THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
BAHÇEŞEHİR UNIVERSITY

ARCHITECTURE, NOSTALGIA & PUBLIC INTERIORS: THE CASE OF HOTEL LOBBIES

M. S. THESIS

NORA WAJDI

ISTANBUL, 2014

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Title of the Master's Thesis:	Architecture, Nostalgia & Public Interiors: the Case of Hotel Lobbies
Name / Last Name of the Student:	Nora WAJDI
Date of the Thesis Defense:	TBA.06.2014

The thesis has been approved by the Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tunç BOZBURA
Graduate School Director

I certify that this thesis meets all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Architecture.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Emine Özen EYÜCE
Program Coordinator

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that we find it fully adequate in scope, quality and content, as a thesis for the degree Master of Science.

Examining Comitee Members	Signatures
Thesis Supervisor Assist. Prof. Dr. Nilay ÜNSAL GÜLMEZ	:
Member Assoc. Prof. Dr. Emine Özen EYÜCE	:
Member Assist. Prof. Dr. Ela KAÇEL	:

To Eser Hanım

The most nostalgic lady I know.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank my advisor Nilay Ünsal Gülmez for her patience, guidance and understanding, as well as for always generously offering me her expertise and precious time. Thank you for going through my countless drafts and reading notes and for your willingness to always provide helpful feedback. Your support made the completion of this research an unforgettable experience.

Thank you to Özen Eyüce and Elâ Kaçel for giving me the opportunity to improve my work with the help of their very constructive critique.

I would also like to say thank you to the Architecture Department at Bahçeşehir University where I enjoyed learning and growing academically in a friendly and supportive environment.

A special thank you to the lovely ladies of the International Women of Istanbul Club who took the time and gave me insight into their lives in order to help me complete my case study.

Thank you to Rebecca Schneider, an unbelievable friend who I shared a beautiful year and most of this journey with.

Finally, I cannot express deeply enough the gratitude I have for the unconditional love and support of my family. Thank you to my grandparents, for always believing in me. Thank you to my parents for making my Masters education a possibility. Thank you for your endless patience, encouragement and guidance. I would not have been able to complete this thesis without your emotional support.

May 12, 2014 **Nora Wajdi**

ABSTRACT

ARCHITECTURE & PUBLIC INTERIORS: NOSTALGIA AT HOTEL LOBBIES

Nora Wajdi

Master of Architecture

Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Nilay Ünsal Gülmez

June 2014, 116 pages

In this thesis I focus on the conception of nostalgia in public interiors with an emphasis and case study on hotel lobbies. Within the scope of the literature review, I discuss the various definitions of nostalgia, through the concepts of melancholia, utopia, Zygmunt Bauman's *escape* and its relation to the decade. Furthermore, I examine narrative nostalgia, its commercialisation through the American film industry and Western narrative nostalgia's impact on the mystification of the East especially through the depiction of the veiled Ottoman harem women. Analysing the orientalisation of the end-of-nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire and the Western modernisation of Istanbul in the 50s provides the basis for a comparative research on the concept of nostalgia at the hotel lobbies of the mythical Pera Palace Hotel (with its famous guests arriving en masse via the Orient Express) and the Hilton Hotel Istanbul, which rose as the first modernist hotel in Turkey at a time of a national identity crisis and an overall melancholy for a lost cityscape. With this research, including semi-structured interviews at both hotel lobbies, I investigate the tendency of varying female individuals to experience nostalgia depending on their degree of attachment to memories of their own past, while unfolding the impact of spatial elements, such as furniture, colours and dimensions that call forth nostalgia in hotel lobbies due to narratives and experiences associated with them.

Keywords: architecture, public interiors, nostalgia, hotel lobbies, orientalism, modernism

ÖZET

MİMARİ & HALKA AÇIK İÇ MEKANLAR: OTEL LOBİLERİNİN NOSTALJİSİ

Nora Wajdi

Mimarlık Yüksek Lisans Programı

Tez Danışmanı: Assist. Prof. Dr. Nilay Ünsal Gülmez

Haziran 2014, 116 sayfa

Bu çalışmada kamusal iç mekanlarda nostaljı kavramına odaklanılarak otel lobileri üzerine karşılaştırmalı bir araştırma yapılmıştır. Tezin literatür araştırması kısmında 'nostalji' kavramına farklı yaklaşımlar, melankoli, ütopya, Zymunt Bauman'ın *kaçış'ı* ve onun *onyıl* kavramıyla ilişkisi üzerinden tartışılmaktadır. Ayrıca anlatısal nostalji (narrative nostalgia), ve onun Amerikan film endüstrisi tarafından metalaştırılması, özellikle peçeli Osmanlı kadını ve harem olgusu üzerinden Doğu'nun mistifikasyonuna katkısı; 19. Yüzyıl sonu Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na yönelik Batı kaynaklı oryantalist yaklaşımlar ve 1950'ler İstanbul'unun modernleşmesi ayrıntılı olarak incelenerek tezin alan araştırmasının temelini oluşturmuştur. Alan araştırması için Orient Express misafirlerini ağırlayan efsanevi/söylencesel Pera Palas Oteli lobisi ve tam da bir kimlik bunalımı yaşanan ve şehir peyzajının yokoluşuna dair melankolinin deneyimlendiği dönemde Türkiye'deki ilk modernist otel olarak beliren Hilton'un lobisi seçilmiş; her iki otelde yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmelerle kendi geçmişlerine bağlılık düzeyleri farkılaşan kadınların nostalji'yi deneyimleme eğilimleri ve seçilen iki otel lobisinin nostaljik çağrışımlar yapan mekansal ve donatısal öğeleri karşılaştırmalı olarak incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mimari, halka açık iç mekanlar, nostalji, otel lobileri, oryantalizm, modernizm

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1. INTRODUCTION

I attended afternoon tea at the Pera Palace Hotel, Istanbul. Walking into the colonnaded marble hall I came across a middle-aged lady, whose face was framed by a beautiful beige hat. Sitting on an antique wooden chair at the corner of the central hall, she conversed with her elegantly dressed friends and enjoyed her tea out of a fine china cup. Piano music was echoing in the hall…and this beige hat stood in contrast with present time, but beautifully blended with the marble, the furniture, the outfit of the waitresses and the windows' latticework. The hat matched the occasion; the era the hotel is representing. If the hat were to leave the lobby and step out into the turmoil of 21st century touristic Istanbul, heads would turn. But here, in the midst of Agatha Christie and Ernest Hemingway's inspirational playing grounds for classics, the hat seemed to have returned home. As if it remembered the times of glamour and chic of the Orient Express and was now kept hostage in a round box atop a wardrobe, and only had its dust blown off for rare occasions such as these.

Nostalgia is a phenomenon, in my opinion, closely related to architectural space. The intriguing part is how one perceives it. Everyone has his or her own emotions and observations about a space. Rarely however do we share them to see how they differ from one another. I came to think: could the conception of nostalgia in public interiors vary not only according to one's knowledge about the history of a place, but is also related to one's own memories and cultural background?

It also interested me whether or not there is a connection between how well an individual remembers and cherishes their memories and how prone this person is to picking up nostalgia in a public space through interior design and furniture that relate to the past or a personal experience. To what extent and through what factors can an interior design trigger memories and fictional sceneries of golden, bygone eras?

1.1. SCOPE OF STUDY

This thesis is focusing on the connection between spatial conception and nostalgia and their impact on the quest for equilibrium between an individual identity in modern society and one's roots. Does the design of a space have the power to alter preferences regarding design and style? For example, could a turn-of-the-century-designed lounge call forth feelings of nostalgia within its visitors? Would this nostalgia be narrative or experienced? The person's background in this case would be vital information, since childhood and upbringing are often triggers for nostalgia. This thesis will explain and elaborate on the concept of nostalgia, its first associations and its evolution as well as in which form it applies to our current society in public interiors.

After reading Alfred Kazin's quote "The sons revenge on their fathers, grandsons need the comfort of their grandfathers" (Duranti 2006) I questioned whether people have really lost their identity and roots. Audrey Hepburn, as Holly Golightly in *Breakfast at Tiffany's*, serves as an iconic example of identity crisis in modern New York City with a focus on traditional values at Tiffany & Co. As many advantages the International Style brought with it, many associations can be made between this progress and lack of identity.

I want to research how changes in architectural location (and dislocation) can alter conception of public spaces and call forth a form of nostalgia. To what extent do individuals enjoy their current state of being and to what extent do their perceptions of an idealized past develop?

After explaining the aim, scope and the methodology of the thesis in the introduction part, in order to understand the various forms that can apply, the second chapter defines these forms (including mythic, modern and narrative nostalgia) and their relations to other psychological symptoms such as paranoia, melancholia and hypochondria are discussed.

The third chapter focuses on the creation of mythic nostalgia in the Ottoman Empire at

the end of the nineteenth century due to Western orientalisation of the East as well as European influence on Ottoman architecture. The American series *I Dream of Jeannie* (1965) is used as an example to show Western domestication of Eastern elements. Special attention is given to the Pera Palace Hotel, where the lobby serves as a nostalgic mirror into a time when the Orient Express carried intrigued Europeans to the land of djinns and belly dancers.

Concentrating on the 50s in Turkey in chapter four facilitates a comparison of opposite nostalgic imagery. The country's break from Ottoman tradition with the fall of the Empire and the founding of the Republic of Turkey caused debates regarding the representational style of the era and left the country initially up-rooted. Following the early years of the Republic in its "revolutionary socio-political context" (Cimdina & Osmond 2007) of the 30s, with an overall air of enthusiasm for modernisation, Sedad Hakkı Eldem's and SOM's Hilton Hotel became the symbol of the New Republic and for my study presents the counterpart to Pera Palace Hotel for a comparison of different versions of nostalgia that can be experienced in a hotel lobby.

Therefore nostalgia's relation with spatial conception in terms of interior design and architecture of public spaces through precedent studies will provide the foundation for this research, focusing mainly on Turkey at the end of the nineteenth century (where Pera had its flourishing period) and the 50s with Sedad Hakkı Eldem's new Turkish national identity and the rise of the Hilton Hotel. A mixed method research on the lobbies of Pera Palace Hotel and Hilton Hotel is conducted; data gathered with various techniques has been analysed and findings are evaluated and discussed in chapter five.

1.2. METHODOLOGY

Reviewing and filtering literature on nostalgia, the end-of-nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire with a focus on Pera Palace Hotel, the rise of modernism in the Republic of Turkey and the Hilton Hotel helped me formulate my field research.

Through a mixed method research, I analysed and evaluated individuals' preferences of public interior design in terms of their conception of nostalgia. This research benefits from a variety of data gathering techniques. Within the scope of the qualitative part of the thesis semi-structured interviews were conducted with selected sampling. Meanwhile behaviour of participants was observed in detail in order to detect if there are differences in the two hotel lobbies. Moreover, participants were shown image cards of the two hotels' artefacts and style at one time addressing the same topic in two varying styles.

The interviews were carried out in the hotel lobbies of Pera Palace and Hilton Hotel with the same group and sampling questions/cards. Participants were invited to the two hotel lobbies for tea and sandwiches.

The sampling was composed of three groups with varying knowledge about the location: whilst one third of the group was aware of the hotel's history, one third had no information on the place whatsoever and the last group was fed narratives on the hotel's history and Istanbul at the time of the hotel's flourishing period. Moreover, in-depth interviews with a Turkish lady who is a descendant of Ottoman elite and with the managers of Pera Palace (see Appendix-5 & Appendix-6) and Hilton Hotel (see Appendix-7 & Appendix-8) gives further information on spatial qualities, history and the commercialisation of nostalgia at the public interiors, and in the case of the lady, customer experience and differences between *then* and *now*.

The first group (with prior knowledge) was able to give insight on personal preparation prior to the visit, dress codes at both lobbies at their flourishing periods through first-hand and second-hand information as well as posture and behaviour. The second group (with no prior knowledge) showed whether a completely new place had the power to evoke feelings of longing for a past and the third group revealed the possibility of narrative nostalgia by being informed about certain nostalgic aspects of the lobbies. Part of the study is the connection between the ability to recall complex childhood memories and how prone one is to experience nostalgia more intensely than others. The interviews therefore included a question about the earliest childhood memory the participants can

remember.

At the lobbies, semi-structured interviews gave insight into the participants' childhood, their happiest/saddest/earliest childhood memory, their family homes' style, their knowledge of Turkish history (as far as it concerns the history of the hotel), their associations with the hotel and their idea of dress code. It was vital to gather information on their conception of the space and whether or not they could envision a nostalgic (fictional or realistic) scene at the place. What feelings were they developing in regards to the space, why did they feel comfortable or uncomfortable? What objects did they consider nostalgic and why? Which attributes of the room spoke to them the most? What was the reason? Did the interior design and atmosphere remind the participants of a different place they have visited? If they were to come again, would they prefer to dress differently? What would they consider the perfect outfit at this place at this time of day?

Then, two images (one depicting Hilton's artefacts and style; the other Pera Palace's) were shown. My attempt was to understand how individuals choose styles according to the setting they are in. Would a participant be influenced by the surrounding interior and choose image cards accordingly? The answers were recorded and reactions observed and noted.

The data gathered through semi-structured interviews was subjected to content analysis and the images selected by the participants in the two hotel lobbies were comparatively analysed. Findings were then visually displayed. There were certain questions I wished to unfold with the findings of this research. Which cards were preferred at which lobby? How were participants dressed given their knowledge of the place? Is there a pattern or recurring style in clothing, behaviour and preference at a place? Did participants who can associate real memories with the place, dress and act differently than the ones with narrative knowledge?

My aim was, through triangulation, namely by use of various data gathering techniques to verify the data in order to clearly understand what versions of nostalgia can occur

during this research. The following chapter explains the term, its symptoms, evolution of its meaning and alternatives that have to be considered.

2. NOSTALGIA

According to the Oxford Dictionary "nostalgia" stands for:

- "sentimental longing or wistful affection for a period in the past:
  I was overcome with acute nostalgia for my days at university
- something done or presented in order to evoke feelings of nostalgia"[1]

The term, originating in the late 18th century, translates the German word *Heimweh* from the Greek *nostos* (return home) and *algos* (pain) into acute homesickness (Boym 2001).

In my opinion the relation of human homesickness to tradition and its connection to one's own identity is inevitable. At a time of immense human progress in a society so fast-paced that one will regularly stumble, running forward and keeping up has hindered from turning around and looking back; which would ultimately cause one to fall, and fail, when realizing how far from home (be it time or place) one is. This kind of uprooting is what calls forth nostalgia.

Svetlana Boym (2001) interviewed immigrants in the United States. She realised that especially these individuals who left because of personal and political reasons, would see nostalgia as a "taboo". As if they were afraid of the "Lot's Wife situation", where turning back to look at a memory would be too much to handle… In terms of the metaphor, looking back would turn them into a pillar of salt…or as I would put it: cause them to stumble in the present. Emotionless forward-looking was the only possible road. The U-turn to roots was left as a possible journey for children and grandchildren.

A perfect example of this (which would fall under narrative nostalgia and will be discussed in following sections) is a German couple's first visit to their parents' previous hometown Königsberg, now Kaliningrad, after the opening of the Soviet Union (Boym 2001). Obviously only little could be recognised, but smells of "dandelions and hay" (Boym 2001) brought back memories of stories told by their ancestors. The man washed his face in a river and screamed in agony because the water

[1] http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/nostalgia

(which must have been once described as clean enough to bathe in) was now a toxic liquid waste dump. The visitors' illusion of a perfect home away from home was broken.

The author quotes it as a "theme park of lost illusions" (Boym 2001). If the couple never visited before, what were they nostalgic for? It could not have been Königsberg/Kaliningrad. The couple was nostalgic for their parents' stories through which they became the architects of their own dreamland, "a romance with one's own fantasy", that can only be established and continue existing in a "long-distance relationship" (Boym 2001).

This example shows that nostalgia, no matter if it is narrative or experienced, can only exist under one pre-condition: that it remains in the state of two separate images. On one side one has the *now*, the *here*, the *home*, on the other the *past*, the *there*, the *abroad*. If one were to try combining the two, the concept would fail. In the 17th century, Swiss doctors believed that opium, leeches and travelling to the Alps could cure nostalgic symptoms. 20th century began with longing for utopia and ended with a wishful nostalgic thinking. In the 21st century, we have realized that it is an "incurable modern condition…from a curable disease into an incurable condition…*maladie du pays* to *mal du siècle*" (Boym 2001).

So, a modern generalisation of nostalgia could be "refusing to surrender to irreversibility of time" (Boym 2001). Cases of such refusals are often during rapid changes and progress such as the *Haussmannization* of Paris. Citizens could no longer recognize it and have lost part of their identity with the rapid changing of the city.

"We ripped open the belly of old Paris, the neighbourhood of revolt and barricades, and cut a large opening through the almost impenetrable maze of alleys, piece by piece, and put in cross-streets whose continuations terminated the work."

Baron Haussmann, *Memoires*.

A similar uprooting of identity was the case in mid-twentieth century Turkey by Henri Prost, where the diminishing of past elements built the foundation of the new Turkish Republic. Unfortunately, eradication of past to better the future also meant the clearing

of important urban fabric. Mass propaganda by the United States portrayed the image of what the ideal Turkish modern woman should dress like, live like and behave like (Fisher, Keeble, Lara-Betancourt & Martin 2011).

Figure 2.1: ***Breakfast at Tiffany's***

Source: http://media.vogue.com/files/filecheck/2013/11/08/department-store-films-breakfast-at-tiffanys_154255775281.jpg_gallery_max.jpg

In other words, the settled, cultural Ottoman woman is now told to unlink herself from her past, her tradition, her upbringing and even spatial arrangements she is used to in order to be mobile, travelling and active. She is told that living in an empty apartment with empty bookshelves, no furniture and a nameless cat, as Holly Golightly (Figure 2.1) does in *Breakfast at Tiffany's*, is chic (Fisher et al. 2011). But really, the goal of Holly's longing in the movie is to get away from her anonymous private space and enter the realms of a nostalgic public space: Tiffany & Co. This analysis of public spatial design and the impact nostalgia has on visitors is what this thesis will focus on.

2.1. DEFINITION, ETYMOLOGY & SYMPTOMS

The term nostalgia derives from the Greek *nostos* (return) and *algos* (suffering). Its meaning however did not root in Ancient Greece: Johannes Hofer, a Swiss doctor, popularized the word through his studies for his dissertation in 1688. He believed it is possible to "define the sad mood originating from the desire for return to one's native land" (Boym 2001). In other words, to identify the disease of homesickness. According to Hofer, nostalgia is rooted in medicine, and not, as the colloquial use of the term suggests, in poetry or psychology. Through Hofer's efforts and a 17th century study on displacement, nostalgia became a diagnosed disease in various groupings of people, such as Swiss soldiers fighting abroad or domestic servants working in neighbouring countries (Boym 2001).

Nostalgia, as a disease, was known to call forth flawed depictions that could cause the victim to lose touch with present reality. A yearning for the homeland absorbs all daily activities and turns into a mental obsession. Symptoms include indifference to any present occupation, misperception of past and present and of actual and fictional incidents. Dr. Albert von Haller (1708 – 1777), a Swiss physiologist, naturalist, anatomist and poet, states: "One of the earliest symptoms is the sensation of hearing the voice of a person that one loves in the voice of another with whom one is conversing, or to see one's family again in dreams" (Boym 2001).

Hofer's works helped discover the condition and turn it into a recognised Western phenomenon. A sub-identification of the disease is *feigned nostalgia*, a more serious, contagious epidemic particularly occurring amongst soldiers. According to Boym (2011) men suffered from "nausea, loss of appetite, pathological changes in lungs, brain inflammation, cardiac arrest, high fever, marasmus and propensity for suicide". One's memory of the senses, such as tastes, smells and sounds impose a strong longing to home. The gastronomic and auditory triggers that seem to have a particular strong ability in sparking nostalgic yearnings are another factor differentiating the terms: Swiss scientists discovered that home-cooked soups, local fresh milk, and folklores of the Alpine regions generated very intense homesickness in Swiss soldiers, whilst Scots

experienced the same feelings when hearing bagpipes. It demobilized them to such extremes that superiors had to ban any folksongs, singing and even whistling, since music proved to be a trigger for nostalgia. Hofer recommended temporal treatments, but was aware that the most natural, logical and permanent cure would be the return home. After conducting his studies he felt pride towards these homesick soldiers: the nostalgia he identified could be set equal with extreme patriotism to the extent of sickness (Boym 2001).

According to Margalit (2011) nostalgia alters memories; it idealizes the past: "Nostalgia takes a free ride on memory: it removes disturbing thoughts about the past and retains only the good ones." This experience however is always a disappointing one once the patient really does return home, since neither the individual, nor the *home* will be the same. The patient's future content will be shattered by his present idealization of the past.

According to Boym (2001), two types of nostalgia represent and describe the feeling of belonging, a feeling that all humans share but interpret, experience, and explain differently; whether it is a nostalgia for a made-up community, an imagined home(land) or a past.

1) Restorative nostalgia: more *nostos*. "Reconstruction of monument of the past"
   To understand it, it is important to see the difference between past traditions and traditions of reconstructing the past. "Age-old customs" and 19th century "invented traditions"

2) Reflective nostalgia: more *algia*. Dreaming of "another place and another time"

Paranoiac nostalgia is a dark nostalgia that incorporates attributes about paranoiac visions of conspiracies against oneself and against one's return home. Unless such fear is present in one's longing for home, nostalgia is seldom a harmful emotion (Boym 2001).

2.2. NOSTALGIA & MELANCHOLIA

According to Galenic belief, melancholia describes the disease of black bile that affects the human bloodstream, and causes physical and emotional symptoms such as dizziness, headache, restless sleep, growling stomach, nightmares, fear, depression and anxieties. In a more contemporary look on things however, Charles Baudelaire's statement seems to summarize its psychological definition (Boym 2001).

Figure 2.2: *Cavit Paşa Köşkü*, Bağdat Caddesi, İstanbul

Source: http://www.onaygencturk.com/img/s1/v5/p567192470-3.jpg

Charles Baudelaire's (1887) definition of melancholy in *Journaux Intimes* as mentioned by Akcan (2006) is:

I have found the definition of the beautiful. It is something intense and sad … and a desire for life together with a bitterness, which flows back upon them as if from a sense of deprivation and hopelessness…Melancholy may be called her illustrious spouse, so much so that I can scarcely conceive a type of beauty which has nothing to do with sorrow.

"Poverty, defeat, and the feeling of loss" (Akcan 2006) cause melancholy according to Orhan Pamuk. He defines its underlying idea as *Hüzün*, a Turkish term that is untranslated in English, but means as much as "deep sorrow, grief, or solitude" (Akcan 2006).

Pamuk believes two versions of melancholy are possible to be experienced. The first is an individual feeling of loss. The individual preserves the memory of an object and by doing so internalizes it into his/her own ego to such an extent that the loss of the object becomes synonymous with the loss of one's own ego. The second possibility is the melancholy for a cityscape, in Turkish, *manzara*. This version should, according to Pamuk, be "treated as (an) intertwined *construction*, a production defined through a series of cultural exchanges" (Akcan 2006). This melancholy is independent and refers to the object itself. It is not related to the individual who could lose his/her own ego in the process of working through a loss, but instead focuses on the beauty of the lost (Akcan 2006). An example would be memories of one's own house that has now fallen into ruins, such as the Cavit Paşa Köşkü (Figure 2.2). Deserted, it now stands alone in the midst of five-storey apartment blocks. For the first version of melancholy one has to consider oneself the previous owner or resident of the house. Seeing it in this state would cause a painful melancholic feeling of loss. For the second version, one stands as a complete outsider and solely observes the sad beauty associated with the house. One can feel the ambience of a bygone era where children would play in the garden and women would sit on the balcony drinking tea. There is however no feeling of a personal loss.

Generally speaking the "sad beauty" of melancholy has been described by writers such as Abdulhak Sinasi Hisar as a pendulum swinging between opposing feelings such as

"Joy – grief
Cheerfulness – despair
Love – hate
Overconfidence – unjustified fear"

Now, the definition of *Hüzün* according to Pamuk would be a collection of the intertwined relation of the two versions of melancholy I have described. The memory, fictional or real, creating nostalgia can be of completely positive emotions without leaving a bitter taste. Melancholy and *Hüzün* on the other hand carry the burden of something lost (Akcan 2006).

2.3. NOSTALGIA AND THE DECADE

J. S. Smith (1998) believes time is generally categorised into linear (years, millennia) and circular (seasons) and that the decade does not fit into either one: it consists of "temporally fragmented snapshots".

The invention of the decade came in the late 19th century, early 20th century, when time was no longer defined by marks in history, like wars, dynasties or Renaissance and instead focused on this ten-year time-span because it would end with a zero. This phenomenon is principally an American one. Smith's (1998) explanation for its occurrence is that the United States' history does not extend as far as many other countries and hence gives it more sub chapters to display and name: Roaring Twenties, Swinging Sixties.

In the 1920s, the perception of nostalgia was also altered. The era's new speed caused nostalgia for simpler times, for a less chaotic age. This generation replaced the meaning of nostalgia's medical definition *acute homesickness* by *longing for the past*. Nostalgia was not longer a matter of location (which could ultimately have been healed) but a matter of time (Smith 1998).

This change was however necessary for individuals to comprehend their present through past narratives. The past defines the present. Hence, there was a national call for feelings of a zeitgeist. Generational thinking became a significant attribute. The sons rejected what pre-war generations held most precious: "The sons revenge on their fathers, grandsons need the comfort of their grandfathers" (Duranti 2006).

It has proven itself that in difficult times, where the future is uncertain, people tend to look back at tradition and roots, rather than run towards the unknown. The next chapter focuses on the human psychology in times of turmoil and their reactions regarding nostalgia and utopia.

2.4. ANTICIPATION - NOSTALGIA VERSUS UTOPIA

Nostalgia has a utopic attribute in itself. This utopic attribute however is not a futuristic one. It does not always address a precise past either. It is more a sort of derailment into a side street off of a futuristic utopia – nostalgia. It is a made-up place at a made-up time (Boym 2001).

Our increase in technology also increased the possibility of special effects and the rebirth of the *Titanic*, *Jurassic Park* dinosaurs, *Gladiator*s and never existent genies in orientalist series such as *I dream of Jeannie.*

Therefore, progress did not cure nostalgia but facilitated the making of its image. The demand for such reproduced images of nostalgia, in my opinion, proves that with globalisation local attachment does not cease. “Survivors of the twentieth century, we are all nostalgic for a time when we were not nostalgic. But there seems to be no way back” (Boym 2001).

One explanation of nostalgia in terms of the past is the threshold from Gemeinschaft (home) to Gesellschaft (equivalent to a foreign country): entering public life is like emigrating from home. Therewith everyone is nostalgic in one way or another. The modern human has ever since domestication been a “deprived creature racked with homesickness for the wild” and therefore yearns for imagery presenting its state of being. Being “nostalgic for a prenostalgic state of being” (Boym 2001).

Mass nostalgia to prenostalgic times usually follows disasters such as World War I and World War II. Marco Duranti (2006) describes the public demand for nostalgic, familiar exhibits in preference over utopic inventions at the New York World Fairs before and during the Second World War. In times of the unknown, where the anticipated does not happen, or the future seems too uncertain (may it be negative or positive) people tend to cling to what they know rather than try imagining what could be. “Nostalgic rendering of their cultural heritage”: in life-changing incidents, the human mind seems overwhelmed by rapid fluctuations and innovations (Duranti 2006).

One of the reasons for human yearning for the past is the psychological perception of time: our Judeo-Christian linear perception - as opposed to the pagan concept of cyclical eternal repetition - gives no possibility of reappearance nor recurrence (Duranti 2006).

This issue was less apparent before the 13th century; before the invention of the mechanical clock. The question "what time is it?" was usually unnecessary. People had numerous problems to handle, but lack of time was not one of them. This time-less wellbeing people experienced also kept them from worrying about controlling the future.

The late Renaissance depicted time through images. It was divided up into past, present and future. According to Duranti (2006) history was not considered a compilation of previous occurrences, of never recurring incidents, but was considered a "repertoire of examples and role models for the future", the teacher of life: "*historia magistra vita"*.

Duranti (2006) argues that from the 17th to 19th century this representation has changed: man moved away (or forward as he would say) from symbolic human figures, from the "old man, the blind youth holding the hourglass and the woman with bared breasts representing Fate" and moved on to numbers and to railroad schedules. With numbers came a yearning for a less frantic past. With them came a yearning for nostalgia.

Nostalgia often comes in relation with - especially as the opposite of - utopia. According to Zygmunt Bauman's interview with Jacobsen and Tester (2007) two preconditions are required for the existence of utopic dreams:

"1) the overwhelming feeling that the world is not functioning properly the way it is
2) confidence in humanity's capability of fixing it: to replace diseased parts"

Therefore he believes, Roget's Thesaurus was correct in setting utopia's definition in close proximity with: "dreamworld, fairyland, perfection, Garden of Eden, never-never land" (Jacobsen & Tester 2007). Utopian dreams are the substance that make an

uncertain future less threating and give a greater chance of future happiness. It is a "'deregulated', 'privatized', 'individualized' version of old-style visions of good society" (Jacobsen & Tester 2007). In other words: a forward-looking nostalgia.

If we take the anticipated end of the world and World War II as examples, it still appears that backward-looking nostalgia, nostalgia in its definition, is preferred in times of uncertainty. A reason for it might be that people do look back not to live in the past but to seek advice that has seemed to work previously. A safe option: "Modern men and women are still interested in the history of the past… they read it in the hope of finding in it the secret of the present, and even the future" (Jacobsen & Tester 2007).

However, at times where there is neither hope for the future by looking at utopic ideas, nor a positive nostalgic past to fall back on, the only alternative - according to Zygmunt Bauman - is escape (Jacobsen & Tester 2007).

2.5. THE ESCAPE – NOSTALGIA'S AND UTOPIA'S ALTERNATIVE

According to Bauman escape and utopia are semantically opposites, but psychologically each other's only alternatives. Mentioned in a *Times* article was the speculation that "men cannot live without escape" (Jacobsen & Tester 2007). Bauman uses a hunt as the metaphor for escape: When there is no more hope to make the world a better place, the only concern left is survival. Staying amongst the hunters is the only alternative to being one of the hunted (Jacobsen & Tester 2007).

Bauman refers to Blaise Pascal's statement, that what people desire is "being diverted from thinking of what they are…by some novel and agreeable passion which keeps them busy, like gambling, hunting, some absorbing show" (Jacobsen & Tester 2007). People want to escape the need to think of "our unhappy condition…we prefer the hunt to the capture…(catching) the hare (Figure 2.3) itself would not save us from thinking" about the challenging and unchangeable faults in our society, "but hunting does so" (Jacobsen & Tester 2007).

Figure 2.3: Hare

Source: personal case study, 2014

Catching the hare is the anti-climax of the activity. The hare running ahead represents future; hope. Catching it represents an end and hopelessness. This shows that the hunt itself is the escape from reality.

An escape from having to deal with both: nostalgia and utopia could be set equal to the hunt itself, too. Neither one is obtainable. It is an unattainable prize where the hope and cure of human condition lies in trial rather than accomplishment. With regards to the article by Jacobsen and Tester (2007), I created a diagram displaying Bauman's theory in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Pendulum Theory according to Zygmunt Bauman

Hunter	Security	Hare
	Utopia	
	Comfort	
	Future	
	Escape	
	Seduction	
	Delight	
	Hope	
----------→		

One could set it equal to a pendulum. Neither end is ever fully reached. The ball swings in-between and pushes away before ever fully arriving at one end. This is the optimal condition. No other arrangement of human togetherness, present or past, could be seen as perfect for human condition. According to Jacobsen and Tester (2007), history is more of a pendulum than a straight line:

"Each arrangement tried to reconcile incompatible demands, but efforts ended as a rule with resigning a part of one for the sake of gratifying a part of another. And so each rearrangement inspired sooner or later a demand for another; each next step brought more of the 'good things' missing – but at the expense of some other things whose 'goodness', indeed indispensability, was revealed only after the exchange was made (their goodness stayed unnoticed as long as they were 'self-evident', or unproblematic to the point of invisibility)."

In other words, each improvement brings new shortcomings or at least a re-evaluation of the old.

Friedrich Wilhelm Schelling believes that *Erinnerung* (reminiscence) is a "retrospective impact of the end on the beginning. Beginnings stay unclear until the end is reached" (Jacobsen & Tester 2007). In that sense, the past is as flexible as the future and is constantly reshuffling and reassessing its contents.

Freud quotes: "Pendulum-like trajectory of historical sequences, a close proximity of 'forward and backward' or 'utopia' and 'nostalgia' pregnant with confusion is virtually inevitable … And life is spent in the continuous efforts to reconcile the warring sides, though the best one can hope for is a (temporary) armistice…"(Jacobsen & Tester 2007).

This hope for an armistice could also be defined as an individual's effort to combine present and past. Often having lost identity and roots due to progress of society, one tries to balance the pendulum by holding onto and cherishing old values, styles and architecture. The next chapter will analyse the possibility, effects and emotions behind creating this balance, this armistice in the quest for individual identity in modern society, focusing on Turkey during the late 19th century and in the 1950s.

2.6. NARRATIVE NOSTALGIA

If one were to turn the focus back on *Breakfast at Tiffany's*, one finds out quite soon that although the setting for Holly's life is her naked apartment, the positive, homely feeling, she only gets in public spaces: "Tiffany's is where Holly goes when she …is afraid – perhaps because its wooden interiors and organized displays of such longstanding reputation reach back to the kind of solid and secure past she never had as a child" (Fisher 2011). Audrey Hepburn's character is longing for nostalgia that she hadn't actually really encountered in the past. Her *Heimweh* is not homesickness to a home she once had but an imaginary one she associated with tradition, old-fashioned interiors and history. Her homesickness is narrative. She adores Tiffany & Co. not for its unaffordable items but for the idea that generations of people have entered and will continue to enter no matter how fast-paced the world outside is.

In many incidents, the kind of nostalgia one experiences is narrative, in which case one does not feel the pain or the same yearning for a realistic phenomenon. Its fictional quality allows the individual a longing for a never-experienced incident, such as in Holly's case.

A general example would be a Christmas dinner in a countryside-scenery. It could have been an image called forth by a film or book or story told by a relative, and is now triggered through sounds (heard in the film), visuals and scents (described in the book) or details (mentioned in the story). The advantage of narrative nostalgia is the absence of *algos*, of pain. Since no real emotions are associated with the memory, it is usually a more pleasurable and less psychologically strenuous experience. It is of course possible to feel emotions towards the location, smells and sounds that were present whilst experiencing the incident the first time. Taking the Christmas dinner as an example again, a child might have watched a Christmas movie with his siblings and might want to replicate the images. A vital part of it will be the inclusion of the people who made this experience so memorable.

Another attribute that often triggers narrative nostalgia especially in movie plots is its relation to the decade. For example, certain dress code will automatically remind one of a 60s movie even when shot in this century. *Down with Love* (Figure 2.4) is set in 1962 but filmed in 2003. However, color schemes, designs, hairstyles and dress code will ensure nostalgia to a decade many watchers have not themselves experienced.

Figure 2.4: ***Down with Love***

Source: http://sohollywoodchic.blogspot.com.tr/2012/01/60s-swinging-sixties_05.html

If ten people were to read the same book, none of them would take in all the meanings of the text. All readers would present varying versions of the context, since interpretation depends largely on an individual's experience and character. Using the book as a metaphor, one could use the same theory for spaces. If every human being perceives a space differently depending on what they experienced prior and/or were told about the place, then space in general is a "densely marked terrain" (Lewis 2004).

Space is constructed for every individual mind - continuously - through varying, intersecting and ever-changing impressions of design, comprehension of histories and increasing experience with the space itself. However little knowledge one has of a place, perception of it will never be objective. It is to be generalized similarly to the conception of nostalgia. No human being will be able to experience the same nostalgia,

as will no individual be able to experience a space exactly the same as the next person due to their varying pasts. Spatial conception is in my opinion therefore directly related to and affected by how prone an individual is to feeling nostalgic.

2.6.1. COMMERCIALISED NOSTALGIA

Charles Maier states "nostalgia is to memory as kitsch is to art" (Boym 2001). The factory of commercial myths of the last century is Hollywood. The United States attempts to revive pasts and therewith creates the *kitsch* Charles Maier mentioned. The country is said to be "antihistorical", hence the "inculcation of nostalgia" into goods is not more than a capitalist idea. Marketing makes buyers believe they are missing something that they have never actually lost. Arjun Appadurai calls it "ersatz nostalgia": nostalgia with no actual experience. This nostalgia simply consists of goods created through the exploitation of time by the entertainment industry. One of the popular experimental playing grounds where nostalgia is commercialized is the public space such as the hotel lobby (Boym 2001).

A popular cliché is the Orient: In Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* the caterpillar is often depicted with a Turkish cap, smoking shisha. The addition of oriental images instantly mystifies sceneries due to narratives associated with the culture (Scott 2001).

Figure 2.5: *I Dream of Jeannie*

Source: http://www.mymeditationsource.com/wp-content/uploads/i-dream-of-jeannie1.png

An example of exploiting a past and turning it into contemporary kitsch (in the 60s) is the import of a bottle of oriental clichés into the USA. The American series *I Dream of Jeannie* (Figure 2.5) evolves around an astronaut's life (Larry Hagman), who during a crash landing on an island finds a bottle that held captive a two-thousand-year old genie (Barbara Eden). In her pink crop-top (Indian-sari-style), harem pants and Turkish male fez, the blonde (apparently from Baghdad/Babylon) enchants a little town called Coco Beach. Throughout the episodes, Jeannie repeatedly talks about the "old days" and incidents such as her great-great-grandfather's affair with a belly dancer named "Tanya". No attention is paid to accuracy of location and writing, since the Western audience is fed with information on a narrative land - ironically - as fictionally created as the real *Orient*. Figure 2.6 depicts screenshots of the series, where Arabic calligraphy stating *The First Bank of Mecca* is written in Farsi rather than Arabic and a local tourist guide in Mecca is wearing a Turkish fez.

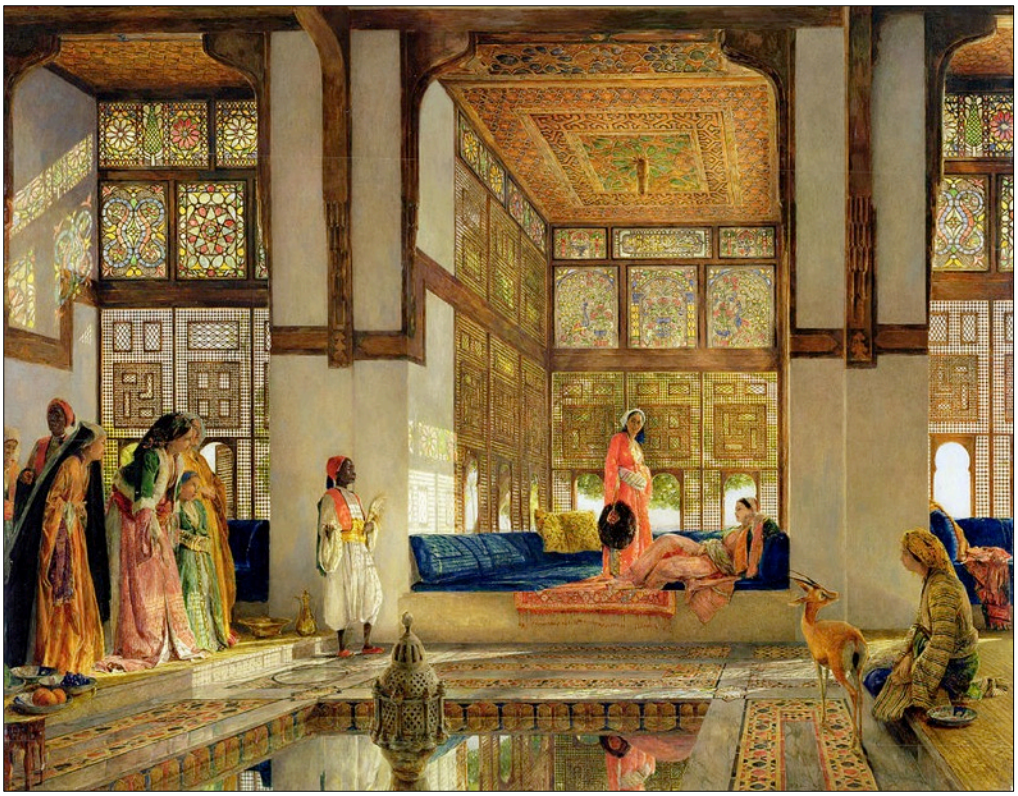
Figure 2.6: screenshots of *I Dream of Jeannie*

Source: Sheldon, S. (Producer), 1965. I dream of Jeannie [Motion Picture]. United States: Screen Gems Television.

This consumer nostalgia for Americanized Hollywood Orientalism originates in narrative nostalgia that goes back a lot further than the American film industry.

2.6.2. MYTHIC NOSTALGIA AND ORIENTALISATION

Figure 2.7: *The Reception*, J. F. Lewis (1873)



Source: Sancar, A., 2011. Ottoman women – myth and reality, Clifton: Tughra Books, pp.38-39.

Within the conception of time, nostalgia is referred to as a historic sensation. References had been made even before the 17th century, not only within European writings but also in Chinese and Arabic poetry. According to Gregory Nagy, a Harvard professor on classics, the word *nostos* is related to the Indo-European term *nes*, which translates into "return to light and life" (Boym 2001).

A perfect example of a mythic nostalgia would be the *orientalisation* of the Islamic world by the West: nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century Europe was intrigued by the ambiguous enchanted mythical Orient, which according to Çelik (1992) discourses "to lands of Islam in the Middle East and North Africa, and in Corbusier's case, solely to Istanbul…" and domesticated it to be fit for local European use (Çelik 1992).

The interrelation between the Occident's fascination with Orient and the Orient's fascination with Occident was "a courtship of mutual fascination, but with ominous political undercurrents of Western imperialist aspirations" (Scott 2001).

The Orient was perceived by the West as a distant land of "harem-like decoration" (such as tents, divans, ornamental pillows, hand-woven silk carpets), pashas, and exotic beautiful women in harems, veiled in exquisite fabrics, as depicted in *The Reception* by J. F. Lewis (Figure 2.7). Here, women, as Le Corbusier pointed out after his visit, seem so alluring to men due to their inaccessibility: "charming in their mysterious black veils, their disquieting anonymity of identical skills, their hidden treasures all alike" (Çelik 1992).

The term "Orientalism" according to Bernard Lewis is a "perversion of language", in my opinion mainly because the *Orien*t had no say in the terminology. He compares it to Lewis Carroll's (1871) writing on Humpty Dumpty's use of the word "glory":

"'*When I use a word,' Humpty Dumpty said in rather a scornful tone, 'it means just what I choose it to mean – neither more nor less.'*
'The question is,' said Alice, 'whether you can make words mean so many different things.'"

When Humpty Dumpty is questioned about his use of a word, which in his eyes meant "a nice knock down argument" he argued, "When *I* use a word…it means just what I choose it to mean, neither more nor less." Humpty Dumpty being the West leaves the East no choice but to give in to the use of wording. Bernard Lewis agrees however, that it is unfortunately correct terminology nowadays due to the "widespread perversion of truth" (Macfie 2000). Humpty Dumpty was apparently right. Orient *can* mean so many different things and the West decides what it means.

Orient and Occident really do only exist in written or imagined form since neither, as Edward Said (1978) explains, is reality. Neither one actually exists.

Figure 2.8: *The Terrace of Seraglio*, Jean-Léon Gérôme (1886)

Source: Germaner, S. & Inankur, Z., 2002. Constantinople and the orientalists, Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, p.151.

Having established, that even though the terminology has a negative connotation and fictional qualities, according to Said (1978) it is important to distinguish between the two Wests that are fantasising about the Orient:

1. The *European* Orient starts at the Eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea. The terminology originates in the close bonds between Britain, France and the Orient (and their domination over it). Their Orient, until the beginning of the 19th century till the end of the Second World War encompassed "India and the Bible lands". It represented the opposite of Europe: a contrast in values, tradition, imagery, smells, sounds and colours.

2. The *American* Orient comprises of regions geographically further East to their location, of which Medieval Europe had little relation to.

A common denominator for the two Orients however is the "intellectual authority" the Western world practiced over the East (Said 1978).

Sibel Bozdoğan (1986) elaborates this discussion by suggesting this created Orient is a "mute" nostalgia. It is a "nostalgic escape, a place of romance, exotic beings, landscapes, experiences. Imaginative geography, stories, myths, beliefs. Static images rather than historical, personal narratives…" (Bozdoğan 1986). Figure 2.8 shows the 1886 painting of *The Terrace of Seraglio* by the Westerner Jean-Léon Gérôme. The painting embodies the mythical representation of the East by the West, since Western painters must have concocted these sceneries in their minds. Realistically, no Western man would have been granted access to the harem.

This form of *orientalisation* was not a realistic representation of Islamic countries, but a Western fabrication of its glorified romantic *Other* through articulation of commonly held stereotypes*;* this *Other* being a filtered version of an Orient that would entice a Western audience and call forth a narrative mythic nostalgia for a foreign land (Bozdoğan 1986). The fantasy of the Orient is a "European-produced visual culture…fabricated for benefit of a curious *Other*-seeking European audience" (Kessler 2006). It is created through a distance to the West, since an actual Orient as such has neither clear boundaries, nor inhibits a definite spectrum of countries and cultures. A question to be raised is in regards to this distance: does this "pseudo-distance" diminish if a stereotypical myth is so repetitive that one could call it familiar? (Burke & Prochaska 2008)

Figure 2.9: ***View of Constantinople*****, Louis François Cassas (date unknown)**

Source: Germaner, S. & Inankur, Z., 2002. Constantinople and the orientalists, Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, p.27.

A location where these stereotypes and clichés displayed a main attraction were the Universal Expositions of the 19th century where various "microcosms" were designed to portray previous traditions, cultures, contemporary topics and future visions. The host country France was in charge of the expos' masterplan and deliberately placed world powers architecturally superior to other nations. It therewith presented a graphic display of the world's contemporary political hierarchy (Çelik 1992).

The main display of the Egyptian pavilion in 1889 was belly dancing, which attracted 2000 visitors daily. Hippolyte Gautier summarized the spectacle as the Parisian initiative to import the Orient.

Ironically, in Egypt, a "semiautonomous governate of the Ottoman Empire in nineteenth century" until the control of the British in 1882, the art of belly dancing was not such an elaborate display. How did it then happen to be such a national representative at the fairs? The belly dance itself originates in ancient empires (even very popular during Roman reign) and is therefore independent to the Islamic religion. In Egypt, unveiled ladies called *ghawazi* performed these dances on public streets. By 1834 this public display was banned and only continued in private interiors. So ironically, just as the native country tried prohibiting the shows and taking them off the streets, European travellers depicted belly dancing in their art and writings for the Parisians and manifested it as Egyptian culture (Çelik 1992).

A similar ritual to the *ghawazi* was common in Istanbul. The *çengi* was a dancer who would be called to private quarters at events. Similarly to the Egyptian example, the custom slowly went out of fashion with the modern upper-middle class and even harems replacing it by Western ballet. At the same time, belly dancing happened to be representing the Ottoman tradition in Paris. This fascination with the oriental dance in Paris directed the art form into a new market segment: the touristic marketing of the Orient for a Western audience (Çelik 1992).

Just like with the example of belly dance, most cliché fantasies are in one way or another adjusted to fit the Western user. This technique through which most these illusions are created include the use of exotic ornamented textiles and objects and using it in a familiar manner in order to give it a sense of familiarity for its European spectators. It is therefore not surprising that Dreollé (Kessler 2006) imagines an oriental woman with European features as follows:

"The Orient for us – it is not the Orient of astronomers or geographers – it is the Eden where women, blond with black eyes or brunette with blue eyes, with white and pink flesh, with smiles sprinkled with pearls, live without living, immersed in clouds of perfumes, enveloped in transparent fabrics…"

The West takes information from the East and displaces it onto the Western female in form of fashion. Fashion, objects and smells call forth a mixture between narrative and mythical nostalgia. Through images and literature, the West is relating to its *Other*, but

a mythical element is part of the experience, since the entire concept is a creation by the outsider.

Even in regards to the arts, the West has successfully used the image of the *Other* to create its own myths: pieces such as Mozart's *Rondo a la Turka*, Beethoven's *Turkish March*, Chassériau's *The Murder in the Seraglio* and art such as Louis François Cassas' *View of Constantinople* (Figure 2.9).

Lady Montagu (wife of the British Ambassador to Turkey) was the first female to give in-depth account and criticized writings by Robert Withers, George Sandys, John Covel, Jean Dumont and Aaron Hill on the subject of females, sexuality, the institution of marriage and Turkish traditions (Macfie 2000).

To generalize it, according to Boym (2001) mythic nostalgia represents the "mourning for the impossibility of mythical return", for "the loss of an enchanted world with clear borders and values", an "edenic unity of time and space before entry into history". In other words, our modern society longs for a turning back of time to an enchanted world.

3. END-OF-NINETEENTH-CENTURY PERA

Figure 3.1: ***Ladies of the harem taking a walk,***
Jean-Baptiste Hilair (1797)

Source: Sancar, A., 2011. Ottoman women – myth and reality, Clifton: Tughra Books, p.100.

The Ottoman Empire, an empire that reigned for an unusually long time from the end of the 13th till the beginning of the 20th century (depicted in Figure 3.1), had at one point spread over three continents. Therefore, defining the Ottoman as a specific race and religion is merely impossible. However, Aslı Sancar (2011) has limited her writings on Ottomans to the Muslims at the centre of the Ottoman Empire.

This chapter will elaborate on the Western orientalisation of the Ottoman Empire and the various mythical nostalgias that have been created according to Western travellers accounts and shed light on the marketability of nostalgia at the Pera Palace Hotel due to the Orient Express.

The impact of the arrival of the Orient Express in the Ottoman Empire built the foundation of the Pera Palace Hotel, which serves as a museum of nostalgic artefacts and operates as the playing ground for various fictional sceneries that will be explained in this chapter.

3.1. ORIENTALISATION OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE BY THE WEST

Ottomans, have various clichés and myths associated with them, mainly due to Western fascination with the faraway lands of belly dancers, flying carpets and magic lamps. Embodying the stereotype of an exotic nostalgia, the Ottoman life sets a perfect example for a narrative, mythic nostalgia as well as a Westernised utopia, due to its orientalisation. Hence, it serves as a temporary escape from reality.

Figure 3.2: *A Turkish Bath*, Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier (1923)

Source: Germaner, S. & Inankur, Z., 2002. Constantinople and the orientalists, Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, p.189.

Orientalisation was not a one-way street where the West *defined* the East, but also a cultural exchange and import of Oriental goods, often *domesticated* for European use. An example of such an import, following a Scottish diplomat's visit and travel literature on the Turkish bath (Figure 3.2), resulted in about 600 *hamams* in Victorian Britain.

Other contributions include the "tulip, coffee, the croissant, the sorbet, the sash; words such as kiosk…sofa…" Even "Vienna's fame as a coffee capital dates from the Ottoman Siege of Vienna in 1683" when Ottoman soldiers left coffee beans en masse during their retreat (Scott 2001).

The export of narrative myths in form of nostalgic realities however became a much more popular trend than every day consumer goods. As much as Europe enjoys croissants and coffee, beautiful women, genies and flying carpets are the narrative utopic escape the West is fascinated by and remembers when envisioning the faraway lands in the East.

Figure 3.3: *Seated Scribe*, Gentile Bellini (1479-81)

Source: Scott, P., 2001. Turkish Delights, London: Thames & Hudson, p.18.

The image of the turban was another symbol subject to Western exploitation and served for movie scenes such as the series *I Dream of Jeannie.* The turban (Figure 3.3), *kavuk*, is an important symbol of the more *mystified* Orient. Layers of silk and cotton cloth were sewn into shape around a red velvet hat (*taj*) to make up this male headwear,

which was even reproduced onto the tombstone (Figure 3.4) to show the rank of the deceased (Scott 2001).

Figure 3.4: Marble tombstone, Eyüp Cemetery, Istanbul

Source: Scott, P., 2001. Turkish Delights, London: Thames & Hudson, p.25.

In 17th and 18th century Europe, turbans became a Western "informal wear" when no wig was worn. A red velvet cap later replaced this trend. In Turkey only females wore this cap with a scarf twirled around it. In 1829, Sultan Mahmud II introduced the fez as part of his modernization project. Just about a century later, Atatürk banned the fez as part of his own modernization project. From then on, the only people to be spotted in traditional Turkish headwear were Western women and nowadays, (whenever recurring in fashion) models on the international catwalks (Scott 2001).

When Sultan Mehmet II (Fatih the Conqueror) took over the ruins of Constantinople in 1453 the Ottoman male, to the West, was a symbol of exotic danger. Misbehaving children in the West were threatened with the bloodthirsty Turk. In 1683, during the Siege of Vienna, Ottoman soldiers resided in a perfectly ordered "canvas city" of tents

at the doors of Vienna. Austrians, who as I have mentioned, had a narrative background on the bloodthirsty Turk, as depicted in Figure 3.5, were astonished to see this dangerous creature planting flower gardens around his ornamented tent (Scott 2001).

Figure 3.5: a) an extract of *Adventures of Verdreau* (1850) &
b) Italian maiolica dish made in Deruta (1535)

Source:

a) Germaner, S. & Inankur, Z., 2002. Constantinople and the orientalists, Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, p.47.

b) Scott, P., 2001. Turkish Delights, London: Thames & Hudson, p.18.

Nevertheless, after the Siege of Vienna, the most popular plays in theatres incorporated polygamous ferocious Turkish men, a beautiful Western princess and a Western hero. Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (1782) was 100 years after the siege and still, the theme was at its height (Scott 2001).

Women on the other hand were depicted mysterious, idle and immoral as well as passive, obedient, repressed and trapped. Admirers on the other hand imagined them to be noble angel-like creatures. According to Z. Duckett Ferrman both versions did not do the Ottoman woman justice (Sancar 2011):

"The Turkish wife has been called a slave and a chattel. She is neither…her legal status is preferable to that of … wives in Europe, and until enactments of … recent date, the English was far more of a chattel than the Turkish wife… In the eyes of the law she is a free agent. She may act independently of her husband… In these respects she enjoys greater freedom than her Christian sisters."

In order to make use of these rights, females would travel to the centre of the Ottoman Empire from countries as far away as Egypt because of wrongdoings in their homelands. Many male European travellers have returned with supposedly accurate accounts and paintings of life of the Ottoman woman. Veiled beauties (Figure 3.6) are jailed in golden cages similarly to exotic birds that are trapped for their owner's fascination with them. Ironically however, the harem meaning "that which is forbidden, protected or sacred" (Scott 2001) would never permit male guests to enter. The only men who could come close enough to paint such an image were blood-relatives (father and siblings) as well as the father-in-law. Therefore, information carried to the West was either second-hand information or the traveller's own fantasy of what might be behind the "golden bars" of the harem (Scott 2001).

The main inspiration for the Western public's idea of life in the Ottoman Empire was given by the oriental "pseudo-tales" *The Arabian Nights Entertainments* (authors unknown, recorded by Antoine Galland in 12 volumes 1707-14) that focused on either stereotyping women as immoral, malicious, sensual, deceitful and idle or as miserable, repressed, controlled prisoners. Galland believes these stories were brought to the Orient from India and Persia and might be an accumulation of works by several storytellers. The narrative aspect of a created nostalgia and at times utopia by the *Other* is most apparent through the fact that *The Arabian Nights Entertainments* was translated into Arabic a hundred years after the initial recording by Galland (Sancar 2011).

Figure 3.6: *Turkish Women at Sultan Ahmed Mosque*, Osman Hamdi (date unknown)

Source: Germaner, S. & Inankur, Z., 2002. Constantinople and the orientalists, Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, p.303.

In the nineteenth century, a clearer, more realistic version of the Ottoman woman became available to Westerners with the rising number of female travellers to the Orient.

Although, even these ladies needed their political status to actually be permitted to enter the harems of Ottoman elite, a few Western women lived in the empire for a substantial amount of time and were able to *unveil* some of the myths surrounding their oriental other (Figure 3.7). Amongst those figures were Lady Montagu, Julia Pardoe and Lucy Garnett (Sancar 2011).

Figure 3.7: Extract of *Petition Writer in front of Kılıç Ali Paşa Mosque in Tophane*, Martinus Rørbye (1837)

Source: Germaner, S. & Inankur, Z., 2002.
Constantinople and the orientalists,
Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, p.210.

Julia Pardoe, writer and historian, described the degree of difficulty of clearly depicting traditions and customs in the Orient. She believes it is a challenging task for a foreigner to gather real insight into Ottoman life and that resident Westerners in the Ottoman Empire are poorly informed of the culture they are currently indulging in, even if they have lived in the country for up to two decades (Sancar 2011).

She also describes how the made up oriental image is a lot more mythical than reality and that the European minds will hold on to this image - and place it onto themselves as

seen in Figure 3.8 - for the sake of a utopic *Other*; an escape from their own reality (Sancar 2011):

"The European mind has become so imbued with ideas of the Oriental mysteriousness, mysticism, and magnificence, and it has been so long accustomed to pillow faith on the marvels and metaphors of tourists, that it is to be doubted whether it will ***willingly cast off its old associations and suffer itself to be undeceived****."*

Figure 3.8: ***Princess Victoria in Turkish dress*****,**
Sir W.C. Ross (1850)

Source: Scott, P., 2001. Turkish Delights, London: Thames & Hudson, p.94.

Lady Montagu supports Pardoe's statement in a letter to Mrs. Thistlethwayte (Sancar 2011):

"You will perhaps be surprised at an account so different from what you have been entertained with by the common voyage writers, who are very fond of speaking of what they do not know. It must be under some extraordinary occasion, that a Christian is admitted into the house of a man of quality, and their harems are always forbidden ground."

Due to the ladies' keen eye for furnishing, fashion, behaviour, culinary traditions, hygiene and family values, orientalised ideas such as the harem being the "nest of eroticism and prison" was denounced and renamed a "sacred sphere for women". Now, it was often realised that these ladies were sacred, and at the harem because of their husband's respect and care, not because of repression (Sancar 2011).

According to Lady Montagu Ottoman women - refined, graceful ladies on the outside but with the nature of a courageous fighter - were more liberated than any other female on the planet, and that their treatment should be used as a precedent for all other cultures. The idea of the harem was not more than the ordinary desire of a man to protect what is sacred to him…similar to jewels in a jewellery box (Sancar 2011).

So, depicting realities of daily life in the Ottoman Empire and denouncing various clichés unveil what orientalisation really did: creating its own mythic reality for the West…and hence, mythic nostalgias.

3.1.1. THE ROLE OF THE VEIL

The feature mainly used to depict an oriental woman is her veil as seen on the photograph taken by Abdullah Freres (Figure 3.9). Similar to the bars and grids that serve as architectural interior façades of the harem in the late nineteenth century fabricated scenes of seclusion, the veil serves as a façade, a portable harem for women when leaving the interior spaces.

A relation lies between the veil's popularity and the creation of the *Other*. The "multitude of issues that the Muslim veil contains: gender, class, sexual differences, mystery, the forbidden, vision…" and the veil's implication of "certain social, cultural, and political fantasies" all are attributes that the European female now wishes to embody due to successful marketing campaigns in the West (Kessler 2006).

The veil plays an important role in the creation of the Orient. On the one hand it becomes a visual barrier for Muslim women, but more as a "manifestation of the East within the privacy of Western interior" in form of the French veil, as well as representing desirable characteristics of the *Other*. On the other hand, it serves as a metaphor dividing East and West: "East and West coming face-to-face, peering at each other through the veil." This metaphor applies especially to Turkey and its in-between-

state of being in regards to its identity after the fall of the Ottoman Empire (Kessler 2006).

Figure 3.9: ***Turkish Woman in traditional Ottoman Dress*****,**
Abdullah Freres, Istanbul (1869)

Source:
http://www.photographium.com/sites/default/files/turkish_lady._istanbul_turkey._1869.jpg

Comparing the French veil to the Muslim veil further elaborates this metaphor. The French veil was created in relation to the Muslim veil, and shares the same French term – *le voile* - but ultimately represents the definite contradiction as seen in Figure 3.10. The latter covers/veils the body similar to a tent, creating a protective structure where only (mostly) the eyes are visible. According to Kessler (2006) the idea of the Muslim veil creates a similar fiction to the one of the overall creation of the Orient. Eyes, being usually one of the most beautiful features of a woman stand out more by hiding the rest of the body and leaving strangers to envision the entire face - no matter how flawed - to be perfect.

Figure 3.10: French Veil in comparison to the Muslim Veil

Source: http://www.photographium.com/sites/default/files/turkish_lady._istanbul_turkey._1869.jpg.

Orientalisation has used the same method of *veiling* unwanted attributes of a nation and depicting beautiful picturesque scenes with fictional oriental women that often will stay nothing but a mythic narrative nostalgia for the Western audience in Europe. Its counterpart, the French veil, on the other hand focuses on *veiling* the exact opposite. Bourgeoise women wear corsets and clothes that enhance their body figure and simultaneously covering their eyes. Kessler (2006) suggests there might be a possibility of a nuanced version, a grey zone. In the 1870s, the Turkish veil seemed to have tapped into this grey zone. Starting to more closely relate to French fashion, but still representing the Orient, these veils (in fabric similar to the French veil) screen the lower part of the women's faces (Kessler 2006).

Having found this grey zone in fashion might have been a first step for Turkey's quest to find the equilibrium between the West and East and carries its struggle, especially in architectural form, into the 1950s.

3.2. THE PERA PALACE HOTEL

Figure 3.11: Kubbeli Salon, Pera Palace Hotel

Source: personal photograph, 2014

The Pera Palace Hotel (Figure 3.11), the Orient's most mentioned hotel, was built as the highlight at the end of the journey on the Orient Express and hence embodies oriental and narrative nostalgia. It was a "synonym for elegance and style, like champagne and caviar." All the most important individuals would reside at the hotel…in reality and in fiction. The guests were a mix of Turkish elite, aristocrats, writers, Turkish men in their

fez, courageous Americans, beautiful ladies and spies. “All were in love, in war, in a hurry, with plenty of time…all had particular agendas, and everybody seemed not to trust one another” (Augustin 2012).

This description itself could lay the groundwork for nostalgic, film-like scenery in which guests indulge upon entering the hotel. Every individual can relate to a narrative story, ranging from Western visitors who picture a James Bond-like male arriving via Orient Express, dancing and eventually rescuing a beautiful local woman at a ball, to the Istanbulite who imagines the ghosts of their ancestors enjoying their tea and scones at the salon.

For the railways of the Orient express, “an ancient grove in the palace gardens had to be destroyed”. Apparently, at that exact location, the Lord of the Djinns would hold an assembly every Wednesday night. Locals were worried about what would become of him now. “Even the Lord of the Djinns had to bow to progress” (Scott 2001).

In 1869, Empress Eugénie came to Constantinople on her way to open the Suez Canal. Her fashion left such an impression on the ladies of the city that they now too wanted to be dressed the way she was: high heels instead of slippers, skirts instead of harem pants. Pierre Loti was unhappy with the “intrusion of European fashions into Turkish traditional life” and wrote with disgust about “those boulevard idlers whom the Orient Express unloads in hordes” (Scott 2001).

The Orient Express itself, although obviously not visible at the hotel, still creates the main nostalgic image of the hotel. Almost all new visitors (locals excluded, who have been building their own real memories over time) can be eavesdropped on when explaining to others, on their ornamented bordeaux satin sofas, about the Orient Express guests who have resided at the hotel.

3.2.1. NOSTALGIA AND THE ORIENT EXPRESS

Figure 3.12: The Orient Express

Source: http://i.dailymail.co.uk/i/pix/2011/05/11/article-1385655-0C00336F00000578-456_634x422.jpg

"The dream was a journey into the myth." Istanbul worked as an "invisible gate" where guests of the Orient Express (Figure 3.12), which operated between 1883 and 1977 would leave behind the Western world and enter the East; a seamless transition from Occident to Orient. The job of the Pera Hotel during this journey forth and back was to facilitate a mental transition; to be a "gentle converter" both ways: it represented the last stop of modern virtues before entering the mythical lands of the Orient as well as serving as a safe haven on the way back from excavations in Ur and desert adventures (Augustin 2012).

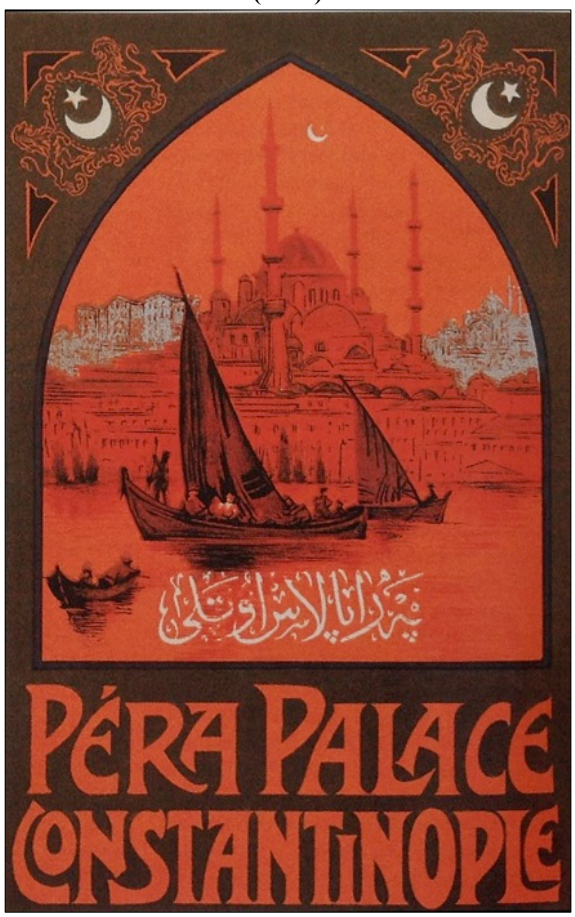
In 1889 the Orient Express travelled "through (the) ancient gates of Constantinople" for the first time and therewith the legend was created. However glamorous the idea of the journey, neither air-condition nor running water were provided. Unfortunately the same was the case at the destinations in the luxury hotel district Pera (Augustin 2012).

Georges Nagelmackers (Compagnie Internationale des Wagon Lits CIWL) therefore decided the journey should have the ultimate luxury ending and therefore commissioned the Pera Palace Hotel (Augustin 2012): "*After we send our clientele in rolling luxurious sleeping cars all over the continent shouldn't we provide the climax to the journey, too? The perfect arrival? A great hotel!"*

3.2.2. HISTORY OF THE PERA PALACE HOTEL

French-Turkish architect Alexander Vallaury who studied at École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts was commissioned with the planning. The architect mixed traditional Ottoman design and components of Beaux-Arts, reaching from "Islamic-Ottoman synthesis to neo-Renaissance". The rectangular reception area directs towards a spatially segregated mezzanine level. Enclosed at the entrance side with marble balustrades and "verde antico columns", the mezzanine level is decorated with large chandeliers and cream-coloured couches. At the centre of the wall a glass-and-timber-door leads into the Kubbeli Salon, where at the entrance a friendly waiter awaits the arrival of guests. The mezzanine level itself also gives way (to its left) to the grand staircase encircling the historical elevator (Augustin 2012).

Figure 3.13: Baggage Label, Pera Palace Hotel (1902)



Source: Germaner, S. & Inankur, Z., 2002. Constantinople and the orientalists, Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, p.62.

The Kubbeli Salon functions as an afternoon tea location, where live piano music is played by a gentleman and tea is served by ladies in black dresses with white aprons. Again, this scenery itself reminds me of a previous, grander era. Looking up at the ceiling, one comes across six domes, which inhibit glass blocks. I was told, not only do they exist as a decorative element but also served the purpose of ventilation. The lighting achieved through these domes personally reminds me of the lighting effects in Turkish *hamams*. Below the domes are tall thin windows that allow hotel guests a private view into the salon. The timber grid and decoration of these windows reminds much Arabic *mashrabiyyah* (latticework) used in paintings of the harem. Therefore, at the Pera Palace, you feel as if a beautiful harem lady may peek at the happenings of

public life from behind these windows. Two chandeliers that are hanging relatively low and are generating a beautiful dim lighting - which suits the ancient atmosphere of the salon - crown the ceiling's nostalgia ever since its opening.

A timeless reminder of the glorious travels is the Pera Palace Hotel Baggage Label in Figure 3.13.

Figure 3.14: Pera Palace Hotel Entrance

Source: personal photograph, 2014

The Pera Palace Hotel opened its doors (Figure 3.14) to the public in 1895 (during the last years of the Ottoman Empire) and associated itself only with international merchants and renowned local suppliers. It was instantaneously recorded as Constantinople's number one hotel. Depicting the luxury of the West, it created the perfect guesthouse for ambassadors' first nights in the city. Guests arriving at Sirkeci Train Station would take a coach over Galata Bridge and were then carried up the Pera hill in sedan chairs followed by their luggage in ox-carts. Upon entering the Pera Palace, noises, odours and dirt of the tram, annoyed coachmen in horse carriages and clattering of hooves were replaced by live music in the Kubbeli Salon, the elegant scent

of tail-frocked waiters and crystal champagne cups filled with Moet et Chandon Dry Imperial (Augustin 2012).

Figure 3.15: Antique Objects, Pera Palace Hotel

Source: personal photograph, 2014

Up-to-date Reuter news would be delivered promptly due to the hotel's connection to Europe and displayed at the lobby's news board. Besides stock exchange rates headlines would include that a man named Wilhelm Röntgen discovered X-rays, that the Ford Quadricycle was completed and that in Paris Salomé was being performed (Augustin 2012). It was therefore to no surprise that balls of great significance were always held at the hotel upon the hill of Pera. Saffeti Ziya delivers a description of such an event in the novel *At the Salons Corners* (Augustin 2012):

"It was the first and most refined ball of the winter season…The two big salons of the Pera Palace were filled with flowers and there were valuable carpets on the floor…perfumed, attractive ladies dressed in silk were gently turning….The orchestra began to play a Strauss waltz. The big salon was stirred into a frenzy of movement."

Participants of my case study fabricated sceneries that would include a beautiful woman walking into the Kubbeli Salon in a long red dress, a pianist player playing *Over the Rainbow* and a gentleman sitting in the corner of the salon standing up to ask the lady to dance.

Even during the First World War, the Pera Palace continued to be a prominent venue. Representing a safe haven from the turmoil in the world, it rose up over the Golden Horn as a symbol of yesterday. Figure 3.15 displays such elements that are still visible in the hotel today. Unprejudiced, it welcomed all countrymen. And they did in fact come: British generals, numerous diplomats as well as German spies all checked in at the colonnaded reception (Figure 3.16) of the Pera Palace, as if there was no war (Augustin 2012).

With the 60s however, Pera Palace faced critical times due to the rise of the Hilton Hotel. Hilton, representing the new Turkish government (in contrast to the old family establishment) was the result of the country's quest for a new style. It was now fashion to reside, meet up and do business at the Hilton (Augustin 2012).

Figure 3.16: Pera Palace Reception

Source: personal photograph, 2014

4. MODERNISM: THE 50s IN ISTANBUL

Figure 4.1: Hilton Hotel

Source: http://i.milliyet.com.tr/YeniAnaResim/2010/03/20/fft99_mf558218.Jpeg.

Just as the West imported from the East through their orientalisation scheme, the East (specifically the Ottoman Empire) has ever since the early 18th century had diplomats report from the West in regards to designs that could be adjusted to fit local architecture. Great attention was paid to "royal palaces, gardens, new building types and styles". These then lay the groundwork for the Ottoman style (Akalın & Özaslan 2011). The royal court was the main provider of design projects, based on imported design elements, along the shores of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn where the most common structures included mosque complexes, beautiful pavilions, palaces and gardens. "Eclectic and revivalist nineteenth century European architecture" was blindly imitated with utter disregard to function (Akalın & Özaslan 2011).

This mix of Western styles eventually turned into one collaborative type representing the empire. It caused a "confused architectural pluralism" which caused debate in regards to what would the final version of the Ottoman style be (Akalın & Özaslan 2011). A popular example of this architectural pluralism is the Dolmabahçe Palace (Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2: *Dolmabahçe Palace* by Luigi Querena (1875)

Source: Germaner, S. & Inankur, Z., 2002. Constantinople and the orientalists, Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, p.81.

Eventually, the artistic organisation and elements were acknowledged in conjunction with a growing sense of nationalism towards the end of the 19th century. Trials of reviving local traditional design resulted in the First National Style (by historians also referred to as Neo-Ottoman Architecture), an architectural style with dominant eclectic/revivalist features. This mix and uncertainty in the world of architecture also mirrored the overall situation of the Ottoman Empire. It continued through the 1923's constitution of the Republic of Turkey and has actually lasted up until now. Inspiration and precedents for architectural design are still today drawn from either Western elements or patterns with roots in Turkey's history, be it "Ottoman, Seljuk, Byzantine and even Classical Hellenistic and Roman architecture". This pluralism of references caused a "hybrid Turkish architecture". During the height of the First National Style, trials were undertaken to remove European featured from architecture and focus more on local traditional religious patterns (Akalın & Özaslan 2011).

With the founding of the Republic of Turkey and the fall of the Ottoman Empire the country - under leadership of the Republican People's Party (RPP) – underwent major modernization/Westernization projects (Akalın & Özaslan 2011).

This chapter concentrates on Turkey's quest for national identity in the 50s. The melancholic nostalgia, that swept the country after the accomplishments of the Prost Plan, as well as the loss of self-identity with a loss of national architecture are discussed

in this chapter. The Hilton Hotel (Figure 4.1) will serve as the prime example of Turkey's in-between state of being: the issues that arise when importing American modernism as well as the profitability of marketing the Orient.

4.1. SEARCH FOR NATIONAL IDENTITY

"After attaining a new culture and a new civilization, the new Turkey wants a new container for its life…The new Turk wants new cities, new roads, new houses, new schools and new work but does not yet know what the new is all about…"

This quote originates in the thoughts of Ismail H. Baltacıoğlu during the Kemalist Revolution's height, a revolution that picked up the pieces of the fallen Ottoman Empire and built upon them the foundation for the modern Turkish Republic. The majority of Turkish architects confidently supported Baltacıoğlu's thought that "form" can represent and improve Turkish culture (Akcan & Bozdoğan 2012).

According to Bozdoğan and Akcan (2012), this quote is even more essential in the quest for style, since they believe that "the desired future implied by it is as yet formless: 'modern' is still an *aspiration* for form rather than a recognizable style".

At this point in time, Europe itself turned to Modernism where it tried finding ways to cut its ties with tradition and past, in order to develop the ultimate functional timeless style. The Modern Movement in Europe first seemed to be a plausible answer for the quest for style. The movement's rise coincided with the rise of the modern Turkish Republic and did also supply ideas for aesthetic designs that represented progress. It seemed to fit Turkey's current situation and lead to the adoption of the style. Turkey, too, wanted to cut ties. Ties with its religious imperial Ottoman past. Ironically, the Republic did this in the exact same manner – by adopting a Western style – as the Ottoman Empire had done a century earlier (Akalın & Özaslan 2011).

In the 1930s according to Akcan and Bozdoğan (2012) a "utopian power" was applied to modernist forms in order to represent a completely new, progressive, irreligious

Republic, which clearly disassociated itself from its neo-classical Ottoman past. The ideals of the Modernist Movement were exhibited at the Bauhaus Weimar and were realised as a project at the Weissenhofsiedlung, Stuttgart in 1927: "hygienic and aesthetic demands of the age were realized to the fullest extent in a housing scheme that broke with conventional layouts of buildings" (Akalın & Özaslan 2011).

This new architecture was imported into Turkey by the hands of (mainly) German and Austrian architects. Ernst Egli and Bruno Taut were pioneers in the field as well as important figures in Turkish architectural education. With their help Modern Architecture replaced the First National Style (Akalın & Özaslan 2011).

After Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's death in 1938, the interest in appropriation of modernism to represent Turkey's new face slowly ceased. In Europe, National Socialism brought with it a new "approach based on a criticism of avant-garde, Modernist and international art and architecture". This gave Turkish architects time to breathe and re-evaluate artistic decisions for the National Style. The answer was a Second National Movement. International architects teaching in Turkey reminded their local students of the values of regional design, especially the Anatolian vernacular housing, because - whilst architects initially saw potential in Modernism due to its "appropriate formal expression" that could mirror Turkey's change from the religious Ottoman Empire to the secular Western-oriented Republic - they would still be struggling with the term *International Style* ("homogenizing effects…loss of cultural distinctness") and its influence on their new-found patriotism for their nation (Akcan & Bozdoğan 2012).

In 1940 one of the students, Sedad Hakkı Eldem summarized stylistic ideals of national architecture through an in-depth analysis of vernacular housing and the possibility of adapting it to contemporary architecture (Bozdoğan et al. 1987).

Besides the issue of national versus international, historically Turkey also faced an identity dilemma on a national level, resulting from its "multi-cultural legacy" brought by the Ottoman Empire. The Empire had always been depicted by the West as the Orient, it was the prototypical *Other* of the Western World (Akcan & Bozdoğan 2012).

According to Çelik (1992), during Le Corbusier's visit to Istanbul for his *Voyage d'Orient*, the process of Westernizations, which started in the mid-nineteenth century, lead him to correctly realize a main factor of why this transformation is so rapid. "The catastrophe that will inevitably ruin Istanbul (is) the advent of modern times…Stamboul will die. The reason is that she is always burning and being rebuilt..." This he found most apparent in the cityscape of Istanbul's quarter, Pera, where the fused contemporary skyline of Pera, formerly a Genoese area up the hill near the Golden Horn in 19th and early 20th century, with a majority of inhabitants being Westerners and Christian/Jewish Ottoman subgroups, which fascinated Corbusier, due to its dense charm and upward shooting buildings that were reminding him of New York. Pera to him is appealing and impressive (Çelik 1992).

French author, Théophile Gautier on the other hand describes the apartment buildings of Pera as unpleasant (Çelik 1992):

"Some ugly houses, of six and seven stories, line the road on one side, and rejoice a superb view, of which they are quite unworthy. Is it true that these houses pass for the best in Constantinople and that Pera is proud of them, - judging them (rightly) as fit to figure honourably at Marseilles or Barcelona, or even Paris: for they are, in fact, of an ugliness the most civilized and modern."

Gautier seemed to have grasped the issue in the negative sense, whilst Le Corbusier is celebrating the tension of architectural styles. I believe the concept of the veil earlier mentioned in regards to *orientalisation* can easily be applied for Turkey in terms of style. The city at this point seemed to frantically try to lift the veil and find an answer for a style that could represent a nuanced version between the new and the country's roots.

Another term I considered as a definition for Turkey's dilemma is a "stylistic urban apartheid" in Istanbul. While Ottoman buildings seem to try to hold on to their importance and bond to Turkey, the International Style brought an era that tries to cut these ties with history.

This fixation on form and quest for style representing the new nation however vanished after the Second World War with the appearance of more immediate issues of industry and commerce, which caused architects to focus on infrastructure and accommodation.

Akcan & Bozdoğan (2012) state it could be possible that 80 years after the Republic was founded, the country is still in quest for national forms, be it in architecture, culture or in a social aspect, due to its in-between state of mind of global objectives and local identity. The new Republic, having an open mind for international design whilst searching for its own, was ready to turn to various sources of creativity. For appropriation of a new style in Turkey, there was an academic change from the classical Beaux-Arts to the New Architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts, under supervision of European architects Ernst Egli and Bruno Taut. Education mainly comprised the search for a "new 'national-modern' Turkish architecture". One of the students whose time at the Academy coincided with this change in curriculum was Sedad Hakkı Eldem.

4.1.1. SEDAD HAKKI ELDEM

Figure 4.3: Sedad Hakkı Eldem

Source: Bozdoğan et al. 2011

Sedad Hakkı Eldem was Egli's assistant at the academy and became the most prominent protagonist of modern architecture by designing, teaching and researching architectural

design for half a century (1928-1978). Due to being a descendant of Ottoman ruling elite and educated abroad, his works demonstrate his cultural conflict as an architect exposed to European design with a desire for traditional local architecture. The latter, his cultural consciousness, is an aspect that was to profoundly influence his imprint on modern Turkish architecture. During his years in Europe, Eldem was under the instruction of Auguste Perret and guided by Le Corbusier (Bozdoğan et al. 1987).

In his career Eldem held "privileged positions… in academia, the state, and the discourse established him as a traditional intellectual" The term *traditional intellectual* according to Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937, Marxist theoretician from Italy) gives Eldem "social power and authority…constructed on autonomy rather than on connectedness in a social network" (Kaçel 2010). His influence in the field is most apparent in the fact that for thirty years his designs were able to direct architectural design's path. The Hilton Hotel was a leading figure on the road to the International Style, as was then his Social Security Agency Complex the pathway to reinterpretation of vernacular architecture, to regionalism. His designs create one-way roads for fellow architects; not discussions for them, nor critiques, on where this project might take local design in the near future (Kaçel 2010).

Parallel to Eldem, Henri Prost left his footprint on the new Turkish Republic between 1936 and 1951. Whilst Eldem's attention was on architectural styles, Prost's interest was the overall urban picture.

4.1.2. THE PROST PLAN

From the 1930s onwards, whilst Ankara was flourishing as Turkey's new capital, Istanbul was diminishing significantly in terms of population, size, importance, architecture and infrastructure. Most of the financial resources were used for official buildings in Ankara as well as other cities in the East of Turkey. It was not until a decade later that planning stages were implemented in Istanbul, slowly letting the city return to its 1900s population of one million. Plans that were implemented in 1950s

mainly stayed in line with blueprints by Henri Prost, who was head of the planning department at the Istanbul Municipality (1936-1951). His masterplan was strongly influenced by modern European city design with open areas. Site interventions include public squares, parks and boulevards. The ideas supported earlier Republican principles of exhibiting "openness, spaciousness and cleanliness of modern public spaces" and using it as a comparison to cramped polluted cities, with which especially *traditional* cities were associated (Akcan & Bozdoğan 2012).

Believing in the Prost's plan, the mayor of Istanbul (1943) Dr. Lütfi Kırdar stated: "Istanbul (was) a diamond left among the garbage" and that a masterplan was necessary to clean up and expose the diamond" (Akcan & Bozdoğan 2012).

The largest interventions entailed in the plan are the demolishing of large pieces of urban tissue that appeared as unseemly in this new city. Traditional timber structures known as *köşk* and *yalı*, small side street grocers and warehouses had to make way for immense boulevards, town squares and public parks. This contemporary version of *Haussmannization*, promoted by the Turkish government under the DPs Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, also took care of clearing the space around mosques, Islamic schools and other important Ottoman buildings, in order to exhibit them to local citizens and potential tourists (Akcan & Bozdoğan 2012).

One intervention that was granted permission was going against Prost's vision. A valley overlooking the Bosporus as well as the Ottoman Sultans' residence and place of death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Dolmabahçe Palace, was to be kept a public park. Permission was however granted by the DP Administration to construct the Istanbul Hilton Hotel at a remarkable spot at the top of that very valley. It was to become a symbol of a socially, culturally, politically and also architecturally changed nation. Before turning to the architecture of this symbolic structure, a detour has to be made to the emotional state of Turkish residents at this point in time (Akcan & Bozdoğan 2012).

4.1.3. ORHAN PAMUK'S MELANCHOLY IN ISTANBUL

Figure 4.4: Orhan Pamuk's Melanchloy

Source: http://www.babelimages.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/IMG_6380.jpg

In the New Turkish Republic's shredding of urban texture, melancholy is the primary feeling connecting the inhabitants of Istanbul according to Orhan Pamuk. Literature manifests the overall feeling in writings with titles and quotes that speak for themselves: "Precious last remnant of a lost civilization". In *Mahur Beste* (1944) Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, a Turkish writer, stated, "the Orient died with the collapsing and burning houses of Istanbul", and Orhan Pamuk's statement "I love the sweet melancholy when I look at the old apartment buildings and the fallen-down wooden mansion, whose neglected and unpainted walls have turned into the unique dark colour of Istanbul… To see the city in black and white… this is how you grieve for *a city of defeat and loss, of poverty and ruins*, a city that has been in decline for a hundred and fifty years" (Akcan 2006). Figure 4.4 depicts Orhan Pamuk's definition in image-form.

The two versions of melancholia described earlier are (Akcan 2006):

1) Individual feeling of loss: preservation of memory of an object and internalizing it into own ego to such an extent that the loss of the object becomes synonymous with the loss of one's own ego.

2) Melancholia for a city's landscape (*manzara*) is independent and refers to the object itself. It is not related to the individual but instead focuses on the beauty of the lost.

One can use the two versions Orhan Pamuk describes as the basis for discussion on Istanbul. The second version, city's landscape or *manzara*, generated a sorrow within Turkish residents when passing by "the poor back streets, in ruins from past civilizations, in the midst of an urban landscape that has deteriorated since the glorious days of the Byzantine and Ottoman empires" (Akcan 2006).

Using both versions in the context of Istanbul, one turns to "Eurocentrism". The Western tradition, industrialization and culture served as a role model and idealized standard of being. A city like Istanbul, which is not completely Western, not only geographically but also culturally swings with its pendulum in-between satisfaction (for achieving a certain Western norm) and subordination (due to knowing one will never be able to fully reach an ideal made to measure for other cultures). In this case, melancholy turns into *Hüzün* and does not apply to the loss of an object, but to the exclusion from or the lack of an ideal". It echoes the feeling of submission…but at the same time lets inhabitants accept their state of being and maybe opens new ways of self-interpretation (Akcan 2006).

This quest for new Turkish architecture became more and more significant, due to an air of *Hüzün*, and caused new emerging architects to experiment with their history as well as new technologies in designs and collaborations such as for the creation of the Istanbul Hilton Hotel (Figure 4.5).

4.2. THE HILTON HOTEL

The end of the Second World War brought with it a large increase in American influence. The Marshall Plan (1950s) helped Western Europe to recover through the import of goods and with them the Americanisation of traditional values. Modernism

was adapted, through changes and appropriations provided by Philip Johnson and Henry-Russell Hitchcock, which "enabled architecture to be abstracted from specifities" and was turned into the International Style. A style that would be able to "penetrate all corners of the world" (Akalın & Özaslan 2011), which in my opinion, it eventually did do.

Figure 4.5: Hilton Hotel Istanbul

Source: Hilton Archives

As Akalın and Özaslan (2011) state, "the search for a Turkish architectural identity was disrupted", which is apparent through the collaboration of Eldem (founder of the Second National Movement) and the American architectural practice SOM with the goal to build the Hilton Hotel (Figure 4.5).

Two characteristics that have shaped Turkish design at the time and are essential when analysing the Istanbul Hilton are:

1) *American corporate modernism* (particularly the *glass curtain wall*) was adopted by Turkish architects. Precedents such as the Lever House, New York (1952) designed by Istanbul Hilton's architects Skidmore, Owings and Merrill (SOM) served as prototypes for Turkish modern design (Akalın & Özaslan 2011).
2) *Unité d'Habitation* (1948) by Le Corbusier, as well as various other works produced by him and by his followers in Latin America and the Caribbean,

proved themselves successful in depicting an image of tropical modernism. Part of the reason corbusian architecture seems to fit in in tropical settings is the fact that architectural characteristics such as *pilotis* are historically more native there than in Western countries (Akalın & Özaslan 2011).

By representing these factors of design mentioned above, the Istanbul Hilton Hotel (1955) is "by general consensus, the indisputable icon of post-war modernism in Turkey" (Akcan & Bozdoğan 2012).

4.2.1. MARKETING AMERICAN MODERNISM IN THE ORIENT

Figure 4.6: Conrad Hilton

Source: http://upgrd.com/images/upload/image/damian/HiltonIstanbul/32cd5ea2259a21926994a32bdf5e9fe9.jpg

In 1951 the Turkish Government signed its contract with Hilton International and by 1955, the Hilton Istanbul opened its doors to the public. In-between these four years, Turkey and the United States carried out an elaborate publicity campaign in order to familiarize American beliefs and principles that would then be represented in the concrete-and-glass-framed "little America" (Kaçel 2010).

As a combined work of Gordon Bunshaft (of SOM) and Sedad Hakkı Eldem, the hotel's design was to be based on the style of the Caribe Hilton in San Juan, Puerto Rico (1949): the narrow rectangular block, decorated with a roof garden is seemingly floating atop the translucent ground floor with the help of *pilotis.* Since Turkey was not able to supply steel, the architect's usual glass curtain wall had to be replaced by a geometric concrete frame, which was to shape the honeycomb façade consisting of balconies.

At the time of construction the Hilton Hotel rose to be the tallest and grandest building in Istanbul. The design was a completely new sight to people in the field of architecture and construction as well as to the untrained eye, which made it just that much more important to leave an impression on viewers (Kaçel 2010).

As already mentioned, a main impression for passers-by was the location in itself. Various originalities, which were uncommon in the city as well as high techniques of construction fascinated from the exterior.

On the inside, the hotel was to represent the company's ideal. "The distinctly American ideal of comfort and luxury". Every room was equipped with a bath, hot running water, air conditioning and even a radio cabinet. As hoped, the hotel rapidly rose to become and idiom of "perfection, precision and progress" (Kaçel 2010).

However, given the on-going quest for national identity, especially in form of architecture, made it clear that a hotel like the Hilton, as Akcan and Bozdoğan (2012) put it, which "(landed) on a prime location …like an alien spaceship" would create identity issues for the Istanbulites as well as marketing issues for the American hotelier (Figure 4.6). He understood the importance of adaption to Turkish culture in this case as well as for the sake of promoting an exotic country.

Figure 4.7: Hilton Wall Detail

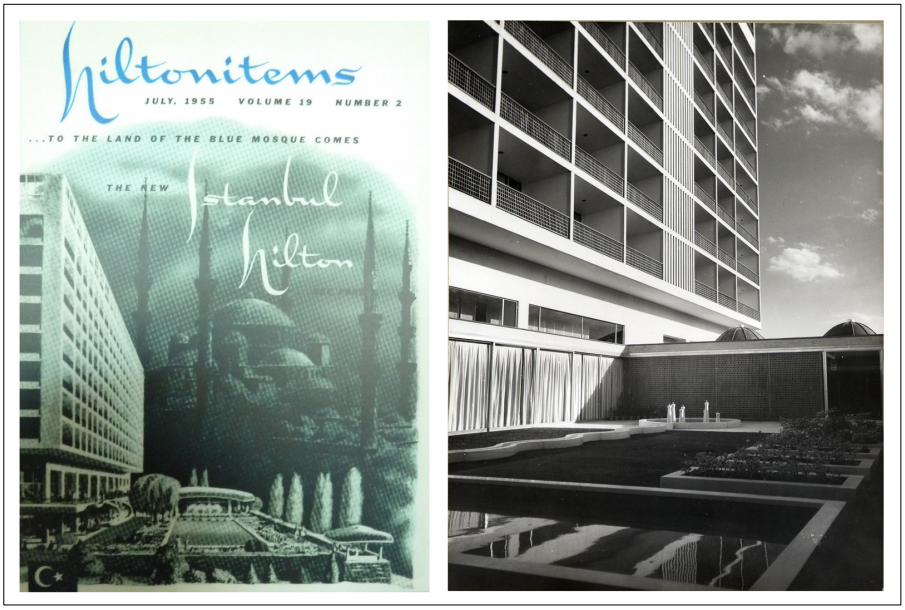
Source: Hilton Archives

Therefore typical *oriental* elements (Figure 4.7), which were usually greatly influenced by Ottoman designs and patterns, were blended with the modernist exterior and even more with the interior. Writers and journalists happily orientalised these features into stereotypical imagery that you would expect in 1001 Nights.

Figure 4.8: Hilton Entrance

Source:
http://upgrd.com/images/upload/image/damian/HiltonIstanbul/32cd5ea2259a21926994a32bdf5e9fe9.jpg

Figure 4.9: Marketing of the Hilton Hotel Istanbul



Source: personal photograph 2014, Hilton Archives

Examples of such clichés include the "wavy thin-shell concrete entrance canopy" (Figure 4.8), which was soon known as "the flying carpet" and the Tulip Room with its modern versions of Ottoman design and "all the rich trappings of an Arabian Nights harem" (Akcan & Bozdoğan 2012). Posters (Figure 4.9) would show the Hilton hotel next to an Ottoman mosque in order to show the far distant world (filled with flying carpets and belly-dancing women) the hotel is located in. The poster depicts the bright east façade with its balconies reflecting in the swimming pools below, whilst the most famous mosque in Istanbul, the Blue Mosque is rising from the shadows behind. Ironically, the mosque is not situated close enough to actually be seen from the hotel and herewith shows the intention of the poster: guests reside in a familiar modern American surrounding whilst being able to explore the mysterious East even internally with additions such as the coffee girl (Figure 4.10). At the same time it represents a mysterious UFO atop the hill for locals.

Figure 4.10: Hilton Coffee Girl

Source: personal photograph, 2014

With the addition of an *orientalist touch* the architects have represented Istanbul's dilemma within one project. Whilst the city is yearning for progress and trying to represent its secular, modern Republic, it is also afraid to lose its roots and identity by cutting ties with its Ottoman past and being homogenized by the International Style.

Terms that Akcan and Bozdoğan (2012) choose to juxtapose the Hilton's interior against its exterior and with it create a metaphor for the national identity crisis are (Figure 4.11):

Figure 4.11: Hilton's interior versus exterior

4.2.2. HILTONISM: PRECEDENTS, AS A PRECEDENT & CRITIQUE

Due to its popularity and representational value, Hilton quickly became a precedent study for hotel designs in 1950s Turkey. Hotels with slight alterations but nevertheless comprising the same rectangular form, façade layout and amenities (gastronomy and nightlife) could be found in various parts of Turkey. The Great Ephesus Hotel, Izmir (1964) by Paul Bonatz and Fatin Uran is an example that exhibits the same honeycomb façade, transparent ground floor with *pilotis* as well as the roof top terrace as the Hilton Hotel Istanbul (Kaçel 2010).

Looking back, critiques of the hotel's influence on Turkish design are mainly negative. Hiltonism (*Hiltonculuk*) is the term applied by Şevki Vanlı in 1958 (three years after the hotel's opening), the first critic who believed that Hilton's grid design had become too repetitive in housing design and homogenized façade designs in the city. He mocks the blindly trusting use of the honeycomb façade with its standardized balconies by local designers who were duplicating the design for buildings of all uses. He was mainly worried that a continuation of this architectural application without reflective critique would cause "anti-intellectualism" of the field. His observation however stayed a mere comment and therewith never actually got as far as anyone distinguishing between "critical and uncritical approaches to Hiltonculuk". As a result, all approaches were dumped into the same pot (Kaçel 2010).

To me too many of these designs seem unfit for local domestic architecture, since almost half of the ones I have personally come across have later added a new window front in order to turn these exterior cells into interior spaces. Unfortunately whilst the façade design was meant to be seen as one piece of work, every dweller adds his/her own new personalized plastic window frame into his balcony front.

Figure 4.12: Hilton Hotel Istanbul before and after Eldem's addition

Source: Kaçel, E., 2010. Hiltonculuk and beyond. Candide, 2010, Vol 12, No 3, pp.22-23.

Eldem himself contributed to the concept of Hiltonculuk through his addition of 150 rooms to the original Hilton Hotel design of which Gordon Bunshaft disapproved as seen in Figure 4.12 (Kaçel 2010).

According to Akcan and Bozdoğan (2012), Vanlı stated that Eldem himself had later on admitted "buildings started to look like boxes, drawers or radios…Anatolian towns were now 'invaded' by these glass and tin cans".

Critics of Modernism in the 1970s drew attention to the "recognition of distinctiveness" with a "focus on culture". The "marketability of diversity, history and culture" was discovered, valued and integrated into the market (Akalın & Özaslan 2011).

This contrast of modern and design rooted within tradition lead to a national nostalgia. This demand for nostalgia increased the creation of traditional design elements in modern urban planning. After the 80s, "popular culture and postmodern architectural styles were widespread" in Turkish residential housing projects and designed to meet a market demand for "eclectic references to traditional Turkish housing" (Akalın & Özaslan 2011):

"…today it is possible to talk about the power of consumption not only for consumer items but in the architectural field as well. Space as the product of architecture is produced and consumed within social practices, requiring a framework for varying consumption activities."

Therefore, the difference between the actual and the replica, non-fiction and fiction, narrative/mythic and real nostalgia are no longer definable. The associations between "maker, object and user are now those of the producer, product and consumer... In such a context, the copy has become as valuable as the original has…" (Akalın & Özaslan 2011).

5. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ARCHITECTURE AND NOSTALGIA IN PUBLIC INTERIORS: A CASE STUDY ON THE LOBBIES OF PERA PALACE AND HILTON HOTEL

> "'A house is a machine for living in...' - *Le Corbusier (1923)*
> 'But I thought that all that functional stuff had been refuted. Buildings aren't machines.' - *Student*
> 'You haven't understood. The building isn't the machine. Space is the machine.' - *Nick Dalton, Computer Programmer at University College London (1994)"*[2]

Space embodies the most basic and complex attribute of architecture, which is what sets this practice apart from any other form of art. It is the one attribute that architects *seem* to control, a "mental construct through which the mind knows the world" (Forty 2000). Architects have the ability to change how individuals perceive it.

The second factor however is, that whatever mood or atmosphere a designer tries to create, or which memories he tries to recreate, no space will be experienced identical by two observers. Space (according to Henri Lefebvre's and Doreen Massey's studies) is "dynamic & productive rather than transparent & pre-existent zone where events just happen" (Varisco 2007).

Space itself has the power to place an individual in a certain way within and make him or her experience the atmosphere accordingly. Space is its own engineer in this sense: it constructs interpretation. This phenomenon in my opinion is directly related to an individual's previous experience and to a certain extent, also to character and preference, and hence, to the scope of my study.

Taking the Arab Hall, Leighton, London as an example, although it is located in England, import of interior elements make a visitor automatically imagine a different

[2] Hillier, B., 'Space is the Machine', p.4.

country, maybe even a different time. The extent to which one may construct mental details of proposed sceneries depends on every individual's relation to/encounter with that culture as well as his/her own memories and experience.

August Schmarsow (1853-1936), a German art historian, was the first (in 1894) to regard *spaces* as a factor that should be looked at architecturally. Using biological metaphors, he applies many of Gottfried Semper's theories on space and turning them into paintings and sculptures.

It is often thought, that architects 'produce' space – an argument purposely created and explained by Henri Lefebvre (1992): he states there are several levels of space starting with very basic, natural, "absolute" spaces to complicated, "social" ones whose importance is depicted by architects, clients and visitors. His argument is that space is a product/construction of society, which affects "perception" (Lefebvre 1992).

The most comprehensive term for space and its place in architectural subgroups was developed in Germany, and hence turns into an immediate problem in an English-spoken discussion, given that the German term "Raum" covers the enclosed, physical space (room), as well as the philosophical interpretation. For neither the English nor the French was it possible to so comfortably connect a limited space to a philosophical word and hence the exact translation of *Raum* into English lacks the interpretation of the original. It allowed the Viennese Rudolf Schindler to write his manifesto (1913) using one term for space (Frampton 2007):

"We no longer have plastically shaped material-mass. The modern architect conceives the room (Raum) and forms it with wall – and ceiling – slabs. The only idea is space (Raum) and its organisation. Lacking material-mass, the negative interior space (Raum) appears positively on the exterior of the house. Thus the 'box-shaped' house has appeared as the primitive form of this new line of development."

A description where the term *Raum* "lacks material mass" and refers solely to the philosophical meaning, is given by the Turkish lady Zeyneb Hanoum. Having fled Turkey in 1906, her collection of private letters to her journalist friend Grace Ellison, presenting her Eastern view on Western traditions, was published in 1913 as *A Turkish Woman's European Impressions* and provides a reversed travelogue to the one by Lady

Montagu. Her visit to a London Ladies' Club gives insight into the flexibility of spatial conception depending on the viewer's previous experiences. Her Turkish background (socially and culturally) automatically defined her understanding of this alien space. She was "positioned in specific ways (as Turkish, woman and lady) through interaction with particular spatial relations in the club". Her experience would have greatly differed from the experience of a local member. This case shows how identifying with a space is directly related to and regulated by factors including the obvious "race, sexuality, gender and class" but also the personal, hidden ones which constitute of personal experience, memories and tradition. This means also that a heading such as *women* will not suffice to analyse impressions, as they do not as one set have the identical affiliation to the same space (Lewis 2004).

According to Lewis (2004) an important attribute of Raum (place and space) is its relation to *Räume* beyond itself: "individual subjects never only belong to one (spatial) community but experience and are positioned by multiple, fluid spatial frameworks". In this sense, although the Pera Palace Hotel and the Hilton Hotel have constructed nostalgia for their own past, a main attribute (more eminent in the former) is the addressing to various locations related to the space historically. In Pera Palace's case, the Orient Express and its fictional narrative scenes. The Hilton Hotel's nostalgia relies less on connections to the outside in a narrative, mythical manner, but embodies a political aura that is not visualized and has been created by foreign bodies rather than for the marketability of the hotel.

5.1. NOSTALGIA: PRIVATE VERSUS PUBLIC SPACES

To define public versus private, the harem in terms of *Raum* (space and room) serves as a prime example. According to Lewis (2004) the harem can be considered an

1. "actual space (segregated space of women and children in elite Muslim households)"
2. "imaginary space (isolated, sexualised realm of Orientalist fantasy)".

Using the harem as an allegory for Raum, one can distinguish between (Lewis 2004):

1. the authentic space (physical actions)
2. the invented space (narrative, mythic, fictional)

Private spaces are generally a bourgeoise conception of the early 20th century Europe. To the East multi-use of rooms was common. Even the most privileged harems would have their reception hall as a space for varying activities such as dining, sleeping, cleaning, and conversing. Women rarely took the opportunity to have their own private quarter and all women freely used all spaces. Ottoman women in public spaces were a symbol of social transformation during 1908 and 1918, lasting till 1923 (Lewis 2004).

Since the custom of private female spaces and spatial division was so complex and mostly only narrative to the Western female audience, I do not think it gives a basis as unbiased as public spaces. The occupation of the public spaces was for Westerners and Easterners experienced equally. Either one has the possibility to create a nostalgic emotion in about the same time span. In a private space, a local lady would always be more nostalgic to tradition, similar to a Western woman in a dwelling in Europe. A public space, such as a hotel lobby, creates objective ground for my study, since it usually already incorporates a deliberate form of nostalgia in one way or another.

Ever since its inception in the nineteenth century, the hotel lobby serves as an interactive social playground in which hierarchies were naturally established. Nicky Ryan believes a hotel lobby can be seen as a place where one has the power to create one's own identity; it is a "stage for the performance of lifestyle". Lifestyle itself is a combination of actions and relations that individuals hold dear since it helps materialise a characterising narrative that enriches one's identity (Fisher et al. 2011).

Modernisations following the Second World War caused an increasing popularity in standardized hotel chains, which weakened the lobby individuality. The hotel lobby itself however will always be made up of multiple meanings, since every guest perceives the space differently no matter how standardised (Fisher et al. 2011).

A hotel's role has since the inception of the concept been to serve as a landmark and to symbolize some sort of pride. At the Hilton this pride is a nationalist pride whilst at the Pera Palace it is a pride related to the glory of the Orient Express.

With the rise of the mercantile bourgeoisie in the early nineteenth century the hotel became a symbol of extravagance. The bourgeoisie, which before would socialise and dine at their own homes, would now do so at hotels and at hotel lobbies in particular. In the 50s, the representation and symbolisation of luxury was altered. Designers and critics replaced palatial decorated designs with the simplicity of the International Style. A reason for this was the increase in capital in the United States, which allowed the average American to buy more luxury good. Now, the "old elite were forced to create alternative symbols of luxury" to separate themselves from the nouveau riches. "A dislike for flamboyant design and an appreciation of simplicity" became the new symbols of luxury for the upper class (Fisher et al. 2011).

Standardized American hotel chains offered a steady service and uniform design. Sociologist George Ritzer termed it *McDonaldisation*. Its disadvantage is the high probability of "cultural homogeneity". In order to avoid it, chains such as the Hilton would create marketing and design strategies that would promise consistent standard and modern design with regional/local design elements (Fisher et al. 2011).

Whether in form of a modern atrium surrounded by a glass façade or a multi-storey salon with monumental staircases, crystal chandeliers and velvet draperies, the "lobby played a major role in communicating the identity of a hotel through its design". The hotel lobby is a space that serves as a threshold between public and private. It is the stopover from the public sphere before entering the private hotel bedroom as well as the last safe haven before entering the life outside (Fisher et al. 2011).

Siegfried Kracauer sees the lobby as a space representing "boredom", "alienation" and "displacement". Guests sit alone quietly and read a newspaper in order to not have to look at one another. According to him, a lobby has neither its own distinctiveness nor an

actual purpose (Fisher et al. 2011). Guests are sucked into a nomadic atmosphere, and not in the mythical oriental sense.

I do not agree with Kracauer that a lobby necessarily has such a negative connotation. Whilst it might be a stage for "alienation", it also has the potential to achieve the opposite. A nostalgic lobby may give guests a sense of belonging, even if temporal, whilst being uprooted in the real world outside. With on-going traditions and rituals such as afternoon tea at many lobbies, class and status is reinforced and may reassure elderly ladies that some things are still the way they used to be.

5.2. METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN OF RESEARCH

In form of a mixed method research, I investigated and assessed participants' preferences in public interior design in relation to their tendency towards nostalgia. The study comprises a number of data gathering techniques. Semi-structured interviews with selected sampling for qualitative assessment were conducted while noting detailed observations on individuals' behaviour of participants to identify differences in tastes at the two lobbies. Image cards of the two hotels' artefacts and interior/exterior style were addressed (each topic on one card) offering a choice between the two hotel styles.

I invited a group of women to the lobbies of Pera Palace Hotel and Hilton Hotel for tea and sandwiches where I conducted interviews with the group using the same image cards and questionnaires.

I researched how interior lobby design and the atmosphere created influence the feeling of nostalgia. Will female guests feel differently/have different design preferences attending tea at the Pera Palace Hotel than they would at the Hilton? Would they clutter out their most precious vintage jewellery for either one?

Also, whilst at the venue, do individuals relive their past and cherish objects that are representing it? Would a guest, who is on a daily basis more prone to like contemporary

styles, now cherish and choose antique bedrooms when shown images to? Would she now find that Rosenthal's Sanssouci Diplomat Tableware has more personal value than the Gropius line's?

In the scope of my thesis, I have undertaken an empirical study in which I analysed and evaluated the interrelation of public interior design and the conception of nostalgia at these spaces by women with varying backgrounds and memories regarding the space.

5.3. SELECTED SITES

The Pera Palace Hotel and the Hilton Hotel carry with them the ghosts of very different nostalgias. Whilst the Pera Palace's fictional qualities do not represent the burden or insecurities of a past, the Hilton Hotel has in terms of identity an important national nostalgia. The following subchapters explain the nostalgia attached to both hotels and my decision to believe that they serve as an adequate basis for my research.

5.3.1. NOSTALGIA AT THE PERA PALACE HOTEL

Figure 5.1: Pera Palace's Entrance

Source: personal photograph, 2014

When one enters Pera Palace Hotel (Figure 5.1), one immediately escapes the 21st century 3-km-long Istiklal Street (once, Grande rue de Péra) with its 2000 shops where 3 million people are rushing to grab quick lunch, tourists (8 million a year) are carelessly taking photographs of façade details the Turkish citizens are too busy to notice and wandering the streets for souvenirs where sweet-talking shopkeepers are eagerly trying to sell Turkish made-in-China replicas of thousand and one night (Figure 5.2). Pera Palace is one hole-in-the-wall off the hectic daily life.

Figure 5.2: Istiklal Street in 1930s and today

Source:
http://medya.zaman.com.tr/2011/03/06/yolcu02.jpg
http://www.abenteuer-reisen.de/files/imagecache/reportage_imageGallery/bildredaktion/Istiklal_Caddesi_mit_Tram.jpg

Famous celebrities that have resided at Pera Palace in the early 20th century are King Edward VIII, Greta Garbo and Alfred Hitchcock. Upon entering, this feeling of nostalgia only intensifies: after the greeting of the porters, one finds oneself in front of a sedan chair that serves as a reminder of the hotel's previous era, where guests were picked up from the train station in such chairs carried by porters. In 2010, after four years and nearly £20 million of renovation - involving 15 stonemasons for 18 months alone in order to reveal the elaborate stone façade beneath the green paint - it has been restored to its full glory in form of a museum hotel (Macaskill 2010). Anouska Hempel, a former actress, now hotel owner and designer carried out the most recent renovations, beginning of 2014.

The design may have been slightly altered, but guests have stayed the same. According to a manager at Pera Palace, the profile of guests has not changed in the past 40 years. And why would it? Guests today get to indulge in a time of luxury, fine cuisine and the atmosphere of inspired writers and stories that were told during stopovers of the Orient Express. Guests could relax and enjoy the first tastes and impressions of the East that was yet to come. Even today, according to the manager at Pera, every room has at least one restored piece of furniture although it would have been cheaper to buy new ones. The goal is to remind of and in a way bring back the old glory days of Pera. "The reopening was the return of the Grand Pearl of Istanbul". Its afternoon tea is a milestone in the city. A main reason being the two highlights of the hotel: The Kubbeli Salon

(Figure 5.3) and the elevator, which according to one of the hotel managers was lovingly nicknamed the "Old Lady".

Figure 5.3: Kubbeli Salon's ceiling, Pera Palace Hotel

Source: personal photograph, 2014

A beautiful description of the Kubbeli Salon was given by Hilary Macaskill (2010). Macaskill is a London-based journalist and travel writer, who had visited Pera Palace for a meeting with Agatha Christie's grandson Mathew Prichard:

"White marble steps from the foyer lead to the Kubbeli Saloon, a soaring room at the heart of the hotel, with parquet floor, banded columns of Carrara marble and six domes pierced with discs of turquoise glass…This is the setting for the 'English tea ritual', a traditional speciality here that is accompanied by music on the Schiedmayer grand piano…Waitresses in trim beige dresses and white aprons emerge from the Patisserie de Pera, adjacent to reception, bearing platters filled with triangles of striped cake, puffs of pastry smothered in chocolate, tiny tarts and rather larger scones."

Agatha Christie realised her dream of travelling on the Orient Express in 1928, where she was a guest at Pera Palace. She accompanied her husband on his journey to Baghdad for his excavations (Macaskill 2010).

Figure 5.4: Pera Palace's Orient Bar

Source: personal photograph, 2014

High-profile guests such as Agatha Christie, Ernest Hemingway (who immortalized the Orient Bar depicted in Figure 5.4 in his *The Snows of Kilimanjaro*) and founder of the Turkish Republic Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, are what the hotel builds its theme on: Nostalgia to iconic figures and the Orient Express (Augustin 2012).

Even in *Stamboul Train* (1932) - although Graham Greene never had the financial possibilities to actually travel on the Orient Express and wrote the entire novel from his cottage in England - fictional characters would stay at the Pera Palace. At the Pera Palace, legends, realities, nostalgia, myths would all succeed one another and become obscured by the veils of the Orient in sync with the "whirling wings of the revolving door" (Augustin 2012).

The room Agatha Christie apparently stayed at, Room 411 (Figure 5.5) is open for visits. It showcases a typewriter similar to one she would have used, articles and photographs, as well as her famous book *Murder on the Orient Express*. Regarding his stay at the Pera Palace, Agatha Christie's grandson Mathew Prichard mentioned in the interview with Hilary Macaskill (2010): "It's very nice to be in a place that has real associations with her - she really did stay here." It seems as if Mathew Prichard indulges in his own nostalgia at the Pera Palace Hotel. His however will be very

different from anyone else's since it is not based on narratives and fictions but on memories related to Agatha Christie herself.

Figure 5.5: Agatha Christie's Room

Source: http://www.jumeirah.com/en/hotels-resorts/istanbul/pera-palace-hotel-jumeirah/

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk arrived at the hotel 18 times (1915-37). He stayed in Room 101 in 1917, which is too, open to visitors in form of a museum room and is registered with the Ministry of Culture. The room is painted in his favourite colour ("sunset pink") and comprises many of his personal belongings. The clocks in the room are set to the time of his death: 10th November 1938, 9:05am (Augustin 2012).

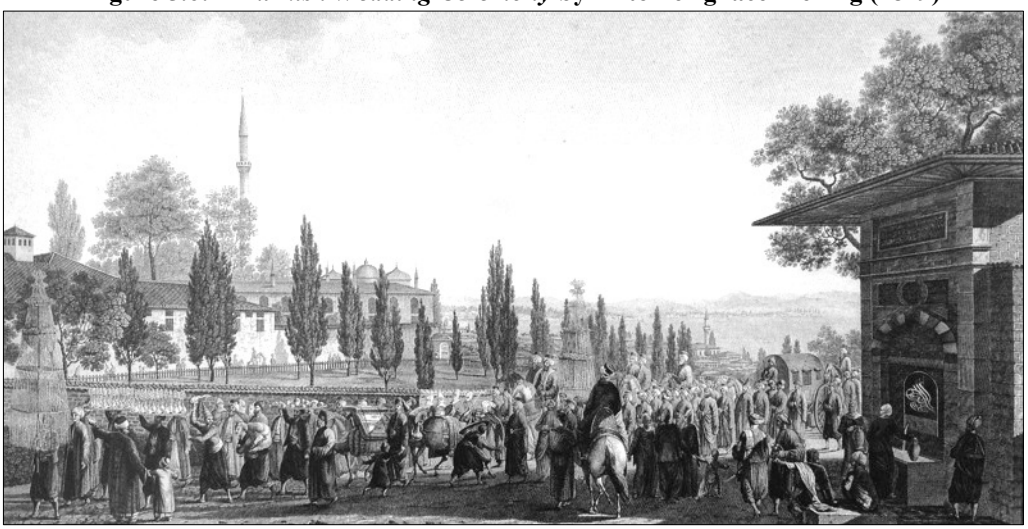
The hotel counts on its nostalgic effects and deliberately appeals to romance and history in its decoration. During its renovation phase, not only was the exterior renovated but interior decoration was brought back to life: antique mother-of-pearl furniture were carefully restored. The beautiful cast-iron and wood-panelled elevator – the oldest elevator in Turkey, and second in Europe after the Eiffel Tower's – with red velvet and mirrored interior was put back to work. According to Macaskill (2010): when it "ascends, it gives a perfect view of the hotel's kubbeli (domes), wrought-iron balconies, and new glass roof which brings sunlight streaming in".

Augustin (2012) quotes Paul Theroux, an American Travel Writer, stayed at the hotel in 1973:

"To catch a glimpse of oneself in a gilt framed ten-foot mirror at the Pera Palace Hotel in Istanbul is to know an instant of glory, the joy of seeing one's own face in a prince's portrait. The décor in the background is decayed sumptuousness, an acre of mellow carpet, black panelling, and rococo carving on the walls and ceilings, where cupids patiently smile and flake."

Even names of restaurants, bars and rooms echo previous eras and are a constant reminder of the hotel's glorious past: Agatha Restaurant, Orient Bar, Ernest Hemingway Suite, Pierre Loti Suites, the Agatha Christie Room and Greta Garbo Rooms. The hotel's website subtitles the image of the exterior façade with: "Discover the wonders of a bygone era, welcome to the Pera Palace Hotel, Istanbul"[3].

Figure 5.6: *A Turkish Wedding Ceremony* by Antoine-Ignace Melling (1819)



Source: Germaner, S. & Inankur, Z., 2002. Constantinople and the orientalists, Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, p.33.

Prints on the walls of Pera Palace depicting the Ottoman Empire by Sultan Selim III's imperial architect Antoine Ignace Melling (1763-1831) such as *A Turkish Wedding Ceremony* (Figure 5.6) bring guests closer to the country's past and "the concierge downstairs would be able to tell us exactly which plane is delayed as his predecessors knew it a hundred years ago when the train was running late" (Augustin 2012).

[3] http://www.jumeirah.com/en/hotels-resorts/istanbul/pera-palace-hotel-jumeirah/

5.3.2. NOSTALGIA AT THE HILTON HOTEL ISTANBUL

Vaka Brown, a writer of Greek Christian origin, takes on the voice of an "Ottoman-American". In her opinion, what differentiates the United States from Turkey (generally speaking, the West from the East) is the fast-paced life of soaking up more and more never-ending information a Westerner is forced to acclimate to.

Figure 5.7: Cover of the weekly magazine *Hayat* (1959)

Source: Kaçel, E., 2010. Hiltonculuk and beyond. Candide, 2010, Vol 12, No 3, p.13.

Figure 5.7 shows Turkish modern women of the new-fast paced American lifestyle with the Hilton as its backdrop. America is set equal with haste and labour. Turkey to her is the counterpart. It is a mythical place where "eternity reigned". People walk slower, act slower and do not feel rushed by anything (Lewis 2004).

This comparison could be set as an attribute of Oriental design. American design therefore represents the hectic turmoil, which the West tries to conquer each day over and over. Hilton, due to its American roots, plus its conception in a technical age for Turkey and the national identity issue, is, as much as one tried to change it, a symbol of progress, haste, and Western conquest of time.

Esra Hanım, an 82-year-old lady, descendant of Mareşal Fevzi Çakmak Paşa (1876 - 1950) and one of the ladies for my case study, was kind enough to share her experiences with me. Having lived in Germany for 10 years also gives her the insight to fast-paced European life and the possibility to compare the West and East quite objectively.

She has visited the Hilton regularly ever since her 18th birthday. She had also been at the hotel right after the opening and is still astonished by the amount of publicity it had caused. The hotelier having been Elisabeth Taylor's first husband's father caused a lot of hype. For an entire week, Hilton was in every magazine and newspaper.

She remembers sitting on the terrace in a dress, wearing a hat and lace gloves, with her mother and tourists asking to take a photo of her and other young Turkish women as a souvenir of something local. Bellboys (small boys in beige suits) would quietly roam the tables with a sign (with a bell attached) on which the name of a lady/gentlemen was written, who was asked to come to the telephone. She also mentioned, that in comparison to the Pera Palace, where a concierge would greet you in the elevator (similar to Nişantaşı at the time) Hilton lifts were hectic and anonymous.

As a child, her mother would say she would never attend tea at Pera Palace without a hat. At the Hilton in comparison more casual attire would suffice. Although Esra Hanım experienced the Hilton *then*, she feels it is a hotel for *now*. She finds that no object reminds her of a different era.

Names of restaurants do not refer to a past either. Titles such as Bosphorus Terrace Restaurant, Veranda Grill & Bar, Pool Café or Dragon Restaurant give a hint about

location, view and cuisine, but do not refer to a glorious past such as the titles at Pera Palace.

The Hilton Hotel does however try with the help of photo exhibitions to refer to its historical importance: many walls in the foyer and lobby have black-and-white posters focusing on the hotel's history accompanied by text. Images show important guests, the grand opening, a cake in the shape of the blue mosque and a traditionally dressed coffee girl posing with Ann Miller.

Figure 5.8: Hilton Lobby Now and Then

Source: personal photograph 2014, Hilton Archives

Although Esra Hanım has very vivid memories, not just in regards to the Hilton, but about many incidents of her childhood, the interior design of the Hilton Hotel lobby was not something she was able to recall. She remembers incidents at the hotel, famous people who visited (just like she does for Pera) but the difference between her memories of the two places suggests that Hilton's interior does not represent a nostalgic atmosphere in itself.

The refurbished lobby seemed to have been orientalised (Figure 5.8) since the hotel's first opening. The simple straight ceiling is now covered in ornaments and a chandelier is added to the existing spotlights.

Figure 5.9: Hilton Reception

Source: personal photograph 2014, Hilton Archives

In the reception area (Figure 5.9), the previously simplistic domes have been painted in floral motifs.

Esra did not notice many of the changes, which in my opinion shows that her nostalgia to the place is related to social memories and not to the interior design.

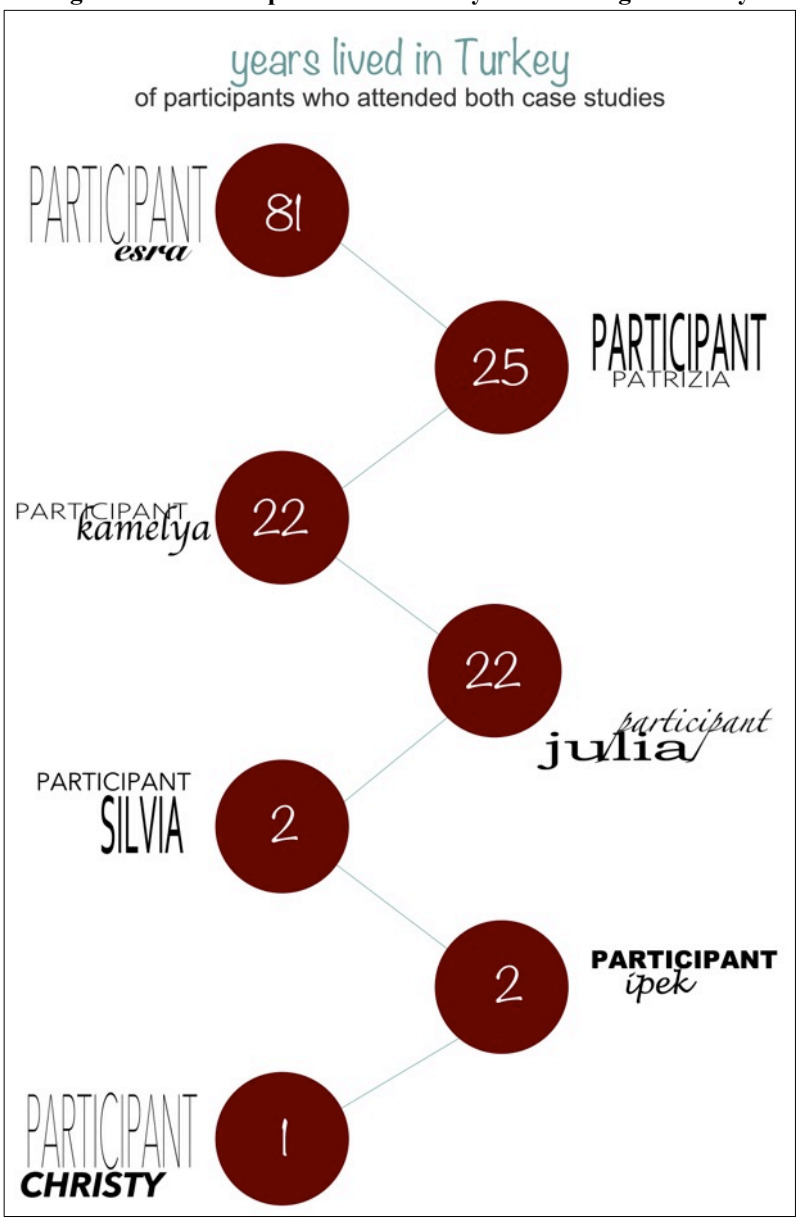
Orhan Pamuk, in his book *Museum of Innocence* (2008) set in mid 70s till mid 80s describes an event at the Hilton. The book itself gives detailed descriptions of the mindset of Istanbul society women, who would roam local boutiques with imported Western clothing, dyed their hair blond and plugged their eyebrows in order to feel more European than they actually were. He mentioned in a discussion about a local product that a Western model could have the effect of doubling sales. Consumers would buy the product because it gives the illusion a Westerner would buy it as well. Pamuk also refers to the Hilton at various points in his book. At one point a lady stated that one cannot just wear a fur coat outside as if one were going to an invitation at the Hilton. Within his writings the Hilton embodied the mindset of the characters. Its popularity further deepened its nostalgic link (even a narrative one) to the modernist era.

This narrative about the hotel's interior focuses less on design and more on the guests who attended. It gives a description of local guests and therewith manages to create a spatial possibility for narrative nostalgia. The time and the mood of the book give

readers an insight into Turkey of the 70s. Here individuals cannot imagine what kind of mythic murder Agatha Christie's Hercule Poirot is about to reveal, but can feel the atmosphere of a more realistic, a non-fictional past of the Istanbulite and the change in regime, which for most of the current Turkish citizens is a greater milestone than Pera's glamorous era.

5.4. SAMPLING

Figure 5.10: Participants' number of years of living in Turkey



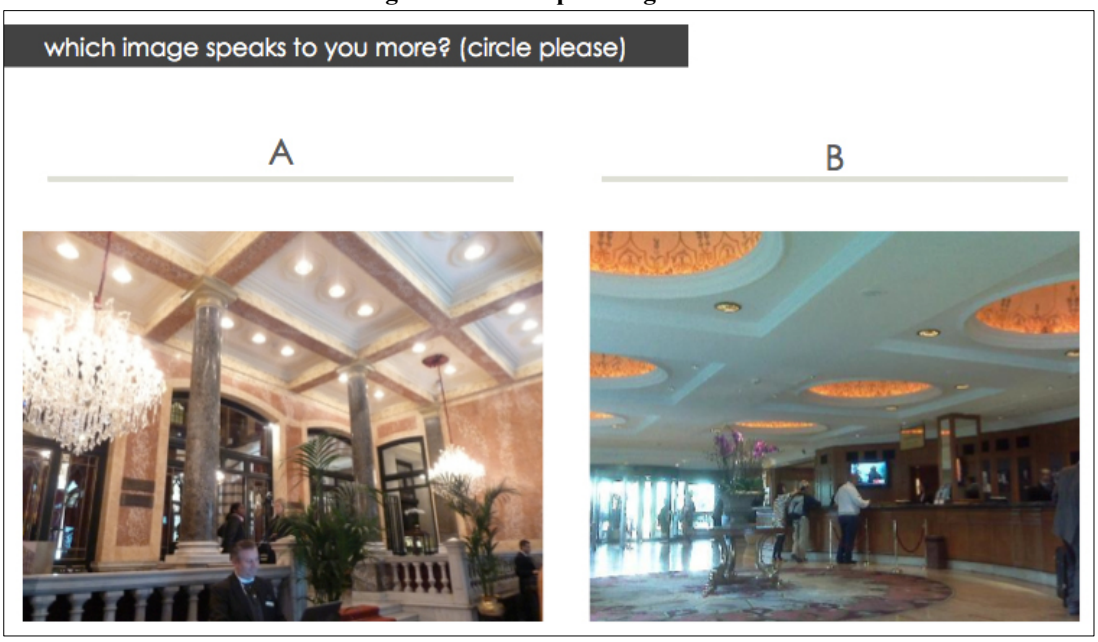
I chose 7 women between 22 and 83 years old (foreign and local), as their knowledge of the places varies from first-hand information over narratives to no knowledge at all. Figure 5.10 shows the women in order of their time spent in Turkey. These ladies I then invited to the Pera Palace Hotel and the Hilton Hotel for tea and sandwiches. Names have been changed for privacy purposes.

Once arriving at the hotel lobbies, (the Kubbeli Salon in the case of Pera Palace) questionnaires with two sections were handed out to the participants. Section 1 consisted of 28 questions (see Appendix-1).

These questions were important for my study whilst assessing behaviour and how prone one is to picking up on a space's nostalgia as well as for revealing the nostalgic features in the lobbies of both hotels.

Section 2 included image cards (depicting two photographs each page) such as the following, in which the women were to circle their first instinct. The photographs show one Pera Palace image and one Hilton image per page (Figure 5.11). 14 cards in total were shown (see Appendix-2, Appendix-3 & Appendix-4). This means subconsciously the individual is making a choice between the two hotel interiors.

Figure 5.11: Sample Image Card



5.5. FINDINGS OF RESEARCH

The results of the questionnaires show their varying backgrounds in regards to personal profile and prior knowledge of the location. Two ladies had no prior knowledge of the hotels' history and myths. Their responses delivered show how strong the hotels' designs are when standing alone with no memories and nostalgic narrative supporting their charm. Three participants heard of the hotel's deliberately created nostalgia and visited recently. Their replies gave insight on how nostalgic the interior design and atmosphere is. Two participants know the hotel very well and have real as well as narrative experiences at the locations and were less carried by the interior as by the memories they associate with it. What can be generalized about the ladies who attended the case study is that reactions were directly related to the complexity of childhood memories.

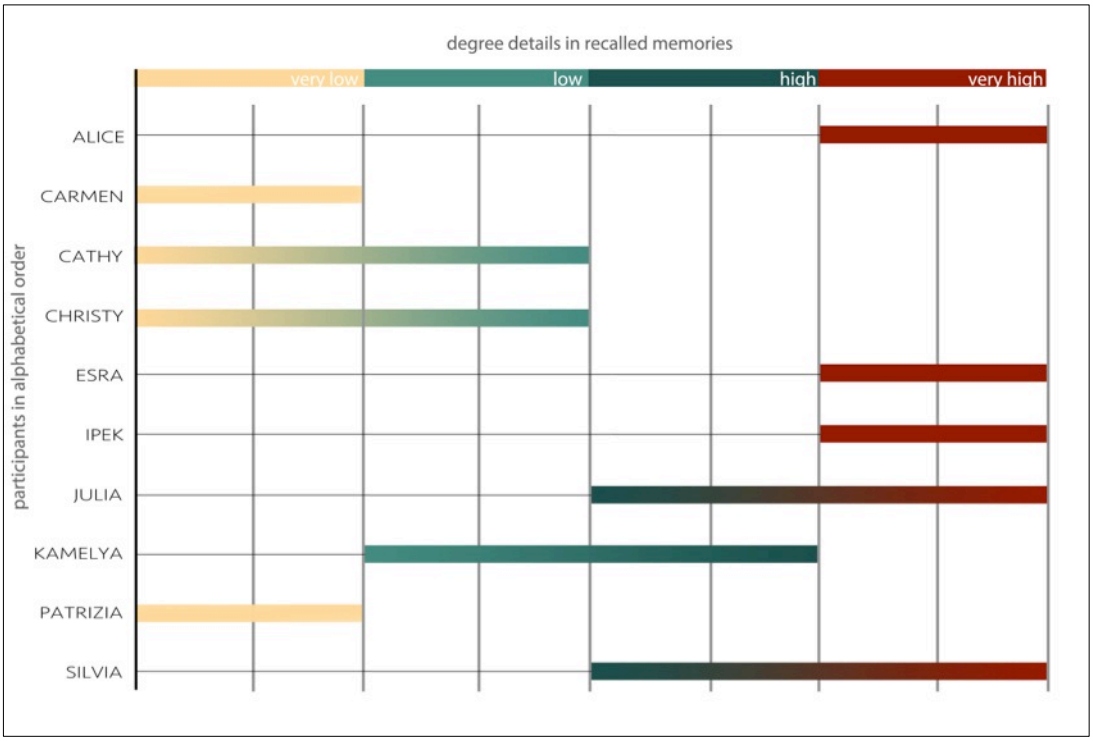
In order to summarise the level of nostalgia of the individuals and their relation to memories, I have analysed responses to the following questions through application of a colour chart:

1. What is your earliest childhood memory?
2. How do you define nostalgia?

Answers, that were more in-depth, or where during the interviews individuals seemed to be caught off guard and chose a less painful memory rather than the one off the tip of their tongue, colouring is red. The colour chart extends from 1 - yellow (weakest response) over 2 – light green, 3 – dark green to 4 – dark red (strongest response).

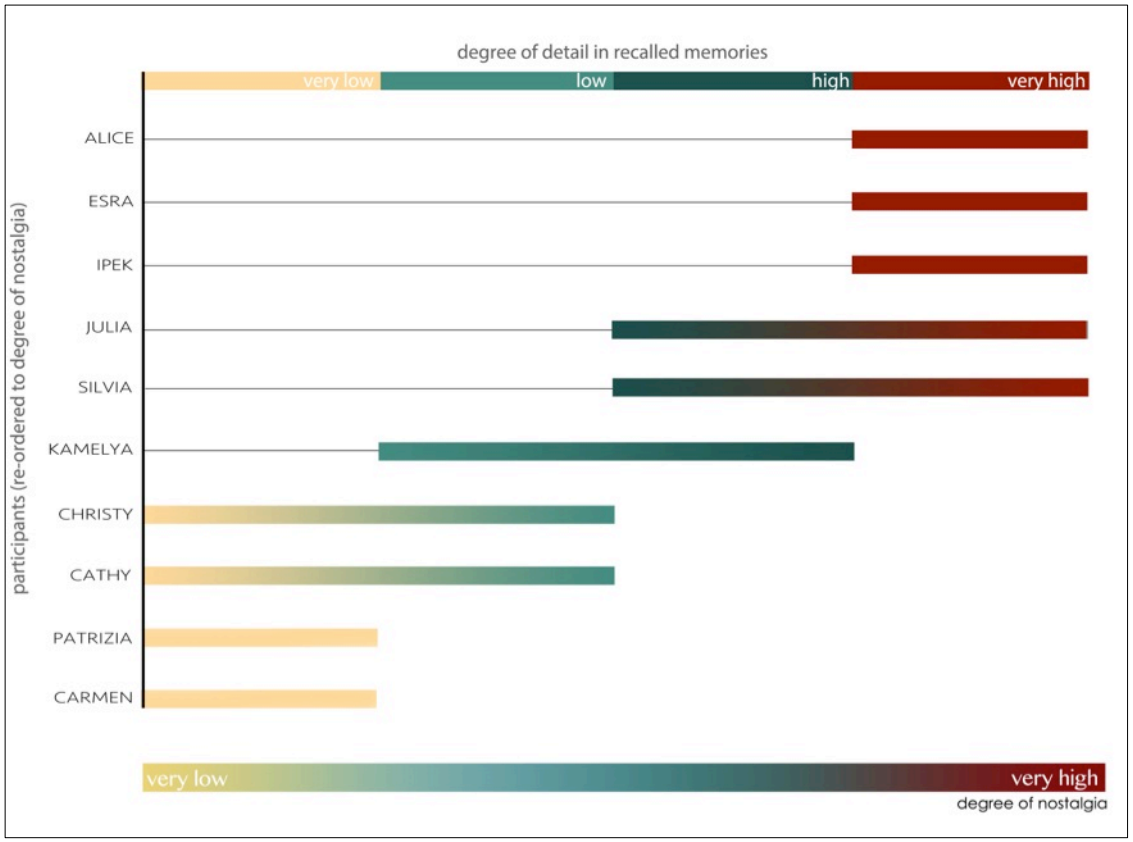
Creating a chart of this information gave me an insight to where to place the women on the "nostalgia" ladder (Table 5.1):

Table 5.1: Participants in alphabetical order and their degree of detail in recalled memories



Three participants who were present during my pilot study at the Pera Palace Hotel are added in light grey letters. I then re-ordered the participants' list, which was previously alphabetically, according to the degree of details in recalled memories, that is to say, who seemed most affected by nostalgic attributes. For example, Esra's story of her childhood was about her and her sister sneaking out to look down the corridor between the railings of the staircase in order to get a glimpse of their parents. The mother was in a long dress and the father in a suit. All night they would listen to the piano from their bedroom. A little later Esra asked her parents what party they attended and found out that the family dressed this well to play cards with friends in their salon. The attention to interior detail, clothing and recalling conversation at the age of 83 made me place Esra into the red sector of my study, the nostalgic sector. Christy on the other hand remembers crying on her birthday because she would not be able to sing happy birthday to herself. She does not remember how old she was going to be. It was details such as this that dictated the order of women in relation to nostalgia and memory in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Participants according their degree of detail in recalled memories



In this very order, I then evaluated the participants' answers (Pera in green, Hilton in yellow) chosen from the image cards during the case study in Table 5.3.

Kamelya was not able to attend the case study at the Pera Palace. We therefore discussed the image cards at a later stage at my home. In a contemporary apartment, her responses however were more often Hilton cards than when actually selecting visuals at the Hilton Hotel.

Table 5.3: Participants' Responses to Image Cards

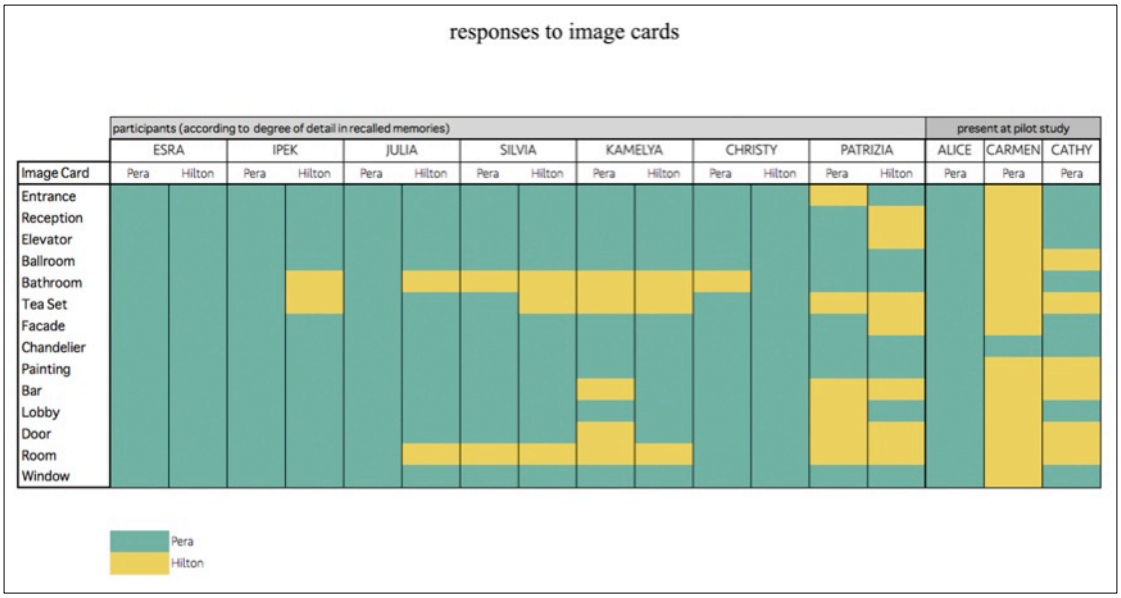


Table 5.4: Comparison of numbers of Hilton Images versus Pera Palace Images chosen out of 28 Cards by Participants at the Hotel Lobbies

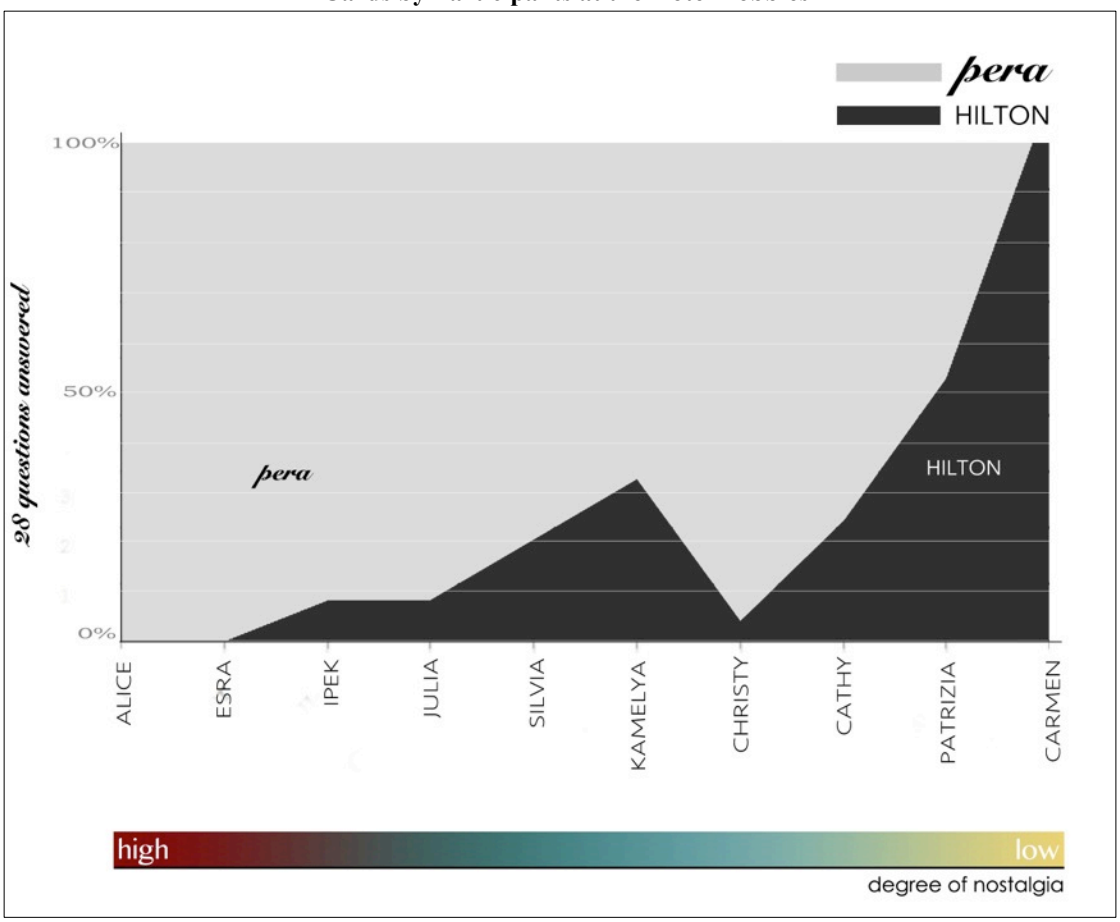


Table 5.3 shows that for the bathroom image and room image Hilton Hotel was chosen more often than for other image cards. A possible explanation is the style of the two images. The images for Hilton's bathroom and room have a lighter effect on the photo than the Pera Palace images. It would be interesting to test whether the lighting and angle in which the photograph was taken play a role or whether answers were solely based on style and colour.

A pattern, with a few irregularities, can be seen in Table 5.4 when taking out the location factor (questioned at Pera Palace versus Hilton) and summarizing the amount of Hilton (dark grey) versus Pera Palace (light grey) responses of the 28 image cards each.

This pattern in Table 5.3 and Table 5.4 obviously reveal that individuals who according to my study seemed to hold on more to memories and have clearer childhood memories selected Pera images. One's choice of Pera Palace image cards is therefore directly related to the one's degree of nostalgia. Individuals who seemed comparatively less affected by nostalgic attributes were prone to select Hilton images. This relation lets me conclude that the spatial features of the Pera Palace appeal more to women with strong ties to their past and tradition, whilst the Hilton Hotel really does represent the cut with tradition and the search for the new as embodied by the individuals whose degree of nostalgia was low.

For the purpose of evaluating my findings according to different topics, I have identified recurring themes within the interview answers and commented on them separately.

Memories and Meaning of Nostalgia

Most individuals referred to the term nostalgia as a longing, the feeling of "missing a time, a past, even a memory". It was agreed on in the group discussion that the trigger of a nostalgic feeling is the reflection of memories and remembering the past. It was

interesting that it was also agreed on that this was a “positive” reflection of “lovely” memories.

The first reaction to the term nostalgia was overall the instinct to exclaim: “Pera”. No comment needed to be added. Most felt that Pera was a sufficient explanation for the term. At the Hilton interviews however, half the group recalled the case study from the week before and answered similarly, the other half seemed to have a harder time *now* coming up with a definition. Eventually, participants would say: nostalgia means “from a past time”. The charming details such as “a man plays the piano, a stunning lady walks into the salon in a long gown and a gentleman asks her to dance” were missing at the second study.

At both hotel lobbies, individuals who were purposely not given any prior knowledge were after the interview informed of the history of the location. In both cases the additional information seemed to have an impact on the way the hotel was perceived.

Narrative Nostalgia

Narrative nostalgia, as discussed earlier, refers to a nostalgia that does not associate itself to real memories. It is a painless nostalgia that feeds off writings, movies and overall phenomena such as orientalisation. One does not feel the pain and yearning as for real homesickness. It is a pleasant fictional longing for an imaginary dimension.

During my interviews, narrative nostalgia was most often brought into association with “comfortable”. Most participants preferred the cosiness of the Pera Palace: “Cosy furniture. I would enjoy curling up on the sofa with a dear friend for an afternoon chat”. It seems that places attached to memory give a sense of belonging to individuals. When asked the same question at Hilton, the same individual remarked that she did not find the lobby cosy and a bit too pretentious.

A reason for this might be the style of furniture and colour ensemble as well as choice for lighting and window design. The large window front at Hilton could not provide much warmth on a chilly spring day. Individuals did not feel sheltered. Furthermore, the red velvet satin curtains at the Pera Palace added visual warmth to the interior space. Women would glance up at the rich draping that stretched across the room, even decorating windows that separated the interior spaces. This natural separation of circulatory space and space of relaxation as experienced at the Pera Palace, was another important aspect missing at the Hilton. Guests are surrounded by passers-by. No clear division separates conversation and tea from backpacks and tourist guides. This adds to a hurry that is linked to modern times and increases a yearning for the more "comfortable" quiet sofa at Pera Palace.

Mythical Nostalgia

Mythical nostalgia, a sub-category of narrative nostalgia, refers to narratives that are purely fictional. Whilst narrative nostalgia includes ancestors' experiences, and parents' childhood memories, mythical nostalgia is made up of imaginary lands, graveyards where one may wait to come across a Djinn, golden interiors of veiled deceitful beauties or in Pera Palace's case Agatha Christie's unveiling of murder.

This relates to fictional sceneries of "Constantinople in the 1860s, diplomats, Armenians, Greeks, theatres…circuses", intrigued by "a time we do not know", that Kamelya concocted at the Pera Palace lobby. Her comment on the Hilton when asked what she associated with the hotel was merely: "maybe the 50s?" She clearly did not experience either time, but the interior atmosphere and spatial qualities of the Pera Palace let her live her ideas of a never experienced and even fictional, mythical past more vividly than a time span which would be much closer to the present time. The mythical nostalgic qualities at Pera Palace, to an individual with no personal memories, have greater marketability than the Hilton Hotel's nostalgia. While other comments on the Pera Palace included the narratives of *Murder on the Orient Express*, Ernest Hemingway drinking at the Orient Bar and women in gowns with vintage jewellery,

Christy, an American lady, went as far as comparing the Hilton Hotel to food franchising: “This could just be any other American hotel …it is basically McDonald’s, you know exactly what to expect”.

Overall, individuals who are more prone to give detailed accounts of memories seem to prefer the interior design of the Pera Palace. The Hilton Hotel did not appeal to most women, the ones with and the ones without any prior knowledge of either. Comments mainly revolved around the need for refurbishment.

The comment I found vital was feedback given by the American lady, Christy: “This could just be any other American hotel”. The fact, that an American woman would not pick up on deliberate recent “oriental” additions, such as the chandelier and ornamented ceilings (which for locals might be too common to even realize) means that the goal of merging American class with oriental design has either failed or diminished over time.

Kamelya, in a domestic setting less nostalgic than the hotels, disrupted the flow of the chart compared to the “childhood” memory answer. Her answer on nostalgia however, too, was “Pera”. Kamelya, who according to my analysis should be more in line with Pera cards than Hilton cards, chose more Hilton cards at a contemporary apartment. This supports the idea that the interior design can momentarily influence tastes. However, it does appear that the overall taste does depend more on the individual’s take on nostalgia.

Also, the fact that the three pilot study participants, who haven’t had the chance to attend the Hilton case study, fit into the raster shows that personal tendency to nostalgia outweighs the temporary location factor.

As a summary, I found that the preferences of these women seemed to be in accordance with their tendency to cherish and recall memories and their past. A participant who gave a detailed description of a memory and was emotionally affected by reminiscing preferred the Pera Palace’s narrative nostalgia. Experiencing a place may create a non-

fictional nostalgic feeling towards a lived past, yet this did not appear to change preferences for spatial design in my case study.

Nostalgic Spatial Features

The nostalgia of spatial features is directly related to the narratives and experiences themselves. One can only feel relation to an object when previously, in one form or another, having come in contact with.

A feature all individuals seemed to cherish was the dim and selected lighting through chandeliers and smaller window openings at the Pera Palace. Hilton, with its large window front definitely has the lighter interior, which however emotionally impacted individuals less than the enclosed dark space at Pera Palace. Silvia commented it with: "I feel more embraced". When choosing the "room" and "bathroom" image cards however, the Hilton Hotel's seemed to have been preferred by most, due to its light interior.

Colour ensembles at Pera Palace seemed more complex and daring. The Hilton's white and beige walls/ceiling completed with delicate chandeliers generate a neutral atmosphere, which is only slightly broken by the addition of bordeaux-red sofas. At the Pera Palace, salmon-colour and beige marble patterns succeed one another and are framed by dark contours as well as disrupted by a regular pattern of dark latticework window frames and murano-glass chandeliers. Below, heavy red curtains drape the columns between windows whilst on top, the kubbeli almost appear turquoise from afar.

Also, for Silvia, the high ceilings and chandeliers at Pera Palace resembled the ones of European palaces and hence of distinguished elaborate balls of figures such a Marie Antoinette or Empress Elisabeth of Austria. To Ipek, the colour red of the couches and curtains seemed to bring tears to her eyes. She associated her memories with a colour. On that note, Kamelya described the term nostalgia being beige and smelling of awkward.

Surprisingly though, the more "beige" interior, the Hilton, did not call forth such feelings within the individuals. Whilst the "old" in Pera Palace was cherished, the "old" in Hilton was disappointing. All women agreed that renovations and refurbishments were in order at the Hilton.

I do not believe this shows the failure of interior design at the Hilton per se, it however shows the importance for constant maintenance at hotel lobbies. The Pera Palace's latest refurbishment was carried out earlier in 2014. The Hilton – although modern in style – seems to be waiting for its renovation project, which in the ladies' opinions is overdue.

Dress Code and Nostalgia

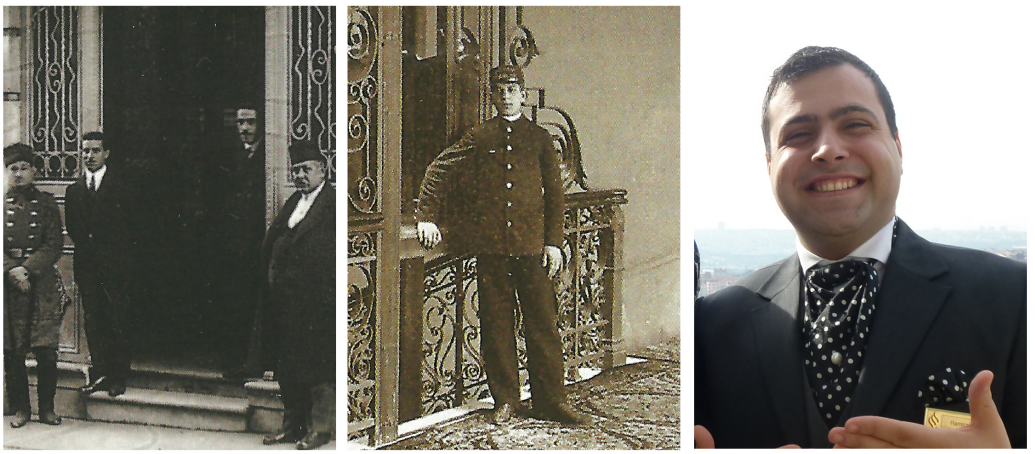
The last question of my group interviews was: "(If you have not been here before) Would you dress differently next time?"

At the Pera Palace, individuals who had attended events or tea dressed a lot more chic and seemed to have put a lot more effort into their attire than the women who had no knowledge of the location. When asked how they would dress next time, many mentioned they would like to accessorize with expensive vintage jewellery, stoles and hats, since this seems to be the only location in town where a stole and a hat would seem perfectly appropriate for the occasion; be it day or night. It seems that the furnishing and interior qualities set scenery for previous glamorous eras in which the participants of my interviews would like to role-play in.

Staff uniforms at hotels also mirror the hotels' design and atmosphere. Their attire adds to the overall image and influences/guides the dress code for guests. A waitress in a black dress and white apron serves as a live decoration against the still background of the lobby (similar to a theatre set) and animates guests (actors) to follow suit by dressing more elegantly.

The uniform at a hotel is an indirect guidance of the attire a hotel expects from its guests. At the Pera Palace, the attire of the doormen gives the first impression for newcomers of the overall dress code that would be politely expected inside the hotel (Figure 5.12).

Figure 5.12: Pera Palace Hotel Dress Code – Now and Then



Source: personal photograph, 2014

In the 50s at the Hilton, as Esra Hanim described, bellboys would roam the room in their little beige suits. With the disappearance of the bellboy, so seemed to have disappeared the dress code at Hilton: women who had memories of weddings and birthday parties were dressed slightly more elegantly than women who knew the Hilton chain only as an international term. All however chose a more casual attire ranging as far as denim dresses and flip-flops. At the end, all participants were very comfortable in their present attire at the Hilton and did not see it as a playing ground for their hat.

6. CONCLUSION

Every person experiences nostalgia differently. It is impossible to walk in someone else's shoes and attempt to see a space identical to someone else.

Factors such as personal background and narratives play an important role. Whether it is Holly Golightly who holds on to a never-experienced tradition at a store window, the German couple visiting their parents' native land and realising the idealisation they had fabricated in their minds or the American film industry serving as a factory of fictional nostalgias, all to some extent weave together to let an individual project images onto an object and let her/him create a personal conception of a space.

Sitting at the Pera Palace Hotel lobby, a guest who had read *Murder on the Orient Express* will have a completely different impression and way of paying attention to detail than an individual who sits and reminisces for the old days when her and her beloved would eat scones at five o'clock tea time wearing their favourite hats. Nostalgia would be present at both occasions, one would however be narrative, the other experienced. The first would be the less painful experience.

Space itself plays an important role in recalling imagery. Individuals, some more some less, are more than capable of projecting sceneries of other locations onto a place through triggers. An art nouveau chandelier may remind of a movie scene or different hotel lobby where one enjoyed a pleasant evening.

Overall, spatial qualities of a hotel lobby seem to have more impact on a person's preferences than one's own memories and associations with that place. For further research it would be interesting to examine triggers such as the differences in colours, forms, materials and lighting and how these can call forth certain nostalgias.

Elaborating on the results of my study by taking a larger sample group with an exact examination of their background knowledge, an in-depth psychological analysis on their childhood memories, using images taken during the exact same time of day and at the same angle would generate more detailed results.

The overall taste seems to be directly related to one's own tendency to hold on to memories and past. The more one cherishes her/his past, the more one is prone to prefer an interior design (even if only for commercial purpose) to represent narrative nostalgia. The personal memory of a place creates a non-fictional nostalgic feeling that however, in my study at least, did not alter one's taste for spatial design. Fictional nostalgia however seems to have this impact; maybe even due to its *escape* factor. One has the temporary possibility to enter a dreamland of personal concocted beautiful images.

For the West, Zygmunt Bauman's *escape* might have been the Orient. A fictional, commercialised depiction of bloodthirsty Turks, mysterious imprisoned veiled beauties, djinns that hold meetings amidst turban-shaped tombstones…neither past, present nor future, serves as a parallel universe (*the hunt*). A depiction the West could mentally indulge in in order to escape present realities.

Lady Montagu unveiled this fictional, idealized nostalgia and presented a non-fictional truth, which would be a much closer association to the Turk and less of a shock to the Western eye when eventually confronted with the modern Turk in the 1950s.

The term 50s itself, to Turkey, recalls as much a style and imagery, as the Roaring Twenties and Swinging Sixties to the United States. Maybe due to American influence at the time, the term 50s has become an important attribute associated to the national identity crisis of the mid till end-of-twentieth-century Turkey. Whilst before, the country had an idea of time according to historical events such as dynasties and wars, it now had adopted the American invention of the decade. This, too, suited the new culture and intention of cutting ties with the Ottoman Empire.

The 50s presented nostalgia mixed with melancholic elements (*hüzün*) for the lost city. The djinns had to migrate for the Orient Express; the Orient Express by now had departed as well. Left are remnants of what once was and the utopic attitude for a hopeful future as a new Republic, which would overshadow the loss of the Empire. The Hilton Hotel became the symbol of this time. It was the milestone on the road passing

sultans and palaces, passed the dump of urban fabric waste resulting from Prost's interventions…standing on its prime location like a spaceship, waiting for a time where its facade would blend in. As if it were waiting for the Orient Express to once again steam through the gates of the city and magically bring the stylistic progress the nation has been waiting for. Instead of the train carrying myths, murders and spies, now however planes would import modernity and a promise for a national culture the country could identify with.

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APPENDICES

Appendix-1: Participant Interview Questions

PARTICIPANT
interview questions

Name:
Age:
Marital Status:
Profession:
Nationality:
How long have you lived in Turkey?:

What is your earliest childhood memory? Was it happy/sad/exciting?

What is the interior style of your home?

How do you define "nostalgia"?

Have you been at this hotel before? When? How often?

Have you had afternoon tea here? When? How often?

Have you checked into a room here? How often? When?

Are you aware of the hotel's history? What do you know about this hotel?

Have you watched movies/read books referring to this hotel? Which ones?

Does this lobby make you feel comfortable? Why? Why not?

What feature (object/colour/sound) speaks to you the most at this lobby?

What objects make this place nostalgic?

Does the interior design remind you of a different time/specific place?

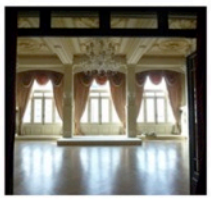
(If you have not been here before) Would you dress differently next time?

Appendix-2: Participant Interview Image Cards (Part 1)

PARTICIPANTS
image cards
part I

which image speaks to you more? (circle please)

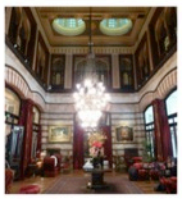
A



B

which image speaks to you more? (circle please)

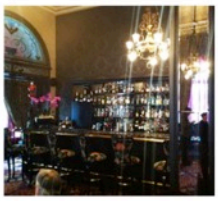
A



B

which image speaks to you more? (circle please)

A



B

which image speaks to you more? (circle please)

A

B

which image speaks to you more? (circle please)

A

B

which image speaks to you more? (circle please)

A

B

Appendix-3: Participant Interview Image Cards (Part 2)

PARTICIPANTS
image cards
part II

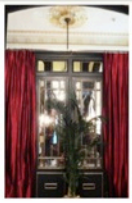
which image speaks to you more? (circle please)

A

B

which image speaks to you more? (circle please)

A



B

which image speaks to you more? (circle please)

A

B

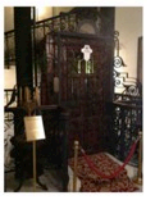
which image speaks to you more? (circle please)

A

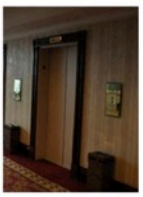
B

which image speaks to you more? (circle please)

A



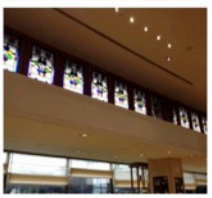
B



which image speaks to you more? (circle please)

A

B



Appendix-4: Participant Interview Image Cards (Part 3)

Appendix-5: Interview with Pera Palace Hotel Manager (Part1)

MANAGER PERA PALACE

interview questions

part I

When did you start working at the hotel?
In Opening Team November 2009

How long have you been manager? Previous job?
Worked since 1987, Manager since 1995. Previous job at Ritz Carlton Istanbul (4 years), now Pera Palace for 4 years.

Do you have e-mail address/number of previous managers?
No.

Were there any design changes of the interior before, during your time here? Why?
Previously: bad smell, dark, hygiene was a problem. Would personally not have eaten here. Last renovation: Kübbeli Salon, Library, Lobby, Patisserie (on-going project)
Next: Agatha Restaurant, Interior Designer: Anushka Hempel

What do you personally think about the interior design of the hotel? If you could, what changes would you do and why?
Lots of money invested. I'm not a designer, but I think it is a lot more bright and inviting. Optimized. Generally hotels need renovations every 1-2 years in order to stay interesting (restaurants change concept every 6 months). It is more nostalgic now and was too simple before. The Grande Hotel de Londre should do the same: many guests come and change booking because hotel not up to standard. Problem with sewage.

What are the main nationalities of guests? Does the hotel keep statistics?
Hotel uses computer system for this: 85% foreigners, every season different
Summer: Americans, Canadians, Australians (with Ocean liners)
Easter: Europeans, especially Italian and Dutch
If one years profile changes, hotel looks into marketing of that country: why does this nationality come less than before? And spends more on advertising there.
For example, Asians come less, because usually in one round-trip with Cairo and given political situation many groups not present.
The state now wants to see statistics of hotels.

Appendix-6: Interview with Pera Palace Hotel Manager (Part2)

MANAGER PERA PALACE

interview questions

part II

Do guests give feedback on interior design of hotel? If yes, could you summarize the most repeated ones?
Feedback is always pro and con. Usually Turkish citizens like the "old" and complain about changes. Hotel itself did not have a good reputation before the renovation 4 years ago. The building belongs to the state, Sabanci has a 49 year lease. Previous owner Süzer was in debt and hotel taken from them by state.

What is the profile of guests at afternoon tea?
80% Istanbul women who have always come for tea.. most over 70
fully booked

Has the profile of afternoon tea attendants/guests changed over time?
Employees who have been here for 40 years say it hardly changed.

What does nostalgia mean to you?
Nostalgia = Pera Palace
Interior and exterior are "old", Old elevator.

What aspects of the hotel do you find nostalgic?
The atmosphere is nostalgic…all of it actually except restaurant and spa.
Every room has at least one restored piece of furniture although it would have been cheaper to just buy new ones.

What kind of atmosphere is the hotel trying to create? What is the theme?
To bring back the old glory days of Pera. The reopening was the return of the Grand Pearl of Istanbul. Its afternoon tea is a milestone in the city; it is even in 1001 places to see before you die.

Are there any objects that are highlighted specifically for the atmosphere?
The Kubbeli Salon, the elevator "Old Lady".

Do you think the hotel represents its past?
No guest says the old design was better. We kept the nostalgia but improved the hygiene.

Appendix-7: Interview with Hilton Hotel Manager (Part1)

MANAGER HILTON HOTEL

interview questions

part I

When did you start working at the hotel?
In 2006

How long have you been manager? Previous job?
Manager for one year, before in Food and Beverages.

Do you have e-mail address yes, you have/number of previous managers?
Unfortunately no.

Were there any design changes of the interior before, during your time here? Why? There is not any design changes for long time but planning next year The half domes at reception have been edited/restored, why? Who did the restoration?
I saw some of the images of the domes and I think they have been built in 1955 with the overall hotel construction.

What do you personally think about the interior design of the hotel? If you could, what changes would you do and why?
I like classic design. I do not think any changes would be necessary.

What are the main nationalities of guests? Does the hotel keep statistics?
Yes, we do. Mainly Middle Eastern and European guests.

Has the profile of guests changed over the years?
Not too much really.

Do guests give feedback on interior design of hotel? If yes, could you summarize the most repeated ones?
We generally receive feedback about service quality, staff, view and guest experience.

What is the profile of guests at afternoon tea?
Middle aged and aged guests enjoy their time here.

Appendix-8: Interview with Hilton Hotel Manager (Part2)

MANAGER HILTON HOTEL

interview questions

part II

Has the profile of afternoon tea attendants/guests changed over time?
Not really...Turkish ladies still come for tea. Guests are still the same profile.

What does nostalgia mean to you?
Reminiscing about the good old times. Memories.

What aspects of the hotel do you find nostalgic?
The photos of celebrities who stayed at the Hilton Istanbul in the 50s, which are displayed on posters at the lobby.

What kind of atmosphere is the hotel trying to create? What is the theme?
American international standard and the hotel's long magnificent reputation.

Are there any objects that are highlighted specifically for the atmosphere?
The entire interior design represents our style.

Do you think the hotel represents its past?
It does. We keep the design the way it has been ever since the opening. Many elderly Turkish guests remember the time of the opening.