannot internalize these changes and tried to be westernized in appearance. At that point the Tanzimat writers criticize these elites and call them "alafranga". They humiliate these characters because of their imitative life style and lack of knowledge of science, literature, language and general culture. So the authors create schematic pair characters which are contrary to each other. When one of the pair is idealized and portrayed as someone interested in scientific developments, who can speak foreign languages fluently and at the same time is connected to Ottoman culture and life style. These ideal characters are neither traditionalists nor "alafrangas". They are in-between, which suggests the writers' status in the society.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

5.1. Concluding Discussion

We observe that unlike Baudelaire, Balzac and Flaubert, the Tanzimat writers' concern is less related with explaining the phenomenon of "modernity", modernizations, or the urban experience caused by them. Rather they oppose the "new" behavior patterns emerging in the society due to westernization. So their discourse is towards informing, guiding and advising the society in a didactic way for sustaining social and cultural values in an era of social transformations. In the literature reviewed in Chapter 1, we understand that the urban transformations in Paris were not only within the radar of the aforementioned writers, but they also dwelled on these changes for disclosing the class differences and power relations within the society. Almost in none of the Tanzimat novels do we read about the physical changes after the fires that happened in Istanbul or about the new squares opened in the second half of the 19th Century. It is curious to note that such transformations do not find any reflection in the narratives. Perhaps one reason for this is that what can be comparable to Paris's transformations would happen in the 1950s of Istanbul.

Instead, the district that includes Pera and Galata dominates the novels. The area is rich with activities, bringing social and commercial functions together and offering a potential to bring everyone together. On the other hand, with its physical and social atmosphere it is almost a part of the West in Istanbul. This creates an opportunity for the authors to locate Westernization and place it against the values that authors suggest to sustain in the novels.

The Tanzimat novels dwell on spatial dualities constructed between 'inside' and 'outside' the house, which, in social dimension is parallel with the duality of 'man' and 'woman', and between the walled city of 'Istanbul' and 'Pera', which, in conceptual dimension is parallel to the distinctions between the 'old' and the 'new' as well as between the 'Ottoman Empire' and 'Europe'.

Public space is anywhere outside the house, and it is only free to men. Novels suggest that the place of negotiation for women to be able to be in the public is the parks and excursion grounds. Galata and Pera are socially forbidden to the Muslim women and it is suggested that the place is risky even for men, because stepping the district only starts a series of unfortunate events.

5.2. Comments for Future Research

This research focused only on the 19th century Tanzimat novels. For future research, in order to understand the relationship between public spaces and public life of the 19th Century deeper, various sources can be put into dialogue with each other. Tanzimat authors' biographies and their biographical geographies can be added as a dimension to the interpretation. Moreover the texts, such as diaries, travel books, etc. written by temporary inhabitants' of Istanbul, such as, travelers' and consuls' and their households' memories can be analyzed for comparison. Also, the 19th century newspapers, journals, and magazines can be examined in order to see how spatial practice in public spaces reflected in this dimension of the public sphere.

Another dimension of a future study would be exploring the relationship between privacy and publicity. Since this thesis focused only on the topic of public space, depiction of the private spaces, locations of private and intimate spheres are intentionally left outside; but the novels are rich for examining and comparing these two realms of spatial practice. An interesting addition within the same perspective would be to include the Servet-i Fünun novels for analysis, since those novels, on one hand, catch Tanzimat novels in terms of period and, on the other hand, acknowledged to be quite different in terms of content and locational choices.

As a method, the thesis discerned and listed spatial categories in the novels and then explored their connections to the differences in spatial practices and socio-cultural values as they had been narrated by the Tanzimat authors. Particularly in Chapter 3, one can see that the research benefits more from mapping a novel both in terms of geography and narrated time as an analytical approach. Not only that it gives an outsider a better view of the relationship between the novel and the city, it also unwraps the connection between discourse, content, and rhythm of the narrative by such a

visualization. Due to time constraints such a mapping could only be done for one novel, but future work can utilize this method for other novels.

Lastly, a few words should be stated about the geographical mapping of the novel. Perhaps this is one of the most exciting yet underdeveloped aspects of the study. There are two ways that visualizations in the future can help exploring the relationship between city's physical and social landscape. When one mapping can have a rigorous historical approach, the other can be more towards understanding and emphasizing the subjective realm and psychological atmospheres of the stories. Nevertheless, overlapping and juxtaposing both would, probably, worth the effort.

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