FROM SEASONAL TO PERMANENT:

A STUDY ON THE EFFECTS OF GÖÇ TRADITION ON THE BOSPHORUS SHORES

1791-1815

AYŞE KAPLAN

Student Number: 109671003

ISTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

M.A PROGRAMME IN HISTORY

Thesis Advisor: PROF. DR. SURAIYA FAROQHİ

2012

From Seasonal to Permanent:
A Study on the Effects of *Göç* Tradition on the Bosphorus Shores, 1791-1815

Mevsimlikten Daimiye:
Göç Geleneğinin Boğaziçi Kıyıları Üzerindeki Etkisi Üzerine Bir Çalışma, 1791-1815

Ayşe Kaplan
109671003

This thesis has been approved on 8 October 2012 by:

Prof. Dr. Suraiya Faroqhi (Thesis Advisor)..

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu..

Assist. Prof. Dr. Başak Tuğ..

Keywords:
1. Bosphorus
2. Tradition of seasonal withdrawal
3. Bostancibasi registers
4. Social history
5. Urban history

Anahtar Kelimeler:
1. Boğaziçi
2. Göç geleneği
3. Bostancıbaşı defterleri
4. Sosyal tarih
5. Şehircilik tarihi

Abstract of the thesis by Ayşe Kaplan, for the degree of Master of Arts in History to be taken from the Institute of Social Sciences in December 2012

Title: From Seasonal to Permanent: A Study on the Effects of Göç Tradition on the Bosphorus Shores, 1791-1815

The term "göç", in the specific 18th century İstanbul context, indicates the tradition of seasonal withdrawal of urban Istanbulites to secondary residences along the Bosphorus. It became popular around 1750 and the turn of the 19th century saw the highest number of waterfront residences along the Bosphorus. Using the *bostancıbaşı* registers, this thesis tries to capture a snapshot of select lands along the sea, and analyses the effects of *göç* on the shaping of urban and social configurations of the Bosphorus shores.

This study makes a critical analysis of the concept of "Bosphorus civilization". The phrase represents a nationalist and nostalgic viewpoint which singularizes the waterfront residence as the ultimate symbol of life along the Bosphorus. As such, *yalı* is studied by architectural and social historians as part a lost cultural heritage. The main argument of this thesis is that the effects of *göç* were not limited to the ephemeral *yalı*, but with the prevailing urban alterations to the shores that it necessitated and with the social profile of the people participating in it, its effects on the shaping of these lands were, in large part, quite permanent.

From a revisionist historiographical viewpoint, the 18th century is seen as a time of intense changes and transformations in the Ottoman society. Accordingly, changes in the urban structure of Istanbul, and more specifically the Bosphorus shores, were outcomes of these transformations. Following this line of thought, the information in the *bostancıbaşı* registers are evaluated within the larger framework of this social transformation.

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü'nde Tarih Yüksek Lisans derecesi için Ayşe Kaplan
tarafından Ekim 2012'de teslim edilen tezin özeti

Başlık: Mevsimlikten Daimiye: Göç Geleneğinin Boğaziçi Kıyıları Üzerindeki Etkisi
Üzerine Bir Çalışma, 1791-1815

18. yüzyıl İstanbulu bağlamında "göç" terimi, şehirli İstanbulluların yaz
aylarında Boğaziçi kıyılarındaki yalılarına çekilmeleri geleneğini ifade eder. Bu
gelenek 1750 yılı civarında popüler hale gelmiş, 18. yüzyıl sonunda Boğaziçi
kıyılarındaki yalıların sayısı en yüksek noktaya ulaşmıştır. Bu tez, bostancıbaşı
defterlerini kullanarak Boğaziçi kıyılarında belirli bölgelerin bir resmini yakalamaya
çalışmakta ve göç geleneğinin Boğaziçi kıyılarının kentsel ve sosyal yapısı üzerindeki
etkilerini incelemektedir.

Bu çalışmada "Boğaziçi Medeniyeti" kavramının eleştirel bir analizi
yapılmaktadır. Bu terim, yalıyı, Boğaziçi'ndeki hayatın yegane sembolü olarak
tekleştiren milliyetçi ve nostaljik bir bakış açısını temsil eder. Mimarlık ve sanat
tarihçileri bu açıdan yalıyı kaybedilmiş bir kültürel miras olarak ele alırlar. Bu tezin
ana argümanı, göçün etkilerinin yok olan yalılarla sınırlı olmadığı, aksine kıyılarda
zorunlu olarak yapılan kentsel değişiklikler ve göçe katılan insanların sosyal profiliyle
birlikte, göçün kıyılar üzerindeki etkisinin aslında büyük oranda kalıcı olduğudur.

Yenilikçi bir tarihyazımsal bakış açısına gore 18. yüzyıl, Osmanlı toplumu için
bir dönüşüm dönemidir. Buna gore, İstanbul'un ve özellikle Boğaziçi'nin kentsel
yapısındaki değişimler bu dönüşümün ürünleridir. Bu bakış açısına uygun olarak, bu
tezde bostancıbaşı defterlerindeki bilgiler bahsi geçen sosyal dönüşüm çerçevesi
içerisinde değerlendirilmiştir.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Kentsel anlatıda fiziksellikle toplumsallık arasındaki denge kentsel tarihçilerin 'kara kedisi'dir. Tarihe eğilimi olanlar, fiziksel çevreden çok toplumsal çevreyi anlatırlar. Mimari ve estetik duyarlılıkları olanlar da yapıları ve mekanları vurgulama eğilimdedirler; yorumları zayıf olabilir, ama kentsel yaşamı daha canlı dile getirirler. Ancak kentsel tarihin özü, yaşamla fiziksel yapının bütünleşmesiyle oluşur.

-Doğan Kuban, İstanbul: Bir Kent Tarihi, p. vi [1]

This study is borne out of the combination of two components: a set of thoroughly underused primary sources, and the recognition of a rift, or as Kuban coins it, a 'black cat' in scholarly literature between the physical and the social aspects of life along the Bosphorus shores in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The primary sources used for this study, *bostancıbaşı* registers, were kept by the head of the *bostancı* corps in a roughly twenty-five year period at the turn of the eighteenth century, and are a set of extensive records detailing all public and private structures along the shores of the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, along with the names, occupations and ranks of their patrons and owners. This study is a tentative attempt at reconciling the physical and the social aspects of the history of the Bosphorus through an analysis of the rich information contained in these registers.

In the last twenty-five years, the historiography of the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has gone through a period of deconstruction and re-evaluation. The old but insistent historiographical discourses of the infamous 'decline paradigm', of Westernization, modernization and nationalism, constantly overlap and intersect each other in ways that are, at times, hard to trace. And yet, vigorously breaking down these imposing conceptions since the 1980s, historians and scholars have, to a large extent, managed to free the last two centuries of the

---

[1] Kuban, Doğan, *Istanbul, Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul*, trans. Zeynep Rona (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2000).

Ottoman Empire from the restraints of this 'traditional' historiography[2]. Revisionist scholars have then taken up to re-examining the many aspects of the history of these two centuries outside of the outdated perceptions they have so far been studied in.

The eighteenth century, previously marked as a period of economic, military and political 'decline' and the crucial time when the Ottomans had 'opened up to the West', is now seen instead as a period of *change*, largely freed from its positive or negative connotations and recognized for what it is. Social history of Istanbul in the eighteenth century is characterized by an intense transformation: from changing power relations within the imperial family and high-state bureaucracy to the accumulation of wealth in the hands of an expanding middle and upper-middle class and varying modes of consumption, the many ways in which these currents manifested themselves are still being explored[3]. In this regard, the seasonal and the overall permanent shift of the city towards the Bosphorus, and inseparably, the waterfront palaces and residences, is one such topic through which these changes in the society can be studied[4].

In traditional historiography in Turkish, the history of the Bosphorus in the eighteenth and especially the nineteenth century is studied in the context of 'Bosphorus civilization'. This notion is important, for despite more recent revisionist approaches, the 'Bosphorus civilization' is still the dominating concept in Turkish

---

[2]For a comprehensive analysis of this process, see Dana Sajdi, "Decline, its Discontents and Ottoman Cultural History: By Way of Introduction," in *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth century*, ed. by Dana Sajdi (London, New York: Tauris, 2007), 1-40.
[3] Some of the most prominent of such revisionist scholars would be Tülay Artan, Shirine Hamadeh, Madeline Zilfi and Ariel Salzmann.
[4]In proposing this, I am following Shirine Hamadeh's approach, who regards urban change in eighteenth century Istanbul as an outcome of social transformation: Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008). Artan also regards the shift towards the Bosphorus in the context of social change: Artan, "Early 20th Century Maps and 18-19th Century Court Records: Urban Continuity on the Bosphorus," *Environmental Design: Urban Morphogenesis, Maps and Cadastral Plans* (1993).

literature shaping the understanding of the subject[5]. The phrase, coined in 1942 by the Turkish writer Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar, represents a hedonistic lifestyle enjoyed by the Istanbulites along the Bosphorus during summer months. What is significant about Hisar's 'civilization' is the way it shaped the attitude of scholarly studies: the strictly nationalist, nostalgic and mournful tone Hisar employed in his memoir-styled novel *Boğaziçi Mehtapları* became the normative attitude for intellectuals and scholars studying the history of the Bosphorus[6].

The topic itself is multi-faceted and quite complex in nature. On the one hand, the waterfront palace –*sâhilsaray*- and residence –*yalı*- are subjects of architectural history. However, conducting research on these structures is a daunting task, for because of the light construction material commonly used in them, very few eighteenth century *yalı*s have survived today. Of the palaces and pavilions, none built before 1800 survive[7], and those that have survived date from the second half of the nineteenth century, such as the Beylerbeyi Sarayı constructed in 1861 by Sultan Abdülaziz. Therefore, placing the waterfront residence as an architectural type within its larger historical context necessitates the study of archival and visual material describing the structures and the ways they have been built, used and altered over time.

One could perhaps argue that, so far, scholars working within the traditional historiographical contexts might not have felt the need to undertake such a task. Architectural historians dealing with the waterfront palaces and residences almost exclusively place their work within the Westernization discourse: accordingly, the

---

[5]For a number of examples, see articles and papers in: Mustafa Armağan, ed. *İstanbul Armağanı 2: Boğaziçi Medeniyeti* (İstanbul: İBB Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı, 1995).
[6]Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar,*Boğaziçi Mehtapları* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitabevi, 1942).
[7] Tülay Artan, "Boğaziçi'nin Çehresini Değiştiren Soylu Kadınlar ve Sultanefendi Sarayları", İstanbul, 3 (October 1992), p.112.

reign of sultan Ahmed III (1703-1730) was the period when Western influences began to penetrate into the 'stagnant' Ottoman culture, and the architecture of the eighteenth century evolved through gradual adaptations of Western styles, producing hybrid forms that would be termed as 'Ottoman baroque'[8]. In other words, evolution of Ottoman architecture, including that of the waterfront residence, was –and to an extent, still is- seen as part of the larger cultural framework defined as Westernization.[9]

Outside of this context, there is only one large-scale study that has accomplished the tremendous task of studying the waterfront palace through archival material: in her PhD thesis completed in 1989, Tülay Artan took the subject of her work the seafront villas of the Bosphorus, and used an exhaustive amount of archival material to reconstruct this architectural phenomenon within a larger socio-historical framework[10]. Artan noted in the introduction of her thesis that since no eighteenth century waterfront palace survive today, they could not be studied with conventional methods of architectural history, and so she was interested in 'rebuilding' these structures as a 'historical narrative'[11]. While doing this, Artan was putting at the center of her work the notion of *göç,* that is, in this context, the tradition of urban Istanbulites to retreat to their waterfront residences during the summer months[12]. To the best of my knowledge, Artan became the first scholar to take into account this

---

[8]See: Aptullah Kuran, "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Architecture" in Thomas Naff and Roger Owen, eds. *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1977), pp.303-327;Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (New York: Thames&Hudson, 1987); Doğan Kuban, *İstanbul: An Urban History: Byzantion, Constantinopolis, İstanbul* (İstanbul: Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey, 1996).
[9]For recent examples to the ongoing effectiveness of this discourse, see Zeynep İnankur, "İstanbul through Western Eyes", and Semra Germaner, "The Ottoman Capital in the 19th Century", in *From Byzantion to Constantinople: 8000 Years of a Capital* (İstanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, 2010).
[10]Tülay Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus." Unpublished PhD thesis, MIT, 1989.
[11]Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre", p.4.
[12]While the term *göç* has much wider connotations than just seasonal withdrawal, in the very specific eighteenth century Istanbul context, it alludes to the sesonal retreat to secondary houses along the Bosphorus. For a wider discussion of the term and its implications, see Chapter 4 of this thesis.

'other' face of the 'Bosphorus civilization': until then, the waterfront residence had been the only aspect of this subject to be studied academically.

Artan wove her arguments about the social atmosphere of the time around the notion of *göç*: accordingly, the ways this tradition had been practiced and the way it shaped the Bosphorus shores throughout the eighteenth century were significant in reflecting the mood of the Ottoman society at the time. The Bosphorus had turned into a "theater of life", and the impulse behind the creation of this 'stage' was born out of conflicting tendencies of the Ottomans towards progress and novelty on the one hand, and pleasure and lethargy on the other[13].

In the 1990s and 2000s, following the path Artan opened, scholars came to view the waterfront palace from a more comprehensive socio-historical viewpoint. These scholars have focused on the fact that it was an eighteenth century novelty for Ottoman princesses to own and sometimes patronize the construction of waterfront palaces in their own names. As a result, the subject of the *sâhilsaray* found itself a place within the context of imperial women's changing roles in the political and social arena, and the relation between these changes and architectural patronage and consumption of luxury items[14].The eighteenth century is at the same time seen as a time when "conspicuous consumption" came to be regarded as even more of an

[13]Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre," p.1.
[14]Madeline C. Zilfi, "Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718-1730," in: *Women, the Family, and Divorce Laws in Islamic History*, ed. by Amira El Azhary Sonbol (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996), pp. 290-303; Ariel Salzmann, "The Age of Tulips:Confluence and Conflict in Early Modern Consumer Culture (1550-1730)," in: *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922, An Introduction*, ed. by Donald Quataert (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2000), 83-106; Tülay Artan, "Boğaziçi'nin Çehresini Değiştiren,"; eadem, "From Charismatic Leadership to Collective Rule: Introducing Materials on the Wealth and Power of Ottoman Princesses in the Eighteenth Century," *Dünü ve Bugünüyle Toplum ve Ekonomi* 4 (1993): 53-92; Suraiya Faroqhi, "Consumption and Elite Status in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Exploring the Ottoman Case", reprinted in *Stories of Ottoman Men and Women*, (İstanbul: Eren, 2002), pp.37-62.

indicator of socio-political status than it had been in previous centuries[15]. In this respect, the waterfront palaces of Ottoman princesses were also linked to the dynamics of political power within the imperial family on the one hand, and to the theme of display of wealth and power through large-scale luxury consumption on the other.

This narrative, however, relates to the *sâhilsaray*s as summer residences of members of the royal family. *Yalı*, on the other hand, as secondary houses of rich Istanbulites along the Bosphorus shores, has not found a distinct place in this larger historical ground. The administrative classes and the elite have always been at more focus than other social classes: to a large extent, it accounts for the elite's being relatively more well-documented than members of middle and lower classes of society. The emphasis on the elite and the wealthy, in a traditional approach to the history of the Bosphorus, is perhaps inevitable, for cultural influence and change of taste is commonly accepted to follow a singular direction from top to bottom. In the case of the waterfront residence, the *yalı*s of urban Istanbulites which have not survived today are merely regarded as the passive receivers of a 'giver' ruling elite, and above that, the Western culture. From a more social viewpoint, *yalı* as an item of consumption is seen in the context of display of wealth as a means of assertion of social status. In this respect, while it is accepted that the common denominator of waterfront residence owners –and thus active practitioners of the tradition of seasonal withdrawal- is ownership of wealth, a more thorough analysis of this 'wealthy' group in terms of social class is yet to be conducted.

---

[15]Two comprehensive volumes on consumption studies dealing with eighteenth century Istanbul are: Donald Quataert, ed. *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922,* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2000); Suraiya Faroqhi, *Stories of Ottoman Men and Women*, (İstanbul: Eren, 2002).

On the other hand, scholars have also noted that in the eighteenth century, the people of Istanbul showed a newfound collective inclination towards leisurely and recreational activities regardless of their social status[16].The theme of 'pleasure and festivity' inevitably go back to the 'Tulip Era' discourse: it was, indeed, during the term-of-office of grand vizier Damat İbrahim Paşa (1718-1730) that the immense investment on waterfront palaces along the Bosphorus had begun. While the main emphasis in this discourse is on the frivolity and dissipation of the elite indulging in worldly pleasures of festivals and entertainment that is associated with the waterfront palace, the era is also marked by 'moral decay' because of the immense interest of Istanbulites in public gardens along the water, most notably, in the Kağıthane valley and on the grounds of the famous Sâdâbâd palace[17]. Putting aside the positive and negative interpretations of this reality, it is known that the eighteenth Istanbul witnessed more and more people becoming interested in recreation and sensual pleasures. In this respect, it is quite significant that the tradition of seasonal withdrawal to seafront mansions along the Bosphorus became a custom of Istanbulites in the middle of this century[18].

In this time period marked by continuous shifts and changes in the existing social structures, it comes off as no surprise that seasonal withdrawal oriented itself towards the Bosphorus and gained immense popularity among the urban middle- and uper-middle classes. The practice of the Ottoman imperial family to change venues

---

[16]Hamadeh, "Fruits, Flowers, and Sensory Pleasures" in *The City's Pleasures,* pp.; Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre", p. 5-8; Ariel Salzmann,"The Age of Tulips", pp. 83-106.
[17]For a discussion of the traditional historiography of the 'Tulip Era', see Schäfers, Eva-Merlene, "Sâdâbad: The Social Production of an Eighteenth Century Palace and Its Surroundings", (unpublished MA thesis, İstanbul Bilgi University, 2009), pp.11-25; an overview of the discourse and a sound critique is Can Erimtan, "The Perception of Sadabad: The 'Tulip Age' and Ottoman-Safavid Rivalry" in Dana Sajdi, ed. *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century,* pp.41-62.
[18]İnciciyan, G.V, *Boğaziçi Sayfiyeleri* ,ed. Orhan Duru, trans. Kandilli Ermeni Kilisesi Papazı (İstanbul: Eren, 2000)*,* p.80; Artan, "Architecture as Theatre," p.7-8.

in summer was not an eighteenth century novelty: the Ottoman sultans had the custom of retreating to summer palaces as early as the sixteenth century along with their families and households. In the sixteenth centurythe summer palaces of Beşiktaş and Üsküdar, along with the many kiosks and pavilions in the imperial gardens along the Bosphorus, became venues of prolonged seasonal visits by the sultans[19]. Neither was the practice of summer withdrawal exclusive to the imperial family: in the case of Istanbul, the upper-scale members of society are known to have owned summer residences and estates in the Bosphorus villages as early as the sixteenth century[20]. The middle of the eighteenth century, however, marks the time when *göç* oriented itself heavily towards the sea -more definitely, towards the Bosphorus- and became an *official* custom among the Istanbulites[21]. The term may at first seem contradictory, but in the eighteenth century it is seen that seasonal 'migration' had become such a popular practice and developed its own rites, that the state was heavily concerned with keeping control over the people's seasonal shift towards the channel. Among other measures like expanding the duties of the *bostancıbaşı* as a type of public police, by the end of century, the dates of when the Istanbulites would move to their waterfront houses and back to the city in the autumn were determined by imperial decrees[22].

As I have outlined above, so far, nearly all approaches to the history of the Bosphorus shores are devised around the theme of the waterfront villa: architectural

---

[19]Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth Century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture" in *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli (Leiden: Brill, 1997), p.32-71.

[20]The limited literature on or mentioning the tradition of withdrawal tends to emphasize the imperial family as the first and prime practitioners of *göç*: Artan, "Architecture as Theatre," p.3, footnote 4; Necipoğlu, "Suburban Landscape," p33, 39.

[21] Artan mentions that the Ottomans' nomadic past had overlooked water until the eighteenth century: Artan, "Architecture as A Theatre", p.8.

[22]"Göç", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi,* 1993 ed.; Shirine Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa*, trans. by İlknur Güzel (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010), p.78. Kuban interprets this formalization as a sign of how the Bosphorus shores could only be enjoyed in control of the sultan: Kuban, *İstanbul: Bir Kent Tarihi*, p.199.

historians seem content with explaining how these structures stylistically evolved in response to European influences, and scholars who employ a more social approach take them as symbols of wealth, political power and social prestige. I suggest that this attitude of singularizing the waterfront residence in studies related to the Bosphorus is an extension of theattitude shaped and solidified by Hisar's work, which led to the perception of the *yalı* as the ultimate embodiment of the different aspects of life on the Bosphorus. One cursory glance at the *bostancıbaşı* registers, which actually are referred to in almost every study dealing with the waterfront residences[23], shows the variety of urban structures lining the shores. That despite an awareness of these registers scholarship on the Bosphorus continues to revolve around *yalı* is curious, and I suggest that this focus is an outcome of a long tradition of regarding it as a symbol of a much larger phenomenon.

Taking a viewpoint outside of this narrative requires a different, more holistic approach which does not isolate the waterfront residence. While trying to do that in this thesis, I follow in the footsteps of Shirine Hamadeh, who, eighteen years after Artan's thesis was completed, re-examined the subject from an even more comprehensive point-of-view. Taking the waterfront villa, the practice of seasonal withdrawal, and the gradual shift of the city towards the Bosphorus as parts of a much larger urban transformation that marked the eighteenth century Istanbul, Hamadeh suggests that all of these changes in fact were the material manifestations of the transformation the Ottoman society was going through[24]. Focusing on the different nature of architectural patronage and the popularity of public gardens and

---

[23] For example: Nurhan Atasoy, *Boğaziçi'de bir Yalı'nın Hikayesi: Kont Ostrorog'dan Rahmi M.Koç'a* (İstanbul: Rahmi Koç Müzecilik ve Kültür Vakfı, 2004); Haluk Şehsuvaroğlu, *Boğaziçi'ne Dair* (İstanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1986); Emel Esin, *Sadullah Paşa ve Yalısı: Bir Yapı, Bir Yaşam* (İstanbul: Yem Yayınları, 2008).
[24] Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa*, p.18-20.

fountains at this time, Hamadeh argues that these changes point to a desire for visibility in the social arena by people from different segments of the society[25]. Similarly, Hamadeh regards the gradual shift of the population from the walled-city towards the Bosphorus as part of this transformation: a new social order was established along the sea, outside of old Istanbul, and ultimately, the endpoint of this long shift came with the moving of the centre of administration of the Topkapı Palace and into the Dolmabahçe on the waterfront[26].

In the present study, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, I intend to study the *bostancıbaşı* registers from a wider perspective that includes both the physical (i.e. architectural and urban) and the social aspects of the subject of the Boshporus. In order to do that, much like Artan, I take the notion of *göç* at the center of my study. On the one hand pertaining directly to the waterfront palaces and residences, and on the other, representing an important custom of an evolving urban society, the tradition of seasonal withdrawal can be seen as an undercurrent of the ultimate pouring of the society out of the city walls and towards the Bosphorus shores. As such, my main argument is that the effects of the tradition of *göç* go beyond the 'ephemeral' impact and legacy of the waterfront residence, and while effecting both the city's urban and social configuration, it touched more than the lives of the privileged segments of the society who actively practiced the custom.

The reason behind the selection of the time period under study is more practical than anything: the dates of the known *bostancıbaşı* registers cover the years between 1206/1791-92 and 1815, including the reigns of sultan Selim III (1789-1807) and Mahmud II (1808-1839). The years the known copies of these registers

---

[25]*Ibid.*, p.19, 28,64.
[26]*Ibid.*, p. 74-77.

date from bear witness to the importance of the Bosphorus at the turn of century: while it is known that the *bostancıbaşı* registers did not *begin* to be kept in Selim III's time[27], the way the only known copies have been kept, in such a meticulous way, is significant in telling the extent of the measures taken to maintain control over the public and urban space along the sea. *Bostancıbaşı* is an inseparable figure from the history of the Bosphorus: as head of the *bostancı* corps originally charged with the keeping of all imperial gardens, he would also patrol the shores with a small group of *bostancı*s, acting as coastal security since the foundation of the corps in the fifteenth century[28]. However, as mentioned before, in the eighteenth century he came to act more as a moral police force especially in the public gardens along the shores. Keeping in mind that the end of the eighteenth century saw the highest number of waterfront residences along the Bosphorus shores, that the known copies of *bostancıbaşı* registers also date from the same period cannot be dismissed as coincidence.

For the purposes of this study, I focus on two strips of land from the European and the Asian shores respectively. The *bostancıbaşı* registers record the names of piers in red ink; as it is, they constitute the most practical way of dividing each coastal village or town. On the European side, the land under study starts from the Ortaköy pier and includes Ortaköy, Kuruçeşme and Arnavutköy shores, ending with the Bebek imperial garden. The selected parts on the Asian shore cover Üsküdar, Kuzguncuk, Beylerbeyi/Istavroz and Çengelköy, stretching from Harem pier to the garden of Kuleli.

---

[27]Orhan Erdenen, with attribution to Kevork Pamukciyan, mentions a *bostancıbaşı* register dating from 1720 which had burned in a fire in the Venetian archives in the nineteenth century: Erdenen, *Boğaziçi Sahilhaneleri* (İstanbul: İBB Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı, 2006), p.11. While this note indicates that the registers might have been in use since the early decades of the century, unfortunately the earliest register we know is from the last decade.
[28]See: Murat Yıldız, *Bahçıvanlıktan Saray Muhafızlığına Bostancı Ocağı,* (İzmir: Yitik Hazine Yayınları, 2011), pp.122-136.

The reason for the selection of these particular strips of land is two-fold. Areas from each shore have been selected in order to be able to keep a comparative outlook between the settlement patterns on both sides of the Bosphorus. A first look at the *bostancıbaşı* registers immediately makes it apparent that the European shores were densely and fairly evenly lined by waterfront residences of both Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of society as well as by Levantines on Büyükdere and Tarabya shores. On the other hand, the Asian side was populated by an overwhelming majority of Muslims who lived in clusters of villages and settlements separated by vast areas of greenery.

Keeping these points in mind, each of the selected strips of land offers a cross-section of the wealthy segments of Ottoman society: Çengelköy, Üsküdar and the areas between Ortaköy and Kuruçeşme were favored locations of the highest echelons of Ottoman society for building seasonal residences. The imperial family had waterfront palaces and *yalı*s in Defterdar Burnu between Ortaköy and Kuruçeşme on the European and in Üsküdar on the Asian shores. Kuzguncuk, Kuruçeşme and Arnavutköy, in turn, were densely populated by non-Muslim subjects of the empire. In this respect, these particular regions[29] on both sides of the strait constitute a rich sample consisting of a variety of social classes, and offer a fairly balanced picture for the purposes of an investigation of social profile.

Accordingly, after a brief evaluation of the nature of my primary sources in Chapter 2, I discuss the historiographical framework surrounding the Bosphorus in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 is devoted to a quick study of the Bosphorus villages under

---

[29] The terms used in other contemporary sources for settlements along the Bosphorus vary: while most of them are referred to as villages, some, like Üsküdar, are called a town or even a city.Throughout this study I will use the terms village, district, region and area interchangibly only to indicate the particular settlement named as such, without attributing any particular meaning to the terms about its size or population.

Ottoman rule, and the evolution of the tradition of seasonal withdrawal and its significance in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.

In Chapter 5, my analysis of the *bostancıbaşı* registers focus on the structures, including docks and landing places, public and imperial gardens, public fountains and coffeehouses, as well as other monuments and urban constructs on the shores. By studying these various elements of the urban setting, I intend to show that unlike the waterfront residence, public monuments and other physical constructs along the Bosphorus have had a much heavier and lasting imprint on the urban fabric of the shores.

In Chapter 6, I turn my attention to the social aspect. Focusing on ethno-religious profile on the one hand, and occupational profile on the other, I investigate the ways in which wealthy Ottomans chose to populate the shores. Keeping in mind Artan's and Hamadeh's suggestion that a new social order was established along the Bosphorus, I am primarily concerned with whether settlement patterns of different religious and occupational groups along the shores replicated the patterns within the neighborhoods of the city.

CHAPTER 2: SOURCES: BOSTANCIBAŞI REGİSTERS

The primary sources used for this study, the *bostancıbaşı* registers, are gilded and illuminated books consisting of sixty pages on average, each page divided into eighteen squares. In each square, the names of all public and private buildings and constructs on the Bosphorus and Golden Horn shores, from imperial palaces to landing places and piers to *bostancı* stations, are recorded along with detailed information about the names, religions, occupations and ranks of their owners and patrons. The names of all imperial and public constructs are written in red ink, making it easier to keep track. As such, residence ownership patterns of Muslims and non-Muslims, the residences which have been rented, and change in the profile of the shores in these years can be assessed.

The originals and copies of eight of these registers can be found in different libraries in Istanbul[30]. The earliest known *bostancıbaşı* register is a copy found in Fatih Millet Kütüphânesi dated 1206/1791-92[31]. The only other register whose date is known is from 1217/1802-1803, published in simplified modern Turkish in 1972 by Şevket Rado, and currently in the Istanbul Research Institute library[32]. One register published by Reşat Ekrem Koçu is estimated to date from 1814-1815, based on the construction date of Hidayet mosque near Bahçeköy and the fact that the register was kept during the term of office of Bostancıbaşı Abdullah Ağa, as indicated by the record of his residence in Çengelköy[33]. Another register, published

---

[30] Kayra and Üyepazarcı, with attribution to Turgut Kut, state that a total of twelve different *bostancıbaşı* registers are known to be in Istanbul and abroad, but there is no further explanation about where these copies are. Cahit Kayra and Erol Üyepazarcı, *II.Mahmud'un İstanbul'u: Bostancıbaşı Sicilleri* (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı, 1992) p.2.

[31] İstanbul: Fatih Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri, n.1033.

[32] İstanbul: İstanbul Research Institute Library, ŞR_000267/01 and /02

[33] Reşat Ekrem Koçu, "Bostancıbaşı Defterleri" in *İstanbul Enstitüsü Mecmuası IV*, (İstanbul: 1958), p.44.

in facsimile by Kayra and Üyepazarcı[34] is dated to 1815: although the authors note

that this deduction is based on the information in the register, the process is not

discussed in detail. The records in these two registers, with only a few exceptions,

are virtually same. At this state, according to my analysis of these two registers, there

is one minor indication that the one dated to 1815 by Kayra and Üyepazarcı might

actually precede the one dated by Koçu to 1814-1815: in Kuruçeşme, the waterfront

residence of Tırnakçızade İbrahim Bey in the Kayra-Üyepazarcı register is recorded

as belonging to a Mehmed Bey, son of Tırnakçızade İbrahim Pasha in the other.

Unless İbrahim Bey was stripped of his pasha title and bought the waterfront

residence from his son, it would seem that the Koçu register is from 1815 and the

other one from 1814. However, a deeper analysis of all the records in both registers

is needed in order to reach a more certain conclusion; for the purposes of this thesis, I

stick to the dating suggested by the two authors. A possible difference in dates would

not constitute a problem for the study done in this thesis, since aside from the

Tırnakçızade residence mentioned above, all the records in the two registers for the

selected lands are the same[35].

This study is based on the information in these four registers. The other four

bostancıbaşı registers are located in the İstanbul University, Topkapı Museum and

Âtıf Efendi libraries. Although a difference of opinion exists about the chronology of

these registers[36], they are not discussed within the framework of this thesis.

The *bostancıbaşı* registers so far have mostly been used in order to locate a

number of waterfront residences that existed at the beginning of the nineteenth

---

[34] Kayra and Üyepazarcı, *II.Mahmud'un İstanbul'u*, p.2.

[35] The only exception to this is the addition of two waterfront residences in Çengelköy, which is taken into account in the numerical anaysis.

[36]Artan suggests that all the eight regisers cover a period of fifty years at the turn of the 19th century: Artan, "Architecture as Theatre," p. 25, footnote 51. Özcan, aware of only five of the registers, dates them between 1791 and 1814:Abdülkadir Özcan, "Bostancıbaşıların Beledî Hizmetleri ve Bostancıbaşı Defterlerinin İstanbul'un Toponomisi Bakımından Değeri," *Tarih Boyunca İstanbul Semineri: Bildiriler* (İst. 1989), p. 35.

century, and their owners in that time period[37]. Writers and scholars used parts of the published registers only as supplementary data to their studies. Tülay Artan remains the only scholar who has used all eight *bostancıbaşı* registers in a thorough academic study, even though her primary sources were court registers and she noted that the *bostancıbaşıdefterleri* waited to be studied in-depth[38].

The reason why these records have been kept in the first place is unclear. Most scholars who have used them seem to agree and be content with the explanation that the *bostancıbaşı*, who would be at the wheel whenever the sultan took a trip on the strait in the imperial boat, kept these registers in order to be able to answer the sultan correctly when he inquired about the names and owners of seafront structures as they rowed by them[39]. Özcan, on the other hand, argues that the records might have been kept to keep track of tax payers, because construction on the Bosphorus shores without the permission of the *bostancıbaşı ağa* was prohibited and he was the one collecting a particular type of tax from waterfront residence owners[40]. Artan suggested they were kept as guides for coastal security, but does not discuss the justification of this assertion[41]. A closer examination of the registers, however, casts doubt on at least the first two suggestions regarding the issue.

The 1206/1791 register, more than the others, indicates not only the names, owners and patrons of coastal structures, but also the situations of these constructs: adjectives such as 'abandoned'/*metruk*, 'rundown'/*köhne*, and 'new'/*cedîd* precede some of the records, providing the researcher with not only names but also with an

---

[37]Atasoy, *Boğaziçi'de bir Yalı'nın Hikayesi*; Haluk Şehsuvaroğlu, *Boğaziçi'ne Dair* (İstanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1986); Cahit Kayra, Erol Üyepazarcı, *Kandilli, Vaniköy, Çengelköy: Mekanlar ve Zamanlar* (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Dairesi Başkanlığı, 1993); Sinan Genim, "Bostancıbaşı Defterlerinde XIX. Yüzyıl Başında Kuzguncuk Sahili" http://sinangenim.com/tr/articles.asp?ID=7&Y=2006&AID=54&do=detail (accessed 12 May, 2012).
[38] Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre," p.25.
[39] Şehsuvaroğlu, *Boğaziçi'ne Dair*, p.43; Kayra and Üyepazarcı, *II. Mahmud'un İstanbulu*, p.2.
[40] Özcan, "Bostancıbaşıların Beledî Hizmetleri", p.35.
[41] Artan, "Early 20th Century Maps and…", p.98.

idea about what the shores might have *looked like*. Even though these registers might have kept the *bostancıbaşı ağa* from giving false answers to the sultan, one wonders whether that could be the only explanation to the meticulous way these records have been kept.

On the other hand, one particular difference between the first and the last two registers -the 1206/1791 and 1217/1802 registers being the first, and the 1814 and 1815 registers being the last- casts doubt on Özcan's suggestion that the records might have been for tax collection duties. In each register, the terms *yalı* and *hâne* (house) are applied to private residences. Considering that the amount of tax collected from a *yalı* and a *hâne* would not be the same, the use of this terminology would be expected to be deliberate. However, in the 1814 and 1815 registers, both kept during the term of office of Bostancıbaşı Abdullah Ağa, other than a few exceptions, it is observed that all non-Muslim residences on the shores have been written down as *hâne*. The change in terminology is difficult to explain, especially considering that some residences of particular families, like the Düzoğlu residence in Kuruçeşme, have changed from a *yalı* to a *hâne* from 1802 to 1815.

The 1217/1802 register is also problematic. Firstly, the records in this register provide an even more detailed picture of the shores than any of the other three. Names of several smaller piers, a few fountains and even a public square/*meydan* are listed that aren't found in any of the other registers. Secondly, this register creates a strange fluctuation in the number of *yalı*s and *hâne*s on particular shores which isn't related to the owners' religion as it is in the 1814 and 1815 registers. The number of *yalı*s in the Üsküdar shores falls from 48 to 22 between the years 1791 and 1802, only to rise back to 48 in 1814 and 1815. This might not have been interesting had there not been several residences which remained in the hands of the same family

between any two consecutive register and changed from a *yalı* to a *hâne* or vice versa. Even if considering a possibility of a fire or an earthquake in the last decade of the eighteenth century that might have ruined a large number of *yalı*s and they might have been reduced in size to be considered as *hâne*s, or that former *hâne*s could be expanded to become *yalı*s between the years 1802 and 1814, both of these explanations seem rather far-fetched. At this stage, this different nature of the 1802 register remains unexplained. The analyses based on the *bostancıbaşı* registers in Chapters 5 and 6 have been conducted taking these points into account.

CHAPTER 3: HISTORIOGRAPHIC REVIEW

Abdülhak Şinasi and the 'Bosphorus Civilization'

When, in 1947, Hisar was declaring the recently vanished[42] life style along the Bosphorus as a 'civilization' on its own, he was, in fact, encapsulating into that phrase the contemporary intellectual atmosphere of the time. Hisar's 'Bosphorus civilization' is fiercely nationalist, just as fiercely nostalgic, and at the center of this civilization is the *yalı,* acting as a converging point for the way people enjoyed the beauties of the channel throughout the summer. From a wider perspective, each of these characteristics –nationalism, bitter recognition of loss of cultural values, and the house as a symbol of that loss- were common features in the intellectual atmosphere of the 1930s and 1940s.

The first half of the twentieth century witnessed an intense intellectual activity in Turkey, producing often conflicting attitudes towards and perceptions of its past. A careful tiptoeing around the identification of the new 'Turkish' with the old 'Ottoman' could easily be observed: on the one hand, the nationalist agenda displayed a tendency to skip the Ottoman past in its efforts to re-invent an ancient Turkish history for self-legitimization, raising efforts in the study of archaeology and the archaic past. On the other hand, Ottoman cultural heritage, converging around monumental architecture, was being embraced as part of the glorious Turkish culture. The conflict would make itself visible in both intellectual and popular works of the time[43].

---

[42]Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Boğaziçi Anıları* (İstanbul: Aletaş AlarkoEğitim Tesisleri A.Ş, 1979), p. xvii; Semavi Eyice, "Fetihten Önce Boğaziçi" in *İstanbul Armağanı 2: Boğaziçi Medeniyeti* (İstanbul: İBB Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı, 1995) p.116.

[43] On the conflicts and paradox born out of the simultaneous idologiesof modernization and nationalism in early Turkish Republic, see: Sibel Bozdoğan, "Reading Ottoman Architecture Through Modernist Lenses: Nationalist Historiography and the New Architecture" in *Muqarnas: History and*

The perception of physical space as part of an idea of a Turkish 'fatherland' was introduced to popular literature in the early 1920s by Yahya Kemal Beyatlı: after his return from Paris, Yahya Kemal became one of the first Turkish authors to take a specific interest in the Bosphorus as a separate subject matter from the city of Istanbul and associated the Bosphorus villages with an idea of Turkish nationalism and culture[44]. In Yahya Kemal's poetry, the subject was treated as a mourned cultural loss that cannot be reclaimed. In 1930s, Ruşen Eşref Ünaydın followed his footsteps and wrote extensively on the Bosphorus, mirroring the ideological approach of Yayha Kemal[45]. At around the same time in the early 1930s, Hisar was publishing his pieces on the same subject matter, very much in line with Beyatlı and Ünaydın.

What is common in the works of these three authors of popular literature is the reconstruction of the Bosphorus in public opinion as a *unique Turkish creation*. What Hisar did in *Boğaziçi Mehtapları* was to offer an ideological concept –a civilization- which solidified this strictly national conception of the subject. Hisar's 'civilization' displays the above-mentioned deliberate attempt to embrace and celebrate an essentially Ottoman way of life as a Turkish one:

> *Bizans'ın bin küsur senelik tarihinde Bogaziçi topraklarının mamur zamanları da olmustu. Fakat bu imparatorlugun sonlarında ancak yıkık kiliseler, tenha manastırlar, kimsesiz ayazmalar, fakir balıkçı köyleri nev'inden birtakım hâli harabeler kalmıstı. Yedi Tepe sehrinin bütün ahalisi ve askerler, o zamanki en mübalagalı iddialara göre bile, Fatih'in İstanbul'u muhasara eden ordusundan azdı. Bizans sehri ahalisi bu kadar azalmısken, Bogaziçi nüfusundan bahsedilemezdi.[ ]Kısacası*

Idology: Architectural Heritage of the Lands of Rûm (Boston: Brill, 2007), ed. Gülru Necipoğlu, pp.199-221.

[44] Şafak Güneş, "Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar'ın Eserlerinde İstanbul (Boğaziçi)'da Gündelik Hayat", (Unpublished M.A Thesis, İstanbul University, 2005),p.141. Interesting to note is that Yahya Kemal was also the one who dubbed the term 'Tulip Era'.

[45] Murat Koç, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatında Boğaziçi ve Boğaziçi Medeniyeti* (İstanbul: Eren, 2005); Güneş Gökduman Şafak*, Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar'ın İstanbulu* (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2008).

Bizans imparatorlugu zamanında, sonradan kazandığı manasıyla bir Bogaziçi yoktu. Bu'Bogaziçi' denilebilir ki halis bir Türk eseridir . [46]

Not only does Hisar stress the Turkishness of the Bosphorus, but he embraces the entire Ottoman past, from the capture of Contantinople in 1453 to the end of the empire, as Turkish past. On the other hand, to underline the uniqueness of this national culture, Hisar was not only avoiding putting emphasis on the Ottoman conjecture, but also contrasting this 'civilization' with its European counterparts: in the opening line of *Boğaziçi Mehtapları* Hisar mentions that the Bosphorus immediately brings to mind old Venice[47], but as seen above, goes on to convince the reader that 'Turkish' treatment to the Bosphorus was far distinguished from that of the old Byzantine emperors.

Uniqueness, in nature, is a claim at dissociation from counterparts. In the case of Turkish/Ottoman culture, the notion was used not only to differentiate it from other cultures and to glorify it, but also to dissociate it from connections with the undesired past. In an enlightening article, Sibel Bozdoğan argues that uniqueness was the invented solution to the apparent paradox between embracing Ottoman culture on the one hand and rejecting it in accordance with modernist claims on the other[48]. Accordingly, an Ottoman past could be celebrated without damaging the Turkish nation's claims at modernity when the said Ottoman past was differentiated from other Islamic and Middle Eastern histories and cultures, that, in that time period, symbolized backwardness and cultural stagnation.

---

[46]Abdülhak Sinasi Hisar, "Bogaziçi Medeniyeti",*İstanbul ,Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, Abdülhak Sinasi Hisar, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar* (İstanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Bankası, 1954), s.49.
[47] Hisar, *Boğaziçi Mehtapları*, p.1.
[48] Bozdoğan, "Regarding Ottoman Architecture..", p.199.

In the late 1940s and 1950s, other writers of popular literature readily embraced Hisar's notion of a Bosphorus civilization, and by echoing Hisar's sentiments, they further stressed its national character. Sâmiha Ayverdi and Münevver Ayaşlı wrote extensively about the Bosphorus that lived on in their memories, much like Hisar did, in bittersweet remembrance that lamented the swift disappearance of such a prominent lifestyle[49]. The memoir-styled novel in this time period can be seen as an attempt at coming to terms with a sharp break with tradition: the 1940s and 1950s became a time period of collection of "memories, information, ideas and feelings" about the recent past which felt to be within reach but had already vanished[50]. On the one hand helping the solidification of the new Turkish identity, these memoirs on life along the Bosphorus in the nineteenth century were also displaying the discomfort brought on by the construction process of that identity.

As the physical face of a 'civilization' and way of life, architecture had been at the center of this transformation from the beginning: a national architectural style was encouraged to be devised, and this style would be a Western one, reflecting the way the Turkish people were to live and work[51]. In other words, architecture became a central arena through which a new, modern Turkey would be built: changes in lifestyle, which were practically enforced by the nationalist elite upon the people, came in the shape of Westernization, which was perceived to be synonymous with modernization, and these changes were reflected primarily in the house[52].

---

[49]Sâmiha Ayverdi, *Boğaziçi'nde Tarih*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1968); Münevver Ayaşlı,*Dersaâdet*,
(İstanbul: Bedir Yayınevi, 1975). Also of interest is İffet Evin, *Yaşadığım Boğaziçi: Anılar, Öyküler* (İstanbul: İletişim, 1999).
[50] Carel Bertam, *Imagining the Turkish House: Collective Visions of Home* (Austin: University of Texax Press, 2008), p.215.
[51] Bozdoğan, "Regarding Ottoman Architecture," p. 204.
[52] Carel Bertam, "After the Ottomans Are Gone: Imagining the Turkish Ottoman House" in *The Ottoman House: Papers from the Amasya Symposium, 24-27 September 1996,* eds. Stanley Ireland &

Consequently, in mid-century, an intense activity on the study and documentation of the Ottoman/Turkish house began, leading to compilations of visual evidence and architectural studies of the 'distinct' Turkish House[53].

In this context, the Ottoman/Turkish house became a crucial subject matter at the center of a familiar debate: on the one hand seen as the symbol of the 'old' and being rapidly transformed in a zealous agenda of creating a modernized 'national architecture', the house on the other hand became a symbol in popular literature of the problems born out of that process[54]. The house was the primary setting in which transformation of lifestyle was reflected: in the first half of the twentieth century a Westernized way of living was held synonymous with progress and modernization, and as the nucleus of residential architecture, the house became the physical setting in which this transformation would lay roots.

In the roughly two decades in the middle of the twentieth century, residential architecture thus became an intellectual symbol for 'what was wrong'[55] with the Republican Turkey's modernist agenda. More specifically, the house came to represent the cultural values sacrificed for the sake of perceived progress. The inclination of Hisar and his contemporaries to epitomize the waterfront residence as the embodiment of the 'Bosphorus civilization', then, can be seen as part of this wider tendency to regard the Ottoman/Turkish house as the symbol of a mourned cultural heritage. Hisar's legacy had a heavy impact on how the history of the

William Bechhoefer (The British Institue of Archaeology at Ankara and the University of Warwick, 1996), p.3.
[53] According to Maurice Cerasi, it is precisely because of the nationalist agenda that comprehensive interpretations of the Turkish/Ottoman house lack in spite of these surveys: Maurice Cerasi, "Formation of Ottoman House Types: A Comparative Study in Interaction with Neighboring Cultures" *Muqarnas*, Vol. 15 (1998), p.116.
[54] Bertram, *Imagining the Turkish House,* p.,224; eadem, "After the Ottomans…" p.4.
[55] *Ibid.*, p.5.

Bosphorus came to be studied in scholarly works: the mournful tone set in Hisar's work still echoes in studies on the Bosphorus.

There is virtually no extensive academic study in Turkish on that lifestyle of the Bosphorus. For one explanation for the contention of the subject to popular literature, one could quote Bertam:

> […]The stories are bits of reality, anecdotes that take the past both out of the realm of scholarship and out of the dream-state, and put them into the personal, the intimate, and the interior.[56]

Thus popular literature was the ideal realm for the preservation of memory. The picture painted by Hisar appealed to popular imagination and in time, became the normative outlook that shaped the perception of the subject.

What do exist in scholarship constantly reproduce Hisar's lines: the term 'Bosphorus civilization' has been adopted without question and became the ultimate expression of the social history that Hisar conceived[57]. In accordance with the idea of nationalism and uniqueness, in recent studies, the roots of 'Bosphorus civilization' go all the way back to the fifteenth century, right after the conquest of Istanbul by Mehmed II. Accordingly, the Byzantine emperors are acknowledged to have a custom of building summer palaces ashore the Marmara Sea and retreating to these palaces along with their households between certain dates. The Ottomans, however, differed from them from the very beginning by preferring the Bosphorus shores instead. The point may not be a mute one, for the Ottomans did prefer the Bosphorus

---

[56] Bertam, *Imagining the Turkish House*, p.232.
[57] Some of the most prominent among these are: Kuban, *İstanbul: An Urban History*; eadem, *Kaybolan Kent Hayalleri: Ahşap Saraylar* (İstanbul: Yapı Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları, 2001); Mustafa Armağan, ed. *İstanbul Armağanı 2: Boğaziçi*; Şehsuvaroğlu, *Boğaziçi'ne Dair,* p.4, 42, 51, 205among others; Eldem, *Boğaziçi Anıları.*

over the Marmara Sea[58], but it is used to make a point about the uniqueness and the Turkishness of the Bosphorus 'civilization'. Similarly, the Bosphorus, with the way it winds up like a river, or a grand avenue with the spacious wooden *yalı*s lining both of its shores, has been likened to the Thames in London, the Grand Canal of Venice, and to lakes in Scotland, much like the mid-twentieth century authors did, and before them, a number of Western visitors to Istanbul. The conclusion reached is that despite similarities, the Bosphorus differs from each of these European locations in several points, and in the end, is one of its own kind.

The waterfront residence too, continues to carry the 'civilizational' load of the Bosphorus. Like the Ottoman/Turkish house has been studied in conjecture with nationalist and modernist claims and as a matter of a cultural heritage, the waterfront residence and palace too have found themselves a place in architectural studies. Unlike the house, however, the emphasis in the study of the *yalı* is not as much on its 'national' character *per se* as its relationship with Western architectural styles in particular and European cultural influence at large.

Waterfront residence in the context of Westernization

At first glance, the study of the waterfront residence with respect to Western influences seems contradictory to the national and traditional characteristic ascribed to the 'civilization' it symbolizes. The intellectual discourse of Westernization, however, can be said to be as much about reconciliation with the Ottoman past and cultural heritage as the conceiving of a 'Bosphorus civilization' was: the paradox created by the propensity to embrace an Ottoman cultural heritage as a national one on the one hand and to reject it as part of an old empire with claims at modernization

---

[58] İnciciyan, *Boğaziçi Sayfiyeleri,* p.79; Necipoğlu, "Suburban Landscape," p.33-34.

on the other was solved by stressing the 'distinct' character of Ottoman culture as being 'in closer spirit' to Western culture[59]. The configuration of an Ottoman-Turkish past around the theme of Westernization, in the last decades of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century, created the infamous legacy of the 'Tulip Era'.

The term and the historiographical framework created around it stem from not particularly scholarly or academic, but popular literature, much like 'Bosphorus civilization' does. When, in 1915, Ahmet Refik Altınay's famous *Lâle Devri* was published, the perception of the Tulip Era[60] (1718-1730) was subsequently transformed from negative as a time of extravagance, frivolity and moral decay to a positive time which witnessed the first real interest of Ottoman elite in Western culture[61]. Ahmet III's grand vizier Damat İbrahim Paşa was accordingly elevated from the position of a high state official who indulged in and encouraged for the elite a life of luxury and festivity at the expense of the people of Istanbul, to the status of a leader who embraced Western culture and introduced it to the people of the capital in the name of progress. So far as the mental association between European culture and civilizational progress went, the Tulip Era came to be regarded as the beginning of modernization in Ottoman history[62].

---

[59] Bozdoğan, "Regarding Ottoman Architecture," p.4; also see Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001).
[60] In this text I use the term simply for periodization.
[61] On Ahmet Refik's role in changing the perception of the Tulip Era and shaping the historiographical framework, see Can Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West? The Origins of the Tulip Age and its Development in Modern Turkey* (London, New York: Tauris, 2008).
[62] Ahmet Evin, "Batılılaşma ve Lale Devri" in *İstanbul Armağanı 4: Lale Devri* (İstanbul: İBB Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı, 1998), pp.39-58. See also:Münir Aktepe, *Patrona İsyanı 1730* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1958); Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Oxford University, 1961); Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Modern Turkey* (London: Hurst 1998).

26

As far as a socio-cultural history of the Bosphorus is concerned, the Tulip Era is a crucial period, not from an ideological point of view, but from a quite factual one: under the direction of the Grand Vizier, an intense construction activity began along the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus. Numerous new waterfront palaces were built in the name of the sultan, his daughters and nephews and members of high bureaucracy, and the old palaces and pavilions on the waterfront were constantly repaired and reconstructed. As mentioned above, in a traditional view of this time period, this immense activity was associated with unnecessary expense, extravagant festivities in both public and palace gardens, and a general air of leisure and gaity at the center of which stood the waterfront residences. It is difficult not to note the parallel between this notion of the 'Tulip Era' discourse and the 'Bosphorus civilization'. In the popular imagination of twentieth century writers of the Bosphorus like Hisar and Ayverdi, the lifestyle associated with the waterfront residence is one to be celebrated and cherished. This positive approach coincides with the positive outlook towards the Tulip Era which began only after Ahmet Refik's writings[63]. In this respect, both of these scholarly and historiographical frameworks that still retain a degree of validity have their roots embedded in popular literature, and as Erimtan points out, reflect the intellectual spectrum of the time period they were conceived in instead of being plausible looks at historical reality[64].

How does the scholarly approach to the architectural history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries fit into this framework? Arts and architecture were the prime areas of life where the European tastes had infiltrated the Ottoman culture: the central place of the waterfront residence in architectural studies and the theme of Westernization manifests itself at this point. During the reign of Ahmet III, for the

---

[63] Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West*, pp.170-173.
[64] *Ibid.*, p.175.

first time an Ottoman ambassador had been sent to France, and when Yirmisekiz

Mehmet Efendi returned from his post, he is said to have come having observed the

architectural plans of French palaces and gardens and thus, in a way, had imported

Western architectural styles for the first time.[65] Sâdâbâd, the infamous summer

palace built by Damat İbrahim Paşa for the sultan in the Kağıthane valley, was

crowned in modern scholarship as the first Ottoman palace to be built in the Western

style. European styles were similarly seen in the numerous waterfront palaces built

and repaired along the Bosphorus shores in the same time period.

The 1700s then are regarded as a century of evolution of Ottoman

architecture through a European one[66]. This conception of cultural emulation plays

out in a unidirectional way, which can be summarized as a "trickle-down effect"[67]:

with the West as the appointed source of change, the sultan and his family are the

first to bring new styles into Ottoman culture, which are immediately copied by the

high state officials and the elite, and finally, they seep to the bottommost segment of

society. Consequently, in architectural studies there is a tendency to focus on

monumental architecture rather than on residential structures: the Nuruosmaniye

Mosque, constructed during the reign of Mahmud I between 1748 and 1755, retains

its position as the first public monument to carry distinct Western architectural

elements. A justifiable excuse for the absence of studies on residential structures is

the fact that few examples of 'vernacular' Istanbul houses remain to be studied,

which is also the case for most pre-1850 *yalıs*. Nevertheless, the nature of the

available subject matter –most notably mosques, public fountains and few waterfront

---

[65]Kuban, *Kaybolan Kent Hayalleri,* p.24.
[66]*Ibid.*, p.14.
[67] Shirine Hamadeh uses the term "trickle-down" in a discussion of the joining of the people to high culture: Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa*, p.33. I used to term because it also illustrates the assumed structure of the ways culture transpasses from the elite to the people.

palaces- serves to excuse the focus on the architectural patronage and tastes of the elite.

Accordingly, the *sâhilsaray* and *yalı* can be said to have symbolic meanings firstly in the changing conceptions of the 'Tulip Era' and secondly in that of the 'Bosphorus civilization'. The way the waterfront residence is studied can be said to reflect both attitudes: with an emphasis on architectural evolution of style, it is studied in relation with Western architecture and its influences. On the other hand, it is heavily taken to be a symbol of the 'Bosphorus civilization' and thus as the physical embodiment of a perceived Turkish culture. Doğan Kuban exemplifies how these two seemingly conflicting attitudes in the study of the waterfront residence still works as a coherent intellectual outlook: according to Kuban the *sâhilsaray* and the *yalı* went through subsequent phases of transformation towards Western styles, out of which hybrid styles like the 'Ottoman baroque' grew. This period ended when in the second half of the nineteenth century Western architecture came to entirely take over the waterfront palaces[68]. At the same time, however, the plan type and the use of wood in their construction were decidedly Turkish: Kuban argues that the light construction material and the relatively limited durability of waterfront palaces reflect the 'Turkish spirit' and way of life[69]. The waterfront palace then retains its place at the center of any study of the Bosphorus, and much like Yahya Kemal, Ruşen Eşref and Abdülhak Şinasi did, it is burdened with the load of cultural heritage, its disappearance mourned and its history celebrated.

---

[68] See: Serim Denel, *Batılılaşma Sürecinde İstanbul'da Tasarım ve Dış Mekanlarda Değişim ve Nedenleri* (Ankara: Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 1988); Ayda Arel, *Osmanlı Konut Geleneğinde Tarihsel Sorunlar* (İzmir: Ticaret Matbaacılık T.A.Ş, 1982); various publications by Doğan Kuban and Aptullah Kuran.
[69] Kuban, *Kaybolan Kent Hayalleri,* p.10.

Revisionist approaches and alternative contexts for the Bosphorus

Thus the intellectual concepts of Westernization, modernization and nationalism are intricately intertwined with each other and with various areas of historical study, so much so that a systematic break-down is required in order to deconstruct the historiographical narratives built above them. In the last two decades, a group of scholars have been questioning many of the historiographical constructs outlined above. As a result, the emergent newly devised outlook tends to turn away from the notion of outside, i.e. Western, influences shaping the fate of the empire, and instead to put emphasis on the internal dynamics of the Ottoman society itself as the stimuli of transformation[70].

In this context of revisionist approaches, the last two centuries of the Ottoman Empire are marked by intense social transformation on the one hand, and the state's constantly renewed attempts at controlling and staying ahead of these changes on the other. The contours of this socio-economic framework are drawn by military defeats and change in political power structures, an expanding consumer market and growing culture of consumerism, a bourgeoning middle class, and a collective interest in leisure and growing visibility of various groups in public and social arena. Each of these separate yet closely linked areas of interest pertains to a holistic study of the Bosphorus.

The conspicuous consumption of members of the court and extravagant imperial pomp in the Tulip Era, and the extent of urban transformation in Istanbul in this time period are regarded as the state's attempts at re-legitimizing power in the

---

[70] Shirine Hamadeh, "Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the 'Inevitable' Question of Westernization," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63 (2004): 32-51; eadem, "Westernization, Decadence and the Turkish Baroque: Modern Constructions of the 18th Century" in *Muqarnas: History and Ideology*, ed. Gülru Necipoğlu, pp.185-198; Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West?*.

face of military losses and an expanding bureaucracy which came to govern the everyday matters of the vast empire. By marrying off their daughters with these highest state officials and assigning a waterfront palace to the princesses as a means of further solidifying the imperial family's power, the sultans were also allowing royal women more independence and power, leading to a shift in political order[71]. In this context, the *sâhilsarays* and the luxurious lifestyle in them symbolized conspicuous consumption as a means for imperial pomp and display.

Conspicuous consumption as a means of social visibility was notexclusive to the imperial family. Consumption studies is one of the biggest frameworks in which the revisionist approaches the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries evaluate social change; as an alternative context to economic or political history, consumption studies are seen as one way of 'disentangling modernization from Westernization'[72] by focusing on the society's internal dynamics. The eighteenth century witnessed an expanding market for valuable goods, from luxury textiles to rare flowers like tulips, as foreign trade increased and a vast number of goods became available for the public's consumption. Going hand in hand with an enlarging wealthy urban class, the eighteenth century saw an immense interest in new fashions and experimenting with public attire. Sumptuary laws and the state's attempt at enforcing clothing regulations as a means of containing social order is stressed particularly by Donald Quataert and Madeline Zilfi[73].

---

[71] Artan, "Boğaziçi'nin Çehresini Değiştiren Kadınlar", p.111.

[72] Donald Quataert, "Introduction", *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, ed. Donald Quataert,* p.11.

[73] Zilfi, "Women and Society in the Tulip Era"; eadem, "Women and Regulated Society" in *Women and Slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire: The Design of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp.45-95; Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829" *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Aug., 1997), pp. 403-425.

The state's concern for controlling social order had as much to do with the broadening leisure culture of the Istanbulites: recreation in the numerous public gardens along the waterfront became a problem for the state. Public gardens were venues where people from different ethno-religious communities and different ranks came together in a relaxed atmosphere. As mentioned above, an increasingly wealthy middle class meant an increased interest in new fashions, and that manifested itself significantly in women's outerwear. Numerous decrees were issued to keep clothing codes intact, in order not just to keep in check the growing visibility of women in public arena, but also to prevent the mixing of people from different communities and ranks, and thus making sure the old social order based on social differentiation would be kept intact[74].

Interest in new fashions and novelty did not only manifest itself in outerwear. Shirine Hamadeh argues that a newfound interest in innovation and novelty was a characteristic of the eighteenth century. This is also the base of her arguments against the Westernization context in which architecture of this time period had come to be evaluated. According to Hamadeh, while an increased import of Western architectural elements in this time period cannot be denied, Ottoman arts and architecture borrowed also from Eastern, more specifically Safavid-Persian traditions. In the end, in that time period adapting "Western" cultural elements was not the aim, instead a general interest in novelty was the governing principle[75].

While architecture on the one hand has been largely freed from the Westernization-modernization entanglement, a similar wave of revisiting older historiographical approaches to the Ottoman city was manifesting itself as well.

---

[74] See Quataert, "Clothing Laws..".
[75] Hamadeh, "Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity," p.33-34,.45; eadem, *Şehr-i Sefa,* pp.313-342.

Questioning the notions of modernization in urban configuration of the "Islamic city", a number of scholars studied especially Ottoman Arab cities, breaking down the Weberian concept of a stagnant, unchanging "Islamic" city and its established relationship with modernization. Such a case of study for Istanbul has so far been made most extensively by Hamadeh; however, her main focus remains on architectural constructions and monuments instead of city layout and social configuration and organization. In a collective study, Edhem Eldem has studied Istanbul in this revisionist context[76], and in this study Eldem reaches the conclusion that Istanbul, unlike Aleppo and Damascus, cannot be viewed simply as a port-city. Its imperial character as the set of imperial court and center of administration has been a centralfactor in shaping the physical layout of the capital as well as its social configuration[77]. Eldem's study of Istanbul in this context sheds light on the gradual shift of the city towards the Bosphorus as well: accordingly, the impulse behind this shift was the Ottoman state's far-reaching control mechanisms of the relations between the different religious communities of Istanbul. This subject will be further discussed in Chapter 6.

As can be seen, each of these different areas of study relating to the eighteenth century Istanbul offer some insight into an urban and social study of the Bosphorus. The twentieth century popular writers made a point of differentiating the Bosphorus from Istanbul, seeing it as both a different *space* and the setting of a different way of life from the city. A scholarly study of it as such, however, is rather impossible.

---

[76]Edhem Eldem, "From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital" in *The Ottoman City Between East and West: Aleppo, İzmir and İstanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp.135-206.
[77]*Ibid.,* p. 139.
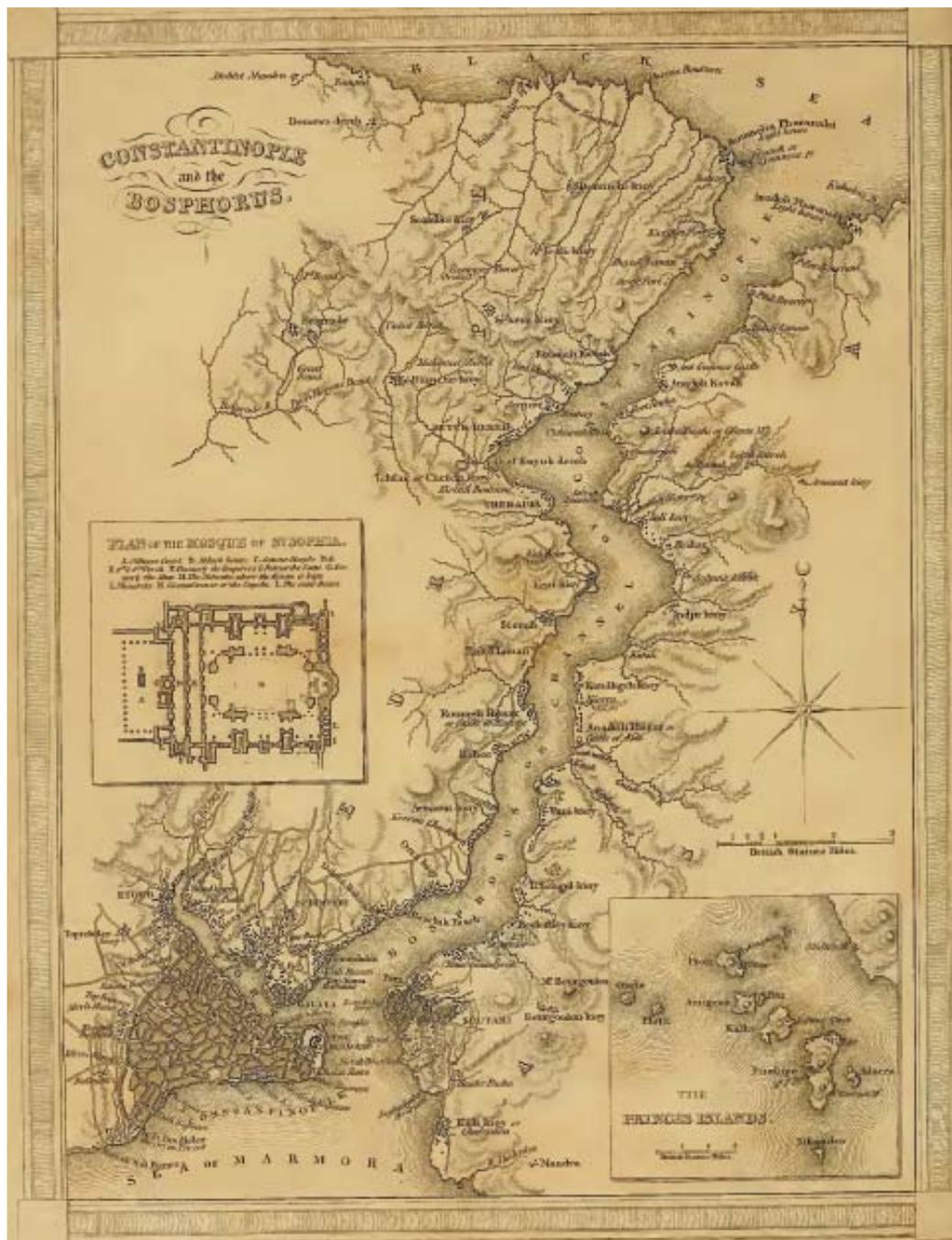
Fig. 1. *Map of Constantinople. Thomas Allom, 1839.*

CHAPTER 4: THE BOSPHORUS VILLAGES AND THE TRADITION OF GÖÇ

Bosphorus Villages under Ottoman Rule

Due to the scarcity of sources about the Bosphorus villages under Ottoman rule in contrast with the abundance of material on Istanbul itself, much of what is known is at best an assumption. Prior to the Ottoman rule in Constantinople, the lands on either side of the Bosphorus were largely unoccupied. On both shores of the strait, not far from the city, were palaces, seasonal residences and hunting kiosks of high classes of Byzantine society, whereas up on the hills monasteries were located[78]. Small, remote villages settled on the hills and the shores especially on the Anatolian side. Dwellers of these Byzantine villages made a living primarily by fishing on the strait and by growing fruits and vegetables in the gardens surrounding their houses[79]. Compared to the population growth and the construction activity on the Bosphorus under Ottoman rule, scholars agree that the region was remote, largely empty, and unattached to Constantinople.

There is little that is known for certain about the Bosphorus villages under Ottoman rule. Mantran suggested they all looked the same: organized around the religious complex in a tight configuration, the small wooden houses of the dwellers were surrounded by gardens and greenery[80]. The Ottomans settled along the Asian shores about sixty years prior to the taking of Constantinople, during the reign of Bayezid I[81]. After the conquest, the Ottoman sultans established imperial gardens on the Asian shore as early as the mid-fifteenth century: Mehmed II is said to have ordered the founding of an imperial garden near Beykoz by the name of Tokat

---

[78] Semavi Eyice, *Bizans Devrinde Boğaziçi* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1976).
[79] Robert Mantran, *17.Yüzyılın II. Yarısında İstanbul: Kurumsal, İktisadi, Toplumsal Tarih Denemesi, v.1.* trans. Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay and Enver Özcan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1990), p.81.
[80] *İbid.,* p.81.
[81] M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Tarihte Boğaziçi" *M.E.B. İslam Ansiklopedisi,* v2, p 672.

Bahçesi when news of the capture of the Tokat Castle arrived while he was hunting[82]. As part of the sultan's project of repopulating the city, some groups were located in villages along the Bosphorus; Arnavutköy seems to have taken its name from the Albanian people who were settled there after the conquest. Later in the sixteenth century, under the reigns of Selim II and Suleyman "the Magnificent", with the establishment of new imperial gardens especially the Anatolian shores of the strait developed. New villages were established by the practice of selling lands of imperial gardens to eager settlers; İncirliköy near Beykoz had been established in this way during Kanuni's reign[83].

About the ethnic and religious make-up of the Bosphorus villages, Mantran suggests that the settlements by the Anadolu and Rumeli Hisarı castles, as well as the ones at Anadolu Kavağı and Rumeli Kavağı, were Turkish, but that the majority of the people of the other villages were Greeks and Jews[84]. In the second half of the seventeenth century, we have two contemporary travelers and writers whose writings are indispensible for the historian of Istanbul: below, I will give a brief background on the Bosphorus villages that will be examined in this study, according to Evliya Çelebi and Eremya Çelebi Kömürciyan.

On the European shore, what is known about Ortaköy is that it had a diverse population consisting of all four main religious communities of Istanbul: Eremya Çelebi notes that there was a small community of Armenians with one church and some Greeks who also had an Orthodox church called Aya Yorgi. Few Turks lived

---

[82] Ayvansarayî Hüseyin Efendi, *Hadîkatü'l- Cevâmi' (İstanbul Camileri ve Diğer Dînî-Sivil Mimari Yapılar)*, ed. Ahmed Nezih Galitekin (İstanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 2001), p.526; Şehsuvaroğlu, *Boğaziçi'ne Dair*, p.22, 52; Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa*, p.54.
[83] Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa,* p.172-173.
[84] Mantran, *17. Yüzyılın II. Yarısında İstanbul*, p.87.

there as well, but the majority of Ortaköy people were Jews[85]. Evliya gives a little more detail: that Ortaköy used to be a Christian area, but with the construction of the mosque on Defterdar Burnu during Kanuni's reign encouraged the growth of a Muslim community. He notes that Jews were then the most abundant in number[86], with most of their two hundred shops being pubs/*meyhâne* .Among public structures Evliya counts the Defterdar mosque, a mesjid by Baltacı Mehmed Ağa, and a public bath. Evliya also notes the gardens of the houses on either side of the stream in the valley.

After Ortaköy, Kuruçeşme was a primarily Jewish village in the seventeenth century. Kömürciyan notes that a large number of 'proud Jews' lived in the village; Evliya uses similar terms *(âyân ve eşraf)*. Eremya notes there aren't any Turks, but a small number of Armenians and Greeks; according to Evliya, there was one Muslim neighborhood inland with a mosque and a public bath, also three synagogues and two Greek churches along with two hundred shops. The palace of a certain Halil Paşa along with its vast garden stretched further.

Arnavutköy seems to be primarily a Greek settlement in this time period; Evliya mentions Jews lived there as well, but the Muslim community was very small. After the Hasan Kalfa garden on the shore, there were kiosks before the Bebek imperial garden[87].

On the Anatolian side, Çengelköy was primarily Greek with a small number of Muslims according to Evliya, and of Jews according to Kömürciyan. Both travelers note the "residences" of the sultan and the imperial garden. After

---

[85] Eremya Çelebi Kömürciyan, *İstanbul Tarihi XVII. Asırda İstanbul.* Trns. Hrand D. Andreasyan (İstanbul: Eren, 1988), p.41.

[86] Based on primary sources in Hebrew, Minna Rozen notes that the growth of the Jewish community in Ortaköy in the fifteenth century was with the active help of wealthy Muslims. Rozen, "Public Space and Private Space Among the Jews of Istanbul in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", (Turcica 30: 1998), p.340.

[87] Kömürciyan, *İstanbul Tarihi*, p.41.

Çengelköy, Istavroz is a Muslim village with its kiosk, mansion, mesjid and garden; the mesjid is noted as a mosque by Evliya. Further south, Kuzguncuk was primarily Jewish with a small number of Greeks; Kömürciyan notes the beautiful houses by the sea.

The Tradition of Seasonal Withdrawal

The Ottoman custom of moving to secondary houses during summer months had deep-laid roots, going all the way to the nomadic past of the Ottomans, who would move from one location to another between the winter and summer months. In Anatolia, in and around towns likeKayseri and Sivas,townsfolk 'migrated', as some still do today, from their town houses to secondary residences in the summer. These, in some locations, would be a *bağ evi,* literally a house in the vineyard. Necibe Çakıroğlu mentions that the term 'kiosk' was used for 'summer residence' with a commanding view 'since the Seljukid times', and that Seljuk rulers had a custom of retreating to such kiosks in the vicinity of Kayseri[88] Artan places the adoption of this practice by Anatolian townsmen 'as early as' the sixteenth century[89].

In the case of the imperial family, the Ottoman sultans had the custom of retreating with their families and households to the Edirne palace for seasonal stays at least in the seventeenth century, probably even earlier[90]. The sultan's short-term visits to summer residences without his family and household were called *biniş*: according to Necipoğlu, in accordance with the rule of sultan's seclusion from the public's eyes, the sultan himself would be deliberately 'invisible' during these processions, while the glamour of the imperial caiques would speak for his

---

[88] Necibe Çakıroğlu, *Kayseri Evleri* (İstanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1972), p.42.
[89] Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre," p.3, footnote 4.
[90] Yıldız, *Bostancı Ocağı*, p.100, 102.

grandeur[91]. The longer-term 'migrations' were called *göç-i hümayûn:* the sultan would embark on the journey along with his family and household, and spend the summer in his designated palace. The processions were always spectacular: the sultan would ride in the thirteen-oar imperial boat[92], sitting under a small pavilion built on the dock, and at the wheel of the gold-cocked boat would be none other than the *bostancıbaşı*[93]. Precisely because of this privileged position of being so close to the sultan that even high state officials regarded the *bostancıbaşı* with respect[94]. Also charged with maintaining security and overseeing the preparation of the destined imperial palace or garden for the *göç,* the *bostancıbaşı* was a trusted officer of the sultan.

In the first two centuries of the Ottoman rule, the Bosphorus shores were marked by the imperial family with numerous private gardens: as early as the decades after the conquest of Istanbul, Mehmed II had ordered an imperial garden to be established on the Anatolian shore, near Beykoz, and be named Tokat in honor of the recently captured Tokat castle[95]. In the sixteenth century a number of new gardens, kiosks and pavilions were established on the Asian side, especially during the reign of Suleyman II[96]. These short-term visits preceded the complete orientation of *göç* to the Bosphorus.

Whether the urban Istanbulites practiced the *göç* before the eighteenth century is also unclear: Artan is of the opinion that they did not[97]. On the other hand,

---

[91] Gülru Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces", *Ars Orientalis,* vol. 23: *Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces* (1993),p.303-304.
[92]*Ibid,* p.103; Orhonlu, *Şehircilik ve Ulaşım,* p. 101.
[93] Yıldız, *Bostancı Ocağı,* p.103.
[94]*Ibid,* p.243.
[95] İnciciyan, *Boğaziçi Sayfiyeleri,* pp.79-80.
[96] Necipoğlu, "Suburban Landscape," p. 37-38; Maurice Cerasi, "Open Space, Water and Trees in Ottoman Urban Culture in the XVIIIth-XIXth Centuries," p.37.
[97] Artan, "Architecture as Theatre," p.3, footnote 4.

travelers describe the Bosphorus shores as being lined with waterfront residences as early as the sixteenth century; in the first half of the seventeenth century these residences were also called *yalı* by Evliya Çelebi and Eremya Çelebi alike. From what little is known, it seems that the wealthy people of Istanbul had a practiced notion of changing adobe during summer. However, as mentioned before, *göç* seems to have become a *tradition* among the wealthier segments of society and an established custom of the urban Istanbulites only in the eighteenth century: İnciciyan, writing in 1794, notes that it spread among the people during the reign of Sultan Murad (which must be Murad IV, 1623-1640) and that it became "customary" after the reign of Mustafa III (1757-1774)[98].

It was during the reign of Ahmed III (1703-1730) that the many waterfront palaces, pavilions and kiosks in imperial gardens began to be preferred for seasonal retreat and became the seats of prolonged visits[99].It was at the beginning of the eighteenth century that the seasonal withdrawal was turned completely towards the Golden Horn and more specifically towards the Bosphorus. The sultans continued to visit the numerous gardens along the shores, but Ahmed III's reign, as mentioned before, marked a sharp increase in the number of waterfront palaces, kiosks and pavilions where the sultan would frequently visitat his heart's desire.

Başiktaş Palace, for example, found favor in the last years of the sultan's reign and become the locusof receptions and festivities along the Bosphorus[100], whereas the Üsküdar (Kavak) palace gradually fell from favor and was ordered to be demolished by Selim III at the end of the century. During the course of the eighteenth century, *göç* became the main expression of imperial pomp and display:

---

[98] İnciciyan, *Boğaziçi Sayfiyeleri,* p.80.
[99] Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre," p.50; Yıldız, *Bostancı Ocağı,* p.102.
[100] Tülay Artan, "Beşiktaş Sarayı," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi,* vol.2, p.172.

from the processions on the sea during the *göç-i hümayun* to the spacious waterfront palaces of the imperial family and the high elite, the theme of visibility that was a characteristic of the century found its fullest expression in the withdrawal.

As for the *göç* rituals of the practitioners with lesser means than the imperial family, not much is known before the nineteenth century. What is known pertains to the latter part of the nineteenth century and is conveyed through the memoir-style novels of the early 1900s. Written with ideologically-charged mentalities, these memories must be taken with a grain of salt: in claiming the 'Bosphorus civilization' to be a five-hundred year old Turkish creation, the authors imply a rather unchanging picture throughout these five-hundred years- whereas the Bosphorus kept being embellished until it reached its most beautiful point in the nineteenth century, no sort of evolution or change in the life style itself is mentioned. In the end, inevitably, the focus remains on the higher echelons of the urban Ottomans who practiced the custom.

CHAPTER 5: THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

CHAPTER 5.1. THE SEAFRONT RESIDENCE

Imperial imprints: The waterfront palace

If there is one underlying theme about urban life in the eighteenth century Bosphorus, it must be visibility. When Ahmed III returned to Istanbul from Edirne in 1703, with his grand vizier Damat İbrahim Paşa from 1718 onward, and embarked on a vigorous project to repair and embellish the long-neglected city, his intention to make the court's presence in the capital be felt by its people was quite evident[101]. Among the reasons behind this vigorous process of repair and construction, concern for the city's image in the eyes of foreign ambassadors[102]; an underlying intention to dispel the gloom of military losses and unsuccessful treaties by indulging the sultan and the court members in a life of joy and luxury[103], and Damat İbrahim Paşa's personal love of festivities have been shown. Regardless, in the later part of Ahmed III's reign, the Ottoman court's visibility to the outsiders' gaze had sharply increased[104]: rather than staying behind the walls of the Topkapı Palace, the Sultan preferred to spend most of his time in the imperial gardens and the waterfront villas of his daughters and grandees along the Bosphorus[105], and the image of the unseen sultan ruling behind a wall of secrecy took a dramatic turn towards a public image based on being seen[106].

---

[101] Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.33; Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa,* p.78.
[102]Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa*, p. 64, with attribution to Râşid's *Târih-i Râşid*.
[103]Stephanos Yerasimos, *İstanbul: İmparatorluklar Başkenti,*trans. by Ela Güntekin and Ayşegül Sönmezay (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2000). p.337.
[104] Boyar and Fleet emphasise the sultans' visibility and accessibility to the public in the previous centuries as well, stressing not the eighteenth century as a turning point but the visibility of the sultan as an integral aspect of Istanbul's social history: Boyar and Fleet, *A Social History*, p.31.
[105] Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre," p.79.
[106] Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze", p. 305; also see Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, And Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: The Architectural History Foundation, 1991).

The reasons behind this 'opening' of the imperial court to the public gaze are multi-faceted. Ahmed III's attitude perhaps illustrates the most important two reasons: he ruled in a brief period of peace after a series of military defeats and unsuccessful campaigns in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Coupled with the fact that the sultan's return from Edirne marked the renewed presence of the court in the capital after a fifty-year period, the court needed to re-legitimize its rule in the eyes of the people. That the new policy of being seen played out most significantly on and around a newly constructed summer palace –the Sâdâbâd, namely 'adobe of happiness'– demonstrates the second impulse that would mark the century, that is, the inclination of the Istanbulites, imperial family and common people alike, towards leisure and festivity.

As mentioned before, the Ottoman sultans had palaces along the Bosphorus as early as the sixteenth century: aside from the pavilions and kiosks in the imperial gardens along the channel, two spacious summer residences of the sultans in the mid-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the Beşiktaş and Üsküdar (Kavak) Palaces. However, these palaces acquired their distinctive characteristics only at the turn of the seventeenth century: it was during Ahmed III's reign that Beşiktaş palace became a favored adobe for long-term stays[107], and more specifically in the Tulip Era, building spacious wooden palaces on the shores became a new fashion. Significantly, the construction and rebuilding of waterfront palaces throughout the century revolved not around the sultan himself, but around his daughters: when a new princess was born or was married, she was given, and allowed to patron, a waterfront palace along the Bosphorus or the Golden Horn. This was, in fact, an outcome of

---

[107] Artan, "Beşiktaş Sarayı," p.172.

change in administrative mechanisms, and a cause for shift in political power from the male members to the female arena within the imperial family[108].

In this context, the Ottoman sultans adopted a policy of wedding their daughters to highest state officials in order to bind the bureaucracy to the house of Osman and keep the political power within the family[109]. These sons-in-law were posted at distant regions of the empire, thus kept away from the center of administration. Their royal wives, on the other hand, were given spacious palaces along the sea in their own names as a means of displaying the imperial family's continuity and grandeur: characterized by their light, wooden structures and multiple, large fenestration, these palaces allowed the passers-by to get glimpses of the splendor within them as well[110]. It wasn't only the building but how the princesses lived in them that made a spectacle: early 19th century visitors to Istanbul, Allom and Walsh, note how Esma Sultan's palace attracted numerous passers-by with the constant evening concerts the sultan enjoyed; the music issuing from the palace was enjoyed by a number of people who came to listen to on their caiques and boats[111]. The Bosphorus, in this way, turned into a *grand allée*, a processional route – a stage for spectacle and a "theatre of life".

Artan argues that this policy of wedding Ottoman princesses to high bureaucrats, in fact, led to a shift of power within the imperial family itself by allowing the princesses a large extent of economic and social power. The eighteenth-century waterfront palaces in this context were used as a means of imperial pomp

---

[108] Artan, "From Charismatic Leadership to Collective Rule…".

[109] Artan, "Boğaziçi'nin Çehresini Değiştiren..", p.117, and "From Charismatic Leadership to Collective Rule," p.57.

[110] Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa*, p.113. The transperency of waterfront residences and visibility of the richness within them was not only true for the imperial palaces, but was valid for *yalıs* of the elite and wealthy as well.

[111] The anectode is from Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre," p.373.

and display: as means of legitimization, presenting the wealth and power of the state both to the Ottomans and to the outer world[112].

Architecturally, the ephemeral character of the waterfront palace is interpreted as an inclination of the Ottoman sultans towards the unearthly and the sublime: Artan suggests that the Ottomans based their use of the Bosphorus shores on a Quranic verse which mentioned a channel dividing the material and the immaterial worlds, leaving the Anatolian shores to imperial gardens with ephemeral pavilions and kiosks and constructing imperial waterfront palaces on the European shore as sign of dynastic power and continuity[113]. A more romantic view suggests that the preference for the non-lasting wood for building summer houses reflected the Turks spirit and way of life[114].

The records in the *bostancıbaşı* registers allow us to trace the imperial residences along the Bosphorus shores at the turn of the 19th century. Accordingly, in the area between the Ortaköy landing place and Bebek imperial garden on the European shore, there were at least eight waterfront residences, including palaces, kiosks and pavilions, which belonged to the sultan and to female members of his family. The 1791 register lists six of them.

The first among these is *Neşetâbâd kasr-ı hümâyunu.* Neşetâbâd was built at the beginning of the century as the seat of Ahmed III's daughter Fatma Sultan and his first husband, Grand Vizier Şehit Ali Paşa[115]. It was later rebuilt by Fatma Sultan's second husband, the grand vizier Damat İbrahim Paşa , in 1725, to be presented to the sultan. Artan notes that in 1780 Neşetâbâd was given to Rabia Sultan

---

[112] Faroqhi, "Consumption and Elite Status," p.44.
[113] Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre," p.8.
[114] Kuban, *Kaybolan Kent Hayalleri,* p.10.
[115] Artan, "Architecture as Theatre," p.168

at her birth, but the princess died in the same year. The next owner of the palace was Hatice Sultan, sister of Selim III.

The use of terms associated with Neşetâbâd indicates the change it went through in this twenty-five year time period: while referred to as an imperial kiosk in the 1791 register, in 1802 it is referred to as Neşetâbâd of Hatice sultan/*Hatice sultan hazretlerinin Neşetâbâdı,* and in 1814 and 1815 registers as the grand palace of Hatice sultan/*ismetlu Hatice sultan hazretlerinin Neşetâbâd saray-ı âlîleri.* The transformation in style and grandeur was the outcome of the collaboration between Hatice sultan and Antoine-Igance Melling, imperial Architect of Selim III. Under his administrations, Neşetâbâd is considered the first structure built in the neo-classical style in Istanbul[116].
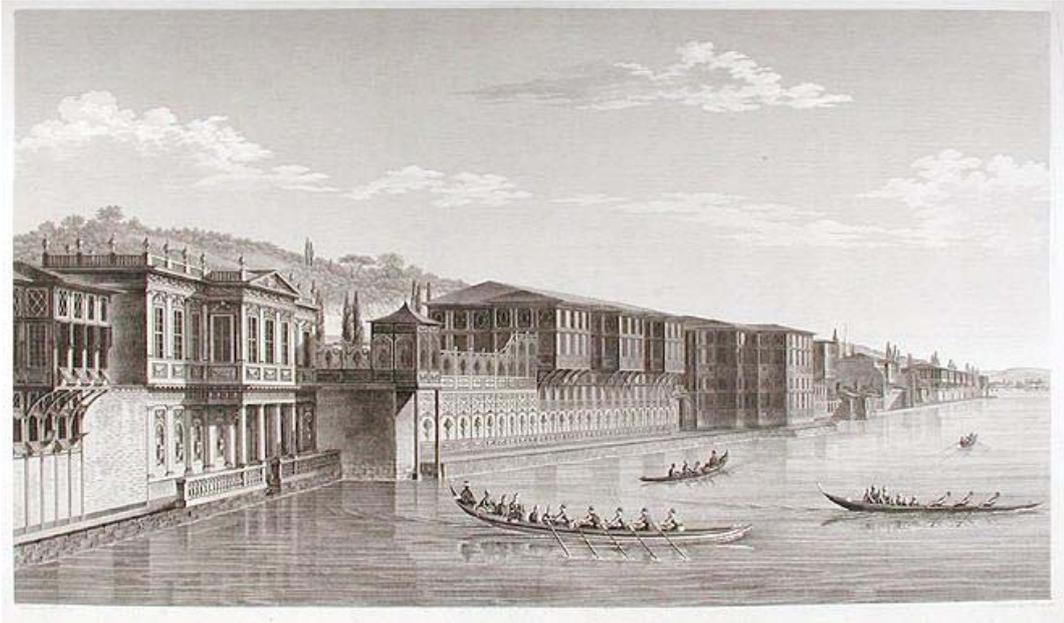
Fig.2. Hatice Sultan's palace (Neşetâbâd). Antoine Igance Melling, 1809.

The next imperial waterfront residence on the European strip is that of Şah Sultan, a daughter of Mustafa III, situated right next to the location called Ekmekçioğlu Deresi. This *yalı* was passed on to Hibetullah Sultan, sister of Şah

---

[116] Artan, "Sultanefendi Sarayları", p.113.

Sultan, after 1802: in the 1814 and 1815 registers, it is referred to as grand palace/*saray-ı âlî*.

The third waterfront residence in the 1791 register is the small *yalı* of Sultan Aliyyetü'ş-şan, right next to Şah Sultan's *yalı*. This *yalı* disappears after the first register; it must have been either annexed to Şah Sultan's residence, demolished or sold.

Fourth in line was the Tırnakçı Yalısı, again, right next to Sultan Aliyyetü'ş-şan's *yalı*. Artan notes that this waterfront residence was built in the last quarter of the seventeenth century by Kara Mustafa Paşa[117]. The 1791 register does not indicate who had possession of the *yalı*; in the 1802, 1814 and 1815 registers it is recorded as belong to Esma Sultan. In the 1802 register Esma Sultan also has two houses between Şah Sultan's *yalı* and the Tırnakçı Yalısı; these two houses disappear from the 1814 and 1815 registers.

The fifth waterfront residence between Ortaköy and Kuruçeşme in the 1791 register is that of a daughter of Sâliha Sultan/*ismetlu Sâliha sultan hazretlerinin kerîmesi hanım sultan.* This residence is not recorded in the next three registers. In this area, there is also a record in the 1814 and 1815 registers of a *yalı* lot passed to Beyhan Sultan, one lot down from the Tırnakçı Yalısı.

The sixth and final royal residence recorded in the 1791 register in Kuruçeşme, a few residences before the Arnavutköy landing place, is the Çorlulu Yalısı. This *yalı* is recorded to be in possession of *hanımsultan*, but no name is indicated. In 1802 this building is recorded to belong to Fatma Hanımsultan, and in the 1814 and 1815 registers it is referred to simply as Çorlulu Ali Paşa Yalısı. This

---

[117] Artan, "Sultanefendi Sarayları"*,* p.372.

residence seems to be the only imperial waterfront residence between Kuruçeşme and Arnavutköy at the turn of the century.

In Arnavutköy, close to the Bebek imperial garden on the projection Akıntıburnu, the 1802 register lists a new waterfront residence for Beyhan Sultan, and in the same record a pavilion for the Sultan's reception is mentioned/*teşrîf-i hümayun için kasır*. In 1814 and 1815 registers the pavilion is called Mehemmed Paşa Kasrı, and the residence of Beyhan Sultan as a palace.

As opposed to the numerous imperial waterfront residences on the European strip, in 1791, their total number in the entire Anatolian shore of the strait was only three: the Küçük Göksu imperial pavilion, Şerefâbâd imperial pavilion, and a waterfront residence of Safiye Sultan's daughter-in-law. In 1791, in the chosen strip between the Üsküdar and Kuleli imperial gardens, two of these three residences were located: Şerefâbâd imperial pavilion was next to the Şemsi Paşa mosque. In the 1814 and 1815 registered this same pavilion is referred to instead as Ayazma imperial pavilion. The *yalı* of Safiye sultan's son's wife was located right next to the Salacak landing place, and beneath it was the Salacak *bostancı* station/*tahtinde Salacak ocağı*. This *yalı* disappears sometime before 1802.

It must be noted, however, the numbers in the *bostancıbaşı* registers do not necessarily reflect the real extent of imperial structures along the Bosphorus shores. Only between 1791 and 1808, during Selim III's reign, the construction of at least four other pavilions on both sides of the strait had been ordered[118]. A large number of pavilions, casually termed as palace by scholars with respect to their size, are not recorded in the registers.

---

[118] Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa,* p.56

As is apparent from the numbers in these register, in the eighteenth century, the founding and construction of new imperial gardens, along with their kiosks and pavilions, were concentrated largely on the European shore[119]. The records in the *bostancıbaşı* registers suggest that at the turn of the nineteenth century, the European shores continued to be preferred over the Anatolian shores. On the entire Anatolian coast, after the demolishing of the old Üsküdar imperial palace at the end of the eighteenth century, no other waterfront palace, at least one that is termed as such in the *bostancıbaşı* registers, existed at the turn of the century. With its numerous imperial and public gardens, the sultan and the imperial family seem to have contended with pavilions on the seafront and those and kiosks placed within the gardens.

Waterfront Residence of the Urban Ottoman

As mentioned before, especially the European shores were quite densely lined with waterfront residences in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Sketchy descriptions of travelers don't yield much in terms of architecture. Despite the unclarity about how *göç* formalized through these two centuries among the urban people, the term *yalı* seems to have been used for summer residences along the Bosphorus at least since the seventeenth century: Evliya Çelebi mentions *yalı*s lining the shores when he wrote in mid-century. Also interesting to note is that the people of Istanbul apparently fell into despair in the last decade of the seventeenth century, when Mustafa II's grand vizier Hüseyin Paşa built a pleasure mansion for the sultan along the Tunca River, which included a garden pavilion and a pool. The people of Istanbul, having been neglected for a few decades already as the court resided in Edirne, feared that this mansion was the beginning of *yalı* culture in the old capital

---

[119]*İbid.*, p.66.

and that the sultan would now never return to Istanbul[120]. The anecdote is quite telling about how the waterfront mansion was such an integral part of Istanbul's culture already.

In the eighteenth century, the waterfront residence of the urban Ottoman shared the same typological characteristics with their royal –and much more spacious- counterparts: built exclusively of wood and supporting numerous windows which allowed both light to infiltrate inside and for the residents to have an undisrupted view of the Bosphorus. A great deal of emphasis is put on the light and ephemeral character of the waterfront palaces, but Maurice Cerasi's study on the distinctive features of the Ottoman-Turkish house type shows that each of these features –the use of wood, large windows and demand for a commanding view- were in fact the common elements of the Ottoman-Turkish house[121], found not only in Istanbul, but also in summer residences in and around Anatolian towns like Kayseri.Wood was the preferred material for intra-mural Istanbul houses as well, despite the constant danger of fire it remained one of its most significant characteristics: although wooden structures burned down quickly, they were also rebuilt just as easily. The convenience of the material also allowed making alterations to the buildings. Aside from the exquisite significance of its view on the seafront and of course the size and grandeur coming with the wealth of their owners, the *yalıs* of Bosphorus seem to be part of the same architectural type.

On the other hand, precisely because of these characteristics the *yalıs* of the Bosphorus were in constant need of up-keeping, and tended to quickly decay when

---

[120] Boyar and Fleet, *A Social History*, p. 33-34.
[121] Maurice Cerasi, "The Formation of Ottoman House Types: A Comparative Study in Interaction with Neighboring Cultures" Muqarnas, Vol. 15 (1998), p.121.

neglected. In the cases where a state official was deposed or fell from grace, his waterfront residence would usually be doomed to fall to ruins[122].

In the *bostancıbaşı* registers, the residences along the sea are recorded distinctly as *yalı* and *hâne* (house): here I am taking that *yalı*s were secondary and/or richer houses intended for use in the summer, and *hâne*s referred to permanent residences. (It should, however, be kept in mind that, as mentioned in Chapter 2, Bostancıbaşı Abdullah Ağa opted to record all non-Muslim residences as houses in 1814 and 1815 registers.) Among the urban Ottomans, ownership of a *yalı* on the Bosphorus shores was a strong indicator of social prestige: so strong the social implications of *yalı* ownership was that preferences about religious make-up of the neighborhood or physical convenience were easily sacrificed when the opportunity arose to buy a waterfront residence[123]. As such, through the open architecture and also with the way of life indulged in around the *yalı*, the owner's wealth and taste were on full display. In a time period marked by social transformation, the elite and the wealthy segments of society expressed their changing positions and aspirations in the architectural agenda in form of the waterfront residence.

In the *bostancıbaşı* registers, the total amount of *yalı*s on the European shore, from Tophane square to Rumeli Kavağı castle, is 525, and on the Asian side, 298 in 1791. The figures demonstrate the obvious preference of the European shores for construction of waterfront residences by the wealthy urban class. This is not a novelty of the later eighteenth century: the European coast had always been favored over the Anatolian side for seafront and inland residences, whereas the latter remained mostly the site of imperial gardens.

---

[122] Kuban, *Kaybolan Kent Hayalleri,* p.14.
[123] Artan, "Urban Continuity," p.109.

In the following decade, the Bosphorus shores indeed seem to reach the highest waterfront residence count: in the 1802 register, the number of *yalı*s and houses by the sea rise to 613 and 322 respectively. A comparison of the number of waterfront residences between main piers of coastal villages shows that the numbers of residences either didn't change by much or decreased in the shores between Tophane and Baltalimanı. On the other hand, the strip of lands stretching from Baltalimanı to Sarıyer border, including Yeniköy, Kalender, Tarabya and Büyükdere, had the highest amount of new constructions. Just between the Kalender imperial garden and Tarabya pier, the number of residences doubled, and from Tarabya to Büyükdere piers, the number rose from 43 to 65.

On the Anatolian shores, the areas which attracted more constructions correspond to the northern sections: from Anadolu Kavağı to Çengelköy pier, with the exception of the area between Çubuklu and Anadolu Hisarı, numbers of seafront residences increase. However, this increase is much more modest than the European shores: the highest number of new residences is between Beykoz and Çubuklu, rising from 27 to 37. In the southward areas between Çengelköy and the Harem pier, the numbers change only by a few.

In 1815, the total numbers for the European and Anatolians shores are 502 and 326 respectively. On the European coast, the decrease is such in some areas that the number of waterfront residences fell lower than they were in 1791. Beşiktaş, Ortaköy, Arnavutköy and the lands between Rumeli Hisarı and Baltalimanı thus witnessed a relative increase in the first years of the nineteenth century, only to decrease again in 1815. Tophane, Fındıklı, Kuruçeşme, Bebek, and the shores after Baltalimanı continued to attract even more wealthy urban Ottomans for constructing their seasonal residences. On the Anatolian shore, a relatively sharp change in

numbers is only observed between Anadolu Hisarı and Akıntıburnu: the 24 residences rose to 32 in 1802, and then fell back to 23 in 1815.

This analysis makes possible some overall observations. First of all, the European shores were clearly much more densely populated than the Anatolian shores. The construction (and deconstruction) activity at the turn of the century is also much higher. The Anatolian shores remain relatively balanced in the time period, with no sharp changes in the number of waterfront residences in any specific area.

In this twenty-five year time period, the number of *yalı*s and seafront houses consistently increased in Kuruçeşme, Bebek, Yeniköy and Büyükdere on the European side, and in Çubuklu, the area between Akıntıburnu and Çengelköy, and Kuzguncuk on the Antolian shore. Overall, the interest in construction and investment seems to have shifted up north on the European shore: while Ortaköy, Kuruçeşme, Rumeli Hisarı, Yeniköy and Tarabya were the most populous areas in 1791, the first three areas witnessed a decrease in the number of residences, while northwards lands including Yeniköy and Tarabya became more and more densely populated. On the Anatolian shores, Üsküdar and Çengelköy remained the most crowded, whereas in 1815 Akıntıburnu and Çubuklu too were nearly as densely populated.

To take a closer look at the designated area for this study, the following tables demonstrate the numbers of *yalıs* and *hânes* lining the European and Anatolian strips.

	Ortaköy	Kuruçeşme	Arnavutköy
1791	38	27	29
1802	46	27	31
1814	35	28	31
1815	35	28	31

Table 1: Number of yalıs on the European strip

	Ortaköy	Kuruçeşme	Arnavutköy
1791	5	0	0
1802	7	0	0
1814	26	26	20
1815	26	26	20

Table 2: Number of houses on the European strip

	Üsküdar	Kuzguncuk	Çengelköy
1791	48	24	57
1802	22	31	50
1814	48	9	44
1815	48	9	46

Table 3: Number of yalıs on the Anatolian strip

	Üsküdar	Kuzguncuk	Çengelköy
1791	11	5	3
1802	36	0	4
1814	6	22	12
1815	6	22	12

Table 4: Number of houses on the Anatolian strip

Also worthy of mentioning is that a significant number of these waterfront residences were owned by females. The following table shows the total number of female house owners along the European and Anatolian strips.

	Ortaköy	Kuruçeşme	Arnavutköy
1791	4	1	5
1802	10	4	6
1814	7	8	5
1815	7	8	8

Table 5: Number of female house owners in the European strip

	Üsküdar	Kuzguncuk	Çengelköy
1791	10	4	7
1802	11	2	14
1814	9	5	6
1815	9	5	6

Table 6: Number of female house owners in the Anatolian strip

If these numbers are any indicator at all, it seems that female ownership of waterfront residences, whether it be a *yalı* or a *hâne*, was slightly more common among Muslims than non-Muslims.

CHAPTER 5.2. THE PUBLIC SPHERE

According to Shirine Hamadeh, the eighteenth century in Istanbul and along the Bosphorus was a period of "openness"[124]. In the public sphere, from public gardens along the shores to fountains and coffeehouses, people from all classes and groups from the Ottoman society came together. It was a period of disclosure: men and women, Muslims and non-Muslims, Ottomans and foreigners were exposed to each other in the various excursion spots and public spheres. The relaxed atmosphere in such places led to the blurring of the lines between different groups of people that the Ottoman state tried so hard to keep intact.

Accordingly, this century witnessed a tension between a breaking-and-reshaping society and a state anxious to keep ahead of these changes and to maintain its legitimacy and power. The burgeoning public sphere is the best spot to observe this tension. In this chapter I will review the major public spots recorded in the *bostancıbaşı* registers. The *bostancıbaşı* himself will make frequent appearances, to remind people to dress appropriately and to behave appropriately… and basically, to not disrupt social order.

Piers, landing places and boathouses

An analysis of public places along the Bosphorus should start with landing places, without which access to these spots would be impossible. Transportation to and from Bosphorus shores was possible only through the sea: the boats and caiques along the channel were an inseparable part of Istanbul's view until as late as the mid-nineteenth century. Istanbulites would most frequently use light caiques called

---

[124] Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa,* p.28. Hamadeh, in turn, borrows the term from Suraiya Faroqhi, who introduced the notion of "decloisonnement."

pereme for transportation, and *pazar kayığı* (market boat) for carrying heavy loads, especially when moving from their houses in town to their summer residences along the sea[125].

The *bostancıbaşı* was in charge of supervising the guild of boatmen[126]: groups of them were registered according to the landing place they worked, for each group was only allowed to work between designated spots[127]. There were a total of 1295 registered boatmen and 1400 boats on Istanbul's seas around 1680; in 1802, these numbers had risen to 6572 and 3916 respectively[128]. The increase is remarkable, and attests to the popularity of the Bosphorus shores in the eighteenth century.

The topographical structure of the land on both sides of the straight was bumpy, the numerous hills rising almost directly out of the water made it difficult to travel by road, if there were any. Otherwise completely isolated from the rest of world, the piers on the shores of each village constituted the only way of contact with each other and with the city.

The landing places served a number of functions according to their location: as public gathering places and contact points in busy commercial areas; as transportation points for remote villages where people made a living by fishing on the strait; as the beginning and end points of the sultan's ceremonial *biniş* –his excursions without his family and household- and in the case of the docks and boathouses of the *yalı*s, as private transportation venues for both the seafront

---

[125] Çelik Gülersoy, *The Caique,*trans. by Adair Mill (İstanbul: İstanbul Library, 1991),p.142-3; Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Şehircilik ve Ulaşım Üzerine Araştırmalar* (İzmir: Ticaret Matbaacılık T.A.Ş, 1984), p. 90.
[126] Yıldız, *Bostancı Ocağı*, p.86.
[127] Gülersoy, *The Caique*, p.166.
[128] Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Şehircilik,* p.98.

residence owners and households, as well as the people living in the immediate vicinity[129].

Those fortunate enough had private boats and caiques, and accordingly, the *yalıs* of the wealthier people would have clusters of boathouses. According to the *bostancıbaşı* registers, the total numbers of public and private boathouses along the selected shores are as follows:

	1791	1802	1814	1815
Ortaköy	0	3	3	3
Kuruçeşme	0	1	3	3
Arnavutköy	0	0	0	0
Üsküdar	2	7	9	9
Kuzguncuk	0	1	1	1
Çengelköy	1	3	0	0

Table 7: Number of boathouses in the selected strips

Aside from a central pier for each village on the shore, in most of the cases, there were also a number of smaller landing places/*aralık iskele*. Some piers, like those of Kuzguncuk and Arnavutköy, seem to be small ones in between rows of seafront residences and are the only landing places for these villages recorded in the registers. Others, like the Ortaköy and Üsküdar piers, were accompanied by a mosque, a fountain and a number of shops, and so constituted an open public space by the sea. In the 1802 *bostancıbaşı* register, the main pier of Üsküdar is referred to as 'the big pier of Üsküdar'/ *Üsküdar'ın kebîr iskelesi*, surrounded by Mihrimah Sultan mosque, a public fountain, coffee shops, and a commercial inn/*han*. The record is similar for other landing places in the commercial areas: Tophane and

---

[129] Eldem, *Boğaziçi Anıları*, p.xiv.

Karaköy piers, for instance, were crowded centers in the heart of commercial districts of Istanbul.

The lack of *bostancıbaşı* registers or any detailed description of the settlement patterns of the coastal villages prior to 1791 makes it impossible to estimate the change in numbers of the landing places on the Bosphorus shores throughout the eighteenth century. However, the changes in the numbers of piers between the years 1791 and 1815 make it clear that the emergence of new piers wasn't directly linked with the number of waterfront residences lining the shores.

The absence of any accurate data about the population of Istanbul, let alone the Bosphorus villages, in this time period also is an obstacle in the way of determining the nature of a relationship, if any, between the number of landing places and demographics. Estimates of Istanbul's population in the eighteenth century range from 400.000 to 500.000[130]. Since the rise and fall of demographics cannot be measured, the relationship between population and number of piers on the shores is a blind spot.

And yet, compared to the monumental nature of the other types of constructs on the shores, one could argue that the piers must have constituted the only urban change to the Bosphorus shores that was purely practical. In the twenty-four years between the first and the last *bostancıbaşı* registers, at least one new landing place was established in Üsküdar, Çengelköy, Ortaköy and Kuruçeşme. In Kuzguncuk, the 'Kuzguncuk pier' remains the only landing place throughout this time period. This is striking when it's taken into consideration that Kuzguncuk shores remained reserved to waterfront residences only; other than one small fountain near Öküz Limanı built sometime between 1791 and 1814, no public buildings or any other constructs are

---

[130]Halil İnalcık, "İstanbul," *Encyclopedia of Islam,* vol.4, pp.226-235; Kuban, "Osmanlı Çağında Boğaziçi Yerleşmesi" in *İstanbul Armağanı 2,* p. 123.

recorded. In the ten years between 1791-92 and 1802, the number of piers at the Arnavutköy shores rises from three to four, only to reverse to three in the 1814-15 and 1815 registers.

Fountains

Between the years 1703 and 1809, more than three hundred and sixty five fountains and *sebil*s were constructed in Istanbul, and about two hundred of fifty of these were along the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn[131]. Usually regarded as purely practical constructs, fountains and *sebil*s are interpreted as an indicator of density and rise of population in a specific area[132]. The improvement of water systems throughout the eighteenth century in order to supply the water to the increasingly popular Bosphorus villages goes hand in hand with the fountain building trend: throughout the eighteenth century a large number of free-standing public fountains sprung up all over the city, and became attraction points for the public. However, it has been argued that the inflation in the number of fountains in this century cannot be explained simply by the investment in water systems or a significant rise in population, especially when the construction of public baths, equally dependable on access to water, had decreased in the same time period, and any clues from primary sources about the population of Istanbul in this century do not suggest any sharp increase[133].

Instead, Hamadeh interprets the rise in public fountains in terms of change in nature of architectural patronage: the public fountains, celebrated for the first time in

---

[131] Hamadeh, "Splash and Spectacle: The Obsession with Fountains in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul" *Muqarnas* 19 (2002), p.124. According to Mantran, of the fountains still remaining today in Istanbul and along the Bosphorus, 271 of them have been constructed in the eighteenth century: Robert Mantran, *İstanbul Tarihi*, trns. Teoman Tunçdoğan (İstanbul: İletişim, 1996), p.246.
[132]*İbid.*; Kuban, *İstanbul: Bir Kent Tarihi*, p.313.
[133] Hamadeh, "Splash and Spectacle," p.124.

this century as monuments of their own[134], became a form of expression of status for a wide range of people from middle and upper-middle classes[135]. Seen in the broader theme of social transformation in this period, this type of architectural patronage for public fountains attests to the growing aspirations and claims for visibility from the middle classes.

If the public fountain was a form of 'visibility' for its patron, it also served to make the people who used it more visible too. The free-standing fountain usually created its own little public square/*meydan*, which, in some cases like the Tophane fountain, was not very little at all. Kuban notes that the public fountain became the first 'object that defines urban space' in Istanbul[136]. Public fountains along the Bosphorus, by the sea and within public gardens and *mesîre*s were attraction points for the people, and especially for women: in the eighteenth century women went to different public fountains at different days, much like people did for certain *mesîre*s[137]. In this way, the fountains became focal points along the Bosphorus, where people gathered, gossiped, and had a merry time.

The relationship between the number of waterfront residences on the shores and the construction of new fountains supports the argument that popularity of public fountains had less to do with demographics than with social aspiration: in Ortaköy and Kuzguncuk the number of *yalı*s change only by one from one *bostancıbaşı* register to the other, and each area had a new fountain built on the shore between 1791 and 1815. In Arnavutköy and Çengelköy, on the other hand, there's considerable decrease in the number of waterfront residences, but here too, one new

---

[134]*Ibid.* p. 141.
[135] Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa*, p.138.
[136] Kuban, *İstanbul: Bir Kent Tarihi,* p.313.
[137] Cerasi, "Open Space, Water and Trees," p.37.

fountain was set up in each area. Çengelköy also had a new public bath on the shore built between 1802 and 1814 as part of the Abdülhamit Han mosque complex.

In the *bostancıbaşı* registers, most of the fountains are recorded simply as 'fountain of sweet water'/*mâ-i lezîz* or *âb-ı lezîz çeşmesi*. Some of them, like the famous Tophane *meydan* fountain, are recorded as such to indicate that they're unattached to other building complexes and are parts of a small public square. The free-standing fountains are a novelty of eighteenth century Istanbul: aside from their primal function of supplying water to the neighborhoods, these fountains also became centers of attraction for the local population.

As stated above, at the turn of the nineteenth century, at least one new fountain was built at the Ortaköy, Arnavutköy, Çengelköy and Kuzguncuk shores. In the 1791-92 register, in Ortaköy, the only fountain recorded is a few structures down the Ortaköy pier and is a nameless 'fountain of sweet water facing the square'. Two waterfront residences down the fountain is the Mehmet Kethüda mosque, built in place of an earlier neighborhood mosque/*mescid* in 1721[138]. In the other three registers, this same fountain is recorded as Mehmet Kethüda fountain. In the 1802, 1814-15 and 1815 registers, aside from the Mehmet Kethüda, a new fountain next to the sixteenth century Defterdar İbrahim Efendi mosque is set up on Defterdar Burnu.

In Arnavutköy, more specifically on Akıntı Burnu, next to a *yedekçiler odası* and a coffee shop, one fountain of sweet waters is built in the last decade of the century. However, this fountain record is problematic: the fountain in the 1802 register is a nameless one, but the same fountain is recorded as Beyhan Sultan fountain in the 1814-15 and 1815 registers. The construction date of the Beyhan Sultan fountain is 1804; as such, the name or patron of the fountain in the 1802

---

[138] Ayvansarayî, *Hadîkatü'l-Cevâmi'*, p.524.

register is unknown. It also poses the question why the Beyhan Sultan fountain would be built in place of a fairly new fountain preceding it.

In Çengelköy, next to the Kuleli *bostancı* station, one new nameless fountain was built prior to 1802, and finally, in Kuzguncuk, the construction of Sultan Osman fountain right before Öküz Limanı between 1802 and 1814-15 remains the only construction of a public monument in the area in this time period.

The total number of new fountains built all along the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn is also interesting: according to the *bostancıbaşı* registers, between the years 1791 and 1815, at least twelve new fountains were built on the European shores. This number is eight for the Asian side, and three for the shores along the Golden Horn.

Fig. 3. Göksu – 'Sweet Waters of Asia'. Thomas Allom, 1839.

Imperial and public gardens and *bostancı* stations

Gardens had always been a part of Ottoman urban life: open air and nature constituted the prime form of outdoors socialization[139]. Public gardens, usually called *mesîre,* were the focus of Ottoman public life since long before the eighteenth century. Open-air enjoyment usually consisted of promenades, picnics and festivities: excursions to the meadows along the Golden Horn, especially in Kağıthane, and the Bosphorus were a favorite pastime of the people of Istanbul. The imperial court was no exception to this peculiarity; the Anatolian shores of the Bosphorus had been preferred for numerous imperial gardens as far back as the time of Mehmed II, where the sultans would go for hunting, sports, repose and leisure. Perhaps what is the most significant about gardens in our context, however, is the intricate relationship between the imperial and public gardens. Most of the time, there was no physical

---

[139] Cerasi, "Open Space, Water and Trees," p.38.

barrier that clearly separated the lands of royal gardens from its surroundings: imperial gardens were organized around the kiosks, pavilions and other structures for the sultan's stay without drawing a boundary around it[140]; the grounds of the Sâdâbâd were not strictly separated from the outer meadows where the public frequented[141]. Some imperial gardens would even be opened to the public on certain days; when an imperial garden fell from favor, it gradually turned into a *mesîre*. This permeability was also apparent in a different way: sometimes, lands of former imperial gardens were parceled and sold to the public on certain occasions, leading to creation of new neighborhoods along the Bosphorus. İncirliköy, for example, near Beykoz, had been set up in this way back in the sixteenth century. Similarly, Beylerbeyi had sprung partly over the grounds of the Istavroz imperial garden, encouraged also with the building of Abdülhamid I mosque on the shore in 1778[142].

It seems that it was because of this loose separation between imperial and public grounds that the new policy of sultanic visibility played out the most significantly in gardens. Public *mesîres* along the sea were places where a diverse population came together and had the opportunity to relax and mingle –within certain limits, of course. No longer confining themselves to private gardens, the sultans and court used this opportunity to present themselves to this public, as discussed before, as a means of strengthening their image and constantly reasserting the state's power into the evolving socio-political structure.

'Visibility', however, was hardy only on the sultan's agenda. "It was to such places along the shores of the Bosphorus, adorned with mansions, that the populace of Istanbul flocked in spring and summer, to promenade and to amuse themselves, *to*

---

[140]*Ibid.* p.39.
[141] Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa,* p.197-8.
[142] Şehsuvaroğlu, *Boğaziçi'ne Dair,* p.55.

see and to be seen, to eat, drink, sing and generally disport themselves."[143] Public

gardens were areas of transference: the people enjoying the grounds, men and

women, were observable by each other, and in this atmosphere the limits between

these various social groups tended to melt, leading to mutual influences in terms of

taste and fashion.[144]

Such mutual exposure, however, evoked concern on part of the state for

social order and discipline. Sumptuary laws issued and re-issued throughout the

century constantly reminded the people, especially women, to dress modestly and

within the clothing regulations[145]. The relationship between social order and public

gardens, as well as the state's anxiety, is perhaps best seen in the increasingly

important figure of the *bostancıbaşı*: already a feared figure in the seventeenth

century, the *bostancıbaşı* became the chief public police in charge of keeping

'order'[146], and became the nightmare of those going to enjoy themselves along the

Bosphorus[147]. The only section in Eremya Çelebi's history of Istanbul in the second

half of the seventeenth century dedicated to a subject other than the city itself is

concerned with the *bostancıbaşı*, or more specifically, with his bullying. So big was

his fear and loathing of the *bostancıbaşı ağa* that Kömürciyan wrote:

> *God protect us all from the cruelty, the beating, the malice and the*
> *dungeon of the bostancıbaşı. Because some people who have fallen*
> *under his beating in various places have converted to Islam.[148]*

---

[143] Boyar and Fleet, *A Social History*, p.237. The phrase in italics is formetted by me.

[144] Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa*, p.203.

[145] On sumptuary laws and the increasing visibility of women in public space as well as the state's insistence on women's attire, see Zilfi, *Women and Slavery,* pp.45-95; eadem, "Muslim Women in the Early Modern Era" in *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Volume 3: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839,* ed. Suraiya N. Faroqhi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp.226-255.

[146] İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, "Bostancıbaşı", *Encyclopedia of Islam,* vol.1,p.1278; Yıldız, *Bostancı Ocağı*, pp.194-196.

[147] Baron de Tott tells in detail about such experiences with the bostancıbaşı: *Memoires of Baron de Tott,* pp.51-59.

[148] The original quote: "Allah hepimizi bostancıbaşının zulmünden, dayağından, şerrinden ve zindanından korusun. Zira muhtelif yerlerde onun dayağı altına düşen bazı kimseler Müslüman oldular." Kömürciyan, *İstanbul Tarihi*, p.52.

In the early nineteenth century, the *bostancıbaşı* was reminding the public that "it was extremely important to the sultans that the population be able to enjoy themselves in the pleasure gardens, but that they do so within limits and while behaving appropriately"[149].

Considering the range of duties of *bostancı* corps in the later part of the eighteenth century, the setting up of new *bostancı* stations along the strait can be linked with both the establishment of new imperial gardens and the gradual conversion of old ones into public gardens/*mesîre*. According to the *bostancıbaşı* registers, one new *bostancı* station was established in Ortaköy and Çengelköy between 1791 and 1815. In Ortaköy, the new station was in between the Neşetâbâd - the waterfront palace of Hatice Sultan, sister of Sultan Selim III- and the Defterdar mosque. The station in Çengelköy was next to a newly-established pavilion/*kasr-ı cedîd* by the shores of the Kuleli imperial garden, but this pavilion vanishes from records in the 1814 and 1815 registers. The station at Kuruçeşme precedes the date of the first register: in 1791 it stands alone between waterfront residences of wealthy non-Muslims. In the 1802 register it is accompanied by a landing place and a nameless mosque, but this mosque, too, disappears in the next two registers, and leaves the *bostancı* station seemingly isolated.

In Üsküdar, on the other hand, there are at least three *bostancı* stations in each of the registers: one in Ayazma, next to the Şerefâbâd imperial pavilion (called the Ayazma imperial pavilion in the 1814 and 1815 registers); one in Salacak, alongside the Fatih Sultan Mehmet mosque; and finally, the 'Üsküdar garden station' at the shores by the Üsküdar imperial garden. In the 1791 register, records of the buildings on the Anatolian shores end with the record of one house next to this *bostancı* station,

---

[149] Boyar and Fleet, *A Social History*, p.243.

but in the other three registers, one new station named *zağarcılar bostanî ocağı* is recorded right after Mehmed Paşa imperial pavilion, next to the Üsküdar garden station.

Fig. 3. *Bostancıbaşı. Octavian Dalvimart, 1802.*

The relation that played out over public and imperial gardens between sumptuary laws, consumption patterns, and concern for public discipline has a triangular form: in the expanding market and growing consumption culture of the

eighteenth century, people had the means to obtain a variety of goods, leading them to be interested in new fashions, and more particularly, with the increased export of luxury textiles, to new forms of attire[150]. With conspicuous consumption used as a means of displaying rising aspirations[151], the state in turn retaliated by trying to suppress these aspirations by focusing on the clothing regulations and public order, the sphere were these aspirations thus made themselves visible. During Selim III's reign at the turn of the century, sumptuary laws took a different nature: pointing out that his own statesmen were wearing latest-fashion attires made with imported fabrics, Selim III pointed out that if they were to wear clothes made of locally produced textile, it would put local textile in demand, because people looked up to them[152]. In fact, Quataert suggests that the sultan at the same time sought to re-concentrate political power around himself, manifested in his criticism of the extravagance of his own statesmen[153].

If, then, sumptuary laws issued at the beginning and in the middle of the century were concerned with *keeping ahead of* the socio-political transformation, it seems that this transformation had already taken over at the end of the century. All the sultan now tried to do was to diminish their effects and *re*-establish his own power.

Coffee shops

Without a doubt, coffeehouses were one of the most prominent venues for male socialization throughout Ottoman history, if not the most prominent. With the

---

[150] Quataert," Clothing Laws", p. 408; Madeline Zilfi, "Goods in the *mahalle:* Distributional Encounters in Eighteenth Century Istanbul" in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire*, p.290.
[151] Quataert, "Clothing Laws," p.409-410.
[152]*Ibid.*, p.411.
[153]*Ibid.*

introduction of coffee to the empire in the middle of the sixteenth century[154],

coffeehouses spread in the urban layout of Istanbul like wildfire: every neighborhood

had at least one coffeehouse where male members of the *mahalle* came together on a

daily basis. Like an extension of the street, these places were frequented by men

from various social groups and degrees of wealth, and a mixed ethno-religious

crowd[155]. While going out to public gardens along with family and friends was an

open-air occasion which must have been possible only in agreeable weather, the

coffeehouses were much more integrated into the everyday life of Ottomans: these

were places where people socialized and established commercial and social contacts;

shared information, and in the case of immigrants, found and contacted their fellow

townsmen[156]; and of course, considering the amount of gossiping that must have

gone around, places where 'word of mouth' had a special significance. Indeed,

coffeehouses had been frequently shut down by the state ever since their introduction

to Istanbul's urban life, seen as places where political conspiracy and immorality

brewed along with coffee[157]. Coffeehouses had a significantly bad reputation in the

eyes of certain ulema and elite[158].

A difference of opinion between Hamadeh and Kırlı demonstrate the

importance of both public gardens and coffee shops as places of leisure and

recreation in the eighteenth century: Hamadeh notes that the state's attention shifted

from coffeehouses to public gardens in order to prevent what it perceived as

---

[154] Alan Mikhail, "The Heart's Desire: Gender, Urban Space and the Ottoman Coffee House" in Dana Sajdi, ed. *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee*, p.138.
[155] Cengiz Kırlı, "The Struggle over Space: Coffeehouses of Ottoman Istanbul, 1780-1845" (Unpublished PhD dissertation; Binghampton, State University of New York, 2000), p.179; Mikhail, "The Heart's Desire," p. 136.
[156] Kırlı, "Struggle over Space," p.178.
[157] See: Cengiz Kırlı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu: Modernleşme Sürecinde 'Havadis Jurnalleri'(1840-1844)* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2009).
[158] Kırlı, "Struggle over Space,"p. 147.

immorality and disruptive behavior[159]. Kırlı, on the other hand, suggests that the state refrained from shutting down coffeehouses and contended to warning by exemplary punishment by the turn of the turn of the century, and this attitude demonstrates how integral coffeehouses had become to the lives of Istanbulites. Furthermore, Kırlı suggests that instead of closing them, the state would *use* the atmosphere in these places in order to gather information through the middle of the nineteenth century by sending spies[160].

Regardless of which public space must have seemed more 'dangerous' to the state, at the end of the eighteenth century, coffeehouses had become such an integral part of the city's urban texture that according to an *esnaf* register examined by Kırlı, one out of every seven or eight shops along the Golden Horn and the European side of the Bosphorus were coffee shops[161]. As is also apparent in the *bostancıbaşı* registers, the coffeehouses[162] on the waterfront were usually clustered around landing places, and most of the time, adjacent to the courtyard of the nearby mosques and as part of the *iskele meydanı*, that is, the focal point of the coastal villages.

In the *bostancıbaşı* registers, multitudes of coffee shops are usually written down as single records: they're indicated with the term *serâpâ*, a Persian word meaning 'stretching from one end to the other'. Consequently, it has not been possible to extract the exact number of coffee shops along the sea.

The following table demonstrates the total number of coffee shop records in the registers:

---

[159] Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa*, p.189-190.
[160] See Kırlı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu.*
[161] Kırlı, "Struggle over Space", p.112: Appendix. Kırlı is also of the opinion that quite probably this *esnaf* register too was kept by the *bostancıbaşı*: "Struggle over Space,"p.79.
[162] In the *bostancıbaşı* registers all records are of coffee shops, and none for coffeehouses.

	1791	1802	1814	1815
Ortaköy	1	9	5	5
Kuruçeşme	0	0	1	1
Arnavutköy	0	1	1	1
Üsküdar	2	7	5	5
Kuzguncuk	0	0	0	0
Çengelköy	1	1	2	2

Table 8: Number of coffee shops according to region

The number of coffee shops usually rises not singularly but by the establishment of several at a time. According to the registers, Ortaköy and Üsküdar have the highest number of coffee shops in our designated area. In Ortaköy, the single coffee shop under a *yalı* in the 1791 register changes into a total of nine shops in 1802: seven out of these nine were around and under the Mehmet Kethüda mosque. The number falls to a total of five single coffee shops in 1814 and 1815. The number corresponds to the five counted for Ortaköy in Kırlı's *esnaf* register.

In Üsküdar, like in Ortaköy, two singular coffee shops, one under a house and one under a *yalı*, are recorded in the 1791 register. In 1802, there are a total of seven coffee shop records: among these, several of them are by Kurşunlu Han, an unrecorded commercial inn in the previous register right by the Mihrimah Sultan mosque. The number falls to five in 1814 and 1815, the shops by the inn remaining and two singular ones disappearing.

On the Kuzguncuk shores, not a single record of any shop, store or coffeehouse appears in any of the registers. Çengelköy seems to have had a single coffee shop next to the Abdülhamid Han mosque built on the shore in 1778, and this was 'facing the landing place'. This landing place is not recorded separately, so it is probable that it was a small one for access from the sea to the mosque itself. In the

next three registers, there are several coffee shops as part of the mosque complex, as well as another set of them by the Çengelköy main pier.

In Arnavutköy, one coffee shop founded under a *yedekçiler odası* remains the only one in the area after 1791. Kuruçeşme, likewise, had a single coffee shop built after 1802, this time, under the *bostancı* station. The single numbers in the *bostancıbaşı* registers for Kuruçeşme and Arnavutköy, however, do not match with the *esnaf* register, where the numbers are 4 and 5 respectively.

The popularity of the coffeehouses by the sea also made them attractive business venues for investment for people from every class of the society. A large number of people from the military ranks owned most of the coffee shops; others include the imperial family, religious leaders and also women. Some, although interestingly few, are run by coffee dealers/*kahveci*. The following table shows the recorded ranks and occupations of coffee shop owners in the selected area:

dizdar	1
yağlıkcı elhâc	1
kethüda	1
imam	1
baş eski bostanî	1
odabaşı	1
kudattan (kadı)	2
kahveci	3
teberdar	1

Table 9: Ranks and occupations of coffee shop owners

In some cases, the house of the owner is built on top of the shop; these are usually the only ones between rows of waterfront residences. The coffee shop owners

and runners in the selected lands include two women: one of them, the wife of a steward/*kethüda*, owned three coffee shops in Ortaköy, and the wife of a scribe in Üsküdar owned one. Although the majority of the coffee shops along the Bosphorus belonged to Muslims, non-Muslims too were in the business: one coffee shop in Ortaköy was run by a Jew named Avram under his house[163].

The locations, owners, distribution and change in numbers of coffee shops on these shores show a number of things. Firstly, as indicated above, the majority of the coffee shops by the sea are either around piers or mosque complexes, frequently both, easily accessible from the sea. Secondly, the existence of singular shops, unattached to a religious complex or a landing place, creates a fairly even distribution of coffee shops as venues of sociability along the Bosphorus shores. The majority of them are in clusters around the piers, but the singular ones might tentatively be interpreted as *mahalle* coffee shops or, perhaps, coffee houses.

Thirdly, looking at the changes in the number of coffee shops along the entirety of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn, it is seen that their numbers fall between 1802 and 1814 only in Üsküdar, Ortaköy and Anadolu Kavağı at the north end of the strait. In Anadolu Kavağı, the number rises sharply from 0 to 17, only fall down to 4 in 1814. In all of the other villages by the shores, the number of coffee shops continually rises, with at least 30 of them built in this time period between Eyüp and Tophane; 7 from Sarıyer to Rumeli Kavağı, and 11 from Anadolu Kavağı to Çengelköy. As such, despite the other unexplained fluctuations of numbers in the 1802 register, the decrease in the number of coffee shops in Üsküdar and Ortaköy is significant, and yet, remains unexplained for the time being.

---

[163] This must be the one Jewish-run coffee shop included in the *esnaf* register as well: Kırlı, "Struggle Over Space", p.113.

Shops, Stores, Public and State Buildings

A general look at the *bostancıbaşı* registers show that some villages had a small marketplaceon the shore consisting of shops, stores and coffee shops, sometimes a fountain, usually alongside a mosque or a public bath. These are not indicated in the registers as marketplaces, but it is seen that while some villages on the Bosphorus had such a venue on the shores where people could have shopped and socialized, the others either did not have such a place or, more probably, had them inland[164]. Ortaköy, a typical Bosphorus neighborhood according to Artan[165], had such a marketplace which grew steadily from 1791 to 1802. In the 1791 register, the only business venue on the shores was one coffee shop under a waterfront residence. The small slaughterhouse and candle factory/*mumhâne* belonging to the Jewish community disappears from records in the other registers. However, in 1802, an elementary school/*mektep* had been built next to the Mehmet Kethüda mosque. The number of coffee shops under and around the mosque and the nearby fountain rose to nine; three other shops and one barber were set up near the mosque, fountain and school. In 1815, there were several coffee shops on either side of the Ortaköy main pier.

Kuruçeşme and Arnavutköy shores were relatively less concentrated in terms of a marketplace. In Kuruçeşme, close to the Arnavutköy pier, Aliyyetüşşan Sultan had six shops next to a timber store in 1791. These shops seem to have passed over to Fatma Sultan before 1802 as "several shops and boathouses". (Aside from these, the imperial women had other business investments along the shores: in 1802, the queen mother owned a commercial inn/*han* and boathousesin Balat, which seems to have passed to Esma Sultan in the 1814 and 1815 registers.) In 1815, the Çorlulu Ali

---

[164] İnalcık, "İstanbul," *EI4*, p. 234; Edhem Eldem, "Osmanlı Dönemi İstanbulu" in *İstanbul Armağanı 3*, p.18.
[165] Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre," p. 364.

Paşa residence, next to Fatma Sultan's investments, also had several other shops. The rise in number of shops on the Arnavutköy shores is significant, especially considering that the number of waterfront residences declines from 43 to 34 between 1791 and 1802 and remain as such in the next two registers. Built before 1791, the state *peksimet* bakery on the shores remains at least until 1815. In the 1802 register, there is one new fountain, one new coffee shop and a *şerbethâne* under a waterfront residence. In 1814 and 1815, there's a boat store next to a small landing place; two fish stores next to a synagogue lot, and five other shops near a coffee shop with a barber and grocery aside them. On the Üsküdar shores, an inn, the Kurşunlu Han, appears to be functioning at least since 1802, right by the the main pier, the fountain, coffee shops, Mihrimah Sultan mosque and the nearby Balaban pier surrounding it. Up north, near Öküz Limanı between Üsküdar and Kuzguncuk, the leather and candle factories/*debbağhâne ve mumhâne* are recorded in all four registers. Between 1791 and 1802, new grain stores were built nearby, next to the Silahtar Abdurrahman Ağa mosque and fountain, and others right next to the Mihrimah Sultan mosque. Further south, next to the Ayazma pier there are records of one coffee shop and a small grocery after 1791. As such, like Ortaköy, Üsküdar had a vibrant coastline with several public and commercial venues.

Kuzguncuk shores, as has been noted before, remain exclusively residential throughout the turn of the nineteenth century. Çengelköy, however, seems to have developed from 1791 to 1815: aside from two new mosques, a fountain, several coffee shops and a *bostancı* station, in the 1814 and 1815 registers there's also a public bath next to the Abdülhamit Han mosque. In terms of any shops, stores or state buildings, the registers are silent.

Meydan as an Urban Construct

The emergence of the free-standing public fountain in the eighteenth century was an important novelty in terms of defining urban space. These particular fountains, unattached from religious structures as they usually have been in the previous centuries, marked urban areas in the fabric of the city and led the emergence of a public square without the religious implication.[166] The famous Tophane fountain, constructed in 1732 by Sultan Mahmud I, seems indeed to have defined the square around it: it has been noted that in contrast with accounts written before the construction of the fountain, travelers note that the Tophane square was a vibrant place shaded by plane trees and with coffee shops.

In the *bostancıbaşı* registers, the term *meydan* is used fairly frequently, and sometimes, with specific adjectives: in the 1815 register, there seems to be a *hitap meydanı*, an addressing square next to the Beşiktaş pier[167]. Others, related to ship-making, are termed *kalafat meydanı.* There are also some records of other structures, sometimes of coffee shops and sometimes a fountain,"facing the square"/*meydana nâzır*, indicating the existence of unmarked *meydans*. Such records are almost exclusively followed or preceded by a mosque.

The importance of the mosque courtyard as an open gathering place, of course, cannot be ignored. The eighteenth century's redefined relationship with water has re-oriented the mosques and mesjids on the shores from the inland towards the sea. However, looking at the *bostancıbaşı* registers, it seems that the squares around the piers/*iskele meydanı* had largely come into existence in an organic manner. Mostly unplanned at such, public spaces grew around piers and landing places,

---

[166] Kuban, *İstanbul: Bir Kent Tarihi*, p.313.
[167] Artan states that there is a *hitap meydanı* record in the area in the 1792 register, but I have failed at finding this record.

which is clearly the key points of the *meydan*s on the shores in the registers[168].

Around nearly every main pier there was at least a mosque, a shop, a fountain, coffee shops, or sometimes even a school or a public bath. Even though only some of them might be noted as such in the registers, it is clear that these vibrant areas around the landing places were coming into existence in a rather natural way. It seems then that this organic process of the creation of the *iskele meydanı* was, in the end, an outcome of the general interest in the waterfront that marked the eighteenth century.

---

[168] Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre," p.227.

CHAPTER 6: SOCIAL PROFILE: THE PEOPLE OF THE BOSPHORUS

Settlement Patterns: the shift from the walled city towards the Bosphorus

The gradual shift of Istanbul towards the Bosphorus through the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries cannot be explained with any single underlying reason. Rather, a complex web of realities; necessities, impulses and needs born out of the tension between a state and an evolving society should be seen as constituting the drive towards the Bosphorus shores. It seems that these reasons played out in two main streams; both of which, in fact, are the underlying conflicting themes throughout the eighteenth century, namely, a search for and inclination towards leisure and creation on the one hand, and tension between state and certain social groups which sought to escape from its strict control mechanisms.

The question of what the Bosphorus shores were perceived as in relation to the city itself is a broad one, and any answers to it would, at best, be unclear. From an economic point of view Eldem regards the area of the strait as 'periphery' of the capital[169]. Strategically, the importance of what Western travelers sometimes called the Black Sea channel seems to have diminished after the building and use of the Anadolu and Rumeli Hisar castles on the respective shores prior to the conquest of Constantinople in 1453.

With regards to the notion of *göç*, the country began after Beşiktaş. That no such starting point is noted for the Anatolian shores might also indicate the preference of the imperial family of building summer palaces on the European shores, and that the Asian side was already dominated by imperial gardens. On the other hand, whether the Bosphorus region was regarded as countryside, or somehow

---

[169]Eldem, "From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital", pp.135-206.

as an extension or as outskirts of the city itself, is unclear: Hamadeh discusses the

uses of various terms by contemporary writers and finds an investigation of the

importance of *göç* and the country in the spreading of the population out of the city

walls inconclusive[170].

In most cases, scholars projecting within the traditional

Westernization/modernization discourse tend to interpret the move of center of

administration from the walled city into Dolmabahçe palace on the seafront as a

symbolic move from an old, 'backwards' empire and its institutions to a

Westernized, modern state[171]. Architectures of the Topkapı and Dolmabahçe are

compared and contrasted to highlight a change of attitude on the Ottoman sultans'

part towards the West and its culture, and along with it, their dedication to

'westernize' and 'modernize': the neo-classical stylistic elements and spacious, open

plan of the new palace symbolize this change of heart.

There were, however, more realistic and less sketchy reasons behind the shift

towards the Bosphorus. Demographic increase within the walled city led to search

for new spaces for settlement[172]. People who had the means moved to the Bosphorus

in times of fires and epidemics: İnciciyan notes that cases of cholera diminished

when people moved out to the Bosphorus shores[173]. *Yalıs* could be used both as

secondary and permanent residences. Those who were not allowed into the city chose

to reside in Bosphorus towns close to the center, namely Üsküdar and Beşiktaş.

Finally, *beg*s and *voyvodas* of Wallachia and Moldavia would have residences in the

European side of the strait.

---

[170] Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Safa*, p. 98.
[171] For example, Germaner, "The Ottoman Capital in the 19th Century", p.345.
[172] Kuban, *İstanbul: Bir Kent Tarihi*, p.313. Hamadeh, while agreeing with the role of population increase, points out that the shift towards the channel cannot be attributed solely to this factor: Hamadh, *Şehr-i Sefa*, p.98.
[173] İnciciyan, *Boğaziçi Sayfiyeleri*, p.80.

Another reason for the continuous population of the Bosphorus shores had to do with the non-Muslim subjects of Istanbul. Looking at the distribution of Muslim and non-Muslim neighborhood within the city, it is seen that Muslims lived close to the center of state and non-Muslims occupied neighborhoods in the outer fringes of the city[174]. The Ottoman administration had had a policy of leaving administration of in-neighborhood affairs to the religious communities: Eldem argues that the state had a policy of "constantly re-invented equilibrium" in order to main the social order regarding different ethno-religious communities. In other words, Muslims were the privileged group, whereas non-Muslims were tried to be kept pleased in order to preserve the *status-quo* between these groups and avoid a dismantling of this order[175].

Gentrification was one such policy: in most cases non-Muslims were banned from living in the vicinity of mosques, in which case, the construction of a new mosque in a dominantly non-Muslim district brought the Islamization of the area with it: the policies carried out following the great fire of 1660 provide a remarkable example[176]. The same policy would be observed especially in the neighborhoods around Defterdar Burnu between Ortaköy and Kuruçeşme, where the imperial family purchased lands of the many Jews and Christians living in the area, and established themselves in this largely non-Muslim district. The construction of the Mehmed Kethüda mosque on the Ortaköy shore led to a similar gentrification of the area: non-Muslims who had houses surrounding the mosque were forced to sell their properties to Muslims at agreeable prices[177].

---

[174] Eldem, "İstanbul", p.152; Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa,* p.80.
[175] Eldem, "İstanbul", p. 94.
[176] Marc David Baer, "The Great Fire of 1660 and the Islamization of Christian and Jewish Space in Istanbul" *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36 (2004), p.159-181.
[177] Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa,* p.71.

The gradual moving of the non-Muslims members of the society out of the walled city and further away from the center of state in order to escape the stricter controls then, is seen by Eldem as the stimulating move for the overall pouring of the people towards the Bosphorus throughout the century. Accordingly, in their move towards the shores where state had 'superficial control', these non-Muslim groups were following the lead of European ambassadors and Levantines who had summer residences as far away as Tarabya and Büyükdere[178]. Moving away from the *Elçi Han* within the city to Galate first, and towards the distant Bosphorus shores second, Eldem argues that these Western ambassadors in fact were the first to break the religious codification of neighborhood locations within the city.

Eldem's arguments certainly fit in well with the theme of control and of the means of escaping it, which seem to be a characteristic of the eighteenth century. In this constant state of evolution and change, the waterfront palaces of the sultan and his family marked an anxiety on the state's part to assert itself within the new social order establishing along the Bosphorus: as has been mentioned before, the increased and pompous visibility and the theatrical nature of waterfront palaces pointed to the tension born out of that social transformation. According to Artan, the settlement patterns of these palaces were pre-planned, and were based on a formula of distance from Topkapı, to keep the high-bureaucracy, usually the sons-in-law to the sultan, away from the center and allow the female members space to display their, and the imperial family's, wealth and power[179]. Also interesting to note, however, is that while the social order within the city was dissolving, the newly establishing one along the Bosphorus was replicating the old settlement patters, with Muslims closer

---

[178] Eldem, "İstanbul", p.156-7.
[179] Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre," p.333.

to the center of state and non-Muslims, perhaps this time by their own choice, at the outskirts of the city[180].

If we take a step back from the problems between the state and society at large, and more specific segments of the society in particular, like non-Mulims and women, the importance of the tradition of *göç* in the gradual habitation of the Bosphorus is quite apparent. From the seventeenth century onwards the numbers of waterfront residences continuously increased, to the point where the shores were, at places, lined with uninterrupted rows of *yalıs*. The extreme popularity of the numerous public gardens and excursion spots must have led the people who had the means to acquire residences along the Bosphorus.

Ethno-Religious Profile

European Coast

Looking at the strip of land from the Ortaköy pier to the Bebek imperial pavilion in the four *bostancıbaşı* registers, it is seen that at the turn of the nineteenth century, the number of Muslim residences between the Ortaköy and Kuruçeşme piers was decidedly higher than non-Muslim residences: in 1791, there were a total of 22 Muslim, 11 *zimmi*[181] and 4 Jewish *yalı*s, as well as five houses/*hâne* two of which belonged to Jews. In 1802, while the number of Muslims falls to 17, non-Muslims rise to 19, and three *yalı*s belong to Jews. There are seven houses belonging to Muslims, two of which were in possession of Esma Sultan near the location called Ekmekçioğlu Deresi. In the years 1814 and 1815, the registers indicate there were only nine *yalı*s in Ortaköy, all of which belonging to Muslims: as has been explained

---

[180] Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa,* p.74, 76-77; Eldem, "İstanbul", p.158.
[181] Other than occasional uses of the term *nasrâniyye* to indicate Christianity of some female residence owners, the term *zimmî* is used in the registers for Christians, whereas Jews are indicated as such/*yahudi*.

before, nearly all *zımmî* and Jewish residences are recorded as *hâne* in these registers. The number of Muslims living on the waterfront is 18; the numbers for non-Muslims and Jews are 19 and 4 respectively. There are seems to be seven empty lots, one of which belonging to a *zımmî* and the rest to Muslims.

The proportion of Muslims and all non-Muslims living on the shores slightly changes in the twenty-five year time period: the total population of the shore remains 42 in the first two registers, and 41 in the last two. Among these, in 1814-15, the number of *zımmî*s and Jews are slightly higher than those of Muslims: 23 non-Muslims and 18 Muslims.

In Kuruçeşme, the shores remain almost exlusively non-Muslim: there are 28 households in 1791 and 30 in 1802 and 1814-15, and in all registers, only two among them are Muslims: in 1791, a certain pasha owns two *yalı*s and the other one is the Çorlulu Ali Paşa Yalısı belonging to the *hanım sultan*. In 1802 aside from the Çorlulu, one *yalı* belongs to a certain Dökücübaşızâde Ahmet Haseki, which seems to have passed on to his wife in 1814-15. The three empty lots in the 1802, 1814 and 1815 registers all belong to *zımmî*s.

The total number of households in Arnavutköy shores falls from 43 to 34 from 1791 to 1802 and remains the same in 1814-15. In 1791, all 43 waterfront residences on the shore are *yalı*s, 17 of which belong to Muslims, 25 to Christians and one to a Jewish household. In 1802, three lots belong to non-Muslims, and of the 31 *yalı*s, 11 belonged to Muslims, 19 to Christians and one to a Jew.

Overall, in this particular strip of land from the Ortaköy pier to the Bebek garden, it seems that the total numbers of Muslims and non-Muslims are rather close. Looking at the settlement patterns, it does seem that wealthy Ottomans did prefer to purchase waterfront residences in areas where people practicing their own religion

lived. In Ortaköy shores, Muslim residences are interrupted by a long string of non-Muslim residences starting a few houses down the Mehmet Kethüda mosque and ending with Defterdar mosque, after which a number of residences of the highest echelons of the Ottoman political hierarchy begin. Some few houses before Kuruçeşme pier non-Muslim residences start again and continue throughout the shores. The Ahmet Haseki residence mentioned above is isolated next to the Kuruçeşme *bostancı* station, and Fatma Sultan's Çorlulu *Yalısı* too is the only Muslim-owned residence in the area. Finally, Arnavutköy shores are inhabited by the non-Muslims until the projection named Akıntıburnu. After the projection, Muslim residences are lined up until the Bebek imperial pavilion, and continue further.

Anatolian coast

On the Anatolian side of the Bosphorus, the shores of specific regions are much more homogenous in terms of religion, unlike the broken pattern in Ortaköy and Arnavutköy. Üsküdar shores, between Harem pier and Öküz Limanı, are exclusively Muslim with no exceptions in all four *bostancıbaşı* registers. Of the total of 59 residences in 1791, 48 are *yalı*s and 11 are houses. In 1802, there are 61 waterfront structures, 36 of which are houses, 22 *yalı*s, and three empty lots. The decrease in the number of *yalı*s in the last decade of the century is rather interesting, yet unexplained for the moment. In 1814 and 1815, the number of *yalı*s rises back to 48; there are 6 houses and 3 empty lots.

In Kuzguncuk, between Öküz Limanı and Nakkaş Paşa, the majority of the residences belong to Jews, with some Muslims and a few Christians. In 1791, there were 7 Muslim, 4 Christian and 18 Jewish residences (and three other non-Muslims that aren't specified as Jew or Christian). In 1802, the numbers change to 8 for

Muslims, 3 for Christians and 20 for Jews. All the 31 waterfront residences in this year are listed as *yalı*s.

Throughout our time period, the Çengelköy shores, between Kuleli imperial garden and Nakkaş Paşa, are as densely populated as Üsküdar: the total numbers of households on the shore are 61 in 1791, 54 in 1802, 55 in 1814 and 57 in 1815. In all the registers, the ratio of non-Muslims to Muslims is around 1/5; and there are no Jews. We cannot assess numbers of non-Muslim *yalı*s and hânes in 1814 and 1815, but in 1791, of the 9 Christians households 5 were *yalı* owners. In 1802, out of the 10 non-Muslims, *yalı* owners were 6.

As the numbers demonstrate, the Anatolian shores were clearly dominated by Muslim waterfront residences. Although slightly less rigid, the same tendency of Muslims and non-Muslims to live side-by-side is observed here as well: there are a few waterfront residences next to each other belonging to Muslims and non-Muslims in the area between Kuleli imperial garden and the record *Çengel Karyesi*, but in Kuzguncuk the waterfront residences of the Jews start and end without mixing with the Muslim residences. No such compartmentalization is seen between Jews and Christians, the few residences of each are mixed with others' in a casual manner.

From what is known about the ethno-religious make-up of these villages, what can be said about the profile of the shores in comparison with the inland? At this state, not much. Üsküdar was a crowded town with a majority of Muslims, but not very few Christians and some Jews as well. The coastline however seems exclusively to be reserved to the Muslims. Kuzguncuk is known to be a Jewish village; the shores are indeed mostly populated by Jews, but there are Muslims and Christians as well. On the European side, Ortaköy, like Üsküdar, was a mixed region

with a large number of Jews; but at the turn of the nineteenth century, there were very few Jewish residences on the shores. It is known that with the founding of new mosques and by annexation of waterfront residences for the construction of imperial palaces and *yalı*s, the shore underwent a period of Islamization[182]. Kuruçeşme by far is the most consistent area in terms of religious identity; with two or three Muslim and Jewish residences each, the shores remained Christian throughout. Finally, the amount of Muslim residences in Arnavutköy is almost half the amount of non-Muslims; if the inland was overwhelmingly Christian, the strong Muslim presence on the shores might perhaps, again, be connected to the issue of expropriation of land and the alienation of non-Muslims from the area. It should be noted, however, that at this stage of research, these remain as guesses.

Occupations and ranks of waterfront residence owners

Analyzing the occupational profile of Muslims who owned waterfront residences is quite difficult, considering the wide range of jobs they seem to do: looking at the titles of the Muslim *yalı* owners, the variety is overwhelming. From the *reisülküttab* to regular scribes, from lesser state officials like a *gümrük emîni* and a member of the military ranks to merchants and shoemakers, Muslim owners of waterfront residences –*yalı* or *hâne*– seem to be from all ranks and occupational groups of the society. Non-Muslims, in turn, are much easier to analyze: the majority of them are craftsmen and bankers, while some of them are translators and current and former governors of Wallachia and Moldavia.

In the lands between the Ortaköy and Kuruçeşme piers, there are at least five imperial palaces and *yalı*s in 1791. Aside from the royal family, the Muslims living

---

[182] Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa*, p.75-77.

on the waterfront include a former judge *(kudattan),* a chief cook, a religious student/*molla* and the imam of the Ortaköy mosque. The profile doesn't change in the next three registers: the Muslims on the Ortaköy shores consist mainly of lower class state officials. In Arnavutköy, the profile is slightly higher: the residents include a former *şeyhülislam*, a few *molla*s, the chief physician and a teacher/*müderris*. In 1814-15, the *kadı* of Istanbul lives here as well.

In Üsküdar, the profile is mixed: from the chief scribe/*reisülküttab* and the chief astrologer/*müneccimbaşı* to mid-ranking members of the military, state officials from all ranks to the modest coffee dealer and quilt-maker, the only deduction that can be made about Üsküdar is that its shores were popular among Muslims of every social class.

The Muslims who owned waterfront residences on the Çengelköy shores had a better defined profile: mid- to high-ranking members of the military and the *ulema* with a few modest merchants and craftsmen.

Most of the non-Muslim *yalı* owners in Ortaköy are money exchangers/*sarraf*; their numbers rise to 13 and 14 in 1814 and 1815. Others include jewelers, a customs officer and turban-makers, as well as a *voyvoda*. In Kuruçeşme, a vast variety of occupations include surgeons, merchants, translators, doctors, a priest and *sarrafs*. For Arnavutköy, few of the non-Muslims' occupations are indicated in the registers: seemingly rather humble, among them are doctors, scribes, translators, merchants and artisans.

The following tables demonstrate the titles of waterfront residence owners in the selected lands:

	1791	1802	1814	1815
Ağa	5	6	3	3
Bey	4	5	5	5
Efendi	15	14	12	12
Paşa/Paşazade	3	2	2	2
Hacı/Elhac	2	1	0	0

Table 10: Titles of residence owners on the European strip

	1791	1802	1814	1815
Ağa	34	41	25	25
Bey	12	13	21	22
Efendi	42	47	32	33
Paşa/Paşazade	5	6	9	9
Hacı/Elhac	5	14	11	11

Table 11: Titles of residence owners on the Anatolian strip

Did people of the highest and lowest social ranks live side by side on the waterfront, as is claimed to be the situation in the neighborhoods in the city? According to the *bostancıbaşı defterleri*, the immediate answer would be no. At the very least, the Bosphorus shores were lined with *yalı*s, and only in the remote villages in the northern parts of the channel that some few *yalı*s stand between much more modest houses of fishermen and artisans. Would the occupation and rank of waterfront residence owners necessarily indicate the size or grandeur of their residences? Any answer should be tentative. In a social environment where the existing hierarchy was falling apart, it would seem that the owners of waterfront residences had only two things in common: the desire to make themselves visible in the social arena, and the material means to do it. In the end, from what may be seen

in the *bostancıbaşı* registers, the owners of wealth and prosperity were the ones

playing the primary role in shaping the shores of the Bosphorus.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

In this thesisI tried to use a certain amount of the exhaustive information in the *bostancıbaşı* registers to capture a snapshot of the Bosphorus shores at the turn of the nineteenth century. My intention was to look at the subject matter outside of the context of 'Bosphorus civilization' in which it has largely been regarded, and instead of epitomizing the waterfront residence itself, to maintain a wider outlook on the constructs along the Bosphorus shores.

The eighteenth century was a time of tension on the one hand, and of relaxation on the other. The dichotomy played out in almost every aspect of life: in the political arena where the state tried to maintain its power and legitimacy; in the social arena where people frequented the public spots around the city in search of leisure and entertainment; in the commercial arena where an increasingly wealthy urban middle class met with an equally growing market which encouraged conspicuous consumption; and in the urban arena, where public fountains made their middle-class patrons 'visible' and where spacious waterfront palaces and residences embellished the shores. State and society came face-to-face and came together at the same time: the state tried to control the people's visibility while it sought to legitimize itself exactly by *being* visible, and the sultan and his highest officials shared the taste of their people for festivity and repose in the open air.

In this environment, the tradition of seasonal withdrawal took on a distinctive character than it had in the previous centuries. As motives for frequenting and populating the Bosphorus shores became various, *göç* became a fully-embraced custom as a sort-of entry way to the changing social and physical environment of the Bosphorus. What was once a practice born primarily out of need for change of adobe

gained additional purposes and meanings in the eighteenth century: the seasonal move itself became a spectacle and the practice, a sign of social status. In the end, it became an underlying current in the shift of the population and center of state out of the city and toward the channel, which would finalize in the mid-19th century. By then, *göç* had already become an integral custom to the urban people of the city, and while people kept up practicing it until the late nineteenth century, it mostly vanished after World War I.

On a third level, *göç* became a primal factor in the gradual integration of the Bosphorus to the city of Istanbul at large: Maurice Cerasi mentions that in some Anatolian towns, the practice of seasonal withdrawal and existence of summer residences in the countryside led to the creation of adjacent settlements to the towns[183]. It seems appropriate to suggest the same for Istanbul and the Bosphorus as well: in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the shores were regarded as countryside and agreeable environment to escape to during the hot summer months, whereas in the eighteenth century both shores of the channel became increasingly populated. *Göç-i hümayun* played another role in the urban development of the shores: roads and bridges along the way were repaired and constructed prior to the sultan's move.

I also tried to show that the shores took shape not only by the deliberate constructs, but also in a more organic way, through the necessary additions and alterations to the urban fabric. The *iskele meydanı* is the prime example of this: the addition of more landing places to the shores in order to support growing sea traffic and to ease transportation to all parts of the shores attributed a key position to the piers in the creation of a public square around it. The re-definition of the Ottoman

---

[183] Cerasi, "Open Space", p.38.

people's relationship with water had reoriented structures towards the Bosphorus; as such, mosques had their courtyards turned towards the sea; the public fountain nearby served not only as a necessary utility but also as a gathering place; the coffee shops in the open space became the prime gathering place for the male members of the public. In the end, it seems appropriate to suggest that in ways more than has been shown, the tradition of *göç* left imprints in the lives of the people who didn't directly practice it as well- so much so that most of these imprints are still intact in our day.

The shortcomings of this thesis are, of course, too many. At this stage, the deeper use of a much wider range of contemporary Ottoman sources –chronicles and treaties- as well as critical application to the numerous travelers' accounts written at the turn of the nineteenth century would be crucial for a comparative outlook with the *bostancıbaşı* registers; using relevant archival sources also would help create more solid arguments and reach much safer conclusions. Tülay Artan did this by using court registers to trace transactions and exchange of real estate along the shores, and by doing so managed to construct minutely the urban patterns of Yeniköy on the European side of the Bosphorus at the turn of eighteenth century[184]. Such comparative and complementary uses of archival sources will undoubtedly add more dimensions to the study done in this thesis.

A quick look at the ways the people chose to populate the waterfront made a few things visible: it seems that the wealthy people of Istanbul chose to not mix too much even in the relaxed atmosphere of the country, but rather to stick with people of their own religion, much the same way they did in their neighborhoods in the city. The linear pattern enforced by the topography of the land seems not to have been a

---

[184] Artan, "Urban Continuity,".

problem. In terms of the occupations and ranks of neighbors on the waterfront, they don't seem to be factors in choice of location by certain members of the society. Regardless, what is clear is that the entire shores of the Bosphorus were one very long neighborhood whose common feature was the ownership of wealth, and even when they weren't actively transforming the coastline of the strait, these people, by participating in the practice of *göç*, were shaping the urban environment in accordance with their needs, which also affected the everyday lives of the dwellers of the Bosphorus villages. In the end, while reestablishing a new social hierarchy and manifesting the changing relationship between the many segments of society, they were also seemingly replicating the old settlement patterns of the city. In the multi-faceted, multi-dimensional atmosphere of intense cultural transformation, the manifestation of such a conflicting tendency hardly seems surprising.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aktepe, Münir. *Patrona İsyanı 1730*. Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1958.

Altınay, Ahmet Refik. *Hicrî On İkinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı(1100-1200).* İstanbul: Enderun, 1988.

Armağan, Mustafa, ed. *İstanbul Armağanı, vol. 2:Boğaziçi Medeniyeti*. İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı, 1995.
    -- *İstanbul Armağanı, vol.3:Gündelik Hayatın Renkleri.* İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı, 1996.
    -- *İstanbul Armağanı 4: Lale Devri.* İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı, 1998.

Artan,Tülay."Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the 18th Century Bosphorus". Unpublished PhD thesis. MIT, 1989.
    --"Istanbul in the 18th century: days of reconciliation and consolidation", *From Byzantion to Istanbul: 8000 Years of a Capital,* Durak, Koray (ed.), İstanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi 2010, pp.300-313.
    --"Early 20th Century Maps and 18th-19th Century Court Records: Urban Continuity on the Bosphorus," *Environmental Design: Urban Morphogenesis, Maps and Cadastral Plans* (1993): 96-111.
    --"Beşiktaş Sarayı", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi.*
    --"Boğaziçi'nin Çehresini Değiştiren Soylu Kadınlar ve Sultanefendi Sarayları", İstanbul, 3 (October 1992): 109-118.
    --"From Charismatic Leadership to Collective Rule: Introducing Materials on the Wealth and Power of Ottoman Princesses in the Eighteenth Century," *Dünü ve Bugünüyle Toplum ve Ekonomi* 4 (1993): 53-92.

Arel, Ayda. *Osmanlı Konut Geleneğinde Tarihsel Sorunlar.* İzmir: Ticaret Matbaacılık T.A.Ş., 1982.

Atasoy, Nurhan. *The Story of a Yalı on the Bosphorus: From Count Ostrorog to Rahmi M. Koç.*İstanbul: Rahmi M. Koç Museum and Culture Foundation, 2004.

Ayverdi, Semiha. *Boğaziçi'nde Tarih.* İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1968.

Ayvansarayî, Hüseyin Efendi, *Hadîkatü'l-Cevâmi' (İstanbul câmileri ve Diğer Dini Sivil Yapılar),* ed.Ahmet Nezih Galitekin, original published in 1201/1787. İstanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 2001.

Baer, Marc David. "The Great Fire of 1660 and the Islamization of Christian and Jewish Space in Istanbul", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36 (2004), p.159-181.

Behar, Cem. *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyan Mahalle.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003.

Berkeş, Niyazi. *The Development of Secularism in Modern Turkey.* London: Hurst, 1998.

Bertram, Carel. *Imagining the Turkish House: Collective Visions of Home*. Austin: University of Texax Press, 2008.
>--"After the Ottomans Are Gone: Imagining the Turkish Ottoman House" in *The Ottoman House: Papers from the Amasya Symposium, 24-27 September 1996,* eds. Stanley Ireland & William Bechhoefer. The British Institue of Archaeology at Ankara and the University of Warwick, 1996, pp.1-9.

Boyar, Ebru, and Kate Fleet. *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Bozdoğan, Sibel. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001.
>--"Reading Ottoman Architecture Through Modernist Lenses: Nationalist Historiography and the New Architecture" In *Muqarnas: History and Idology: Architectural Heritage of the Lands of Rûm* ed. Gülru Necipoğlu. Boston: Brill, 2007. pp.99-221.

Cerasi, Maurice M. *Osmanlı Kenti: Osmanlı İmparatorlugu'nda 18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Kent Uygarlığı ve Mimarisi.* Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001.
>--"Formation of Ottoman House Types: A Comparative Study in Interaction with Neighboring Cultures" *Muqarnas*, Vol. 15 (1998): 116-156.
>-- "Open Space, Water and Trees in Ottoman Urban Culture in the XVIIIth-XIXth Centuries." Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre 2 (1985): 36-50.

Çakıroğlu, Necibe. *Kayseri Evleri.* İstanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1972.

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

Dallaway, James. *Constantinople Ancient and Modern.* London, 1797.

Denel, Serim.*Batılılaşma Sürecinde İstanbulda Tasarım ve Dış Mekanlarda Değişim ve Nedenleri.*Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 1982.

Durak, Koray, ed. *From Byzantion to Istanbul : 8000 Years Of a Capital*. Istanbul: Sabancı University Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2010.

Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi. İstanbul, 1973.

Encyclopedia of Islam. Leiden-Brill.

Eldem, Edhem. "18. Yüzyıl ve Değişim", *Cogito* 19: Osmanlılar Özel Sayısı (Summer 1999), p.189-199.
>--"Osmanlı Dönemi İstanbulu," in *İstanbul Armağanı 3: Gündelik Hayatın Renkleri*, pp.13-25.

--"Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital" in *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir and Istanbul,* pp.135-206.

Eldem, Edhem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters. *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir and Istanbul.* Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. *Boğaziçi Anıları.*İstanbul: Aletaş AlarkoEğitim Tesisleri A.Ş, 1979

Erdenen, Orhan. *Boğaziçi Sahilhaneleri.* İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı, 1993.

Esin, Emel. *Sadullah Paşa ve Yalısı: Bir Yapı, Bir Yaşam.* İstanbul: Yem Yayınları, 2008.

Erimtan, Can. *Ottomans Looking West? The Origins of the Tulip Age and itsDevelopment in Modern Turkey.* London, New York: Tauris, 2008.
--"The Perception of Sadabad: The 'Tulip Age' and Ottoman-Safavid Rivalry" in *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, pp.

Evin, İffet. *Yaşadığım Boğaziçi.* İstanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1987.

Eyice, Semavi. *Bizans Devrinde Boğaziçi.* İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1976.
--"Fetihten Önce Boğaziçi," in İstanbul Armağanı 2: Boğaziçi Medeniyeti, pp.95-118.

Faroqhi, Suriaya, ed. *Cambridge History of Turkey, vol. 3: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Faroqhi, Suraiya. *Stories of Ottoman Men and Women.* İstanbul: Eren, 2002.
--"Consumption and Elite Status in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Exploring the Ottoman Case", reprinted in Faroqhi, Suraiya, *Stories of Ottoman Men and Women.* İstanbul: Eren, 2002. pp.37-62.

Godfrey, Goodwin. *A History of Ottoman Architecture.* New York: Thames & Hudson, 1987.

Gülersoy, Çelik. *The Caique.* Translated by Alair Mill. İstanbul: İstanbul Library, 1971.

Güneş, Şafak."Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar'ın Eserlerinde İstanbul (Boğaziçi)'da Gündelik Hayat".Unpublished M.A Thesis.İstanbul University, 2005.
-- *Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar'ın İstanbulu.* İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2008.

Hamadeh, Shirine. *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the 18th Century.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008.
--*Şehr-i Sefâ,* trns.İlknur Güzel. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007.

--"Splash and Spectacle: The Obsession with Fountains in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul", *Muqarnas* Vol. 19 (2002), pp. 123-148
--"Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the 'Inevitable' Question of Westernization."*The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* 63 (2004): 32-51.
--"Westernization, Decadence and the Turkish Baroque: Modern Constructions of the 18th Century" in *Muqarnas: History and Ideology*, ed. Gülru Necipoğlu.pp.185-198.

Hattox, Ralph S. *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985.

Hisar, Abdülhak Şinasi. *Boğaziçi Mehtapları.* İstanbul: Hilmi Kitabevi, 1942.
-- "Bogaziçi Medeniyeti". in *İstanbul ,Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, Abdülhak Sinasi Hisar, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar.* İstanbul : Yapı ve Kredi Bankası, 1954.

İnalcık, Halil, and Donald Quataert, ed. *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

İnalcık, Halil. "İstanbul" in *Encyclopedia of Islam* v4, p.234.

İnciciyan, G.V. *Boğaziçi Sayfiyeleri.* ed. Orhan Duru, transl. by Kandilli Ermeni Kilisesi Papazı.İstanbul: Eren, 2000.

Kayra, Cahit, and Erol Üyepazarcı. *II. Mahmut'un İstanbulu: Bostancıbaşı Sicilleri.*İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı, 1992.
--Kandilli, Vaniköy, Çengelköy: Mekânlar ve Zamanlar. İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı, 1993.

Kırlı, Cengiz. *Sultan ve Kamuoyu: Modernleşme Sürecinde 'Havadis Jurnalleri'(1840-1844).* İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2009.
--"The struggle over space: Coffeehouses of Ottoman Istanbul, 1780—1845". Unpublised PhD Dissertation. Binghampton University, 2000.

Koçu, Reşat Ekrem. "Bostancıbaşı Defterleri", *İstanbul Enstitüsü Mecmuası IV* (1958) pp.39-90.

Kömürciyan, Eremya Çelebi. *İstanbul Tarihi: XVII. Asırda İstanbul.* Trans. Hrand D. Andreasyan. İstanbul: Eren, 1988.

Kuban, Doğan. *Istanbul: An Urban History.* Istanbul: The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey, 1996.
--*Ahşap Saraylar: Kaybolan Kentin Hayalleri.* Istanbul: Yapı Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları, 2001.
--*İstanbul Yazıları.* İstanbul : Yapı-Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları, 1998.
--"Osmanlı Çağında Boğaziçi Yerleşmesi" in *İstanbul Armağanı 2: Boğaziçi,* ed. Mustafa Armağan. İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı, 1995.

Kuran, Aptullah. "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Architecture" in Thomas Naff and Roger Owen, eds. *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1977. pp.303-327.

Lewis, Bernard. *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*. London: Oxford University, 1961.

Mantran, Robert. *İstanbul Tarihi*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001.
--*17. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İstanbul: Kurumsal, İktisadi, Toplumsal Tarih Denemesi*. Translation by Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay and Enver Özcan. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1990.

Mikhail, Alain. "The Heart's Desire: Gender, Urban Space and the Ottoman Coffee House" in, Dana Sajdi, ed. *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*. London; New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007.

Necipoğlu, Gülru. *Architecture, Ceremonial, And Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. New York: The Architectural History Foundation, 1991.
--"Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces*" Ars Orientalis, Vol. 23, Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces* (1993), pp. 303-342.
--"The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth Century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture" in *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires*, pp.32-71.

Orhonlu, Cengiz. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Şehircilik ve Ulaşım Üzerine Araştırmalar*.İzmir: Ticaret Matbaacılık T.A.Ş, 1984.

Özcan, Abdülkadir, "Bostancıbaşıların Beledî Hizmetleri ve BDlerin İstanbul'un Toponomisi Bakımından Değeri" in *Tarih Boyunca İstanbul Semineri: 29 Mayıs-1 Haziran 1988: Bildiriler*.İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1989.

Quataert, Donald, "Clothing Laws, State and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829" *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29, vol. 3 (August 1997), p.403-425.

Quataert, Donald, ed. *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922*. New York: State University of New York Press, 2000.

Rozen, Minna. "Public Space and Private Space among the Jews of Istanbul in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" *Turcica* 30 (1998), p.331-346.

The Sait Halim Paşa Yalı. Ankara: Türkiye Kalkınma Bankası,1991.

Salzmann, Ariel. "The Age of Tulips:Confluence and Conflict in Early Modern Consumer Culture (1550-1730)," in: *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922, An Introduction*, ed. by Donald Quataert. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2000. pp.83-106.

Sajdi, Dana, ed. *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*. London; New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007.
    -- "Decline, its Discontents and Ottoman Cultural History: By Way of Introduction," in *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth century*, ed. Dana Sajdi. London, New York: Tauris, 2007: 1-40.

Semavi Eyice Armağanı: İstanbul yazıları.İstanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1992.

Şehsuvaroğlu, Haluk. *Boğaziçine Dair.* İstanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1986.

Schäfers, Eva-Merlene, "Sâdâbâd: The Social Production of an Eighteenth Century Palace and Its Surroundings". Unpublished MA thesis. İstanbul Bilgi University, 2009.

de Tott, Baron. *Memoires of Baron de Tott.*2nd edition.Translated from the French. London, 1786. (http://archive.org/details/memoirsbarondet01tottgoog)

Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı. "Bostancı" *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2, p.736-738.

Yerasimos, Stefanos. *İstanbul: İmparatorluklar Başkenti.* Translated by Ela Güntekin and Ayşegül Sönmezay. İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2000.

Yıldız, Murat. *Bahçıvanlıktan Saray Muhafızlığına Bostancı Ocağı.* İzmir: Yitik Hazine Yayınları, 2011.

Zilfi, Madeline. *Women and Slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire: The Design of Difference.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
    --"Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718-1730." In: *Women, the Family, and Divorce Laws in Islamic History*, ed. by Amira El Azhary Sonbol, 290-303. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996.
    --"Goods in the Mahalle: Distributional Encounters in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul." In: *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire,*
    1550-1922: An Introduction, ed. by Donald Quataert, 289-311. Albany N.Y: State University of New York Press, 2000.