

**EVERYDAY LIFE, STATUS GROUPS AND THE *SAYFIYE CULTURE*
IN KADIKÖY DURING THE SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD**

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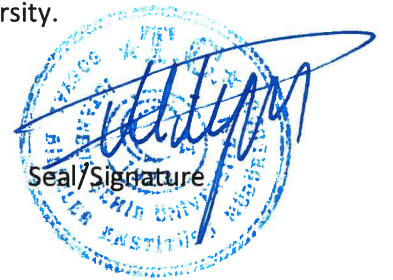
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ABSTRACT

EVERYDAY LIFE, STATUS GROUPS AND *SAYFIYE CULTURE* IN KADIKÖY IN SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD

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Kadıköy and *sayfiye culture* are two prominent themes that can be examined to explain and elucidate the meaning of social change in late Ottoman society. The transformational process from a grand and cosmopolitan empire to a modern nation state certainly encompasses a long and tumultuous period of time. However, it may be said that the most critical phase of this process was realized at the outset of twentieth century in the sense of social change, and due to the importance of Istanbul as the capital city, that is, as both transporter and witness of this change process. As for Kadıköy, it was a developing suburb district of Istanbul at that time. But with the advent of the second half of the nineteenth century, and with the commencement of ferry service (1850), and the building of the Haydarpaşa-İzmit railway (1873), the structure of the city started to change, and in so doing, turned a favorite *sayfiye* place from a humble village, to a thriving hub. While this transformation was of interest to Ottoman courtiers and bureaucrats, Levantines, foreign merchants, and diplomats on the one side; it also involved Jews, Greeks, those who escaped from the Kuzguncuk fire, Crimean War migrants, and transient workers. In this sense, Kadıköy achieves a unique blend of being a tranquil settlement distanced from the luxurious living of Boğaziçi, and, yet takes a special place amongst pioneers of social change by internalizing new cultural components on a ground of social control to a lesser degree. In this study, the change that the Kadikoy district, experienced as both actor and witness within this period, will be elaborated by means of various memoirs.

Keywords: Kadıköy, everyday life, status groups, *sayfiye culture*, *habitus*, Ottoman modernity.



ÖZ

II. MEŞRUTİYET DÖNEMİNDE KADIKÖY’DE GÜNDELİK HAYAT, STATÜ GRUPLARI VE SAYFIYE KÜLTÜRÜ

Yılmaz, Havva

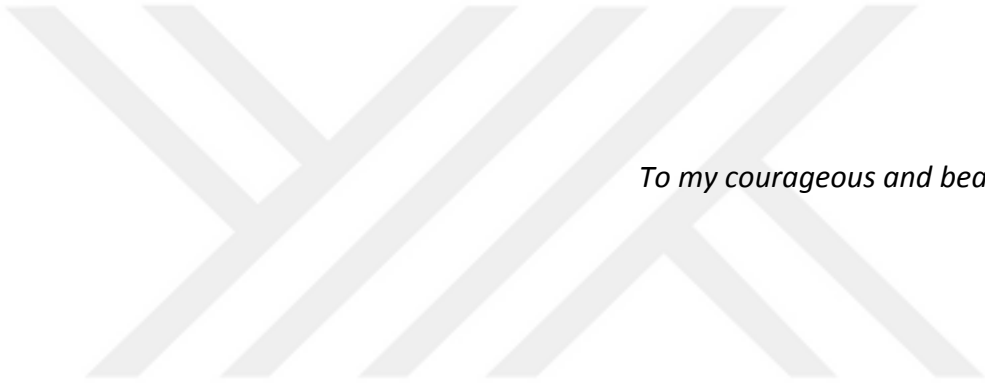
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Kadıköy ve sayfiye kültürü, Osmanlı toplumunun değişimini anlamlandırmak üzere incelenmesi gereken önemli iki konu başlığıdır. Büyük ve kozmopolit bir imparatorluğun, modern bir ulus devlete dönüşme süreci, şüphesiz uzun ve sancılı bir süreci kapsar. Toplumsal değişim bağlamında, bu sürecin en kritik evrelerinin yirminci yüzyılın başlarında yaşandığı ve başkent olma vasfı ile İstanbul’un, sözkonusu değişimin hem taşıyıcısı hem şahidi olduğu söylenebilir. Kadıköy ise bu dönemde şehrin merkezinde bulunmayan, henüz gelişmekte olan bir banliyösüdür. Ondokuzuncu yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren vapur seferlerinin başlaması (1850) ve Haydarpaşa-İzmit demiryolu hattının inşası (1873) ile yapısı değişmeye başlamış, küçük bir köyden, gözde bir sayfiye mekânına dönmüştür. Bir yandan Osmanlı saray elitlerinin ve bürokratların, Levantenlerin, yabancı tüccar ve diplomatların ilgisini üzerinde toplarken, diğer yandan Kuzguncuk yangınından kaçan Yahudiler’i, Kırım Harbi göçmenlerini kucaklamakta, yerli nüfusla beraber çok sayıda sezonluk ya da günübirlik misafiri de ağırlamaktadır. Böylece, hem Boğaziçi’nin şatafatlı yaşantısından uzak, asude bir yerleşim mekânı olmayı, hem de toplumsal denetimin daha hafif olduğu bir zeminde yeni kültürel unsurları içselleştirerek toplumsal değişimin öncüleri arasında yer almayı başarır. Bu çalışmada, semtin, bu dönemde, hem aktörü olduğu, hem de şahitlik ettiği değişim, çeşitli hatıratlar üzerinden ele alınacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kadıköy, gündelik hayat, statü grupları, sayfiye kültürü, *habitus*, Osmanlı modernleşmesi



To my courageous and beautiful city...

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Certainly, any mistakes in this study are belonged to me.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“... ve yaşadığımız yer, dünyanın cennetidir.”
“...and the place that we live in there, it is the paradise of the world.”
(Safiye Erol, *Kadıköyü'nün Romanı*, 66)

When I first encountered novels of the great Turkish novelist Safiye Erol, I was just a little girl of 16 who was enthusiastic about getting to know life and the world around me. I lived in a suburb called Esenkent, quite distant from the center of the city, and relatively isolated, compared to the usual Istanbulian living in the center of the city. At that time, aside from a couple of dolmus, there was only a single bus line that connected our district to the liveliest parts of the city. The Esenkent-Kadıköy bus was the instrument of exteriorization to the world and a key to discover the city. I read Safiye Erol's two famous classics in those years. But, I was only made acquainted with *Kadıköyü'nün Romanı* quite recently when I attended a symposium and made a presentation on Safiye Erol. In truth, there could not have been better timing for a fresh graduate student in sociology, interested in social change specific to Ottoman Istanbul, to encounter this work. The sociological components of the novel impressed me and I decided to study Kadıköy, and to analyze a part of transitional period of Ottoman society that had caught my attention and passion.

Kadıköyü'nün Romanı is a novel that depicts Kadıköy with its colorful social life in years 1930-1940, applying life stories of seven youths those live there. Although, love is the focus point of the novel, the author gives a great number of clues to the everyday life, social groups, social environment, several components of the dominant life style there, and in so doing, stakes a sociological framework of those years' in Kadıköy. The core group of the novel consists of modern, young individuals with an elite and enviable lifestyle, and this young district of Istanbul sparkles in an era of bliss, embracing novelties or new ways of seeing the world brought by the new political regime. Kadıköy is described as an exceptional part of the world, where one can enjoy everyday life with many options, a place where everyone

knows each other, and where a person can feel as safe as if at home. Its inhabitants are quite elite people, well educated, modernized, open-minded and elegant. It will come as no surprise as a denizen of Kadıköy, and knowing and living this “paradisial” life, that this writer found a pathway to this topic for a Master’s thesis.

Kadikoy a part of Istanbul as seen in Erol’s novel resembles a social laboratory that has a cultural richness thanks to its being the capital city of the Ottoman Empire. In addition to its precious accumulation of cultural heritage from the ancient and Byzantine periods; it also was the stage for the transitional process of an imperial system into a modern nation state regime. In this sense, the history of the city’s political conversion in late Ottoman period mirrors the elaborate social and cultural changes in Ottoman society. It may also be seen in the Westernization of Istanbul that is the practice of adopting manners, styles and politics from Europe throughout the nineteenth century, and produces a hybrid modernity by transitioning to an eclectic, dualistic approach where East meets West. In the Tanzimat Period, İstanbul started to expand into a new, cosmopolitan culture that was different from the classical one. Due to its attractive diversions or novelties, Kadıköy is the prominent place among other districts that provides a pathway to trace the footprints of these changes, and also examine in a context a place that was transformed by the symbolic expression of a new life, styled in the Republican Period.

Until the second half of the nineteenth century, Kadıköy was a small village but by launching a ferry service in 1850, and building the Haydarpaşa-İzmit railway in 1873, its importance began to change. Ottoman elites those moved away the Court in consequence of several reasons (such as desire of seasonal replacement, consciously preferring positioning distant from the Court because of ideological reasons or getting away from the Court by the political authority) started to live in kiosks those located around the railway. Kadıköy moved into being a more populated space that led to significant social change over time, for example, Levantines in Moda, Jews around Haydarpaşa-Yeldeğirmeni, those escaped from Kuzguncuk fire, immigrants of the Crimean War (1853-1856) all mixed together shoulder to shoulder in Kadikoy. Several changes introduced by the Levantines

signaled transition, such as football teams, tennis matches, yachting culture. Interestingly, it was here that these novelties of change can be seen such as the first establishments of apartments of Kadıköy in Yeldeğirmeni, “promenades” in meadows, new theatres, and sea baths spread around the shoreline. Following these innovations, it can be seen that the changes begun at the beginning of twentieth century in Kadıköy, mature in the 1930’s to set a social stage that symbolize a new life style.

It is hard to say that in the Second Constitutional Period Kadıköy received sufficient research attention in comparison to İstanbul. Searching the literature there cannot be found dissertations written in the field of history and sociology, and in fact, there are just five theses in total: four in architecture, and, one in literature. Non-academic fields similarly do not include comprehensive research, aside from a few studies. However, literature and memoirs provide a pathway to explore this rich heritage. Within its exclusive situation created by its distinctive role in comprehensive social changes in İstanbul at the beginning of the twentieth century, Kadıköy witnessed a kind of *belle époque* in the early Republican period. It may even be found that historical, cultural, aesthetic and sociological accumulations within the district, lay waiting to be discovered as a rich research field for alternative branches of social sciences. In this study, the aim is to focus on the social outlook of the district that developed in Second Constitutional Period, and the role of new status groups and *sayfiye culture* in this development.

1.1. Theoretical Basis: Ottoman Modernity and Debates on the Social Change and the Concept of *Habitus*

The transformation of Ottoman Empire into a modern nation state in the twentieth century is based on a long history spanning two centuries. Although, there was a strong mainstream approach that explained this process in a teleological framework and depicted a certain portrait of the process, but today the issue is considered as a much more complicated phenomenon. The complexity of the process, certainly, originated from scattered fabric of the life on the one side, and from the desire of figuring out historical phenomenon in a holistic way on the other. As can be seen in

the case of Japan, following Harootunian, holistic approaches predict a homogeneity and “unity of process” at political, legal, religious, social, and individual levels (Harootunian, 2000, 75). But, this hypothetical homogeneity created a superficial perspective, especially, on cultural dimension of the transformation, and everyday life consequently has been ignored or elaborated in a macro perspective.

In Turkish sociology, the positivist (or Durkheimian) school to which Ziya Gökalp and Mehmet Ali Şevki were pioneers in the late Ottoman era, and, Ömer Lütfi Barkan, Niyazi Berkes who belong to the school of thought in the Republican period, basically argue that the collapse of the Ottoman Empire meant the inevitable end of a traditional society and an evolutionary trek of the society into modernization in a progressive way (Aydın, 2008, 94-98). As one of crucial Ottoman intellectual those transported the late Ottoman intellectual experience through the Republican period, Ziya Gökalp was influential on development of Turkish sociology. His sociological framework was based on Durkheim’s approach especially in the sense of methodology; he adapted Durkheim’s positivist system to Ottoman-Turkish society and also revised this system in specific and local context of Türkiye (Kabakçı, 2008, 52-53). According to Gökalp, the society (cemiyyet), experiences four levels of the history step by step and follows a linear, progressive schedule throughout the history. Its adventure starts with the *aşiret* level that means primitive and nomadic societies’ time. Firstly *kavim* (the society that is organized by kinship relations) and *ümme* (the society that organized by a common religion and being member of this religion) levels follow this stage, then *millet* comes as the last stage what means the society that its members are attached together by the means of a common culture and called as “harsî millet” by Gökalp (54).

Another Ottoman intellectual who was under the influence of Durkheimian sociology, Mehmet Ali Şevki, wrote a significant piece in *Meslek-i İctimaî* periodical that is accepted as one of first instances the adaptation of sociological framework to Ottoman social history (Aydın, 96). His perspective was based on an evolutionary and progressive approach like Gökalp. His analysis starts with nomadic periods of

Turkish society in Central Asia, and continues with a comprehensive overview on the transformation of this nomadic society into the Seljukian and Ottoman imperial societies. According to this, in the first level of this long transformative process, family was the center of the society. There was a gender-based division of labor and property ownership was belonged to the families. But, because of the increase in the population, Turks became spread out of the Central Asia and a new stage was experienced by the society. Migration made the *kervan* the center of the society. There was a need of more organized structure that must take into consideration the security of the *kervan*. Finally, *kervan* turns into army, and the leader of the *kervan* became commander of the army who provide the security and order. This transition implies a new lifestyle according to Mehmet Ali Şevki, and the power that emerged by the means of controlling the agricultural societies those on the road of the migration was the driving force behind the composition of this new life style (97).

Niyazi Berkes, who is a significant Republican intellectual that has positivist-progressive perspective on Ottoman-Turkish social history like his precessors, elaborates the Ottoman modernity process as “a transitional period from a ‘bedraggled’, ‘backward’ “Medieval Aged mentality” to a new world that the “modern mentality” is dominant in there and an effort for being a member of Western civilization what means the ultimate goal” in his famous study *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Ardıç, 2008, 71). According to him, secularization and emergence of Turkish Republic as a modern, secular, nation-state were inevitable results of reformations those made since at the ends of seventeenth century. In this teleological framework, he elaborates Ottoman case is similar with the experience of West Europe, thus, reformations was made against to tradition and religion by Ottoman Empire like what happened in Europe (i.b.i.d). According to Ardıç, this Eurocentric perspective ignores the role of Islam as a source of legitimization (and sometimes motivation) in Ottoman period like its other equivalent, thus embraces a conflictual, one-dimensional, limited, reductionist and orientalist approach (72-73).

Ardıç argues that, actually, the literature on Turkish modernization in the sense of secularization may be categorized in two mainstream paradigms as “conflict paradigm” and “accommodation paradigm” (62). While accommodation paradigm analyzes the phenomena as a complicated process hesitates applying classical dualisms and holistic, reductive interpretations (73) conflict paradigm elaborates the modernity and religion in an eternal conflict under the influence of modernization theory that was the dominant approach in social sciences since mid-nineteenth century (69). Thus, handicaps those were already mentioned above do not leave this paradigm in peace: It is *Eurocentric* because of making a copy-paste analysis by the means of one-to-one adaptation from the Europe to the Ottoman; *teleological* because of elaborating the all process as evolutionary walking of the society from traditional to the modern and secular; *functionalist* and has any handicaps of this methodology because of considering historical facts in such teleological framework and assuming causalities among rings of this supposed teleological chain; *one-dimensional* and *reductionist* because of analyzing the process in dichotomies such as forward/backward, enlightened/dark, modern/pre-modern etc; and *orientalist* because of ignoring wide range of Ottoman geography and interaction between those different regions of the Empire, and continuity between different periods of those dynamic social entity (72-73).

At this context, alongside Durkhemian perspective the Marxian tradition asserts the same progressive and troubled approach in another way. Representatives of this school from alternative factions such as İsmail Hüsrev Tokin (one of the member of Kemalist Kadro movement), Doğan Avcıoğlu, Sencer Divitçioğlu, Mehmet Ali Aybar, and Behice Boran, argued that the feudal structure of the society in Ottoman era was moving toward modernization in a linear path (Aydın, 106-113). Two questions were at the center of the Turkish Marxists especially since 1960s: What was the reason behind that Türkiye did not experience the capitalist stage that is accepted as a critical level in evolutionary process through the revolution in Marxist historical perspective. And, what was the role of Western capitalism on underdevelopment of Türkiye. According to Behice Boran, there was basic elements of feudal system in Ottoman Empire; as a tool of exchange the money, land property, and traditional

form of labor. Thus, the difference between the Europe and Ottoman societies that allowed capitalism in the first one but prevented in the others was the “centrality” of Ottoman socio-political structure (107). But, Doğan Avcıoğlu asserts that the reason that prevented the transition of Ottoman Empire from feudal system to capitalism was not related with Ottomans; “the great pillage” of the world by the West was the exact explanation of this fact, because like the rest of the world, Ottoman society was exploited (111). Divitçioğlu agrees Boran’s argument that there was a difference between European and Ottoman societies and argues that the class-based structure of Ottoman society did not create an exploitation mechanism (112). In any case, they are agree on while the West developed in progressive way Ottoman Empire stayed in a back stage of this evolutionary process. So, the Marxian tradition also could not escape from making holistic generalizations, ignoring locality and hybridization in Ottoman case, and specific features of this experience.

On the other hand, the Weberian tradition in Turkish sociology, represented by Şerif Mardin and Sabri Ülgener as pioneers of this school, suggests an alternative perspective by focusing “mentality”, religion, morality, and combining them with politics rather than completely ignoring those significant components of Ottoman modernity (103-105). Their combination produced a more reliable perspective in terms of taking a close look at the society and adding the cultural dimension of the phenomenon and moved the Turkish sociology a more plausible point from a troubled position. Since its first emergence in Türkiye, sociology was a result of Westernization policies, and a tool of modernization by Ottoman intellectuals. Considering Young Turks themselves as “içtimaî tabip (social doctor)” or social engineer and behaving as the saver of the state and society due to being members of the leading group that will accelerate the modernization process originated this problematical position (Arlı and Bulut, 2008, 22).

But, while those fundamental schools of Turkish sociology elaborate Ottoman social history under the light of macro theorization on ideological basis, the cultural transformation was analyzed in a micro perspective by social historians, or has been

a matter of subject of non-academic concerns. Those two basic approaches on Ottoman case might be associated with one of the classical discussions in social theory on micro-macro analysis that also implies other dichotomies like agent-structure, or individual-society. Actually, when we list those dualisms, as Derek Layder does (Layder, 2006, 2), we can see that left and right wings of the chart are consistent in themselves.

Table 1.1. Macro-Micro Dichotomy in Social Theory

Macro	Micro
Structure	Agent (Agency)
Society	Individual

While the left column implies holistic interpretations of social facts, the right column signifies minimalist perspectives and relativist explanations. In our case, while modernization theorists give significance to the macro agents and analyze the transformation as a structural change, the others prioritize the cultural shift in micro level and usually miss the links between the macro entities. On the other hand, while macro and micro perspectives emerge as the basic tension line in social theory (and the Ottoman case cannot be elaborated by a sociologist out of this framework), the concept of *habitus* comes to the rescue transcending those dualisms by providing an alternative suggestion for elaborating the change of Ottoman society from a sociological perspective.

In the preface of *An Invitation of Reflexive Sociology*, J. P. Bourdieu explains his basic tenets as a route to analyzing issues in high “structural” levels by using certain “empirical” objects, which are generally considered pretty simple, even accepted as insignificant” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007, 224). That is to say, he desires to determine specific facts in a universal context and abolish the gap between macro and micro in an epistemological sense. While he studied as an anthropologist in Algeria, he elaborated on French colonization and its effects on the everyday life in colonized societies, motivated by the same will to achievement. From his work, it

can be seen that what is also implied is the combination of theory and practice, by bringing together specific empirical data in a macro framework. Bourdieu goes further and objects both to “positivist materialism” and “intellectualist idealism”, and considers the fictiveness of the knowledge of the objects and structuration of this fiction, and then suggests a reflexive perspective as a third alternative. He asserts that the achievement of scientific true knowledge is possible as many objectivist thinkers argue; but this acceptance requires “a reflexive return to the subjective experience of the world and also the objectification of the objective conditions of that experience” (52). Reflexivity gives the chance of discovering footprints of the universal (macro) in particular (micro) and follows the line between these two artificial opponents; thus, he articulates “historicist rationalism” on the contrary both of rationalism and relativism (historicism) and suggests *habitus* as the key concept of analyzing social change.

As another significant developer of the concept is Elias’ epistemological perspective that dovetails with Bourdieu. Elias’ approach is based on a criticism of classical objectivism and relativist historicism as is found in the work of Bourdieu. However Elias does not believe the universal, abstract truth, or nomothetic nature of social change. On the other hand, Elias does accept that there is a universal human nature, *essentially* describable, and the motivation behind the emergence of social and political structures as a basic, universal need of human beings (Loyal and Quilley, 2004; 55). In this sense, his framework overlaps with contractualist thinkers (Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau) in a philosophical sense, and moves him into a neo-Kantian position. Actually, this rationalist position is not so far removed from Bourdieu’s “historicist rationalism” because of the attempt of reconciling rational thinking and historical experience (as with Kant’s conceptualization of the *Categorical Imperative* or *synthetic-a priori judgements*). But as a Marxian social scientist, he gives more significance to the experience because of its relation with *praxis*.

Indeed, Elias’s epistemology integrated with his ontological perspective, and his pessimistic approach elaborates human nature as fulfilled selfishness and greed, is

influenced by Freudian thought (Öncü, 2000, 10). As a result of the dominance of Freudian conceptualization of the unconscious and of civilization, he highlights the *irrational* side of human beings, while developing a rationalist theory, paradoxically. His relevance of history is a consequence of this emphasis on irrationality, but the motivation behind such an emphasis originates from a desire to analyze human behavior and social change in a rationalistic way. Contrary to Bourdieu, he considers particular cases as stages of the civilization story of the world, and traces them to put the whole history of the world as a continuous progress of human beings from irrational to rational (Elias, 1982, 229).

According to Bourdieu, the irrational nature of human beings and the civilizing process is a struggle against the nature that produced by humanity, by suppressing natural instinct (Aya, 1978, 222). In *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, he portrays the whole picture and traces the evolution of norms in social life that provides suitable conditions for continuing existence of the society. He further emphasizes that those norms, socially constructed in a contingent way on the contrary members of the society, are assumed as naturally given (Krieken, 1998, 57). He explains that the transformation of European civilization by focusing on the French, and elaborates the transformation of French society, as a *habitus* change that includes the acceptance of the French aristocracy of its diminished status, thereby turning the warriors' ethic to a court ethic; and then into a rising middle class (Elias, 264-265).

In this dualistic sense, Bourdieu's epistemological framework is limited by a positivist border and produces a Euro-centric approach under the effect of a Hobbesian human nature perspective. However, this positivism does not mean discovering nomothetic principles of social change, universally applicable anywhere. Instead, he suggests elaborating specific cases in their own particularities, but also as a part of the universal case, namely the civilizing process (Elias, 247). Thus, while refusing to follow determinism, he analyzes the peculiarities of social facts in a semi-phenomenological perspective, and manages to introduce a kind of neo-

Hegelian historical perspective articulating a Euro-centric analysis by interpreting history as the achievement story of the West (especially Europe) (Öncü, 12).

In the Ottoman case, using the Eliasian concept carries with it some potential pitfalls of possibly making the same mistake with modernization theory. Actually, there is a requirement of elaborating the everyday life in more detailed and particularistic way, to make clear the change by hesitating suspicious generalizations, and recognizing locality of the case in the regard of multiple modernization theory. From this point of view, this study focuses on the Second Constitutional Period and on Kadıköy, to limit and situate the subject in time and place. The Second Constitutional period corresponds with a significant turning point of the social evolution of Ottoman society. From the proclamation of constitutional monarchy in 1908 to Union and Progress Party (CUP)'s taking hold the government in 1912, there was an interesting dynamism in society that allowed *habitual* analysis of Ottoman modernity focusing its exceptional momentum.

While the political and ideological struggle on the future of the Ottoman Empire continued in bureaucratic and intellectual arenas, these changes created with them a chaotic and colorful atmosphere, dominant in the society during this time. The dualistic climate of Tanzimat period, which includes the amalgamation of the classical and modern agencies in the society, began to be more concrete, and conflicts started to be clearer. Social change was accelerated by the emergence of some new phenomena, whilst traditional agency remained vibrant, and the integration of the old and new implied the adaptation of combining imported cultural elements with local components, and, at the end, producing a hybrid experience, and what consequently, meant the translation of Western modernization into Ottoman society.

The center of this social dynamism was certainly Istanbul as the capital of the Empire, and a microcosm of Ottoman society, especially when looking at socio-cultural diversity and status groups. Although, there were great number of instances of revitalization movements in various cities of the Empire, the symbolic

significance of Istanbul and crucial role in political sense are explicit facts. There were developments in modern municipality systems. There is evidence of Westernization in architecture, in the emergence of theaters and café society, in the use of automobiles, along with the introduction of Western fashion and cinema. All of these were components of a new lifestyle, intensified in Istanbul. The practice of seasonal moving from permanent houses to summer residences, what is called as *sayfiye culture* in this study also aroused as a crucial element of everyday life in Istanbul amongst those phenomena and obtained a remarkable popularity from the eighteenth century onward. In this light, Kadıköy started to be one of the most popular places of summer resort, and witnessed the rise of a completely modernized version of *sayfiye culture*.

1.2. Studying Social Change in Ottoman Society specific to Kadıköy: Literature, Obstacles, and Solutions

In this study, the conceptualization of everyday life for the most part refers to symbolic elements of cultural transformation. Due to the limits of a master thesis, there is a risk making shallow analysis and so instead of the focus will be on the short-term changes those originated from centuries old traditions and habits intilled over decades. In other words, a comprehensive analysis of social change in Ottoman society is not possible within the limits of a master thesis to attempt this would have the potential for the author to end up making superficial generalizations. So, focus will be a specific momentum of these phenomena, and limiting it within a specific place. In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Michel de Certeau mentions the difficultness of delimiting everyday practices and there is just the possibility of depicting procedures in the sense of discourse (as Foucault has done), the acquired (referring Bourdieu's *habitus*), and "the form of time we call an occasion (the *kairos* discussed by Vernant and Detienne (1984, 43). While it may not be possible to obtain a completely explicit picture of everyday life, the functioning of everyday life practices can be clarified in "different ways of locating technicity of a certain type and at the same time situating the study of this technicity with respect to current trends in research" (ibid). In this context, focusing within a limited time and place provides an opportunity to make sense of the multiplicity of details within

the complicated plane of Ottoman modernity, and more precisely, the particular situation of the transformation in Ottoman society, by scrutinizing its trajectory.

The emergence of Kadıköy as a popular *sayfiye* place from the second half of the nineteenth century conceals a crucial point in this framework. Significant long-term social transformation in Ottoman society was for the most part realized around new trade centers of the city from the period of Selim the Third's reign, and this is considered (at least symbolically) the outset of the process, while Kadıköy was still assumed to be out of İstanbul proper. Despite of the considerably vivid dynamism in the society at the end of the eighteenth century, the classical structure of the city continued until the beginning of the nineteenth century, although everyday life would be "fundamentally" changed in a few decades (Karpas, 2006, 460-461). As a matter of fact, Kadıköy's role in this process stayed within its limits for many years after this mobility started to accelerate by the externalization of new lifestyle. This pace is seen through examples in such symbolic places as the Grand Rue de Pera (İstiklal Caddesi) in Beyoğlu with its modernized appearance, and in Şişli with its new forms of buildings and architecture. The significance of Kadıköy's contribution to the process would be more visible over time, as evidenced by the genesis of a matured version of modernized living space in *alafranga* style, in the sense of a reorganization of Ottoman pluralism.

When considered in the context of what Bourdieu has conceptualized in *The Weight of the World as Site Effect* we can argue that this pluralism was the most crucial feature of Kadıköy that moved it into an exceptional position in this transformational process. According to Bourdieu, social agents are "situated in a site of social space that can be defined by its position relative to other sites" and distance has the crucial role on this positioning, because it provides establishment of "juxtapositional structure of social positions", and translation of social space into physical space, or "spontaneous symbolization of social space" in physical space in other words (1993, 124). Social opposition and social distance are embodied there, and the "symbolic order of power" externalizes itself in spatial structures dominated by capital possessors (126-127). In this sense, this study endeavors to

reconstruct and remap Ottoman modernity by revising social and symbolic space and visualization of symbolic order in this exceptional moment of time, and in an exclusive part of imperial space.

Bourdieu's emphasis on distinction as the indicative factor of social space implies heterogeneity as *sine qua non*, and this is what is objectified in Kadıköy, in an Ottoman case. In the Second Constitutional Period's distinctive context, Ottoman cosmopolitanism was embodied in Kadıköy in a deeper way, and differently from what had been observed in Galata and Pera, since the eighteenth century. Kadıköy's diversified population was not based on mercantile or diplomatic relations as is the case with the other central Istanbul districts: there was a living space that comprised a basis for the new lifestyle in a deeper and permanent level that would extend to the Republican period and would transfer from the Ottoman elites to the new Republicans. Indeed, in the Second Constitutional Period and in the years following, Kadıköy may be considered as an early experimental period of the development and expansion of the Republican elites' lifestyle. In other words, high society of the new Republic inherited their *habitus* from Ottoman elites who lived in Kadıköy during this period. From this perspective, heterogeneity signifies a new form and content that adapted classical Ottoman diversification to new cosmopolitanism emerging worldwide at that time.

This hybrid cosmopolitanism which deserves deeper analysis, implies the risk of elaborating modernity in teleological way, and the significance of lifestyle to capture the change in society. This risk underlies the focus of the study concentrating on *sayfiye culture* in two ways: examining the emergence of social actors and agents within their form of positioning; and, by scrutinizing the intensification of those actors and agents at the context of transferring social space to the physical space, referential to the *site effect*. Elaborating on the role of new status groups, the actors of the change also owe their existence in Kadıköy to the change, and it takes place also by analyzing the subject in Weberian terms. Max Weber considers that social stratification originates from several factors, and

externalizes itself in three ways depending on the power relations in the society: classes, status groups and parties.

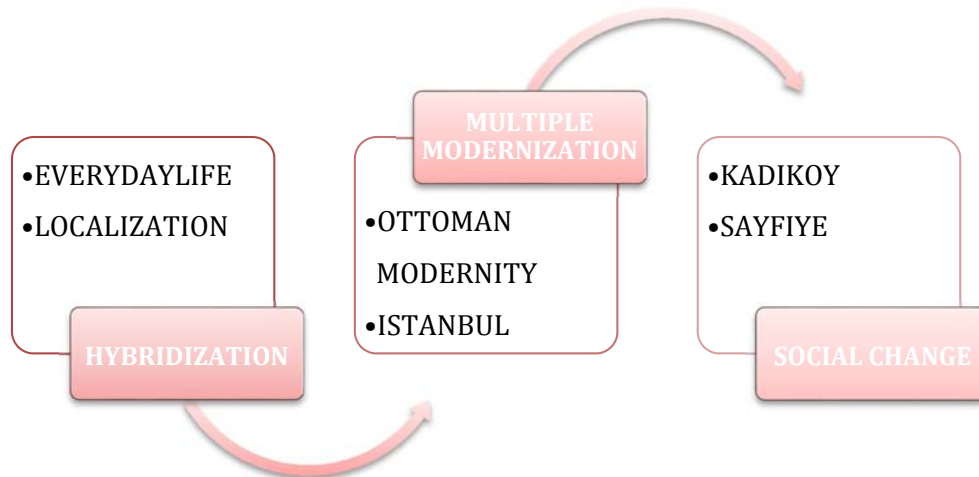
From Marx's economic determination, it is believed that while the economy shapes material conditions of social groups to each other, it does not create conscious and well-organized communities. Class then is a situation, but status groups share a common consciousness formed under the factor of 'social estimation of honor' (Weber, 1978, 932). Status is determined by specific calculations of social values and prediction on a specific form of life. Economic situation may sometimes lead to this determination due to the symbolic value of money in the society. On the other hand, there is no causality between money and status; these two stratification forms may be in consensus or conflict depending on conditions (926-927).

But, status groups also different from political parties those are the most organized and conscious forms of social stratification and focus on the struggle of power in a political order (938). Status groups reflects the most complicated form of stratification in the society that implies "a plurality of persons who, within a larger group, successfully claim

a) a special social esteem, and possibly also

b) status monopolies" and are created by "virtue of their own style of life, particularly the type of vocation", "virtue of successful claims to high-ranking descent", and "through monopolistic or hierocratic powers" (306). Therefore, in the Chicago School's approach to categorizing inhabitants, refer to size (scale), density, and heterogeneity/ differentiation and it is these aspects that Louis Wirth formulates as the "sociological stakes of urbanism" (1964, 69). Although Wirth's approach emphasizes the numbers of the population, it ignores the local context, in this case, that of Ottoman urbanism, and the suburban character of Kadıköy in this period, with its low population rate and relatively sparse settlement. The social fabric of the district allows Kadıköy to be analyzed as "an urbanized lifestyle" in regard to the diversified nature of its inhabitants.

Table 1.2. Theoretical Framework of the Study



In such a context, this study aims to analyze aspects of everyday life, status groups and *sayfiye culture* in Kadıköy, in the Second Constitutional Period, and to contribute and introduce new dimensions of social change apparent in Ottoman society. Entirely elaborating the transformation process of Ottoman society or comprehending any side of everyday life in Kadıköy in such a chaotic period exceeds the limitations of this modest study. Rather questions arise: How was *sayfiye culture* transited into a new form in this period? Which agents and actors took which roles? How did they react and what were specific features of Kadıköy that contributed to those conditions for this phenomenon? What is the impact of new status groups to those already emerged in this period in everyday life and *sayfiye culture*? How can these reciprocal and complicated relations be analyzed from a sociological perspective? How can *habitus* be used to explain these phenomena? These questions are analyzed from a perspective that combines individual and society, micro and macro, and, the universal and particular.

Memoirs and novels are used as data sources for the study. Thanks to the relatively recent time period, and because people who lived in Kadıköy then were mostly well educated and well-off, (and apparently they liked to write), memoir literature on Kadıköy is included as authentic research material. However, the literature may seem to have an indirect relation (See *Table 3*). Although there are a few memoirs directly about Kadıköy, there are many more texts that indirectly or obliquely

mention Kadıköy and provide some clues what everyday life was like then. For instance, as a settler of Kadıköy, Ahmet Rasim, never wrote an independent text directly about Kadıköy, but in his several texts, he touches on the topic. In this sense, alongside the literature memoirs directly related to life in Kadıköy, there can be found a selection from the literature of Istanbul memoirs and itineraries that can be pieced together to depict the general framework of the place in a comprehensive way, for the purposes of this study.

Time is a potential problem related with the use of memoirs', as may be seen in the *Table 3*. Although the focus of this study is the Second Constitutional Period, namely, the years between 1908-1912, classifying memoirs according to this time limit seems impossible. For instance, Adnan Giz's *Bir Zamanlar Kadıköy (Once Upon a Time Kadıköy)*¹ is one of the most famous texts that describes Kadıköy's everyday life by addressing entertainment activities, neighborhood culture, famous settlers etc. This work covers the years 1900-1950 but the published date is 1988. To further complicate the source, the birthdate of Adnan Giz is 1914, but he narrates memoirs of previous times referring back to his memories of his childhood. Another well-known memoir, *Kızıltoprak Anıları (Memoirs of Kızıltoprak)*² belongs to Nezih Neyzi, born in 1923, but he refers to family elders born two generations ago. Despite the complexity of dates, this study endeavors to collect related data and piece together an explicit picture but anachronism emerges as another potential problematic that must be taken into consideration during the study. Subjective interpretation of memoir writers, and misleading of their memory, and similar handicaps of any retrospective narrations constitute a speculative basis. Although, this study pays attention to risky feature of these fictive sources, the potential delusiveness of the memoir literature must be kept in the mind.

It should be noted that publishing dates on the table do not mean first publishing dates, and do not reflect the exact time period of the content. The relation between some of those sources and the scope of time limited by this study can be clarified by

¹ İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

² İstanbul: Peva Yayınları.

investigating them one by one. For instance, four novels in the table are among Turkish classics, and have been re-issued multiple times. Indicating the initial publishing dates on the table does not make the issue much clearer as most of memoirs were first published after than the period in which they are focused. To summarize, this table indicates that what literature resources were applied during this study as a pathway to discover narrations on the Second Constitutional Period in Kadıköy.

Actually, the academic literature to which this study aims to contribute has a similar kind of complexity. According to the research conducted for this study within the archives of the Council of Higher Education (YÖK), the catalogues of National Library, the Turkish Grand National Assembly Library, and from the Documentation Center and General Directorate of State Archives of the Republic of Turkey, and, in an extensive search of various national and international university libraries, and their online databases (e.g., ULAKBIM, EBSCO Academic Search Complete (ASC), ACM Digital Library, Ebrary, ProQuest and Google Scholar), there is to be found no sociological study on the everyday life transformation of Kadıköy. However, this district is mentioned in a number of master and doctoral dissertations, primarily in a contemporary context, within the natural sciences. There are also theses that could be connected to the overall study taken from architecture but only a few of them specifically. One is about resort houses in Kadıköy (architecture in the Fenerbahçe neighborhood of Kadıköy), one about minority school buildings in Kadıköy (in Üsküdar), and, one concerned with literature.

When we take a look at the abovementioned research, the initial focus is immediately drawn to references to kiosks, *konaks* and *yalis* of Kadıköy in the architectural field. From the evidence in the amount of research presented, it is clear that the richness of twentieth century Kadıköy in regard to design and decoration of domestic buildings draws the attention of academics who study architecture. In those studies, the relation between Westernization in cultural field and its impact on the domestic architecture in specific to *kiosks*, *konaks* and *yalis* is the prominent theme that emphasized by reserchers. For instance, *Late Ottoman*

Resort Houses in İstanbul: Büyükkada and Kadıköy,³ elaborates the development of domestic architecture in Büyükkada and Kadıköy from end of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, focusing on resorts of İstanbul. The aim of this thesis is to explore, elucidate and theorize on the architectural context and domestic life in light of the urban development of İstanbul and Büyükkada, by describing selected case studies, and comparing them in order to exemplify how those houses were built and used, and how the change in lifestyles influenced architectural structures of those buildings. Another instance⁴ focuses on the Fenerbahçe neighborhood of Kadıköy and documents architectural element of kiosks extant today, and ways to protect them for heritage.

Aside from homes, institutional buildings are also studied in architectural theses including one particular thesis⁵ that examines both foreign and minority schools in Kadıköy and Üsküdar districts of İstanbul, built through the Tanzimat Period and focusing on the sense of the relation between a socio-political context and the architecture, and how, by analyzing new opportunities created after the proclamation of Tanzimat Edict, these buildings were used by minorities and foreigners at a social level observable in their public buildings. So, same theme comes into prominence now in a different context, but the impact of Westernization and the significance of nineteenth century as the stage of change in several fields including architecture stay as common problematique.

Although, this intensified attention on the nineteenth century and the change in this century is a basic theme in literature like architecture, there is not similar wideness on specific to Kadıköy in literature studies. A unique thesis⁶ in literature, analyzes Turkish writers' alternative forms and motivations of writing about Kadıköy

³ Defended by Irmak Köseoğlu, at History of Architecture Department in Graduate School of Social Sciences of the Middle East Technical University, in 2013.

⁴ *A research on the architectural features and conservation problems of summer residences built in Fenerbahçe in the nineteenth century*, defended by Gülen Gököz, at the Architecture Department of Yıldız Technical University, in 2013.

⁵ *From the Tanzimat Period to the Present the Foreign and Minority Schools in İstanbul, Kadıköy and Üsküdar*, defended in 2001, in İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, Mimarlık Bölümü.

⁶ *Kadıköy in New Turkish Literature (1872-2000): Story, Novel or Memoir Books*, defended in 2013, in Marmara Üniversitesi, Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı, Yeni Türk Edebiyatı Bilim Dalı.

from the second half of the nineteenth century to the present. The social and natural structure in those texts and the literature of story, novel and memoirs on Kadıköy are other contributions of this study. But, this study has not a thematic emphasize, it is limited with detecting Kadıköy in novels, stories, and poems.

In addition to the master and doctorate theses mentioned, there are also semi-academic studies on Kadıköy and its social structure (See *Table 3*). As one of oldest settlers of the place, Müfid Ekdal's studies on Kadıköy are often referenced in these studies. Ekdal identifies the social structure of the place by explaining the historical background, applying his own experience, and referring to various alternative objective sources in those texts. He also has self-contained memoir texts that either directly or indirectly mention Kadıköy, for example, *Eski Bir İhtilalciden Dinlediklerim (What I listened from an Old Revolutionary)*⁷, *Tanıdığım İnsanlar, Yaşadığım Olaylar (People I know, Happenings I Experienced)*⁸, *Bir Konak-Bir Ömür-Bir Devir (A Mansion-A Life-An Era)*⁹. The exceptional social fabric of the district within its cosmopolitan demography and existence of elite social groups in there is prominent theme of those studies. The colorful everyday life in there and the leading role of Kadıköy on the change of everyday life are other frequently emphasized topics.

Later, more systematic studies like Tamer Kütükçü's *Kadıköy'ün Kitabı (The Book of Kadıköy)*, Orhan Türker's *Halkidona'dan Kadıköy'e – Körler Ülkesinin Tarihi (From Halkidona to Kadıköy – The History of Blind's Country)* mostly focus on common narrations that have been transmitted from some primary sources and emphasize the collective memory in nostalgia. So, similar themes are seen in those studies in different shades. *Bostancı Bahane (Bostancı the Excuse)*, *Moda Sevgilim (Moda My Darling)*, *Her Yeri Resim Gibi-Küçük Moda (Anywhere as a Picture-Little Moda)*, *Mühürdar'dan Moda'ya Geçmiş'e Doğru Bir Gezinti (A Tour through Past, from Mühürdar to Moda)*, *Suadiye-Suadiye, Acıbadem ve Sınırlarına Kısa Gezintiler (Short Tours through Acıbadem and its Borders)*, *Lodoslar Altında Bostancı ve Bağdat*

⁷ İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2003.

⁸ İstanbul: Destek Yayınları, 2009.

⁹ İstanbul: Berk Masaüstü Yayıncılık, 1991.

Caddesi (Bostancı and Baghdad Avenue under Southwesters) are other examples of those texts, which hold a retrospectively nostalgic appreciation of Kadıköy and contains lesser systematization.

Aspects of everyday life are a crucial element of social structure in Kadıköy in the Second Constitutional Period, and the other focus point of this study. It ought to be pointed out that the *sayfiye culture* is a less studied part of the Kadıköy cultural development. Architecture comes into prominence again in this subject like it is seen in Kadıköy in general as a main topic. But, even in architectural field, *sayfiye* is not a popular subject. Westernization of everyday life and its role on the emergence of new *sayfiye* places, in a new and modernized design, and the role of technological developments on these phenomena in this context are significant themes those studies focus. For example, there is a study¹⁰ on “Victorian style” *sayfiye* houses that elaborates the emergence of “Victorian style” as a modern, Westernized form of architecture in İstanbul, especially *sayfiye* places at the end of the nineteenth century. There is also another instance that elaborates ‘the urban environmental history of the suburbs of Kadıköy starting from the midnineteenth century until the mid-twentieth century based on the analysis of urban transformation of agriculture-*sayfiye-banlieue* trilogy’ as stated in the abstract (Salah, 2013, V).

In this context, it is possible to find a similar and further thread that focuses on domestic and institutional buildings, based on *sayfiye culture* at this time in Kadıköy. And further evidence of this thread can be found in a semi-academic, editorial study on the topic, *Sayfiye-Hafiflik Hayali*,¹¹ prepared by Tanıl Bora. Within twenty separate documents written by various authors, the topic is elaborated as a social and historical phenomenon from the close of the nineteenth century to today. The change in everyday life and its relation with the transformation in the socio-political context are the emphasized theme in this study. In this sense, this thesis organizes

¹⁰ “Victorian style” suburb houses in the turn of the century İstanbul architecture, defended by Emine Pelin Kalafatoğlu, at the history department of İstanbul Technical University, in 2009.

¹¹ İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2014.

various types of data in a multi-methodological way consistent with a multi-component structure of the theoretical framework.

1.3. Organization of the Study

Inevitably, the limited but complex resources and literature require a slightly more complex methodology. In the following chapters, there may be seen some commonalities and differences in the sense of a methodology dependent on topics, themes, focus points, resources, and literature. In the first following chapter (*Chapter 2*) based mostly extent on available secondary sources, Kadıköy in the Second Constitutional Period is depicted in the context of Ottoman modernity. Although with a long history from ancient times, through becoming a part of the Ottoman Empire in 1353, and into the nineteenth century, Kadıköy had always remained slightly out of sight. To the Istanbul citizen, it is considered as one of those many villages found on the outskirts of İstanbul like Pendik, Maltepe, among others. However, since the eighteenth century, Kadikoy started to be popular as a new recreational place, and in the Tanzimat era, Kızıltoprak, and, in the reign of Abdulhamid II, Fenerbahçe obtained new recognition with their new, modern styles of kiosks (Kütükçü, 2014, 12). This architectural development made its own mark within Kadıköy's history of modernity, moving that process forward during the nineteenth century.

Significant construction such as the *Selimiye Kışlası* or the *Haydarpaşa Askeri Hastanesi*, along with the opening of the Haydarpaşa-İzmit railway (1873), the start of the city line ferry service (1850), and the re-building avenues in grid street plan after the great fire of 1856, pushed this development forward more rapidly, such that, when we focus on the beginning of the twentieth century, there is evidence of a new, cosmopolitan Kadıköy. There was a blend of peoples and trades: Levantines and foreign diplomats; traders of Moda; courtier's kiosks of Göztepe, Erenköy, Bostancı; Jewish and Greek settlements in Yeldeğirmeni and Haydarpaşa; and, Fenerbahçe with its predominance of Levantines, Greeks and Armenians. This story of Kadıköy's transition is contextualized in regard to the Ottoman modernity and social change in Ottoman society by applying secondary sources that elaborate the

history of Istanbul in general, or specifically Kadıköy. Those sources are supported by a number of semi-academic sources, with a focus on Kadıköy, and fill a gap that emerged in the absence of sufficient secondary sources on Kadıköy's history.

The next chapter (*Chapter 3*) follows on this socio-historical background, and elaborates the development of an old practice, called *göç*, that is, a new form as *sayfiye* in Kadıköy. The question of how this new *sayfiye culture* was adopted in the district, by its new demographic comprised of a new cosmopolitan population and transients, is the central problem dealt with in this chapter. Questions arise: What were reasons behind this phenomenon? How was the socio-economic, and cultural conjuncture supported this development? Which dynamics proved opportunities for the transition of this phenomenon by the emergence of a new style? It is these questions that lead the inquiry toward an understanding of *sayfiye culture* as a significant component of everyday life, and, of the social structure in Kadıköy in this transitional period. Practices, rituals, actors, agents, are discussed in detail, taking into consideration the specific conditions of Kadıköy. This chapter introduces a combination of analyses on the change of Ottoman society focusing on its elites, and their lifestyles, and on the reshaping of *sayfiye culture* in a mutually adaptive process. This investigative section is accomplished by applying limited primary sources whose content offers many anecdotes, and by a subsequent interpretation of these stories in an historical context of Ottoman modernity in relational perspective.

The impact of these listed developments, that is the new form of *sayfiye culture*, new status groups found in everyday life, and the social change of those effects are to be found in a later chapter (*Chapter 4*) of this study. The role of the social environment in the district that formed around *konak*, *kiosk* and *yalis* and in the development of *sayfiye culture*, along with the elements of the *alafranga* lifestyle in those houses, are brought into greater relief. Both the exterior and interiors of those houses composed sociological basis of this change. While owners and inhabitants of those houses, namely higher level status groups were influenced the social environment outside of the houses, they also transferred their lifestyles from

inside of those houses to the outside. In other words, while lifestyles were significantly changing in those houses, at the same time, theatre, cinema, football, sea baths, all started to be significant elements of public life, and provided new socialization tools in the everyday life on the other side of the Boğaziçi. In this context, the last chapter deals with Kadıköy's social environment by examining in detail the depiction of a general portrait of distribution of its inhabitants as status groups, and prominent components of everyday life based on memoirs and novels as primary sources of the period. In this way, actors and agents of social change are depicted in details, and the change is elaborated within its several dimensions. This chapter also includes original data on the elite of Kadıköy, those well-off families who lived in kiosks, *konaks* and *yalıs*. On the basis of memoirs and available sources, a Weberian analysis of new status groups in the Second Constitutional's Kadıköy is used to categorize, and this analysis is mapped in the chapter. With the elaboration of prominent components of everyday life in detail, this analysis supports the habitual examination of the district. The change in the district in the sense of society and everyday life is elaborated in a reflexive perspective, in the context of a developing Ottoman modernity and its sociological basis. In this context, the list of sources those were used in Chapters 2, 3, 4 as the primary or secondary sources those are included datas on Kadıköy is given below:

Table 1.3. List of Resources in the Study

Documentary Memoirs and Semi-Academics	Name of Book	Author	Pub. Date	Publisher
	<i>Kadıköyüne Ünvanı Verilen Hızır Bey Çelebi (Hayatı ve Eserleri)</i>	Süheyl Ünver	1944	Nümune Matbaası
	<i>Göztepe</i>	Bedi N. Şehsuvaroğlu	1970	Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu
	<i>Kadıköy</i>	Rıfat Gökçen	1977	Özyürek Yayınları
	<i>Bir Fenerbahçe Vardı</i>	Müfid Ekdal	1987	Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu
	<i>Bizans Metropolünde İlk Türk Köyü Kadıköy</i>	Müfid Ekdal	1996	Kadıköy Bel. Başk. Kültür Yayınları
	<i>Bir Zamanlar Kadıköy (1900-1950)</i>	Adnan Giz	1998	İletişim Yayınları

Table 1.3. (Continued)

	Name of Book	Author	Pub. Date	Publisher
Documentary Memoirs and Semi-Academics	<i>Kendine Özgü Bir Semt Moda</i>	Gökhan Önce	1998	Kadıköy Bel. Başk. Kültür Yayınları
	<i>Halkidona'dan Kadıköy'e</i>	Orhan Türker	2008	Sel Yayınları
	<i>Kadıköy'ün Kitabı</i>	Tamer Kütükçü	2014	Ötügen Neşriyat
	<i>Kapalı Hayat Kutusu Kadıköy Konakları</i>	Müfid Ekdal	2014	Yapı Kredi Yayınları
Memoirs on Kadıköy	<i>Hüseyinpaşa Çıkmaızı No: 4.</i>	Ali Neyzi	1983	Karacan Yayınları
	<i>Meyzi ile Neyzi</i>	Ali Neyzi	1983	Karacan Yayınları
	<i>Kızıltoprak Anıları</i>	Nezih H. Neyzi	1986	Peva Yayınları
	<i>Kızıltoprak Günlerim</i>	Sinan Korle	1997	İletişim Yayınları
	<i>Lara Feneri Çakıp Sönen Anılar</i>	Ali Neyzi	2003	Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Y.
	<i>Kadıköylü Yıllarım, Çocukluk ve Gençlik Hâtıralarım</i>	Hicran Göze	2007	Kubbealtı Yayınları
Memoirs include some parts on Kadıköy	<i>Değişen İstanbul</i>	Ziya Osman Saba	1959	Varlık Yayınları
	<i>Ago Paşanın Hatıratı (3rd ed.)</i>	Refik Halid Karay	1967	İnkılâp ve Aka Kit. Koll. Şti.
	<i>İstanbul Kazan, Ben Kepçe</i>	Sermet M. Alus	1997	İletişim Yayınları
	<i>Âsitâne (Vol. I)</i>	Ragıp Akyavaş	2000	Türkiye Diy. Vak. Yay.
	<i>Eski İstanbul Hatıraları</i>	Sadri Sema (Prep. Ali Şükrü Çoruk)	2002	Kitabevi Yayınları
	<i>30 Sene Evvel İstanbul: 1900'lü Yılların Başlarında Şehir Hayatı...</i>	Sermet M. Alus	2005	İletişim Yayınları
	<i>Tanıdığım İnsanlar, Yaşadığım Olaylar</i>	Müfid Ekdal (Intv. Barış Doster)	2009	Destek Yayınevi
	<i>Şehir Mektupları (4th ed.)</i>	Ahmed Rasim	2012	Üç Harf Yayıncılık
Memoirs content life stories of individuals and families those live in Kadıköy	<i>Bir Aile Üç Asır (2rd Ed.)</i>	Emine Fuat Tugay (Trans. Şeniz Türkömer)	2015	Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Y.
	<i>Geçmiş Zaman Olur ki...</i>	Sârâ E. Korle	1987	Çağdaş Yayınları
	<i>İstibdat, Meşrutiyet, Cumhuriyet Devirlerinde 80 Yıllık Hâtıralarım (5th ed.)</i>	Cemil Topuzlu	2003	Nobel Tıp Kitabevleri
	<i>Refik Bey... Refik Fersan ve Hatıraları</i>	Murat Bardakçı	1995	Pan Yayıncılık
	<i>Bir Konak-Bir Ömür-Bir Devir</i>	Müfid Ekdal	1993	Berk Masa Üstü Yay.
	<i>Hayatımın Acı ve Tatlı Günleri (3rd Ed.)</i>	Şadiye Sultan	2013	Bedir Yayınevi
	<i>Şahende Hanım'ın Süzüşli Hatıraları</i>	Şahende Hanım (Prep. A. Filiz Evcimen Salıcı)	2016	Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Y.
	<i>Modalı Vitol Ailesi (2nd Ed.)</i>	Osman Öndeş	2015	Tarihçi Kitabevi
Novels pass in Kadıköy	<i>Pembe Maşlahlı Hanım</i>	Sermet M. Alus	1933	Akşam Kitaphanesi
	<i>Sahnenin Dışındakiler (15th Ed.)</i>	Ahmet H. Tanpınar	2015	Dergâh Y.

CHAPTER 2

KADIKÖY IN SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD AT THE CONTEXT OF OTTOMAN MODERNITY

2.1. History of the District from First Settlement in Ancient Times to Ottoman Era

Specific history of Kadıköy as a part of today's Istanbul, actually, follows an interesting path that would be came across the city-wide in the process of modernization in the nineteenth century. According to a mainstream approach on Kadıköy's history, Megarians first settled there in the 650s¹² BCE. Because of the increase in population of Greek city-states, people migrated to colonize in the eighthth-seventh centuries BCE. As colonizers, the Megarians settled in Astakos (İzmit), Selymbria (Silivri), and Chalcedon (Kadıköy) (Delemen, 2010, 54). From ancient times to the Roman period Chalcedon had been preserved in its significance within Byzantine culture. Inside of current borders of Istanbul, there were three colonized states: Byzantine (today's *Suriçi*/historical peninsula), Selmbria (Silivri) and Chalcedon (Kadıköy). While Byzantine stood on its own as the most populated one and became the capital city of Constantinople in fourth century CE, and Selmbria lost its prominence in Roman Period, Chalcedon remained in a relatively humble but stable position for many centuries (Tekin, 2010, 13).

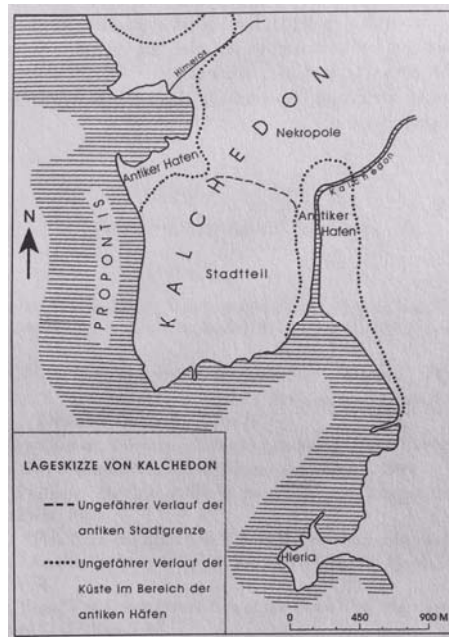
Writers living in these ancient periods such as Herodotus, Strabon, Tacitus transmits that because of ignoring Byzantium's beauty, and building a city in Chalcedon rather Byzantine, the first Khalkedonians were called "blinds", and Chalcedons, "the state of blinds" (Tekin, 18-19 and Gökçen, 1977, 50). Byzantium's beauty and richness were evident as the center of maritime commerce, and as safeguarded harbor. However, according to Carpenter, this cruciality had not yet emerged when Megarians arrived to Chalcedon, because the trade route on the Black Sea was not discovered until the seventh century BCE (Tekin, 19). But this argument has been criticized by many archeologists, and it may be that the real motivation of

¹² Although, the exact time is a controversial issue, alternative arguments give between the years of 650-680. So, we can mention the 650's as the approximate time.

Megarians to choose Chalcedon as their new country, although Byzantine was available on the opposite side with all its attractiveness is seen as concerned with another reason. When we take into consideration the exceptional effort to bring water through the Byzantium by the means of seven aqueducts within the first settlement in there, it may be argued that water sources in Kayışdağı were more significant than the beauty on the opposite side of the land, and they preferred to easily reach to the water rather than settle down a charming piece of land.

On the other hand, the identity of the first settlers, and the exact time of settlement, and even the origin of the name are still matters of debate that remain as mystery. Despite those questionable topics, it is agreed that it was an important ancient center and in a peripheral position when compared to Byzantium. Even through most of the Ottoman period, one of its central functions was to provide supplies to other centers (Byzantine/Constantinople/Dersaadet), a cultural and religious center. On one hand it served as a relaxing, healing and safe place for elites, and on the other, a humble village for settlers through the ages. It is in this way that by introversion it maintained its prominent characteristics, and despite its seaside location, it lacked the security of a land-locked harbor and as a result it never achieved a commercial development or enrichment of substantial fortifications. Alongside its powerful agricultural tradition, discriminative policies of emperors, it has been suggested, served as an obstacle for Chalcedon's improvement (Kütükçü, 2014, 13).

Dionysios Byzantios, describes Khalkedon and its surroundings in the first or second BCE as "on a low hill, rugged flat" and "had two ports on two sides" and emphasizes impressiveness of the historical richness and religious monuments (Dionysios, 2010, 87-88). But that significance would be lost in the future, even as he wrote those lines as Chalcedon became a part of Chrysopolis (Üsküdar) whereas it had been attached to Chalchedonia in the past (Üçel-Aybet, 2007, 502).



Map 2.1. “Sketchplan of ancient Chalcedon”. (It is taken from Cyril A. Mango, “The Shoreline of Constantinople in the Fourth Century,” Nevra Necipoğlu (ed.) Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography, and Everyday Life. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2001.)

However, in the Ottoman period, while Scutari (Üsküdar) became one of the central governmental units, Kadıköy remained a silent village, and in some ways, that may have been a conscious preference. As Süheyl Ünver argues, the reason of Kadıköy’s continuing isolation may have been an avoidance of damaging its natural beauty and innocence (Ünver, 1944, 9). When one takes into consideration the designation of Hızır Bey as *kadi* of Istanbul by Mehmed II immediately following the conquest of Istanbul, it can be argued that the Ottomans were aware of the significance of Chalcedon, but preferred to use it as a resort. As a matter of fact, Hızır Bey endeavored to dress Chalcedon with gardens, and this policy was sustained by several emperors, and as a result of these efforts, during the Tulip Age several parts of Kadıköy became popular excursion spots (Kütükçü, 16). Usage of seashores in the district as *sayfiye* by Ottoman elites until the nineteenth century, as exemplified in Fenerbahçe, supports the argument of the awareness of minimum governmental interference in the district.¹³

¹³ Müfid Ekdal, describes Fenerbahçe in classical Ottoman period as in this way: “Fenerbahçe was mîr of sultans (a land that belonged to the Empire) since the conquest to 19th century, and a well-cared peninsula that had two summer palaces, two pools, large grassplots, a bath, dormitories of Bostancı

The first Muslim conqueror of Khalkedon is known as Battal Gazi. He captured the city in 781, and then, Süleyman Şah made the city a part of the Seljuk Empire in 1080, and 16 years later, the city passed into hands of Byzantium once again. In 1204, the famous Latin invasion of Istanbul affected Chalcedon as it did with Istanbul. However, from 1353 in the reign of Orhan Bey, Chalcedon became Ottoman land permanently. The 1453 conquest of Constantinople consolidated its Ottoman identity and its name was changed to Kadıköy by Kadı Hızır Bey an attendant of Mehmed II as the first *kadi* of the city, as was previously mentioned (Kütükçü, 16). Ünver asserts that Kadıköy was the *arpalık* (barley field) of the Hızır Bey, and by attributing this knowledge Osman N. Ergin, Abdülkadir Erdoğan and other historians, it turns out that the name of Kadı-köy comes from Kadı Hızır Bey and implies that Kadıköy is his landed property. Ünver emphasizes that although Kadıköy does not have historical monuments like Üsküdar, it has a spiritual monument, which is Kadı Hızır Bey as the father of name (Ünver, 10).¹⁴ So, the Ottoman identity of Kadıköy is as clear and strong as Üsküdar from this point of view.

Through those years, Kadıköy was a small village affected by many destructive attacks but remain relatively unchanged until steamship service started in 1850. Before the material impacts of modernization became sensible in the district, namely in advance of taking part in evrydaylife some technological developments or new perspectives Kadıköy kept its trianquility for centuries. According to seventeenth and eighteenth century historians, it was no more than just 100-120 Greek fishing families. One historian, Kömürcüyan, mentions Kadıköy as “populated by Turks and Greeks”, when describing the whole Anatolian shoreline during boating in the Boğaziçi (Kömürcüyan, 1988, 49). He depicts Kadıköy’s landscape as a small fishing village. “The region extends over from Kadıköy to Fenerli Bahçe [Fenerbahçe] is covered by vineyards that make pleased the eyes.” (ibid). Actually, the whole Istanbul was seen as a small village until the beginning of the Ottoman

soldiers and a masjid.” *Bir Fenerbahçe Vardı*, 37. For details on the famous Ottoman palace in Fenerbahçe see. ibid. pg. 43.

¹⁴ In this modest brochure Ünver describes Hızır Bey’s life, works, and relations with Mehmet II in detail.

period by which time that Mehmed the Conqueror had captured Constantinople. The devastating effects of the Latin Invasion (1204) on the city continued to be observed for centuries. When Mehmed took the city, his first priority was to revitalize the city, and İnalçık elaborates Mehmed's "unique mental preoccupation" during his reign to make the city "a real state-center" (İnalçık, 1967, 216).

This attempt produced results in a century, up to the reign of Süleyman the First, through the continued support of many viziers, and the bureaucrats who followed him (223). The city acquired an imperial identity in the reign of Süleyman I, also known as the golden age of the Ottoman Empire. Although Istanbul set its basic structure in the Byzantine period, it can be noted that it was Mehmed's great energy that reinforced this structure, in aesthetic, architectural and theoretical levels. The process of urbanization Istanbul into a distinct and recognizable capital of an empire was achieved in by Süleyman The Magnificent. Combining Süleyman's imperial policy with Mimar Sinan's architectural genius provided materialization and stabilization of the imperial features in the city (Erzen, 1987, 88). The ideal social life perspective of the Empire was embodied in significant buildings, predicated on the principle of unity. The most famous one those structures, the Süleymaniye Mosque, may also be the finest example of the imperial character created by the master architect Sinan (90).

As seen in the previous section, before the Tanzimat Era, that is, the time accepted as the symbolic beginning of the modernization in Ottoman Empire,¹⁵ Kadıköy did not arouse any particular curiosity. The Golden Horn and its historical peninsula conserved the centrality of the ancient capital by including old and new palaces, city walls, triumphal ways and other such kinds of imperial and urban structures. For instance, immediately before this era, in *Payitaht İstanbul'unun Tarihçesi (History of Payitaht Istanbul, 1800)*, Sarkis S. Hovhannesyan depicts the Kadıköy shoreline as an unhurried, serene place, step by step from Haydarpaşa to Fenerbahçe (1996, 69). The first professional map-plan of Kadıköy, F. R. Kauffer's drawing (1776), also

¹⁵ Actually, beginning of the modernization process in Ottoman Empire is another controversial issue. My concern is on just symbolic dimension of the issue.

introduces Kadıköy as humble and tranquil place consisting of “a small accommodation unit in seafront and several vineyards and orchards around it.” (Kayra, 1990, 148). Hellert’s updating of this map many years later shows just a few summer mansions on Moda as a change in the Kadıköy shoreline (149-150). This isolation feature of Kadıköy was known even in Paris at the end of eighteenth century as documented in *Constantinople Ancienne et Moderne* (Türker, 2008, 15). But, after the 1850’s were years of the first attempts of municipal evolution that began to appear in Kadikoy in the sense of modernity and its impacts on the development of the district in several ways.

Bernard Lewis makes an analogy between Sultan Süleyman who is death but his soldiers continue to fight during the Zigetvar surrounding without knowing his death, and the Ottoman Empire in next centuries after The Magnificent’s period. According to him, in approximately more than a century, the Empire was still powerful as organizing a new surrounding. But, like this strong emperor, the Empire lost its energy, and charisma (Lewis, 1975, 45). This vulgarized interpretation contains a positivist perspective that suggests the history is a teleological process, and walks on the road of a linear path from backwardness through to enlightened like it happened in the West. In this sense, he elaborates the seventeenth and eighteenth century in a “twilight missing” and argues that although any attempts for reviving, the Empire continued to decline (45-46). Although, it is a good instance of progressive modernization perspectives in social theory those are criticized during this study, his point on the change of Ottoman Empire in these centuries, and the beginning of a new phase in this time period implies a historical fact.

Actually, the political power of the Ottoman Empire was under the pressure of new developments in European countries since the ends of the sixteenth century as a range of military defeats put on the eyes. The crucial position of Crimean Dynasty became more concrete due to the Russian Empire’s thread increase in this context, but the war between two empires on this region resulted with the defeat of Ottomans. The treaty that signed after this beating is accepted as a prominent turning point that weakened the Ottoman Empire in international arena (Zürcher,

2004, 37). In the sense of modernity experience of the Empire, alongside those developments, this treaty has some socio-psychological and socio-economical impacts. The treaty contained independency of Crimean region what meant first separation of a Muslim land from the Ottoman Empire, so it was not easy to embrace this fact for Ottomans. Besides, Russia obtained some economic advantageous in the Black Sea, and this development supported the Russians authority on Greek Orthodox, within the right of protecting those people by the Empress (37-38). The famous reformations movement of Selim III that is usually accepted as the beginning or a crucial turning point of Ottoman modernity process was born in this chaotic conjuncture and continued as a state policy for centuries.

When Selim III, came into power, the Ottoman Empire was in war with Russian Empire. Despite on his all efforts the army did not continue to fight and war resulted against to Ottomans. This development motivated him to accelerate reformations what he believed since he was a little *şehzade* growing under his father's care. Notably, the establishment of Nizam-ı Cedid (New Army) a series of reformations put into effect in the manner that would be turned a permanent policy of the Empire differently from previous reformation attempts those were made as of the Tulip Era (Beydilli, 2009, 421). Those reformations comprehended several fields from military, to economy, bureaucracy, and trade, although this attempt was still just limited the motivation of renovating the state. The urban fabric influenced those affairs in a complicated way, as it will be elaborated below, but for municipal reformations the city must have waited to beginnings of nineteenth century.

Osman Nuri Ergin considers that the reason behind embracing the idea of transferring necessity of modern, Westernized municipal system to İstanbul and imperial territories was lack of four duties of the municipality: cleaning, lighting, pavement maintenance and drain affairs. According to him, because of those basic works "become ownerless", in the second half of the century, when British and French soldiers came to İstanbul and stayed in there, the interaction between Westerners gained a new dimension, and desire of organizing new and modern

municipalities increased, thus first attempts emerged in this way (1936, 122). First advisory report of Commission Municipal confirms his argument. The list starts with recommendation of “building sidewalks, sewers, and water channels”, then continues “cleaning streets”, “lighting streets”, “enlarging streets as much as it is possible” and includes three articles those aim to create financial and organizational basis of those duties (124).

There were four administrative districts in Istanbul in the classical period of Ottoman Empire: *Dersâdet* (the Door of Happiness), and Galata, Eyüp, and Üsküdar, known as *Bilâd-ı Selâse* (the Three Towns). The place among the Theodosian Walls, the Sea of Marmara and Golden Horn, was named as *Dersâdet* and was at the top of the administrative hierarchy (Gül, 2009, 8). The *kadı* (chief) of *Dersâdet* was accepted as the *İstanbul Efendisi* (Master of Istanbul), and at the top of the hierarchy because of reporting directly to the Sadrazam (Grand Vizier) (17). Eyüp was outside of the city walls and stayed as a small village from the Byzantine era to the classical period of the Ottoman Empire. Eyup remained static so much so that in a famous book on eighteenth century İstanbul, İnciciyan defines Eyüp among the “appendages and villages of İstanbul” (İnciciyan, 1976, 76). On the other hand, in the seventeenth-eighteenth century, under the influence of the new trade relations between Europe, Eyüp became a vivid part of the city. While the whole city was flooded with Balkan and Caucasus refugees, many factories were built along the Golden Horn, which in turn then became one of two essential trade centers of the city with Galata, because of its closeness of the sea (Eldem, 162-163).

Galata had been a trade center since the Byzantine period, and Genoese merchants had settled down there. Trade became the central defining character of Galata as much as commerce was carried on there and it was a hub for foreigners. After the conquest of the city, Galata maintained its same functions due to its peaceful surrender, but in the seventeenth-eighteenth century, a more political dimension was added those activities, that would create the Western face of the city in Pera through in nineteenth century: “The embassies increased their power and influence within the district in inverse proportion to Ottoman decay, and by 1850 about half

of the district's inhabitants, including many native Ottomans, possessed foreign citizenship.” (Rosenthal, May-1980, 126). Besides, under the effect of the Anglo-Turkish commercial treaty in 1838, there was an increase in commerce made Pera a center of politics and cultural interaction (Rosenthal, April-1980, 228). What happened in those decades from Selim III’s period to mid-nineteenth century in political field increasingly integrated the socio-economical field, and this interaction created the change in urban fabric within adding the municipal reformations in this combination.

Üsküdar was the single administrative district on the Anatolian side of the city that had many villages in classical municipal order. Despite it being one of the three basic administrative units of the city, Üsküdar did not have concrete borders. Villages around the district had systems for coordinating public needs in everyday life, and there were also many villages on the shore independent from Üsküdar. Kadıköy was one of those villages that would stay for centuries in its humble character, based on its traditions. However, its municipal position changed over time. In the *Nizamname-i Umumi* prepared by *İntizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu* in 1856, and became valid in 1857, Kadıköy was one of the 14 circles of İstanbul, like the Sixth District in Pera (Tekeli, 2013, 51). On the other hand, because of high expenditure of the Sixth District’s establishment, the process developed considerably more slowly, and not as a municipality. The municipalities in the *Nizamname-i Umumi* included not only luxury districts where foreigners lived, but others as well, since people lived in there had enough demand and economic power to sustain a municipal structure (Ortaylı, 1985, 148).

In 1877, by exemplifying Pera Municipality, the city was divided into 20 districts and the privileged position of those municipalities that provided modern elements of municipal service ended (149). According to that year’s governmental Salname, Kadıköy was one of those municipalities ranked with Tarabya, Yeniköy, Beykoz and the Sixth District (152). In 1878, the number of municipalities decreased to 10, but still the establishment of municipal system could not be achieved (150). Basic municipal institutions such as Gazhane, Zabtiye, Su Nezareti, continuously passed

into other hands among the central government and the Şehremaneti (153). But, Kadıköy was among those that achieved to be established as a municipality on Anatolian side of the city according to V. Cuiet's research in the 1890s (Tekeli; 54).

Table 2.1. Municipal Evolution of Kadıköy

(It is based on İlber Ortaylı's *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Yerel Yönetim Geleneği* and İlhan Tekeli's *İstanbul'un Planlamasının ve Gelişmesinin Öyküsü*)

	Regulations	Consequences
1856	Establishment of <i>İntizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu</i>	-
1857	Entering into force of the <i>Nizamname-i Umumi</i>	Proclamation as one of 14 districts
1868	Preparation of <i>Dersaadet İdare-i Belediye Nizamnamesi</i>	Proclamation as one of 14 districts
1869	-	First establishment of Kadıköy Municipality
1877	Preparation of <i>Dersaadet Belediye Kanunu</i>	Proclamation as one of 20 districts
1878	Reformation of <i>Dersaadet Belediye Kanunu</i>	Proclamation as one of 10 districts
-	-	Reestablishment of Kadıköy Municipality
1912	Making the law of <i>Dersaadet Teşkilat-ı Belediyesi</i>	Proclamation as one of 9 districts

No doubtedly, those regulations and reformatios cannot be considered as independent attempts from the political context of modernity process in the Empire. Seeking for new ways of governing the Empire overlapped the reorganizing executive system in level of the city. In the classical period of Ottoman Empire, municipal, executive (mülkî) and judiciary employments of the city were unified under a single position. *Kadıs* were at the top of the hierarchy and responsible for any administrative duties in the city. The *kadı* of Dersaâdet was the *Başkadı* (The Master Chief), but there were local *kadis* of districts of the city, those controlled many sub-branches such as *ih̄tisap ağası* (head of *muhtesibs*), *subaşı*, *mimarbaşı* (head of architects), *böcekbaşı*. Those branches of the division of labor in municipal system sustained *kadı*'s duties, and performed by members of *Yeniçeri Ocağı* (Guild of Janissaries) and within the abolition of *Janissery System*, depending on the

change of “administrative philosophy” and “style” in Tanzimat Era, this mechanism broke down (Ortaylı, 1989, 399).

The disappearance of municipal service that had been conducted by Janissaries undermined the *kadı*'s position and as a consequence, this position lost its significance. The *İhtisab Nezareti* (Office for Public Regularity)¹⁶ was created in 1827 to fulfill the gap that had emerged due to the decrease of *kadılık*. Then, the *Polis Teşkilatı* (Polis Service, 1845) and *Zaptiye Müşirliği* (Executive Service, 1850) were organized as supports. But, it should be noted that even those attempts could not satisfy the need of the municipal system in the city, which was also under the effect of intense social dynamism due to British soldiers' settlement during the Crimean War (1853-56). These needs were magnified by the gaps in the previous system. At this juncture, through an obligation of the state, the city administration system was scrutinized and the first *Şehremaneti* was created in 1855 (Kırmızı, 2010, 526). The process continued with creation of *Şehir Komisyonu* (Commission Municipale) two times, once with the division of the city into halls in Tanzimat Era, and the other with the consolidation of the *İhtisab Nezareti* (Constabulary Supervision Office) with the *Dersaâdet Teşkilât-ı Belediyesi Hakkında Kanun-ı Muvakkat* (Provisional Judgement on the Organization of Dersaâdet Municipality, 1912) in the Union and Progress' period and eventually completed in the Republican years (528-529).

Table 2.2. Division of Labor in Urban System in Classical Period

<i>Positions</i>	<i>Responsibilities</i>
<i>Sadrazam</i> (Grand Vizier)	Order and Law
<i>Kadı</i> (Judge)	Order and Law (in the local level)
<i>Yeniçeri Ağası</i> (Head of Janissaries)	Security of the City
<i>Şehremini</i> (Mayor)	Municipal Services

¹⁶ According to Ortaylı, in classical Islamic cities, the fundamental institute is *hisbe*, which means preventing banned activities in shariah, by public authority, represented by *muhtesib*. So, classical Ottoman urban administrative perspective was under this principal institute. (Ortaylı, 398)

Table 2.2. (Continued)

<i>Mimarbaşı</i> (Head of Architects)	Public Housing
<i>Muhtesib</i> (Constabulary)	Merchantile Affairs in Bazaar

2.2. Beginning of the Transitional Period and Dualistic Performance of Tanzimat Period

Tanzimat Period that contains Crimean War, abolition of guild of janissaries, and several prominent steps of modernity process, is considered as the most crucial momentum of Ottoman modernity process. Although there are alternative suggestions on limitation of this special period, mostly it is considered that Tanzimat Period means the years of 1839-1876 and it can be analyzed in two sub-periods as before and after the proclamation of Islahat Edict (Çakır, 2004, 10). The distinctive feature of this period that begins with the proclamation of *Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu* in 1839 is symbolically declaration of intention on the change through modernity in a decisive way. Apparently, the content of the Edict does not imply any considerable difference comparing previous reformations, but the principality of equal citizenship firstly took place in there at least as a principal issue.

In the beginnings of the century, due to the international context, Ottoman Empire was under the thread of collapse and disintegration. There was a nationalism wave that motivated non-Muslim people of the Empire for independency, and the Empire did not have to resist those enterprises in the sense of economic and military power. Proclaiming that the direction of the Empire will be on the West and modernity was a good way out for statesmen. In this way, the doors opened to Westernism what sometimes meant synonyms of top-down modernization that is observable in Mahmut II's reformations as Tarık Zafer Tunaya points out (1960, 28).

Actually, there is continuity between Mahmut II's period and Tanzimat Era in the sense of embracing reformations as a requirement of keeping state alive, and dualistic mentality in Tanzimat bureaucracy emerged in this context. And, the reformation policy that originated this perspective and contained togetherness old and new in state and society was maintained by next reformists in the bureaucracy

(32). In these senses, the change in municipal order and urban fabric as two significant phenomena those were mutually influenced each other and took part in Kadıköy's development, must be elaborated within this undergoing state practices and the mentality behind them. Dualism between old and new did not stay limited with ideas and institutions; it spread the society in this term as a result of the accumulation of a series of change in state and society. In other words, the socio-political ground of the change in municipal system in the nineteenth century cannot be considered as independent from bureaucratic dynamism that continued for decades.

On the other hand, the social dynamism in the city that influenced municipal system in the sense of material needs and change of everyday life also was not limited with the Crimean War (1853-1856) period. In the *Tulip Era* (Lâle Devri 1718-30), the Ottoman elites planted "embryonic seeds of secularism" (Gül, 18)¹⁷ as a result of increased contact with the West, and this occurred more effectively because of intensifying diplomatic relations between the Ottoman and Western elites. Construction of new residences in Kağıthane, Üsküdar, Beşiktaş and other such types of homess for officials' vacations, were begun. The organization of luxurious parties with the theme of tulip as the symbol of joy, and the emergence of new lifestyles were consequences of those interactions (ibid.). In *The City's Pleasure: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*, Shirine Hamadeh describes the high-speed trend in this term in this way:

In the hundred and five years that followed the return of the court of Ahmed III to Istanbul in the summer of 1703, over three hundred palaces and sumptuous residences were built by and for monarchs, state officials, and members of the imperial household. The building activity was concentrated in the extramural city, partly along the Golden Horn tributary, but mostly along the suburban banks of the Bosphorus channel. Carried out with unprecedented momentum, tremendous energy and expenditure that recalls the years following the conquest of the city two and a half centuries earlier, it had the allure of a second conquest. (...) The imperial

¹⁷ Actually, elaborating those new everyday life practices as proto-secular implementation is controversial issue, at the context of debates on emergence of modern Turkey. For a detailed analysis see Ardiç, Nurullah (2012). *Islam and the Politics of Secularism: The Caliphate and Middle Eastern Modernization in the Early 20th Century*. UK: Routledge. I prefer to use this inscription for just emphasize the impressive feature of the change.

seat of power, until then isolated behind the walls of the Topkapı Palace, was gradually redeployed along the open waterfront (17).

Although the seasonal change of residence was not a new phenomenon in Ottoman elite culture, in the reign of Ahmed III, it was reactivated and took on new forms that would influence the lifestyles of the upper class and ruling elite. Stretching the regulations on patronage of *hasbahçes* by giving the authority of taking/building a *hasbahçe* to *Sadrazam (Grand Vizier)*, *kethüda (chamberlain)*, *kaptan-ı derya (chief admiral)* and other courtiers, rather than just the Sultan himself, accelerated this emergence of the phenomena as a popular trend among Ottoman elites, and thus the fashion spread to many untouched parts of the city quickly (Hamadeh, 49). In this context, Kadıköy's several districts became popular as "*huzur beldeleri* (place of serenity)" such as Haydarpaşa, Yoğurtçu, Moda, Kuşdili, and Uzunçayır. Even in the reign of Murad IV, Kadıköy continued to be famous for its glorious gardens and vineyards (Kütükçü, 16).

The exact transition of the Kadıköy from traditional to the modern started in the second half of the nineteenth century aligned with the general transitional process in the city and country. Dynamics behind the change of Istanbul in this century inevitably, influenced Kadıköy within several specific components of the district, and in the life style of courtiers, sometimes directly, or indirectly. Undoubtedly, the changes in the intellectual field were crucial part of this interaction, especially, in the sense of implying transitions in perspectives on life, society and world. In the eighteenth century, a crucial development is notable: new libraries and translation centers were opened; the exportation of rare manuscripts was forbidden; and; the first printing press was introduced by Ibrahim Muteferrika in 1729 (Gül, 19).

Within this context, it might be asserted that change was realized in peoples' minds and their life at the same time, in a contiguous way, or may be considered together with the change in "administrative philosophy" that had been emphasized above borrowing from Ortaylı. In this regard, Tatarcık Abdullah Efendi's memorandum (1792) is a significant signpost as Gül emphasized while explaining

the significance eighteenth century's intellectual dynamism. In this memorandum, Abdullah Efendi recommended to Selim III that reformations on İstanbul's administration (an independent fourth clause) be carried out, after suggestions about military, legislation, economy, and navigation fields had been made. He offered creating large, clean streets and switching timber buildings to masonry constructions, and articulates his recommendations with this hypothesis: "There is a need to pass from 'nomadic' to the 'sedentary' lifestyle" (Gül, 23).

Tatarcık Osman Efendi's argumentation highlights the issue and provides a possibility of understanding how the transformation of city administration and structure of the city developed parallel with the change of ideas under the pressure of a new political context. But this relation and interaction was observed more concretely in the nineteenth century. Since the first visit to Paris of Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi as Ambassador in 1720, the interaction between Ottoman elites and Westerners continuously increased. It should not be forgotten that the wave of construction of European style gardens in eighteenth century was specifically a result of this first interaction, and, although, those new constructions were destroyed during the 1730s' rebellions, the spirit of such buildings stayed alive, and even consolidated in time (Çelik, 1993, 29).

Between 1838 and 1908, there was an intense effort to modernize the country in social and economic level according to Zeynep Çelik. From the 1838 Trade Treaty, to the Young Turk's Revolution¹⁸ in 1908, the structure of the whole Empire was shifting to that of a modern nation state, and İstanbul's destiny was affected by this large-scale transition. Giving British and European merchants equal rights with local traders by the treaty, the balance of the economy became more beneficial for foreigners in a post-1838 process. Ironically, the symbolic end of this highly mobilized term, Young Turk's Revolution (1908), meant a new phase of reformations that would continue until the Republican period and gain a radical form within a few decades (Çelik; 31). The political reform at the beginning of the

¹⁸ We should note that, calling the Jeune Turks' intervene to the politics in 1908, as "revolution" is a preference of the Çelik; actually the issue is a controversial issue for social scientist.

nineteenth century that resulted in the declaration of Tanzimat Fermanı (or Gülhane Hatt-ı Şerifi, Edict of Tanzimat) in 1839 can be said to have led to the subsequent intensification and acceleration of Ottoman modernity in general. With this historical perspective, it comes as no surprise that most of the pioneering attempts to develop municipal systems, or reformative implementation in the field of urban policy, came at this same time.

One of crucial development that directly influenced on these reforms in urban administration was the Crimean War (1853-1856). Within another between Ottoman and Russian Empires in 1877-1878, Russia's attractive policies influenced the Ottoman Empire and its capital in regarding of emergence new borders and orders. Essentially, in the second half of the nineteenth century, Russian Empire's pressure on Ottoman Empire was at the top level. By the motivation of moving away Ottoman Empire from north and east parts of the Black Sea region, Russia enforced Ottoman to retreat and return backside of these land, and achieved its goal. Istanbul was among the most influenced cities those political struggles and results of that war, forced the city to develop a new urban governance system within other problems in more practical fields in everyday life such as infrastructure, transportation, and municipal governance (Arlı, 2015, 253).

Istanbul's centrality was not limited with bureaucracy and politics; finance, communication, press and any transformative field of the state and society were centralized in this city and impacts of any change in Empire-wide were directly reflected in there. Migration waves those merged after Crimean War (1853-56), Ottoman-Russian War (1877-78) and Balkan wars are instances of this direct interaction, which reshaped Istanbul's population in regarding ethnic and religious diversity (254). Formation of *Şirket-i Hayriye* (1850)¹⁹; the commencement of steam ferry service between the European and Asian side of the Bosphorous, the establishment of the *Şehremaneti* (1855) then the *Altıncı Belediye-i Daire* (The Sixth

¹⁹ The year of formation of *Şirket-i Hayriye* is usually cited as 1851, but in *Şirket-i Hayriyye Üzerine Bazı Değerlendirmeler*, Ali Akyıldız indicates that the exact time is 1850. For details, please see Akyıldız, Ali (2014). "Şirket-i Hayriyye Üzerine Bazı Değerlendirmeler" in *Osmanlı İstanbulu-I* (Ed. Feridun M. EMECEN and Emrah Safa GÜRKAN). İstanbul: İstanbul 29 Mayıs University Publications.

District, 1857) as the central unit of city administration; building up the *Dersâdet Tramway Şirketi* (1869); and, introducing a new modes of transportation were some notable developments those emerged in this context.

Aligned to this change, Kadıköy witnessed a new phase in its own history during those same years, which Durand de Fontmagne called, “first years of break away from the East” of the Ottoman Empire (Fontmagne, 1977, 11). During the Crimean War, English military units settled in Haydarpaşa and used Fenerbahçe as an area for target practice. A devastating fire in 1860, which destroyed one-fourth of the district, was also a trigger for development of the district. After the fire, firstly local Christians, then many Greeks, Jews and Armenians settled in the district. Development was certainly needed as many other significant fires occurred between 1856 and 1922 in Kadıköy, particularly the fire of 1885 in Kuzguncuk which seriously affected the demographics and structure of the district. After the fire, Jewish people, who lived in Kuzguncuk, moved to Yeldeğirmeni and established the first apartments within a decade in Kadıköy (Öner, 2015, 35). Çelik mentions a new policy on fire related regulations as an influential factor on the city’s growing structure. It should be remembered that prior to 1840, buildings were reconstructed in accordance with their present structure, but changes to the regulations provided by the motivation to prevent fires pushed administrations to develop a new perspective on regulations, and more central and wealthy districts made these essential changes a priority (Çelik, 53).

Although, Kadıköy did not have significance as a favored settlement, its newly emerged *sayfiye* character allowed integration for such kinds of implementations and for many other transitory developments during this period. Skarlatos Vizantios describes Kadıköy in *Konstantinopolis* (1862): “Although, after the tremendous fire broke out few years ago (...) almost entirely burnt, now, Kadıköy is reconstructed in the better way compared the previous one, in accordance with Western urbanism principles now ... and will be the most demanded suburb of İstanbul in the next future, at this rate.” (Türker, 16). Another source prepared for Greek schools in Istanbul, compares 1900’s Kadıköy with European towns because of its

cosmopolitan demographic and “straight, wide, and cobblestone pavement” streets (17). Therefore, it is implicit that fabric of the district reshaped after the 1860 fire, that Kadıköy adopted a relatively Westernized face when compared with other districts of the city. While the whole Empire was in seeking new ways of governing the state and society, and doing politics in international arena to survive; new urban fabric was embraced in Kadıköy that would be impose a new way of living and socializing.



Figure 2.1. Teşvikiye Camii (Teşvikiye Mosque, 1854) (From eski.istanbulium.net-Date of the photograph is unknown.)

In the nineteenth century, alongside municipal system and urban fabric, change in architecture was among the indicators of Istanbul’s changing face. There were several symbolic constructions such as Dolmabahçe Sarayı (The Palace of Dolmabahçe; completed in 1856) or Teşvikiye Camii (Teşvikiye Mosque; opened in 1854) that demonstrate how the traditional perspective of Ottoman elites was moving to a new one, and represents that process begun at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and typifies what in Ottoman history is the story of a struggle between old and new, what is meant by combining them (Kuban, 499). In this sense, those buildings symbolized a quest for city identity, and a demand of Westernization on the part of influential Ottomans. The effect of *Islahat Fermanı* (1856) on this demand, certainly, should not be ignored as it allowed permission to

non-Muslim Ottomans for building activities (Sağ, 2016, 93). European-style apartments became predominant as the domestic type of architecture in the city, in those years (Kütükçü, 17).

While the physical spread of the city mostly intensified around Galata and Harbiye, shortly before the Crimean War, Kadıköy was still a grand village, but it could not escape the destiny of İstanbul in the long term. Fortunately, thanks to its *sayfiye* feature, and being already popular, apartments were not embraced as characteristic of the district. A city plan that was prepared after 1860, demonstrates an increase settlement in Kadıköy, but specifically in Moda and Mühürdar. This first intensification on the shoreline from Moda to Kurbağalidere, consisted of villas, with a high degree of probability belonging to foreigners (Kayra, 150). The book prepared in 1900 for Greek schools in İstanbul, referred to above, confirms this probability by defining the road between Moda Burnu and the square, as full of several shops and wealth families' kiosks (Türker, 17). Thus, the Kadıköy's architectural development implied an outstanding implementation of the mainstream trends of nineteenth century İstanbul: While new, modernized architecture became spread as a popular trend, classical perspective stayed alive, and besides togetherness of old and new, hybrid instances those combines old and new inside of one entity took part among the others.

According to Celal Esat Arseven, the essential development of Kadıköy began with starting steamship services between the district and the center of the city. In the past, small boats were used to travel the city on the European side of İstanbul, but then the *Şirket-i Hayriye* started to transport people between Kadıköy and İstanbul, and as a result mobility in the district highly increased (Ekdal, 1996, 422). Actually, passenger transportation on Bosphorus was firstly recognized by foreign entrepreneurs in nineteenth century. Although warnings of authorities, they abuse capitulations and create an actual state. But, within the proposal of Kaptan-ı Derya (Chief Amiral) Mehmed Ali Paşa, a steamship that belongs the Tersane became to transport passengers on Rumelia side of the Bosphorus in 1844. Same practice started in Üsküdar in 1847, but because of the huge gap between prices of ships

and boats, people preferred to continue use classical transportation tools (Akyıldız, 356-57). Then, as a result of Keçecizâde Fuad Paşa and Ahmed Cevdet Paşa's enterprises *Şirket-i Hayriye* established by the motivation of "exemplifying 'prestigious companies that titled as anonym and require grand wealth and prosperity in Europe" and making easier the comings and goings of people those settle down in Bosphorus to İstanbul" obtained the privillage of transporting passengers between İstanbul and Rumelia and Anatolian sides of Bosphorus for twenty-five years (Akyıldız, 2010, 201).

According to Sermet Muhtar Alus, the establishment of the Haydarpaşa-İzmit railway in 1873²⁰ was the essential turning point for Kadıköy. He asserts that due to its suitable climate and topography for both of winter and summer residences, the new transportation alternatives made Kadıköy an attractive settlement location (Alus, 1995, 199). Haydarpaşa-İzmit railway that was another result of seeking new forms and methods to empower the state was also the first railway that built up by the state. The aim of the state was solving some problems those originated from the lack of such kind of roads by going through Anatolian cities of the Empire in long term and empowering centralization. Agriculture, husbandary, forestry, and trade would be developed and the military would have better opportunities for supply of logistic. But, the lack of available and smooth roads was a significant problem all by itself and a prominent motivation for building this railway (Öztürk, 2016, 726).

Reconstruction of Selimiye Kışlası (1827) and construction Haydarpaşa Askeri Hastahanesi (1844-46) were other significant developments those influenced the urban fabric of Kadıköy. Despite of their locations were not entirely included by Kadıköy, they were influential on the appeal of courtiers to the district. Many high-level soldiers, and military doctors settled down to Haydarpaşa and around because their jobs were situated in those institutions. Selimiye Kışlası also played a crucial role during the Crimean War due to its military feature: British soldiers including

²⁰ Sermet Muhtar gives the date opening the railway as 1874, but İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İnal asserts that in 3rd May 1873 is the exact date the opening ceremny of the railway (See. İnal, İbbülemin M Kemal, 2013, *Son Sdrzamlar* (Vol. I-IV), İstanbul, Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları). I preferred to use 1873 during the study.

their commander Lord Raglan and came with their wives located in Selimiye Kışlası (Selimiye Barracks from Past to Present, 45). Within the building Mekteb-i Tıbbiye in 1894 by famous architectures D'Arengo and Vallery, and completing Haydarpaşa Garı between 1906-1908 by Otto Ritter and Helmut Cuno, the district obtained a new, modern face (Eyice, 1998, 38-39). These novelties and the new urban fabric that was shaped by new gorgeous institutional buildings, implied both architectural modernization of the district and the representation of state power in there in the sense of centralization became more visible. Although Haydarpaşa was a humble neighbourhood until beginnings of the nineteenth century, those prominent buildings moved the authority of the state to there by means of materializing and visualizing it. They became to give the message that "state is here" to the society, thus extended borders of state center, while also symbolizing the change in state's policy on the centralization and modernization on the other side.

As it was emphasized before, besides those novelties, another war that affected the destiny of the district was the Ottoman-Russian War in 1877-78. After the Crimean War, a second wave of immigration occurred with throngs of refugees coming from the Balkans to Istanbul, with most of them settling in Kadıköy (Kütükçü, 19). According to Karpát, more than one billion Muslim who lived in West and Middle Bulgaria and Serbia migrated to Anatolia during this war (2003, 16). He argues that leaders of those immigrant groups usually adapted where they settled down and took in part among newly emerging Muslim-Ottoman elite class that would be pioneer of modern Turkey in the future by being witness and carrier of the social change in the second half of the nineteenth century what Karpát calls as "deeper and silence revolution" (20). Reverberation of the addition war refugees to Kadıköy's demographic was acquiring a new character from Turks and Ottoman settlers, Kadıköy transitioned to a cosmopolitan residential area of Armenians, Jews, Levantines, Romanian and Bulgarian immigrants (See *Table 6*).

Those dynamics forced the district to change, and continued to reshape Kadıköy's social fabric in the reign of Abdülhamid II. During this period, the trend of building kiosks, konaks there continued for courtiers and the wealthy. As pointed out

previously, this type of residence originated from Tanzimat times, and supported the acceleration of municipal activities in the district. Meanwhile, a new style of municipalism developed and was consolidated with many reforms. Citywide, although some of reforms could not implemented in practice, it did not prevent imposing the overall aim of modern municipalism, according to Gül's analysis (57-58). Kadıköy was among the pioneer districts realizing new implementations (See Table 3). In this sense, the crucial role of Kadıköy in the *habitual* transformation of the city became visible in introductory level on the eve of the Second Constitutional Period. As a developing *sayfiye* and suburb, Kadıköy was open all the way to new implementetation and new ways of living in everyday life.

2.3. Social Environment of Kadıköy in Second Constitutional Period

Şerif Mardin argues that the Second Hamidiean Era is the time in which Westernization became understood as in the preferred way of the superwesternization process in Ottoman Empire. While a new Westernized generation grew up, still the role of the Sultan took a crucial role. Abdülhamid II modeled the West in technical, administrative, educational and military fields, while at the same time exerted the spread of Islam. In this sense, the West began to be considered as the authority of the natural science and the new generation, including *Jeune Turks*, embraced of this perspective (Mardin, 2004, 15-16). Within this context of the Second Constitutional Period, this framework conserved its weight on the political-ideological level, and between the years of 1908-1918 two alternative approaches to the West(ernism) lived together. The second approach endeavored to understand Western social ideals, cultural/ethical principles by combining technical power with mentality in a holistic framework.

Both of these competing perspectives were protected in Union and Progress Party (UPP) according to Mardin (17).

This combination of opposing perspectives can also be observed in Kadıkoy. The general portrait of the district was that of omnipresent *social environment* before the more transitory period in the district was similarly altered. In this period, Kadıköy had several sub-districts and neighborhoods, differentiated from each

other in the sense of social and physical features. While different religions, ethnicities and socio-economic status of the population created a cosmopolitan demographic at the macro level, public places such as streets, bazaars, meadows, beaches, or institutions like schools, project this complexity in structures and architecture. Like the general climate of the Empire in this period, or the character of the leader of the Empire who is known as “brave and cowardly, intelligent and mad, compassionate and cruel” at the same time and considered as “*câmi’ül-ezdâd* (a man containing many contradictions within himself)” (Kırmızı, 2011, 1321), Kadıköy was in a hybrid atmosphere that contained old and new, traditional and modern, Western and Eastern, foreign and familiar, strong and weak, minority and majority, dynamism and tranquility, homogeneity and heterogeneity and so on.

In Kadıköy, Demographics differed significantly between shoreline and the interior. According to İlhan Tekeli, the development of Istanbul in the post-1860 period, followed three lines on the Anatolian side. The first line extends over Üsküdar’s shoreline to Kuzguncuk, and some parts of the interior. The second line included Haydarpaşa and Yeldeğirmeni as transitional places between Üsküdar and Kadıköy, and the third line consisted of Kızıltoprak, Göztepe, Erenköy, and Bostancı, which ranged up to the Haydarpaşa-İzmit railway (Tekeli, 2015, 199 and 2013, 100). While settlement of Muslim elites increased in Kızıltoprak, Göztepe, Erenköy and Bostancı, non-Muslims settled mostly in other parts of Kadıköy. In this sense, the mobility of the population from the historical peninsula and Golden Horn, to Galata and Pera implied a socio-economic transformation in general during the period.

The changed demography of Kadıköy, specifically around of the railway, was related with this mobility and increased the prestigious of the district amongst Muslim elites (Tekeli, 200 and 2013, 101-104).

On the other hand, the appeal of the district to Muslim elites did not change the growth of the non-Muslim population in Kadıköy’. With the dissolution of the classical structure of the eighteenth century, its cosmopolitan character was consolidated approximately in a single century. In a register dated 1882, the population in the center of the district was introduced as 7003 in total, composed of

295 Muslim-Turks, 1,831 Armenians, 1,822 Greeks, 249 Jews, 108 Catholic Latins and Protestants, and 28 Bulgarians (Kütükçü, 20). In the 1885 census of the municipality, the total population reached 22,796 (ibid.), and according to another source that Ekdal refers to in 1894, Kadıköy had 32,211 inhabitants (149). As can be seen in *Table 6*, there was variety in this total number, immediately before the Second Constitutional Period. So, there is again a togetherness of contrast and coherence: In such a period that the demographic in the Empire getting more homogeneity in general because of migration waves due to the wars and losing imperial lands, in Kadıköy this waves increased heterogeneity, but this difference did not cause a deviation from the route of development and modernity. The destiny of the district and the Empire crossed on experiencing a hybrid and specific version of modernity, but the contents of their combinations were sometimes differentiated on the face of it.

Table 2.3. Kadıköy's Demography in 1894 (This table prepared according to Ekdal's data in *Kadıköy-Bizans Metropolünde İlk Türk Köyü*, İstanbul: 1996)

Identity	Population	
Muslim	8272	
Christian	Bulgarian	702
	Greek Orthodox	7637
	Gregorian Armenian	9980
	Protestant Armenian	100
	Catholic Armenian and Latin	1200
Jew	850	
Gypsy	290	
Others	3180	
Total	32211	

In the beginnings of the twentieth century, this complication was sensible everyday life in Kadıköy in regarding socialization spaces and practices. There were several places for those various ethnic and religious groups to socialize in the district and to accommodate or entertain guests from other districts of the city. Kuşdili Çayırı, Uzun Çayır, Yoğurtçu, or Haydarpaşa came into prominence as *mesire* places (excursion areas), and sea baths in Moda and Fenerbahçe became very popular. For instance, Sermet Muhtar Alus mentions that there were two *kahvehane* (coffeehouses) around the Haydarpaşa Çayırı at which *incesaz* concerts were

performed on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday nights. The audiences consisted of different groups of people, but interestingly, mostly the Jews of Yeldeğirmeni showed a special interest in those concerts (Alus, 2005, 89). On the road from the meadow through Kadıköy, there were many *kahvehanes*, *muhallebici* (seller of milk dishes) and two sea bathrooms, separated by gender. Using these bathrooms, then proceeding to the *muhallebici* to have a simple meal with cheese, olives, bread, and *muhallebi*, and then finally joining the crowd and promenading²¹ was an everyday life routine (Alus, 90). Yoğurtçu was used for *teravih* (tarawih) during summers of Ramadan, and many plays were performed in the theaters such as *Manakyan Kumpanyası* (Companion of Manakyan) or *Zamboğlu Tiyatrosu* (Zamboğlu Theatre) (Alus, 91-92).

According to Alus, among those *mesire* places, Kuşdili was the most popular “*seyrengâh mahalli* (entertainment place)” of Kadıköy. He describes evenings at the famous theater of Kel Hasan, unique for long years there, in this way:

You may blunder on women those eating into corncob, chewing hazelnut, peanut, sitting cross-leg; damsels wearing pink veils, light blue blouses, canary yellow shoes; and row upon row children those have different statures in the hills those against to Mahmut Baba Türbesi. (...) When theatre discharges the crowd increases. Due to it is the time of return from Fenerbahçe, those people try to pass around Çamlıca, Üsküdar, Kadıköy, attach to the crowd. Infront of the meadow, cars ranked at full length. It is allowed that making the scene through the meadow from car for one second; getting brush or polish shoes by shoeblack; and mentioning hançer-i müjgân (eyelash like a dagger) of fraile women in front that has guguruk veil style or plump one that wear cream krem yeldirme (a kind of hijab-hy) by taking a friend’s arm that passing there. (ibid.)

The audiences were also diverse. In *Bir Zamanlar Kadıköy*, Adnan Giz comment on the variety of people in Kuşdili: “Who did not come to this promenade? Officials, artisans, retireds, intellectuals, illiterate respectful or ruffneck persons at any age”, and goes on to give many examples of the colorful figures attending such as the “*sarıklı* (turbaned)” director of the Fenerbahçe Spor Kulübü (Fenerbahçe Sport Club) Halid Hoca, or a women called “*Çayır Güzeli* (the Beautiful of the Meadow)” who

²¹ “Piyasa yapmak”, means promenading, commonly used as a new way of socializing in primary sources.

held a special attraction for the men of Kadıköy. According to Giz, the reason that Kuşdili was the most popular *mesire* place in Kadıköy since the proclamation of Second Constitutional Monarchy, was the free participation of women for activities there (Giz, 1988, 65). In regarding, embracing new lifestyle and adapting it on traditional one the role of women in the Ottoman modernity is a remarkable fact that attracts the attention as it often will be emphasized during this study.



Figure 2.2. *Kuşdili Çayırı* (Kuşdili Meadow) in beginnings of 1900s (From Arif Atılğan Archive: atilganblog.blogspot.com.tr)

At another *mesire* place, Fenerbahçe witnessed “the brightest period” in the Second Hamidian Era according to Reşad Ekrem Koçu. At that time Fenerbahçe was becoming a place that “people flood into there in nonbusiness days, cars tours were made in the circle road on peninsula, men and women spread over grasses had feast with halvahs, farcis ... (and) sea bathooms were in great demand” (Ekdal, 1987, 63). Fenerbahçe was most popular hunting spot of the courtiers until the mid-eighteenth century, but, it was transformed into a military area before became a *mesire* place for people in the process of Kadıköy’s transformation in second half of the nineteenth century (Gülersoy, 1998; 5). In the seventeenth century, the famous poet Nedim felt sorry for Iranian poets because of their writing without having seen this area. In the Second Hamidian Era, both upper and middle classes came to promenade in this place thereby developing new ways of socialization. Although,

these places were gender segregated, flirtation inside of the luxury cars was a common practice in this term (Giz, 58).

Such places were also used for sport activities alongside entertainment. The first known football match within the limits of British Football Federation principles was played in Kadıköy in 1880, in a citywide match of Istanbul (Yüce, 2014, 24). As the transporter of many branches of the sport, while English Levantines played football, a huge crowd watched them in those first years (Alus, 1995, 205). After Levantines, then the Greeks and Armenians organized football clubs, and in 1901, with Fuad Hüsni and Reşad Danyal leading the way, a group of Turks built a local football club in Kadıköy. Because of the fear of espionage they gave the new team an English name, the *Black Stocking Football Club*. They played their first match in Papaz Çayırı against the Greeks (Kuzucu, 2015, 518). Seaside of the district were also famous for swimming and boat races in this period, and as one of the first sport clubs of the country, the Fenerbahçe Sport Club was established there (515).

Two new developments in the field of transportation, previously mentioned were significant elements of Kadıköy's social environment in Second Constitutional Period, and these were the establishment of *Şirket-i Hayriyye* and commencing steamship service in Kadıköy (1850), and building Haydarpaşa-İzmit railway line (1873). Usually, the role of technological developments in the change of society and everyday life gives some clues for analyzing the size of transition. In regarding actor-network theory science and technology may help to elaborate society by examining impact of technology as new ways of reconceptualizing society, agency, and social (Woolgar, 1996, xxx). Actually, accessibility of technology mostly means accessibility of "a new set of associations", and "the very concept of technical can now be understood as a societal/community/network boundary marker" (242).

These two developments those also took significant place in the Ottoman modernity process in general in regarding serving the purpose of need of new transportation tools, contributed to the reach of Kadıköy and its surrounding areas. Abdulhamid the Second's *Idare-i Mahsusa*, and the Second Constitutional Monarchy

Period's *Seyr-i Sefain* organized steamship services at the beginning of the twentieth century. Alus describes steamships of *Idare-i Mahsusa*, as quite old and slow, such as the *Şahin* (Number 17), which stopped at Moda, Kalamış, and Caddebostan; or the *Fenerbahçe* (Number 18); *Haydarpaşa* (Number 19); *Kalamış* (Number 21); which transported wealthy people who lived in "trackside *sayfiye*" (Alus, 85). In 1904, three new ferries were imported from German Empire, and worked together among old ferries until World War I.



Figure 2.3. *Kadıköy Vapuru* (Ferry of Kadıköy) (From eski.istanbulium.net)

Alus also mentions train services and outlines their routes in detail. According to his information, once on the train, a traveller would first see *Haydarpaşa Çayırı* on the right and *İbrahimağa* on the left, known for its crowdedness when he was a child; next the traveller would pass the gateway of chemindefer on the *Ziverbey Yokuşu* and see a mansion belonging to a group of well-heeled people (*Acemler*), then more humble kiosks, and after that came Zühtü Paşa's abundant woodsy mansion, finally arriving at *Kızıltoprak Station*. The next station on the route would be *Feneryolu* and one would see a few kiosks until reaching this terminal stop (Alus, 211-212).²² The journey then continued through *Numune Bağı*, *Göztepe*, *Erenköy*, where it was possible to view the many mansions of elite people from Ottoman bureaucracy (Alus, 213-215).²³

²² There was also a short line between Feneryolu-Fenerbahçe, which was constructed for military purpose.

²³ Because of Bostancı and Suadiye were not settled yet in this term, next station was Maltepe.

The increased appeal of the district to Ottoman elites and Levantines shaped Kadıköy's architectural fabric, aligned or course with a rising population in the late nineteenth century:

...by nineteenth century the lands which were once covered with orchards and farms started to include resort houses similar to those in Büyükada. The resort mansions were scattered in Kadıköy. (...) The wealthy Turkish residents, and Europeans, mostly English, had built large mansions exhibiting variety in terms of architectural language. Kadıköy became crowded especially with English residents around 1880. (Köseoğlu, 2013, 137)

Because of new lifestyle of the new people under the influence of their socio-economic base, and modern elements of the "new Kadıköy" such as ferry and train transport, or leisure activities such as theater, football, swimming in sea baths, architecture of the district, all combined into a transformational effect. Certainly, fires continued to be significant factors for all of Istanbul (138).

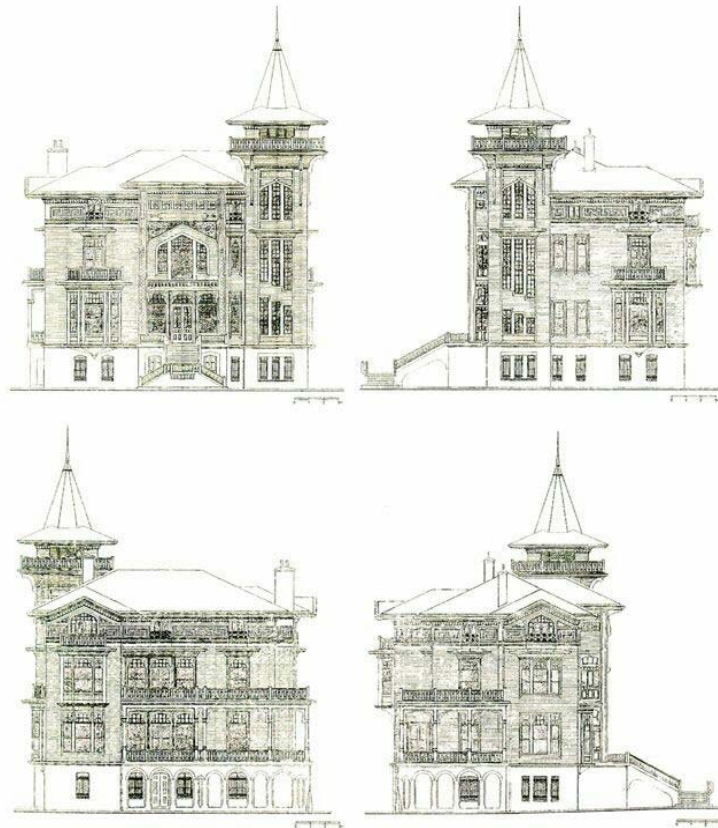


Figure 2.4. Front Drawings and general view before the restoration of Cemil Topuzlu Kiosk. (From *Mimarlık Müzesi* Archive, 2012The kiosk was firstly built in 1900.)



Figure 2.5. General view and entrance of Cemil Topuzlu Kiosk after the restoration (From Mimarlık Müzesi Archive, 2012)

In Kadıköy, like other *sayfiye* districts such as Bakırköy, Adalar and Boğaziçi, residences had European and American styles in the sense of plan, structure and decoration of the nineteenth century. According to Kalafatoğlu, most of Ottoman owners of these houses were members of the bureaucracy or military, and had escaped the oppression of the Abdülhamid II's regime. Their houses were built as a reaction against to the modest architecture of Abdülaziz's period, which Eldem calls "Erenköy style houses". She provides an explanatory note from Cemil Topuzlu, which according to him, the reason of giving the job of *Şehreminlik*²⁴ to Cemil Topuzlu by Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Paşa, was the intention of having "Avrupakâri (European style)" reconstruction of Topuzlu's house. This is illustrative considering that Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Paşa was the type of person as the owner of this house to promote and achieve the reconstruction on bit of Istanbul in this style (Kalafatoğlu, 2009, 31 and Topuzlu, 1994, 106).

²⁴ *Şehremini* was responsible for the needs of palaces, building and repairing materials of public constructions in classical period. After the transformation urban governance system the first *Şehremaneti* was established in 1855 and head of this organization was entitled as *şehremini*.

2.4. Conclusion

The history of Kadıköy may be summarized within four levels you. In Byzantine times, there was a peripheral city, in the appearance of a village. After becoming a part of the Ottoman Empire, the district continued to keep its secluded features and untouched nature, remaining a village into the eighteenth century; and, before the Tulip Era, Kadıköy was still a humble village, although Ottoman rulers had many *sayfiyye* houses along the shoreline. In the eighteenth century, increased relations between European and Ottoman elites ignited transformation in the everyday lives of the upper classes of that society. The authority of taking *hasbahçe* was broadened, and it became fashionable among Ottoman elites.

Economic transformation of the state made foreigners, Levantines, and non-Muslim minorities more advantageous in trade. Kadikoy started to appeal more and more to both Ottoman elites and wealthy non-Muslims as a new *sayfiyye*. Starting regular ferry services between two shores of Istanbul in 1850, building Haydarpaşa-İzmit railway in 1873, the Kuzguncuk fire in 1860, the Crimean War of 1853-1856, and other historical dynamics were reasons and components for change in the district.

After the 1850s, Kadıköy started to be a favorite *sayfiyye* place, and its popularity increased day-by-day through the following decades. At the same time, Kadıköy also became a suburban settlement, especially thanks to the railway and, as a result, it entered a long-running transformative process that would continue through the Republican period. As the cosmopolitan demographic shifted more and more, dependent on the dynamics, the district showed in a new face. This demographic distribution in the district can be seen as follows. A Levantine populated shoreline, specifically Moda and Fenerbahçe, around the railway an Ottoman elite population with their glorious kiosks, *konaks*, and, economically more humble, ethnically more heterogeneous population more inland. While those inhabitants mostly lived in kiosks and *konaks*, meadows and shorelines started to be a place of entertainment and new socialization places, and created a vivid social environment which will be explained in detail in the fourth chapter.

CHAPTER 3

THE SAYFIYYE: AN OLD AND NEW PHENOMENON IN KADIKÖY

3.1. Traditional Practice of *Sayfiye* in Periods of Byzantine and Ottoman Empire

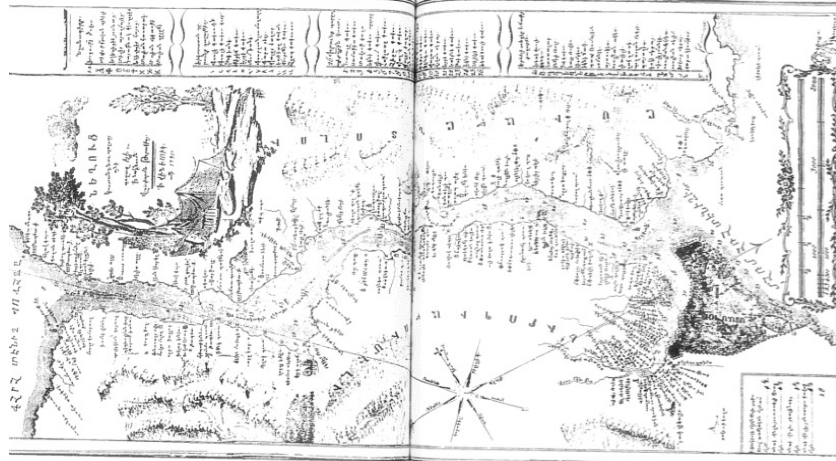
Sayfiye is a complex and comprehensive phenomenon that has been seen for centuries in human history. In the medieval age, it was known as a practice of the rich and noble classes of the society, those who migrated to moorlands from the city to control properties and avoid unsuitable sanitary conditions of city life. With the discovery by the middle classes in the nineteenth century, *sayfiyye* practice went on to become a pattern of everyday life in many societies. Actually, that was the first time it emerged as a popular phenomenon by the construction of public residences, thereby moving out as an elitist activity, while maintaining symbolic prestige in the sense of the nineteenth century's social stratification criteria. G. V. İnciyan describes this phenomenon of the Byzantine period in İstanbul, as a practice of emperors, where summer palaces at the seaside, turned into fashions for Byzantine emperors especially through the 10th and 12th centuries. Specifically in Alexandros²⁵'s era, as Leon Grammaticos²⁶ has argued, "He [Alexendros] built and decorated several great constructions in 'Propontis Boğazi' and then the season opened that emperors live cool aired places in summers, like many Persian emperors did in Sus and Ektaban." (2000, 68). One century later, Nicetas Choniates²⁷ mentioned Rigionea (the region between Yedikule and Silivrikapı according to İnciyan) wistfully, and wished to be there to contemplate Zafame, the summer palace of the Emperor, and to greet 'sacred İstanbul', while sailing on Propontis (67). Nicetas comments on the greatness of Isaac Angelus²⁸'s sympathy on his missing the nice weather, sport and entertainment activities in Propontis, as wars had prevented him for getting there (68).

²⁵ One of Byzantine Emperors lived between 870-913.

²⁶ One of Byzantine Chroniclers lived in 13th century.

²⁷ One of Byzantine Chroniclers who had significant responsibilities in Byzantion Court.

²⁸ One of Byzantine Emperors reigned 12th century.



Map 3.1. Inciciyan's map of Boğaziçi (1794)

In the Ottoman period, this practice similarly belonged to courtiers, up until Istanbul became the capital city of the Empire, and more specifically during Tulip Era. In this period, a transition was observed, its character aligned with change in the lifestyle of the upper classes. Increasing Greek ship-owners' dominance in trade, and Greek diplomats in bureaucracy, played a crucial role in development of *sayfiyye* in poor fishing and wood chopping villages along the Boğaziçi in those years. The exact transformation appeared in the nineteenth century alongside many other changes found in everyday life, and *sayfiye* began to be a piece of public culture, as it was experienced in the West at the same time (Alkan, 2014, 22).

The crucial role of nineteenth century in the Ottoman modernization emerges as a clear point in this case. The century, known as "the longest century of the Empire" as the famous historian İlber Ortaylı puts it,²⁹ witnessed the transition of everyday life in Ottoman society in various ways, especially, in the post-Crimean War as was seen in the first chapter. While traditional elements of everyday life remained constant or were updated, society encountered changes, by means of the manners and modes of the upper classes. In the case of *sayfiye*, it may be observed that changing traditional seasonal replacing activity (*göç*)³⁰ in terms of its implementation and composition in this century. Although, this practice formed dependent on the Sultan's preferences before the Tanzimat Era, the people

²⁹ See Ortaylı, İlber (2016), *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı* (44th ed.), İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları.

³⁰ Although *göç* literally means immigration in Turkish, in Ottoman society, moving from winter house to summer residences was called in this way.

followed him, obeying the hierarchy (Çoruk, 2015, 101). The transition of the classical social structure in those years meant change in many specific elements of everyday life, and *sayfiyye* practice was a part of that transition.

3. 2. Preferences of *Sayfiye* Places and Features of *Sayfiye* Houses

Aside from a few grand houses built around the shores of the Boğaziçi, and today's historical peninsula (Suriçi), Byzantine emperors preferred to build their palaces and summer homes mostly outside of İstanbul, and these include, for example, palaces such as The Great Constantinus' Nicomedia Mansion in Dragos (İnciciyan, 69) or Vriana Summer Palace around Bithynia that was built by Theophilus or Tiberius (75). But, the preference of the Ottoman Sultans preferences was towards the Black Sea, while still making the Boğaziçi the target for their summer palaces. This can be seen in Kanuni's era, where most of summer residences were constructed in Boğaziçi, and although, in the eighteenth century, because of Ahmed the Third's fear of the sea, areas surrounding the Kağıthane River became popular among courtiers of the Empire. However, the centrality of the Boğaziçi continued in the period immediately following the reign of Ahmed III (79-80).

Üsküdar Sarayı, Beşiktaş Sahilsarayı, Çırağan Sahilsarayı, Tokat Kasrı around Beykoz, Beylerbeyi Sahilsarayı, Ferahabad Yalıları in Kandilli, Karaağaç Bağçesi Kasrı, Tersane in Haliç, Aynalıkavak Sahilsarayı, Sadabad Kasrı in Kağıthane were popular places to relax in the Ottoman period according to Reşad Ekrem Koçu (1974, 7061). For *biniş*³¹ or tours for a few days, Kalender Kasrı, Küçüksu Kasrı, Fenerbağçesi Kasrı, Çubuklu and Florya Bağçesi were preferred with many alternative seaside residences of Valide Sultans (i.e., the mother of the Sultan), sisters of the Sultans and vezirates (ibid.). Especially, after the 1850s, Boğaziçi became the central *sayfiye* location within İstanbul. Kandilli, Kuzguncuk, Ortaköy, Beylerbeyi, Sarıyer, Göksu, Küçüksu, Bebek and Rumelihisarı were the most popular locations for summer residences. The Prince Islands were preferred by the non-Muslim population and foreigners until the Crimean War. Üsküdar, Çamlıca, Bağlarbaşı, Acıbadem were also used as

³¹ *Biniş* or *binişi hümayun* meant Sultan's tours for one day in spring or summer seasons. (Koçu, 1961, 2798)

sayfiye places since the time of Mahmut the Second's reign, while Erenköy's and Kızıltoprak's popularity commenced in the time of with Abdülaziz and Abdülhamit II periods. Bostancı, Anadolu Kavağı, Yeşilköy (Ayastefanos) and Bakırköy (Makriköy) were also *sayfiye* places in Abdülhamid II's era (Alkan, 33-35).



Figure 3.1. Beylerbeyi Sarayı (Beylerbeyi Seraglio, 1865) (From www.istanbul.net.tr. Date of the photograph is unknown.)

In the time of Abdülaziz's reign and the Second Hamidian Era, the door of change that had swung open in the previous period was opened further by the middle class construction of new *sayfiye* buildings. Beykoz Kasrı, Ihlamur/Nüzhetiye Kasrı, Maslak Kasırları, Beylerbeyi Sarayı and Dolmabahçe Sarayı were built during those years one after another, and in so doing, the Boğaziçi consolidated its position as the pivotal *sayfiye* place (32). Simultaneously, alternatives to this location emerged about the same time. The first use of the Prince Islands by the French occurs in this period, and the demand for Acıbadem, Bağlarbaşı, Çamlıca, Erenköy, Bostancı, Anadolu Kavağı, Yeşilköy (Ayastefanos), Bakırköy (Makriköy), Florya *sayfiyyes* were also observed. The reason behind the emergence of those places as suburbs in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can be attributed to the new socio-economic structure of the city. Greek ship-owners' monopolization of transport on the Black Sea, the growth of the the cadre of foreign diplomats in İstanbul, luxury consumption in the eighteenth century, along with migration from Anatolia of

families and many single men, were all significant factors in this transformation. Due to an increase in the number of single men in Istanbul, “misery rooms”, in which single men stayed, and slums, began to pop up around Eyüp, Kasımpaşa and Üsküdar (Ortaylı, 1987, 222).

According to Ortaylı, composition of this phenomenon was not essentially suburbanization, and the fundamental effects of a change in socio-economic structures began to be observable through the nineteenth century, in what Ortaylı ordered as: “a) squatting; b) emergence of slum; c) projection of class-based structure on space details; d) emergence of double-centers as a result of changes and replacements in the business center; e) emergence of prominent transitional area; and, f) several districts that previously had never integrated with the city center, commencing to integrate organically with the center” (222-224). In this context, the relocation of the Palace out of the traditional center of the city, and the subsequent establishment of ministries scattered around business areas, required a reformation of the municipal system. The concentration of shops, trading houses, commercial complexes in the Beyoğlu-Galata district created a double-centered structure in nineteenth century İstanbul. Transportation grew as essential in the agenda of the new municipal system, and, in this sense, the first railway service commenced in 1869 at this conjuncture. Although classical vehicles still continued to work throughout the city, diversification of transport tools provided the basis for the development of new suburbs such as Kadıköy within Bakırköy (Makriköy), Tarabya, Yeniköy, and Prince Islands at the end of the century (225-227).

Another significant change observed among other developments in this period, was the change in the form of dwellings. Places had once been shaped by religious-based principles, and under the effect of the *fiqh* discipline as a fundamental policy, before the emergence of modern urban planning. This religious feature had been significant for the representation of loyalty of the city to the Empire and its perceived incarnation of the Divinity in the city. “...İstanbul, the city gives the direction to “destination” of every Ottoman cities, characterized the space that imperial sensation was seen in the most concrete way in it.” (Açık and Düzenli,

2016, 244) Although, in the sense of domestic architecture, the standardization became at the end of seventeenth century and consolidated in mid-eighteenth century, common practices were observable in the 16th and seventeenth centuries (245). With the argument, it may be seen that the fundamental environmental factor on shaping Ottoman (domestic) architecture was quite simply, roads. Houses were located based upon availability of travelable roads, which were divided as public (*tarîk-i âm*) and private (*tarîk-i hâs*) (246). Privacy and security were provided by the structure of houses within *avlus* (yard) and gardens, and a lack of row housing system supporting this method (247).³² The structure was not holistic, especially in the context of modern terminology, and defining them as “private space” is not an exact explanation (253).

The seventeenth century, witnessed the further development of architecture dependent on a classical epistemological framework. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the typical İstanbul house appeared in peripheral locations of central İstanbul, such as Boğaziçi and the shores of the Golden Horn, and then spreading out at the end of the century (Tanyeli, 2016, 333). Those houses “within compact bulk, symmetric, hence did not allow room to add and drop”, became diversified from the 1820s through the 1920s, aligned with the integration of capitalism. First famous immovable investors and speculators those were broker at the same time, or Ottoman bureaucrats emerged in this century and influenced the architectural preferences (336). Such examples of change coming from a Europe may be seen in the transition to the lathework, spreading the term of *konak*, the similarity of konaks and waterside mansions in the sense of internal structure and organization, the increase in construction of apartments in Galata and Pera, and in the emergence of a new style domesticity (*evsellik*) in the context changing food service in upper class houses. Further examples of new aesthetic preferences about both the interior and exteriors of houses such as replacing massive window gates

³² For details see the whole article and Yerasimos, Stefanos (2006), “16. Yüzyılda İstanbul Evleri”, Tanyeli, Uğur (2006), “Osmanlı Metropollerinde Evlerin Konfor ve Lüks Normları” and “Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Metropolünde Konutun ‘Reel’ Tarihi: Bir Standart Sapma Denemesi” in *Soframız Nur Hanemiz Mamur: Osmanlı Maddi Kültüründe Yemek ve Barınak*, (ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (trans. Zeynep Yelçe) as noted in the article.

with shutters, spreading tables, using armchairs and wardrobes, along with collecting different style objects were basic manifestations of this new period and European in origin (351-354).³³

This transformation continued through the beginning of twentieth century, and evolved into the domination of Western style in time. Due to the increasing participatory effect of Levantines and non-Muslims in the society as a result of socio-economic developments, it can be argued that this modern style became an influential trend in domestic architecture. Actually, the popularity of Westernized houses was more observable in *sayfiye* like Kadıköy, Bakırköy, Adalar and Boğaziçi. Most of houses there now shared common or similar features with houses in Europe and America in the sense of mass and plan characteristics, elements of structure, and decoration (Kalafatoğlu, 31). Basic features of buildings of this period may be noted as being asymmetric within many outbuilding elements, contrary to what had been seen in traditional homes. There were two forms of plans, vertical and horizontal. The vertical ones had an outbuilding room on the front and a long corridor integrated an entrance hall on the back while horizontal ones had a wide entrance hall that integrated transverse corridors, with an outbuilding room on the middle axis of houses, and, none of them had a traditional sofa³⁴ (Tanyeli, 19).

³³ For a specific analysis see Özkaya, Hatice Gökçen (2015), "XVII. Yüzyıl İstanbul Evleri" and "İstanbul Evlerinin İçeriği" in *Büyük İstanbul Tarihi*, İstanbul.

³⁴ It is a part of traditional Ottoman houses, looks like a hole that each rooms see this hole.



Figure 3.2. Interior of an Ottoman House in Istanbul, in 1900s (From @OttomanArchive)

Houses were wooden and usually had a basement flat for heating, stocking provisions, and sometimes used as a kitchen, then two floors above was a salon, a dining room and a library, and, above that, a penthouse. There was a central room opening onto peripheral ones, as a meeting point for households. The basement flat surfaces were covered with plaster, and other flats' surfaces were wooden. Outbuilding rooms and exposed front sides were the center of ornament and had a refined, decorated balcony. Curvilinear and nonfigurative plant motives were popular in ornaments, and, actually, classical Ottoman and art nouveau elements were mixed generally (25). Similar combination of old and new was seen also inside of the houses in this period. Although, it ought to be noted here that for the non-Muslim population the use of *alafranga* as decorative objects in homes had been a common practice from before the nineteenth century, and served as the beginning of a transition in the Muslim population's preference to an *alafranga* decorative style from the traditional in the middle of the century, as is documented observed

in tereke records.³⁵ Elements of European furniture such as chairs, tables, consoles, emerged as an indication of the adoption of a new lifestyle in second half of the century although their design was influenced by the use of local materials and motifs. This change was so widespread that giving an *alafranga* sofa set as a gift was a common practice among Muslim elites in the 1880s according to Abduaziz Bey, while at the same time, traditional elements were kept alive in the society (Bozkurt, 2016, 389).

3. 3. Procedures and Rituals

Besides those material conditions of *sayfiye* practice, typical procedures and rituals have been significant components of this phenomenon, which would also change while *sayfiye* was shifting to a new format. In the Byzantine period, the Emperor's move to a summer residence was called, *proodos* or *prohorisis* meaning "going through to the front", and, the practice of staying at those places was known as *processus*. *Metastimata*, *metastazimon*, *metastazaimata* and *metastazis* were also other names of this practice, commonly implying replacing, going and moving (İnciciyan; 81). Emperors used special sandals, called *azrarion* (external) and decorated with the same colors – mostly red or pink – of the curtains and carpets. There were also *dromons*, bigger than *azrarions* and used in battles alongside *prods* or *prohorisis* due to their special speed capability. Those sandals were coordinated by *drungarios*; the commander of a group of soldier (*drungus*). Prokopius mentions that paddlers of *dromons* were armed with guns and located in close proximity to the Emperor to protect him from potential attacks (82).

³⁵ Tereke records are some sources those include identical knowledge of death persons and their heritages, and take place in Şer'iyye Sicilleri (registers of court of justice taken by *kadı*s). Researchers frequently apply those sources to obtain knowledge about Ottoman family.



Figure 3.3. A Dromon Drawing on a Greek Stamp (www.helenicaworld.com)

In the Ottoman Empire, the practice of seasonal mobilization of emperors was called *göç* (migration). Inciciyan mentions that when they went without family, and if the group around emperors was numerous then it was called *binîş* (riding). If the Emperor only had a few seatmates and preferred to go without the trappings of ceremony it was called *tebdil binîş* (riding change) (83). Reşad Ekrem Koçu describes *göç* in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* as “sultan’s going to a summer palace, to reside for a while, within harem households and selected people from *enderun*³⁶, by leaving from Topkapı Palace which was the permanent winter residence for them” and “moving from residences in the city-center to kiosks and *yalis* in the peripheries” (1974; 7061). The duration of the residence in summer palaces required alternative preparations, procedures, and was labelled by different names. Going for one day using one of the imperial *caiques* was called *binîş* or *binîşi hümâyun* (imperial riding), and if sultans preferred to stay there for a maximum of one week or less with a few people in his entourage, it was called *yarım göç* (half migration); and if the residing time would be more than those described, it was called *nakli hümâyun* (imperial moving) (1961, 2798).

³⁶ It means the interior part of the Ottoman Court that includes treasury, *enderun* school (a special school that educate high ranking bureaucrats and soldiers to the Empire), office of general staff of the military, and kiosk of the sultan.

The reason why İnciciyan's categorization is based on features of attendants can be found from Koçu who in his writings emphasizes that the period of staying in a summer palace was not always clearly defined, and further when we take into consideration Şehsuvaroğlu's comments that state until nineteenth century the Ottoman sultans went to Boğaziçi for hunting (ibid.), then it may be assumed that the sultans moved from Topkapı Palace to their summer residences for one day or at maximum one week, mostly to accommodate hunting without taking harem households. In any case, it is certain that except for *tebdil binış*, when the sultan decided to move summer palaces, alternative rituals automatically came into play. Ottoman Emperors' caiques, which were classified as *sandal* or *filika* in reference to the number of oarsmen, had a significant role in those rituals. While these excursions were organized and controlled by *bostancı*s named *sandals*, the ones which coordinated and cared for the personnel of the shipyards were called *filikas*. Interestingly, ordinary people preferred to label the caiques by their shapes, and *Sandals* were called *kancabaş* (hook-head) because of curvatures in head parts, or as *filikas*, and those that had shallow decors in some parts, were known by them as *kırlangiç* (swallow) (İnciciyan, 84).

Due to the status conveying the sultans to *sayfiye* mansions by imperial caiques, one of them was actually used by sultan, while another was held in reserve. The nine *Enderunu hümayun* caiques lead and cleared the way for sultans, accompanied by boats of *Haseki Ağas*, shuttling around the two sides of cortege and announcing the arrival of the sultan on the shoreline (Koçu, 2798-2799). On the sultan's caiques were included a throne for sitting covered by a canopy colored red or pink, along with three gilded lanterns for night strolls. Some sandals had 26 oarsmen all of whom wore red caps. The *Bostancıbaşı*, situated near the Sultan at the stern of the sandal, manned the rudder, and was ready to answer the Sultan's questions, if posed. At the bow of the sandal, the *Haseki Ağası* stood ready to give the Sultan his coffee or any other refreshments. The *Silahtar Ağası*, *Çuhadar Ağası* and *Rikapdar Ağası* remained around the Sultan on bended knee. Other courtiers in other boats were located so as to be able to see the Sultan's face. Except for the Sultan and *Veliaht*'s (crown prince) sandal, everyone had to be without covering and different

uniforms had to be used for those two sandals (İnciciyan, 84-85). There were also some interesting practices on the division of labor. For instance, the *Çamaşırcıbaşı Ağa* was not moved to summer residence, he remained at Topkapı Palace but in his place he would send a lower ranked *ağa* that is one of his representatives who was responsible for keeping the Sultan's boots in order (Alkan, 20).

3. 4. Emergence of *Sayfiye* as an Uprising Trend in Everyday Life

In the nineteenth century, these procedures and rituals began to disappear. Before the Tanzimat Era, the time for moving summer residences was determined and proclaimed by the Sultan. Without his permission no one was permitted to travel between the summer and winter residences, and additionally, time limitations on the starting and finishing of *sayfiye* season were obligatory. Violating this specific guideline was considered suspicious, and avoided. On the other hand, these procedures were primarily concerned with the upper classes of society, because *göç* was an expensive practice but it is noted that the "middle class in smooth water, within the squad of gentiles and dignitaries" could move to summer residences (Koçu, 1974, 7061) more freely. In the nineteenth century, the increasing popularity of *sayfiye* practice in alternative *sayfiye* places like Kadıköy, the Prince Islands, Boğaziçi, created a new phase in the process of transformation of this phenomenon, and even the Sultan's permission lost its significance in this context (Alkan, 38).

Concurrently, the development of new modes of transportation provided easier and cheaper movement, so much so that the mobilization inside social classes created its renewal. Prior to this change in transportation, moving from a winter house to summerhouse required just taking clothes and kitchen objects, and if the summerhouse was a *kiosk* or *yalı*, there might have been a few more belongings needed. It was possible to leave the house with belongings as gatekeepers protected vacant houses until the end of *sayfiye*. In the nineteenth century, *sayfiye* practice spread among middle class, and its grandiose character adopted a more humble composition³⁷.

³⁷ Alkan's quotation from Cahit Uçuk describes how middle class performed the *sayfiye* practice in this period: "Moving affairs was a duty that was much loved by personnel in *konak*. When Pashas

At this point, it is worthwhile to comment on the emergence and development of a burgeoning middle class in Ottoman society. In *Türkiye’de Orta Sınıfların Üç Devri*, Şerif Mardin (1957), rejects the argument of the absence of a middle class in Ottoman society. According to Mardin, in the beginning of eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there was a Muslim trader merchant class, which goes contrary to the mainstream view of most Ottoman historians. In the post-1830 conditions, this group disappeared from the economic field, by the reason that the Turkish productions were left unprotected (2003, 338). However, this same merchant class directed their children into the bureaucracy, and this channeling created an influential elite class that became the backbone organizer of many reformative attempts at the institutional level in the post-Tanzimat era. Although, their destiny did not change and the inflation of First World War’s period took away this mercantile from the scene, the group who managed to transfer to the bureaucracy of new republic maintained their mission and became the leaders of revolutions in first years moving to the establishment of the Turkish Republic (340-341).

This rags-to-riches story of the middle class in late Ottoman and early Republican period also may be seen through the lens of analysis using the ‘fragmental’ structure of the bourgeoisie during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Fatma M. Göçek argues that the effect of economic relations and wars between the West and Ottoman Empire formed this class at two ends of a spectrum: bureaucrats and traders. According to her work, the polarization between those groups moved the state to a breakdown. Mardin’s contrary opinion emphasizes the significant role of this class in the survival of the state, while Göçek considers that the unintended consequence of the Sultan’s desire to build a loyal class of traders, bureaucrats and intellectuals in the end created fragmented class. The bureaucratic pole of this class

were healthy, in every spring, moving to house; which were rented in Erenköy, Göztepe or Çamlıca was so enjoyable. Those times, in konaks and kiosks those were in those sayfiye places, always their owners settled down. Later, owners of those kiosks moved different districts of İstanbul. Living in sayfiye was both expensive and hard. Masters those went to work in cities passed to İstanbul side by ferries of Şirket-i Hayriye, or private boats. Those shutlings were not difficult for youths, but tiring for elderlies. Therefore, those emptied kiosks hired out in summers, to families those settle in city in winters.” (39)

eliminated the traders group and unified the class on behalf of the bureaucracy, and in such a manner did the new modern nation-state emerge (1999, 9).

Göcek suggests that Ottoman case can be compared with Eastern and Middle Europe in the sense of heterogeneity of a bourgeoisie class that had a complex ethnic and religious composition and pushed the role of minorities to the forefront in interaction between Ottoman society and the West (241). Essentially, when the distinctiveness of Western experience is taken into consideration, despite the controversy surrounding this issue, it may be argued that the significance of minority groups can be seen as inevitable. Their preferences about savings created nation-ethnicity based capital rather a homogenous imperial capital and what developed was the emergence of the minorities as separate groups accumulating money against to other groups through the eighteenth century, due to their sustained and continuing interactions with the West under the influence of a new political and economic conjuncture, and due to their exceptional position in Ottoman society (192).

While minorities retained much economic power, the Ottoman elites consisted of several different sub-groups who experienced their own related changes during the evolution to the relatively nationalistic character of the bourgeoisie class which emerged in the Republican period. During the beginnings of the twentieth century bourgeoisie class within its all elements and classical elites within its any sub-groups those comes from such as bureaucracy and military, took an influential role together in development of Ottoman modernity in a hybrid way. But, mostly Muslim groups in those classes provided the continuity between different stages of this experience. They focused on to protect the state and imperial economy even from local components within the country, thus became the exact transporter of the social change in society that would be moved a classical Empire through a modern-nation state in long term, contingently. They used their cultural and economic capital together as the instrument of solving problems for both the state and society.

At the juncture of the post-Küçük Kaynarca Treatment process, that shook up the economy of the Ottoman Empire, the effects of Westernism on everyday life increased as an impressive trend especially amongst this group. Actually, the exact effect of capitalism would be more easily seen after 1815. But since 1760, industrialization proceeded to have an impact on the economic power of the Empire. Within two corrosive wars, that is the Crimean and Ottoman-Russian wars, new policies on the *vakıf* system, and problems with local governors moved the economy toward a substantial crisis (Faroqhi, 271-275). In the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was over-indebted financially to the world economy and under significant political pressure which in turn meant increasing its dependency every passing day on foreign capital intervention. The reverberation of this unequal relationship on a cultural level is seen by the integration of urbanization into society, many more technological developments, and diverse intellectual pursuits, which then formed the lifestyle of upper classes (295-296).

Stretching the borders of the crisis through ends of that century stimulated the mobilization at a socio-cultural level and created a basis for change. While several elements of everyday life completely lost traditional features and many new cultural phenomena emerged, traditional components of everyday life stayed relatively stable, for example, a more limited version of the *göç* transited in a new form by enlarging the scope in the sense of time, place, people, rites and rituals. Although before the nineteenth century, the Sultan proclaimed the date of the *göç* and limited places were available from central İstanbul, except for the sultan and a minor elite group, still most people could simply not afford to move *sayfiye* places. However, in the nineteenth century, those limitations started to lose their significance. Greek ship-owners, bureaucrats, non-Muslims immigrating to Istanbul after the end of the Crimean War, and Egyptian wealthy people, all played their part in the development of small villages in Boğaziçi as new types of *sayfiye* places.



Figure 3.4. A drawing from European media after Ottoman Empire become a member of Concert of Europe March 30th 1856 (It is declared as “European” State: Sultane Abdülmecid (in the middle) and European emperors. It is from Murat Bardakçı’s personal archive)

The reign of Abdülmecid is considered as the most crystallized period that displayed the transition of this practice, and is identified with the shift to luxury when compared to components in the cultural shifts of everyday life in Ottoman İstanbul. The construction of Dolmabahçe Palace imitating Versailles Palace is commented as “the representation of openings of Ottomans to Europe” because of the new idea that Ottoman courtiers brought back to İstanbul (Karpaz, 291). In those times, the Boğaziçi, home of the new Imperial, commenced to be the center of that new lifestyle, a shift that would take hold of everyday life, including *sayfiye* practice. The fervor for European luxury led by wealthy Egyptians in İstanbul sustained this renewal among Ottoman elites and spread new trends (Alkan, 25-26).

Ahmed Cevdet Paşa depicts this drastic transformation, which is so significant as to be referenced under a specific article in Reşad Ekrem Koçu’s encyclopedia on İstanbul under the title of “*Abdülmecid Devrinde Lüks Düşkünlüğü*” (Mercenariness in the Abdülmecid Era), in this way:

Ever since everyone acted appropriately own income; there was no materials of alafraᅡa house and mansions. In the beginnings of Abdülmecid Era numerous paşas, beys and ladies migrated from Egypt to İstanbul, purchased konaks and yalıs really high prices, furnished and decorated by alafraᅡa furnitures, spent lots of

money, opened the door of dissipation. Notables and gentlemens of İstanbul also attempted to compete with Egyptians, and households of notables presumed to imitate Zeynep hanım; daughter of Mısırlı Mehmet Ali Paşa... (Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, 1980, 7)

Ahmet Cevdet Paşa's critics firstly focus on the Egyptians' effect on Ottoman elites, but he also points out another factor which is the Crimean War. He asserts that French, British and Sardunian soldiers' overspending in Istanbul, and wedding ceremonies of sultan's daughters, circumcision feasts in the Palace made those craftsmen wealthy, and thus they adopted elitist or "kibarane" lifestyle in his words (8). These soldiers hired out mansions in Boğaziçi and as a direct result property value increased, and so too did the social mobility around *sayfiye* practice. The expenditure of the courtier women emerged as a significant problem, and even caused disputes among courtiers³⁸. In this sense, between 1260-70 (1844-1854 CE) and specifically along the Bosphorous, there were started recreation and entertainment spaces that would create wastefulness and dissipation, and caused economic collapse according to him (10-11). So it may be seen that in those years the usage of *alafranga* (European style) objects in caiques for instance, grew (Alkan, 25). Certainly, the middle class' meeting with *sayfiyye* was the most significant one of those cultural innovations. Although this encounter was not entirely new, what it meant for the population in practice was modernization, and its first crucial turning point.

3. 5. Significance of Kadıköy for Development and Transformation of *Sayfiye* Practice

Most of Kadıköy's districts undertook a significant role to turn *sayfiye* into an ordinary practice of everyday life in Ottoman society. Since the mid-nineteenth

³⁸ "Abdülmeçid, reprehended [women in harem] because of [their] dissipation by sending kızlarağası to Münire Sultan: "Pull themselves together, now they exaggated, let alone reprimanding, I will get beat [if they continue to behave in same manner]". Additionally, one day he came to Babiali by [riding] a horse; entered his Office without indulging anybody, vükela [representtaives] were horrified. He reprimanded Kaptanı derya [commander of naval forces], the groom; Mehmed Ali Paşa by the reason of his wife's 60 000 pouchs debt, shouted [by humiliating] "traitor guy". He said to other son-in-laws paşhas "Sultans promenaed in moonshines, in night[s]! I do not have daughter that promenade in moonshine, in night, I disown! Behaviors of those blighters dishonored me at that!"; [and] removed all of them from their office one day later. It was said that serasker Rıza Paşa interlocked royal cars by a chain, to prevent courtier women ride them." (Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, 1980, 12)

century, in parallel with the increasing popularity of several districts in Kadıköy, certain places were considered as places of *sayfiye* as was emphasized above. Actually, the popularity of Kadıköy and *sayfiye* were synchronic and integrated phenomenon those came in sight in nineteenth century İstanbul. Those dynamics moved Kadıköy from a small village to one of the favorite recreational places for the middle classes, and were also influential in the spread of *sayfiye* as a component of everyday life (Alkan, 23). There were a number of factors as forceful impetus for the vogue of *sayfiye* including economic transformation regarding the increased effect of Levantine's population in the participation and direction of trade, the development of new transportation, political mobilization, new ways of urban governance, and Westernized trends in architecture. These factors also positively influenced Kadıköy's position in İstanbul.



Figure 3.5. Zaharof's House in Mühürdar (From Levent Civelekoğlu Archive)

Examining Refik Halid Karay's observations on Kadıköy make this point more definitely. According to Karay, first of all, Kadıköy had the most 'şetaretli' (1967, 98) (vivid) seaport, stable in any season, and in any weather. When the ships arrived with people pouring out of their decks to the portside, he noted the variety and diversity of passengers. He noted disembarking many famous people from various nations, people of different occupations and backgrounds, and the mixing of genders. Poets inspired by Kadıköy tell of their own experiences in Kadıköy. Most of

young poets resided there, inspired by the social environment in the district, and describe Kadıköy's everyday life and entertainments. According to Karay, Kadıköy's atmosphere resembled a meadow seedbed which produced many flowerings in a year because there were astonishing beauties to behold (99).

But this choice was not limited to poets only. Individuals and families who preferred Kadıköy and accepted it as an impressive social environment, made the choice to live there as it will be explained in the next chapter in the context of arrival of new status groups to the district. People from professions like medicine and law were also residents of the district. Members of ministerial cabinets came to settle, so it would come as no surprise to meet a Minister on a Kadıköy ferry. Specialized doctors were resident here including cardiologists, chest physicians, and other medical specialities (100). The multipurpose character of the district was influential in moving this this diversification forward. Several versions of play and entertainment were available there such as different opportunities for sports. Promenading in meadows like Uzunçayır; swimming or boating in Kalamış; recreating on Moda shoreline were just a few of those alternatives (100-101). On the other hand, the fundamental function of the district and basic expectation of residents were held in common:

Poor and rich anyone just consider one thing in there. Entertainment... People spent lives in theatre and cinema, consoling with musical entertainment, seyran, wedding; laughing and enjoying, mostly semi-crazy and always lightheaded, in pleasure!.. It is assumed that individuals those moved from other district to Kadıköy motivated by this idea:

– Now we are too bored, feel suffocated, let's enjoy!
and settled down in full of hope like going to a party. From any home lute or violin, tambourine with jingles def or piano, certainly an instrument is heard, loud laughter pour out, chants, and groups of happy people in three, four each walk around streets until the mourning! Kadıköy is the town of pleasure, region of cheerfulness, country of love? (101)

Although, Karay wrote this text in the 1920s, his observations show and understanding of the previous decades of Kadıköy and gives the opportunity to savor the flavor or the place as well as providing a way to analyze the *social environment* of the district, which provided the spread of *sayfiye* in this context.

Karay's emphasis on the amusing features of the district implies many elements of *sayfiye* culture, which will be analyzed in detail in the next chapter. Music, poems, theatre, cinema, sport will be introduced as fundamental components of this entertaining aspect of daily life. While many people of the district were professionals or bureaucrats mostly from the upper classes, there were also ordinary folk living together without conflicts, perhaps in part due to their satisfaction, and perhaps even happily because of living in Kadıköy. Certainly, such a highly optimistic depiction of Karay originates from his admiration for Kadıköy. On the other hand, his points are mostly congruent with the portrait of social environment in the district in the Second Constitutional Era, as found in the alternative sources, which combine to provide a framework to analyze *habitual* change. For instance, Lady Montagu depicts Kadıköy's cosmopolitanism and summer residential feature in the eighteenth century:

I passed over the sea that is between İstanbul and Kadıköy by a caique. Kadıköy is quite great right now. It has a few mosques. Christians keep its old name. Turks use another name. But I forget. Actually it is also changed version of same name...
The sea between İstanbul and Kadıköyü such graceful that Turks built sayfiye (house)s on waterside. There is a nice view to Anatolia and Rumeli from this place. There are more than a hundred palaces side-by-side. (Lady Montagu, 2008; 25)

Another traveller, Marion Crawford emphasizes suitable structure of the district for *sayfiye*:

In there a light and cool land-breeze blows from the sea continuously in hot summer days, Greek fishers have a relax under shadows while drying up their fishnet under the sun, in Kalamış Koyu that is in between ness, and elegant Moda Burnu a few yacht at anchor and flybridges laggardly swing on the waves. In summers, this side rapidly increases in value superior than Boğaziçi on the eyes of people as place of sayfiye and land prices escalate in same speed. Its weather is drier and in nights the cold wind what guides come from the Blacksea call as poyraz does not influence there. (Marion-Crawford, 2015, 74-76)

And, finally Theophile Gauiter depicts Kadıköy as a colorful sayfiye place in 1913, in his book *Constantinople* in details:

(...)The waterfront of Kadıköy was full of coffehouses those are belonged to Türks, Armenians and Greeks. Muslims prefer smoking water pipe with coffee, Christians choice smoking water pipe with a glass of raki.

I came to Kadıköy by invitation of an Armenian Merchant that I met in Kapalıçarşı (...). I walked all along the main road that lay down from the dock to Moda to find this house. I passed through in front of Muslim houses those are differentiated due to their cage on Windows.

I saw grand kiosks those were seen as built by some aspiration and imitation under the influence of Italian and French architecture. There were young women sitting as a group and chatting at the door of some houses. The Street was quite crowded. Wealthy families those pass over with their phaitons, aristocrats those promenade with horses and servants those run after them, black cassock weared Orthodox, purple cassock weared Catholic priests display a quite colorful image. (Türker, 20)

3. 6. Conclusion

The practice of seasonal residence movement had an ancient history harkening back to Byzantium when courtiers moved from a permanent winter place to summer temporary residences to avoid soiled conditions of city life and to relax in a better weather, with fresh air. The Ottomans maintained this activity of pre-modern societies, more or less in the traditional manner. When social mobilization through a new lifestyle commenced to be perceivable in everyday life, this practice in Ottoman society acquired a new dimension. Before the Tanzimat Era, the Sultan and his family, selected bureaucrats and their families moved to summer houses at the Sultan's will, with the exact time of the starting and ending of the season determined and proclaimed by him.

In the nineteenth century, social dynamism emerged from the influence of the Crimean War (1853-1856) at the socio-economical level, and extended this practice in further locations. The rise of the Ottoman middle class, much of it assumed to be due to the general conditions of a new socio-economic system that had been in a constant state of flux since the Tanzimat Period, combined several dynamics of the period like massive amounts of cash input from British and French soldiers stationed in Istanbul, and contribute to the regenesis of new *sayfiye* places. On the other hand, Greek ship-owners and bureaucrats took a significant role on the development of small villages of Boğaziçi as *sayfiye* places, and Egyptian wealth also had an effect on the development of new style *sayfiye culture* that differentiated it

from the old one known as *göç*. Kadıköy was a revitalized place in the second half of the century; its popularity increased in Second Hamidiean Era, and continued for decades.



CHAPTER FOUR

THE IMPACT OF NEW STATUS GROUPS, AND THE *SAYFIYE CULTURE* ON EVERYDAY LIFE AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN KADIKÖY

Explaining how the interaction between emerging new status groups, and *sayfiye culture* in Second Constitutional Period in Kadıköy, and the impact of those phenomena in everyday life, or influence of changes in everyday life on those developments are focus points of this study. But, even while describing this problematic as just a question, the complicated feature of the issue draws the attention. In this sense, before the skipping the most complicated chapter of this study, a basic guideline will be helpful for following the analysis. In this chapter, firstly *konak*, *kiosk* and *yalı* themes in Ottoman-Turkish literature will be elaborated in regarding its relation with the *sayfiye culture* and its role on the development of *sayfiye culture*, thus the impact on everyday life will be analyzed by referring Ottoman modernity. Social environment in Kadıköy that formed around those domestic spaces will be following part of this chapter. It will focus on different aspects of life inside and outside of those houses including material and immaterial elements. Then, the study will get closer than the phenomenon and analyze the families and individuals who lived in those houses and composed of higher status group of the district. The following part will make clearer the phenomenon by visualizing the distribution of inhabitants of Kadıköy those lived in *kiosks*, *konaks*, and *yalis* in this period within three original maps. The next three parts will endeavor to depict basic components of everyday life and *sayfiye culture* in Kadıköy and complete the panorama of the district in Second Constitutional Period. Luxury consumption, entertainment and art; seat bathrooms; and sport activities will be analyzed in three parts and based on primary sources.

4. 1. The Epicenter of Sayfiye Culture and Habitus: Konak, Kiosk and Yalı

Naim Efendiler did not move to Kanlıca this summer. Times are not like old period now; many habitudes changed in two years. The number of families those resident in konaks in winters, and yalis in summers decrease. Especially, after Egyptians

descend families those have *yalı*, kiosk in Boğaziçi, and hesitate to lease out them, are considered as so wealthy or extravagant. As for Naim Efendi is, neither extra rich, nor wasteful. He has been quite rigorously controlled and conserved the wealth that succeeded from his father, since he was young. Although he was among statesmen in II. Abdülhamit Period, he did not add something to this wealth. He could add, because was in high positions of the state for long years. When he was young, he was a member of Mabeyni Humayun like his father, and then circulated among governorship in many times. He attended as member of Şûrayı Devlet, General Manager of Rûsumat and finally transferred to Defterihakanî and Evkâf ministries. Two years before the Revolution, he resigned because of a cloudy “tevlîyet” [duty of supervising foundation affairs] lawsuit and retreated the corner by disgusting government affairs those getting blurred day-by-day. (Yakup Kadri, 2009, 3)

Yakup Kadri (Karaosmanoğlu) begins his famous novel, *Kiralık Konak* with this paragraph, which serves as a brief summary of the last decades of the Ottoman Empire before World War I. In the novel, Naim Efendi represents the classical Ottoman elite that are one who keeps traditional values in everyday life. Moving from the winter house to the *sayfiye* house is an ordinary habit, but its cost increased because of new *alafranga* customs and as is seen in the novel, using a *sayfiye* house and a winter house had become a luxury practice. Naim Efendi has still holding the prestigious stature in the society as a seasoned statesman; he could not adapteasily to a new tricky system of bureaucracy, and thus preferred to retire voluntarily. The fundamental theme of the novel is reflections of those corruptions, which spread like a disease among people, and the social change in those times “which are not old ones” (ibid). Throughout the novel Yakup Kadri’s critiques continue on the Westernization of the society by fictiously depicting *alafranga* lifestyle and novelties those intridcuton brought changes to his way of life. Changes in Ottoman *konaks*, *kiosks* and *yalis*, symbolize the long-term transformation of society and everyday life in the novel, and according to this transformation, abandoning classical *konak*, *kiosk* and *yalı* life meant the destruction of the old state and its society.

Essentially, the relevance of the literature to *konak*, *kiosk* and *yalı* is not only limited to Yakup Kadri’s *Kiralık Konak* in Ottoman-Turkish literature. While the Westernization of the Ottoman Empire was dealt with in novels (as a byproduct of the process), many writers, directly or indirectly, referred similar changes in *konak*,

kiosk and *yalı* life. For instance, in Ahmed Midhat Efendi's *Felâton Bey ile Râkım Efendi*, Mustafa Meraki Efendi leaves his *konak* and permanent settlement in Scutari, and moves to Beyoğlu because of his powerful desire of adopting an *alafranga* lifestyle, and then builds a new house in which *alafranga* customs are embraced. His son, Felâton Bey, follows Meraki Efendi's lifestyle, but, the luxury consumption causes the end of his magnificent life (Dere, 2016, 29). In Recaizade Mahmud Ekrem's *Araba Sevdası*, Bihruz Bey lives in an *alafranga kiosk* in summer seasons, but his permanent home is the *konak*, inherited from his dead father, who was an Ottoman Paşa in Süleymaniye. But this traditional *konak* does not satisfy Bihruz Bey because of his admiration of the *alafranga* lifestyle of a *kiosk* in Çamlıca. Actually, this place was a very popular settlement in those years that the novel covers, because the newly-opened Çamlıca Bahçesi (Çamlıca Garden) was located there. Bihruz Bey's enthusiasm for living this popular district in a new lifestyle is so intense that when he is facing an economic crisis, he plans to sell the *konak* in Süleymaniye although it is his permanent home, rather than sell his summer residence (48).

In another example, Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil's *Aşk-ı Memnu*, three *yalı* symbolize different levels of transformation. The first one is Melih Bey Yalısı (the Yalı of Melih Bey), and is known as a place for special meetings including entertainments. But it belongs to the past, and although the title of the family name is reminiscent of a privileged social life, 'inkılap nehri (the river of revolution)' was sweeping through several parts of the city. One of those parts was Boğaziçi. When Firdevs Hanım (daughter of Melih Bey) gets married, she moved home from Melih Bey Yalısı to the new *yalı* in Rumeli Sahili (Rumeli Sea Front). Her little daughter Bihter escaped from her mother's corrupted way of life in this new *yalı*, to Adnan Bey's 'mutantan (spectacular)', *alafranga yalı*. In the novel, while Adnan Bey's Yalı is portrayed as a center of richness, peace and comfort, the *yalı* that Firdevs Hanım lives in it is described as nest of corruption and perversity (131).

In *Nesl-i Ahîr*, Halid Ziya even more directly touches on this issue and criticizes the bureaucratic elites of the Second Hamidian Reign within which exists a dichotomy

between *kiosks*, *konaks* and *yalis*, and of new and old elites. Süleyman Nüzhet is a member of one of the old elite families, and when he returns from Europe after many years away, he attempts to obtain accommodation for himself and his daughter, who is about to graduate from high school. Firstly, he considers the *yalı* in Emirgan, inherited by his father, but the crowd there dissuades him and he decides that this house cannot be ordered in an intelligent way. The second option is the *kiosk* of his mother-in-law in Çamlıca. However, this is also an old and unsuitable place for a person who belongs to new generation (133-132). Finally, he decides on Büyükkada as a suitable place distanced from the boring and oppressive atmosphere of the other places. They rent out a small house similar to other European single-family houses, as the symbolic expression of the transformation in style of houses, and families (136).

As Şerif Mardin has stated in *Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century*, those fictive texts are significant sources for understanding life style of upper class and observing both social change, and Ottoman intellectuals' approaches to the issue at the same time, since this genre emerged in 1860 (Mardin, 1974, 403). Mardin deals with other prominent themes and subjects such as women's position in society, upper class men's Westernization, or women's emancipation and so a frequent theme of *kiosk*, *konak* and *yalı* is not a coincidence. Transformation of the state and society was associated with the change of those buildings by most intellectuals. For instance, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar asserts that while the empire dwindles down, the urbanized middle class' houses shrink in accordance with it at the ends of the empire (2011, 19). In this context, the emergence of "the first Ottoman emancipated *femme fatale*" (Mardin, 406) as seen in Yakup Kadri's *Kiralık Konak* illustrate the transition from the old, classical lifestyle in Naim Efendi's *kiosk*, to an apartment in Şişli.

Relevance is not limited to elaborating Ottoman modernity by referring to these texts; this intensified appeal also provides the opportunity of considering the phenomenon in a Bourdieuan way. Description of *field* by Bourdieu can simply be summarized as a togetherness of historical relations and links between different

capital versions (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2003, 25). Field collects actors, agents and objects and systematizes them. These elements of the field are in relation with each other, but those relations for the most part imply conflict, and struggle (26). The game metaphor comes into play in this context, and may further open up the issue by drawing parallels between the society and its players. According to this analogy, the cards that players put forward to win a game are, actually, their capital, according to Bourdieu. The players use this capital by strategically by taking into consideration the unwritten rules in the field. Those strategies are unstable because of dynamism in the field, but they mean a body of common tendencies accepted by the players (and sometimes on same team), thus compose *habitus* (82-83).

From this point of view, *kiosk*, *konak* and *yalı* life in Ottoman-Turkish literature loom large, specifically in novels and memoirs where it can be seen the “game” that was played in late Ottoman period by different actors of Ottoman society. Certainly, the struggle between old and new regarding modernity and Westernization, are revealed in everyday life in various ways through those years, if the developmental process is considered in general. But when the focus is more specifically on the *sayfiye culture*, of *kiosk*, *konak* and *yalı*, then there is an implicit strategic position of a dualistic social climate that combined elements of both the modern and classical in the society. It has been pointed out in previous part of this chapter that *kiosk*, *konak* and *yalı* provided both economic, and social capital to their owners. While having a *sayfiye* house mean wealthiness as Yakup Kadri has pointed out, living in a gorgeous *kiosk*, *konak* or *yalı* was accepted as an indication of being upper class in the society.

Essentially, it can be argued that the combination of those two versions of capital brings together the two others for those years in Ottoman society. Following the reasoning, it can be asserted that cultural capital and symbolic capital were also attached those buildings in this game. Being a *kiosk*, *konak* or *yalı* owner promised power, prestige, and the possession of the most influential cards to put forward in the game for the player, so strategies were determined according to this unwritten

knowledge, and *habitus*, formed at this intersection. Actually, being a settler of Kadıköy and living in those luxury, and gorgeous houses may be considered as a significant strategy in itself. This preference contains some implications on having social, economic, cultural and symbolic capitals. Individuals and families those lived in a kiosk, konak or yalı must have enough income that is higher than the average; and the talent of adapting the life standards in there; and a strong network that would provide the sociability in everyday life. This anecdote that describes Ali Neyzi's visit of an auction in Gazi Osman Paşa kiosk with his family when he was around 12 clearly put the issue on the eyes:

The konak that was belonged a famous Paşa who transformed the defeat of declining Ottoman Empire through a victory, was a charming instance of its era. I remember like it is today that I watched admiringly that huge saloons those had laminated parquet flooring, polished stairs those spirally arise, crystal heads of banisters and other things in konak one more beautiful than the other, even in my childhood. I so was amazed at living mankind in such kind of way. While we were roaming in konak we saw that two old women was walking around and look objects of konak about fondling. My father asked them who they are. One of them said that "my son, we were çıraks [a kind of servant] of deceased Paşa". This time my father asked them "Auntie how this enormous konak was cleaned and organized?" One of the women laughed and "Deary, when deceased Paşa was alive, we were forty-two in this konak". I had known idioms like evlâtlık alma, çırak çıkarma [special practices of serving system in Ottoman society] in kiosk life, but I was so astonished how forty-two persons serve in a konak although I was in that age (Neyzi, A. 1983, 66)

Even when after the owners left from there, the impressiveness of the kiosk was still here with its all luxury and brightness according to this anecdote. The questions of how people lived there and how the division of labor was organized by the owners were still evocatory for a next generation kiosk inhabitants of Kadıköy due to its implications of a distinctive lifestyle. The owners had the capacity of adaptating any change and catching any trends those came from the West as it will be exemplified in below. Taking alafranga objects from European countries, decorating houses in a modern way, eating, dressing, promenading in Westernized styles, embracing new habits like going to the theatre or cinema, and playing piano, speaking French and similar practices those signifies the new, modern, Western

lifestyle were basic components of everydaylife in those houses and strategies of inhabitants those lived inside of them.

On the other hand, it should be noted that the exact time of this study, was also the most complicated time for the rules of the game in Ottoman society. The previous easy togetherness of old and new started to give place to a more colorful, but more chaotic social climate. In this sense, changeability of strategies, thus *habitus*, was evident more than before. The role of Kadıköy and the *sayfiye* culture in this conjuncture is a substantive issue. Different components of old and new lifestyles had the chance of interchange their positions. Strategies depended on specific conditions of different cases because of ambiguity in everyday life that originated from the political instability within many other internal factors of it. Confusion on the best life style, weakening of classical perspective on the good, beautiful and right in intellectual level was both an indicator and result of this uncertainty. Sometimes a classical practice implied the power and authority in the game, but same practice might be weakness in other case. Sometimes, an individual might be known as modern and it made him/her powerful, but same person might behave like a traditional man/woman due to different balance of power relations consciously or unconsciously. Even in this complexity reveals the hybrid character of Ottoman modernity and specifically Kadıköy's experience of modernity.

Similarly, *Kiosks*, *konaks* and *yalis* in Kadıköy appear in novels in alternative shapes and with varying emphasis. While Çamlıca is identified with *alanfrangalaşma* because of its new European style park in earlier novels, later ones elaborate that they remain the symbol of an older established lifestyle. For instance, Recaizade's *Bihruz Bey* prefers the *sayfiye kiosk* in Çamlıca rather the *konak* in Süleymaniye because of *alafranga* lifestyle and these situation may be seen in the critique of Namık Kemal's in his *İntibah*. There he describes Çamlıca as the center of Westernized lifestyle, and similarly Recaizade, but this means corruption and deviation from the old ways for him. Çamlıca's identification with *alafrangalaşma* is not peculiar to the literature of the Tanzimat Era. In *Çamlıca'daki Eniştemiz*, Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar creates a vivid picture later period of the district, after this

“season of car lovers, Boğaziçi *yalı*s, Çamlıca vineyards, huge groves; rich, ceremonial, skinlover [tenperver], extravagant” (Tanpınar, 2003, 157) ended in the expression of Tanpınar. The main character of the novel, *Vamık Bey* lives in an old-style *kiosk* in Çamlıca, and, as a caricaturized figure, “out of time” as Yakup Kadri has labelled Naim Efendi in *Kiralık Konak*.

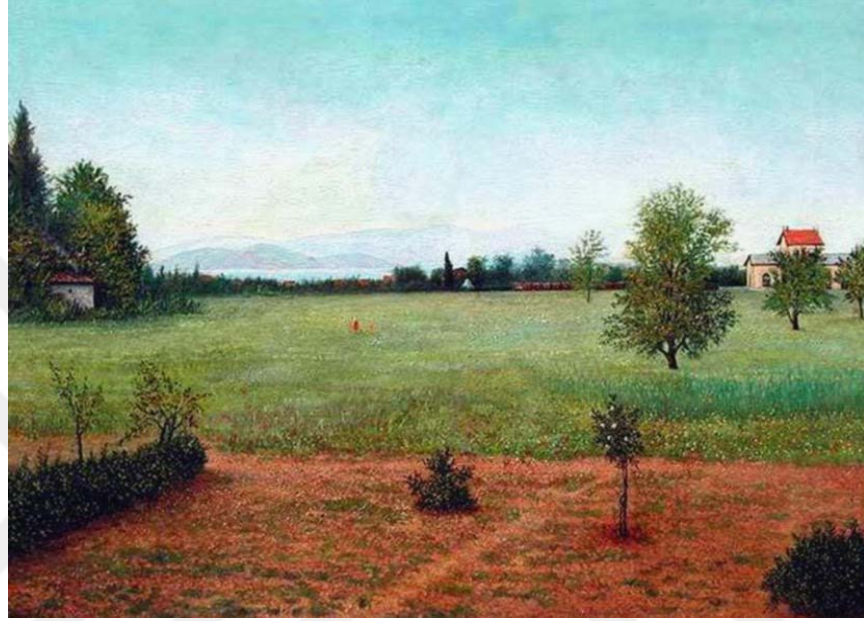


Figure 4.1. *Erenköy Civarında Tren İstasyonu* (1902), painting of Şeker Ahmet Paşa (From Özer Rayman Archive)

The Erenköy area with its *kiosks* and *konaks* has a more complicated implication when compared to Çamlıca. The construction of the Haydarpaşa-İzmit railway created an urban growth around its route. From its opening, the majority of local bureaucrats settled in those districts situated around the new railway. Immediately before the Second Constitutional Period, most of the Second Hamidian bureaucratic elites lived there. For example, the *konak* of Mehmed Tahir Münif Paşa was Abdülhamid’s II’s Minister of Education and Trade, was one of first houses in Erenköy, was was popular³⁹ because of the grape statue in its garden (Özcan, 2009,

³⁹ People’s appeal to the statue was in so much that this created interesting actions for many years. The train was enforced to decelerate when get close the Mehmet Tahir Münif Paşa’s *konak* and sometimes stop to watch this statue.(Özcan; 56) In *Değişen İstanbul’daki ‘Misafirlik’*Ziya Osman Saba tells how he tried to see this grape statue while travel in the Haydarpaşa-İzmit train when he was a little child: “Because of me, the right ones of red velvet armchairs in that wagon were preferred. I would see the very long grape statue that was in the garden of the kiosk that was on our route.

50). The Minister of Foundations (*Evkaf Nazırı*) Galip Paşa, the Minister of Finance and Trade (*Maliye ve Ticaret Nazırı*) Zihni Paşa, the Minister of Finance (*Maliye Nazırı*) Ziya Paşa were other well-known examples of Erenköy's bureaucratic inhabitants (Giz, 1988, 127). In *Sahnenin Dışındakiler*, Tanpınar describes one of those *kiosks*, belonging to one of the two Abdülhamit Paşas, "reminiscent mabeyn⁴⁰ cats", and the narrator provides decorative details:

It was a largish, arrayed building that alikes other kiosks in Erenköy in this period those inside of a garden that is ornamented pine trees in around. I saw this kiosk; which all over inside of it was decorated by chandeliers; railing of stairs by mirrors; and most of its materials exported from Vienna; and I surprised although I was a child. (2005, 18)

According to the novel, those *paşas* lived isolated in their homes until the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy, and then they had to move outside of the city (19). Reşat Nuri Güntekin's *Damga*, mentions the transition from the Second Hamidien Era to the Second Constitutional Period and Erenköy takes a minor place in this story. The main character of the novel, Halis Paşa is one of Hamidiean *paşas*, who lives in a *kiosk* in Erenköy with his family. They had moved before to Aksaray, and then Fındıklı, before the Second Constitutional Monarchy was proclaimed (Dere, 341). So, the players of the game in Bourdieuan sense constantly check and reshape their strategies; but kiosks, *konaks* and *yalis* continued to protect their significance as a tool and evidence for obtaining different forms of capital.

Those buildings by their very existence imply economic capital with the luxury life inside of them. As well, social capital is associated with an upper class life style, and cultural capital is evident as the elite inhabitants those have connections with the Court, and have the capacity of providing opportunities of devising educational and

Because, that grape, which craned its long, white neck in many times from among dense pinewoods, was in the garden of the kiosk that comes after Kızıltoprak station, one uopn a time." (26-27)

⁴⁰*Mabeyn* literally means midpoint of two things, and was used as to describe the room between the *harem* and *selamlık* in Ottoman palaces, in Ottoman period. There were official personel responsible to protect the sultan and provide the contact with the Bab-ı Ali and people on behalf of him, organize visiting program for guests and such kinds of stuffs. In the Second Hamidien Era this office was the central most powerful organ of the state bureaucracy.

cultural novelties, and, in so doing, intellectually develop and differentiate the society. As it has been mentioned above, different forms of capital may be integrated each other, especially, when the form of capital is related to the ruling class. Kiosks, *konaks* and *yalis* provided such a kind of integration for their owners, but the fragmentalization of cultural and symbolic capital prevented some type of integration or cohesion. The Second Constitutional Period was one of the most chaotic periods in which this fragmentalization became crystallized. Overthrowing the Sultan through ideological and military power signifies one of highest points in the breakdown of the integration of symbolic, and cultural capital. Therefore, the rate of providing different versions of the capital by kiosks, *konaks* and *yalis* showed great alteration in this period. Although, some of those buildings represent the state power that is invested in the owner, some of them may imply inherent weaknesses of the old and fallen regime, thereby; they provided limited versions of capital to their owners, rather integrated cultural and symbolic capital.

The criticism on Abdülhamid II's paşas in those texts signifies this fragmentalization. For instance, the same paragraph that was quoted above from *Sahnenin Dışındakiler* Tanpınar portrays the transition from Abdülaziz's period to Second Hamidean Era in this way:

When times those my father grew up our neighborhood was inside of the cadre that its borders were drawn by 93 Wari and Hamîd era. Now, neither paşas of Abdülaziz era's *konaks*, which their doors were open to anybody, either pageantry and crowd that transformed dissipation sometimes but did not make people of city jelaous, nor reputation that they repetedly brought up survived. (ibid)

Then he describes lives of Abdülhamid II's paşas as "dostsuz, misafirsiz, kendi hususî hayatlaro ve devletten gördükleri ikbal içinde, bir mahbus gibi" (ibid). That interpretation implies that the impressiveness of *kiosk* and *konak* life depended on belongings and identities of their owners. Especially, ideological preferences might divide the symbolic capital and increase or decrease the power of players due to the specific conditions of everyday life. For instance, for a paşa of Abdülhamid II, although a living in a kiosk signified his economic and social capital, and these made

him powerful in the game, cultural and symbolic capital depended on time, space, and similar variabilities.

Denizens of the district are mentioned in novels as well as elites. In Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar's *Şipsevdi*, Pehlevizade Meftun Bey lives in an *alafranga kiosk* with his family. The *alafranga* lifestyle is an obligation that was enforced on Meftun Bey in an authoritarian way and lead to ironic situations because of failures in adaptation of other members of the *kiosk* (94). Meftun Bey's neighbor, Kasım Efendi, who gains his money from interest (faiz) on money lending, is another character that has a *kiosk* in the novel. His richness is very popularized, but due to his stinginess, the appearance of his *kiosk* is in contrast with Meftun's house (96). The ideological difference is also a part of this contrast, which reflects Kasım Efendi's expression while he walks around Meftun Bey's *kiosk* the first time, face to face with *alafranga* obscene paintings, bibelots and other such kinds of objects: "Oh those Frenks.... Oh those Frenks.... They achieve anything appropriately... Just they cannot give a life. (...) In tomorrow, it will be said that 'Now, give a life to them' for their products, in afterlife. I do not know what would happen in this time." (97).

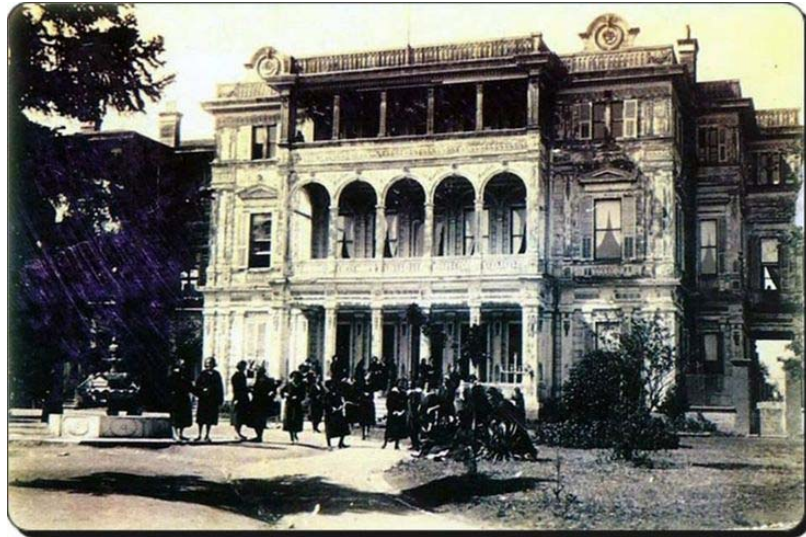


Figure 4.2. Erenköy İnas Numune Mektebi-Rıdvan Paşa Kioskü (1911) (From formal website of Erenköy Kız Meslek Lisesi)

Kiosks and *konaks* in the other districts along the railway route, similarly were identified with bureaucratic elite settlements there. For instance, *kiosk* of Ali Refik

Paşa, who retired from the Artillery Presidency of the Ministry of War, was located in Göztepe, or, Second Hamid's commander Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Paşa's *kiosk* was in Feneryolu in real life (Özcan, 123). Although the identifications are not as strong and intense as Çamlıca or Erenköy, the identification of these districts with the bureaucracy before the Second Constitutional Period and the symbolization of the disappearance of those buildings with the end of traditional period, is a dominant theme. It is worth remembering that prior to the handover of symbolic capital, and in some respects, cultural capital, there was an excellent representation of the state power clearly indicated in those buildings, and, they signify the symbolic and cultural capital according to these narrations described through novels and memoirs. Districts on the shoreline such as Moda, Fener, Çiftehavuzlar, Suadiye, Bostancı can be found in novels of the Republican Period and also in novels of this period.

4. 2. Social Environment Formed around of *Konak, Kiosk and Yalı*

In this framework, what we call *sayfiye culture* may actually be more accurately described by elaborating the elements of life both inside and outside of those houses. That is to say, the *sayfiye culture* formed and transformed around those houses, and in those houses; many customs started to be practised in there, and a new style of socialization developed around those buildings in Kadıköy. For a deeper understanding of the role of *kiosks, konaks* and *yalis* in the genesis of Kadıköy identified with a *sayfiye* and changes in everyday life in the Second Constitutional Period, various and pronounced components that were developed inside and outside of those houses need to be examined in a more comprehensive way. Keeping in mind the demographic variety of the district, the distribution of the population and the identical heterogeneous characteristic of regions in Kadıköy, the implications for completely revitalizing components of everyday life should be analyzed. The intersection set of different versions of capital, is actually can be found here, reveal the *habitual* transition in this pathway.

Aspects of life inside those houses may include material and immaterial elements such as design of the rooms, decorations, breakfast or dinner routines, or

additionally any details about how family members spent their days. Ottoman elites living in Kadıköy were mostly comprised of old and new bureaucrats from the Second Constitutional Period. As explained in Chapter One, there was an appeal for courtiers to distance themselves from court life, and while courtiers who were at peace with the state, desire of a life that was distant from more political districts those were close to the Court was a strong motivation for some inhabitants of the district as it has been explained in the first chapter. But, this aim to live in a more silent, restful either permanently or seasonally, was one source of its attraction. The location provided suitable conditions and thereby enhancing an easy embrace of the new elements of everyday life, far away from the intrigues of court life. Thus, strategies were constantly reviewed and reshaped by courtiers living there. While those houses became the *space* of the epicenter of social change, the integrity between the inside and outside of those houses moved the district in a vivid and fruitful direction toward reproducing modernity in everyday life as it will be explained and exemplified while basic themes of everyday life in Kadıköy elaborating in next parts of this chapter.

While it may not be possible within this study to completely depict all aspects of everyday life in those houses, so too the features of habitual transition aligned to the changeable styles of the inhabitants in the kiosks, *konaks* and *yalis* of Kadıköy cannot be known in every detail in a clear way. But by scrutinizing some subjective sources it is possible to unearth some clues about it, and to capture the encounters with *alafrangalaşma* in everyday life in those houses through examining narration in memoirs. For instance Sultan Hamid's Mabeyn Protonory Tahsin Paşa's *konak* was built as a miniature of a palace in Paris (Ekdal, 2009, 60). On the other hand, these sources do not provide an absolutely clear view of everyday life in Kadıköy. But these examples do focus on how *alafrangalaşma* was observable in everyday life in those houses. In these observations, differing motives created diversification of the strategies, and at the end of the day, there is a complicated web of those strategies available to analyze.

The life in Hasan Amir Bey's *konak* in Kızıltoprak reveals this complexity. Hasan Amir Bey and his family were among the first settlers in Kızıltoprak. One member of Sultan Abdülhamid's bureaucrats, Zühtü Paşa is known as the founder of the district. After he settled there and improved the living space by constructing a mosque, a school, an *imaret*,⁴¹ a fountain and other such kinds of basic elements for living (Korle, 1997, 15). Hasan Amir Bey settled there because of Zühtü Paşa's invitation, and with Taşçızade Hakkı Bey became the first settlers of the district. According to his grandson Sinan Korle's account, Hasan Amir Bey was a "civilized thinking" man and practiced in his house that type of lifestyle. For instance, he spoke French fluently, dressed as a European, and used a European watch. His wife, Hatice Amir, also knew French very well, and had a thorough education (20-21). On the other hand, the traditional lifestyle was still dominant in their house. Although Hasan Amir Bey decided to settle in Kızıltoprak with Taşçızade Hakkı Bey and their houses were called as "Çifte Köşkler (Double Kiosks)" because of this closeness, those two buildings were quite different from each other. While, Taşçızade Hakkı Bey's houses was built in a fashionable "Chippendale" style, Hasan Amir Bey designed own house in Turkish-Seljukian style, remaining loyal to gender segregation (16).

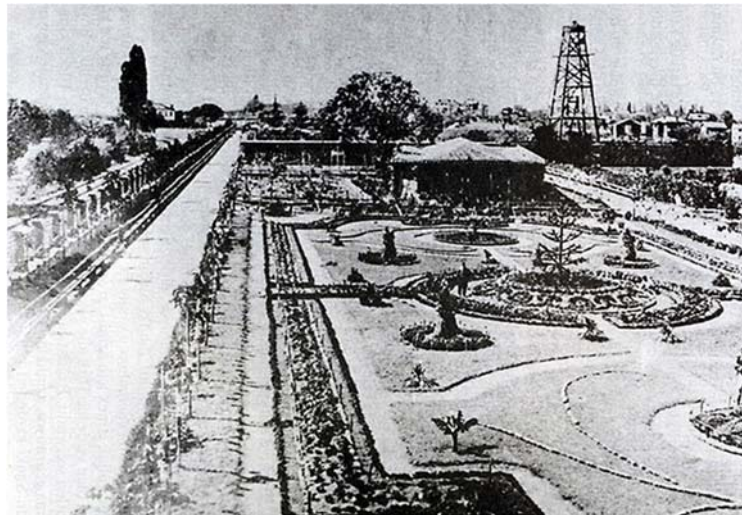


Figure 4.3. Garden of Deli Fuat Paşa (From *Kapalı Hayat Kutusu Kadıköy Konakları*, Müfid Ekdal, 2005, İstanbul; YKY.)

⁴¹ *İmaret* means a kind of foundation functioned to provide hot meals for poors and students in madrasahs in Ottoman society.

Another example is a member of the Union and Progress Movement, Hasan Vasfi Kıztaşı, and his memoir provides details to understand a different dimension of the issue. According to Müfid Ekdal's account, Kıztaşı visited "Deli Fuat Paşa", who settled in Feneryolu, with one of his friends. Their aim was to persuade him to join their political organization. Their motivation was due to Fuat Paşa's offense to the Court that resulted in a six year exile decreed by Abdülhamid II. What followed, is summarized by Ekdal:

The door opened by a servant. There was an eminently wellbehaved, well-dressed young at the center of the saloon. Later, we learnt that he was the son of Fuat Paşa. The while, Fuat Paşa was on the head of stairs, and the father and son was speaking among themselves in French. It was certain that, they would like to know us. They hold us in a waiting room that has a gold-leaf furnished living-room suite. Both the luxury of the room, and speaking French of Paşa and his son between each other, created a feeling of deficiency for us. (...) we understood that we have nothing to say, and suggest to this family that we figured out they were superior than us in any case. (2009, 35)

In this case, while description of the luxury in the house implies economic capital, the usage of this capital, and educational superiority of Fuad Paşa and son shows the cultural capital.⁴² This common feature of most of *kiosks*, *konaks* and *yalis* in Kadıköy reflects the mainly elitist identity of the district, which was actually, based on economic, and political power. Indeed, Kadıköy was the space of rich and elite families, who were for the most part attached to the Court in the senses of demographic and cultural varieties as we will see in the next chapter.

⁴² At this point, the role of education on the distinctive feature of the new lifestyle is a prominent topic that must be elaborated all by itself like the intellectual developments. (For a statistical analyze on the issue please see Alkan, Mehmet Ö. (1997). *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Modernleşme Sürecinde Eğitim İstatistikleri 1839-1924*. Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü and a specific study on private schools please see Güçtekin, Nuri (2015). *İstanbul'daki Husûsi Mektepler (1873-1922)*. İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A. Ş. Yayınları, and a documentary text on one of the famous high school that several members of higher status groups were educated in there in Kadıköy please see Michel, F. Ange (2002). *Saint-Joseph'in Öyküsü (1870-1923)* (Trans. Demir Alp Serezli) (Vol.1). İstanbul: Saint-Joseph Lisesi Eğitim Vakfı.) The impact of educational and intellectual developments on Kadıköy's inhabitants is also a remarkable phenomena that is observable in primary sources of this study. No doubtedly, doing a comprehensive analysis exceeds the limits of this master thesis and requires independent studies. But I put the list of schools those were in Kadıköy in the time period of this study in the and as appendix to provide a general idea on the educational fabric of the district in those years (See *Appendix 1*).

But, the cruciality of this instance signifies much more than this single point. The strategies can be interpreted in Certeauian way starting from this point of view. According to De Certeau, strategies mean unwritten principles determined by power relations in the society (Certeau, 1984, 112). The place of the authority (in any form), legitimizes some practices by describing and stabilizing them, and those practices are composed of strategies. Those strategies also determine relations between other power agents in the society, under the rule of the authority and positioning them (113). On the other hand, there are also tactics those are developed in everyday life and a bit more complicated than strategies. They emerge more spontaneously than strategies and not as much explicit as them, rather grow silently in everyday life and push the limits of strategies. They are against to strategies, but this conflict also is not remarkable in the first sight. Tactics are a bit pussyfooted due to their organicism, and their results are seen in long term. They deform strategies in time, but reforms those are shaped by their tricky performance became visible just when they entirely undermined the old strategies.

In this context, despite the strategies developed by the state and still dominant in the society, fragmentalization of the state ideology and structure in this period shows through in everyday life. Society was subjected to a double-sided strategies: on the one side, classical values were those embraced by state and society for centuries; and, on the counter side, the new power agent that had enforced itself as the unique authority by taking control of technology and money. In addition to the contradiction of this two-headed strategies, there exists a complicated relation between those two power agents which becomes blurred in aspects of everyday life. In the case of Kadıköy, and specifically in the Second Constitutional Period, this complexity comes into prominence in several ways. Like the interchange between old and new in regarding symbolic capitals, different contexts made same practices strategy and tactic, and more prominently, same actors and status groups applied both strategies and tactics due to the conditions those were continuously updated in the dynamic climate of the period. As instances in following paragraphs reveals, actors of Ottoman modernity could embrace both of tactics and strategies in Kadıköy. While they applied the strategy of Westernism in Ottoman society and

practiced this strategy in everydaylife, on the other side they were aware of a grand strategy that originated from outside of the Empire and their Ottoman identity pushed them to develop tactics against to those strategies. Actually, the hybridization of everydaylife practices mostly based on this ambivalent social psychology.

For instance some inhabitants like Deli Fuat Paşa may not have been approved by the state, but were still accepted among courtiers as social equals, and as equal in status received respect from the actors of the other power agent(s). On the other hand, exclusion of those courtiers by the state might not mean an ideological difference, and personal conflicts might come to dominate instead of ideological ones. In this sense, strategies were quite changeable in those years and the accompanying tactics were dependent on these changeable strategies in this period. Aiming to control what was shared by some agents, tactics varied. Ottoman modernity can be understood as the most significant social change in Kadıköy in those years, and also can be considered as a grand strategy that engaged the strategies of the world order, while simultaneously serving as a tactic against those strategies. Tactics and strategies in Kadıköy were in alignment with the general tactics and strategies in Ottoman modernity, and the world order pushed the Ottomans to produce tactics or obey strategies as determined by powerful countries, and held symbolic power in Bourdieuan sense.

As the basic holder of economic capital, superiority and richness of the Western countries in the sense of social, cultural, and symbolic capital was remarkable in this period. On the eve of the First World War, dominance of those countries' strategies (using de Certeau's terminology) were highly sensible. Fragmentalization of strategies in Ottoman were based on these power relations. As "Services about New Life Style (Yeni Hayat Tarzı ile İlgili Hizmetler)" in *Orient Trade Annuals* (1868-1921) refers, the connection between the transformation of the society and the economy, and the mutual influence between these two fields (in Bourdieuan sense) in this period was explicit İstanbul-wide. In his analysis of this topic, Ayhan Aktar lists many new services that emerged those years such as shops that just sold biscuits,

repairmen of elevators, dance and music teachers, sellers of chocolate and bonbons, stamp sellers, pressmen, stain removers from gloves and so on (Aktar, 2006, 189). These specialized types of work can be considered as products of powerful new strategies, consumed by tactics. But they were also obstacles for the local tactics developed by Ottomans. No doubtedly, developing character of Kadıköy in this period made esier to embrace those kinds of new components of everydaylife.

This period was also the time that is called as *belle époque* in the world to describe an era of peace and plenty without war. The term was specifically used in France at first, but then was applied across Europe, and it expresses a nostalgic desire to return to those seemingly unproblematic years. From the 1880s to the First World War, economic growth in Western countries created conditions that contributed to this exceptional period which included great developments in art, culture, literature, fashion, science, technology, and architecture. Aside from the invention of several technological tools like the camera, telephone, gramophone, automobile, new art movements long with their monumental works of art emerged, and new types of entertainment forms and places started. Even fashionable dressing became a very prominent element of everyday life in this period. Certainly, this luxury and comfort was most widely and vividly seen in the members of upper classes (Schofield, 2014). The source of the economic power behind this ostentatious lifestyle of elites was based an exploitation both of other countries' resources by imperialism, and on labor of lower classes in countried now drive by the forces of capitalism.

From this perspective, the corresponding emergence of a *leisure class* in Veblen conceptualization in those years is not so surprising. As a modern phenomenon, leisure emerged and spread in the first industrial society, and in particular, in Britain in the nineteenth century. Depending on prosperity, technological developments and organization of time according to work in industry, several leisure activities rose in this century in Britain and including activities urban such as going to the pub, entertaining in theatres, music halls, spending time in holiday resorts and so on

(Roberts, 2006, 33). As Veblen points out, when societies meet a process of transformation, luxury consumption becomes an instrument of acquiring status and prestige in the society (Veblen, 1912, 165). According to Veblen, “[w]herever the institution of private property is found, even in aslightly developed form, the economic process bears the character of a struggle between men for the possession of goods” (24). But, the emergence of a leisure class in the full meaning, was realized “with the transition from the predatory to the next succeeding pecuniary stage of culture” by labeling labor and producing activity as dishonored (39). Seen in this light, the so-called belle époque, actually was the golden age of this leisure class, and became a powerful leader in the sense of any form of capital in Bourdieuan terminology.

As might be expected, there were repercussions of the interaction between Westerners and Ottoman elites influential in Kadıköy the belle époque. Luxury, wealth, and fashion were materialized in the kiosks, *konaks*, and *yalis* of the district. For instance, Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Paşa Konağı is described as a three-floored, bone colored, wooden kiosk built by a Greek master in 1875-1877, with the inside of the kiosk decorated by Egyptian kilims and carpets. The kiosk had an electrical installation which although couldn't be used because of a technical problem, was quite deluxe with brilliant push buttons. The building was heated by radiators. There was decked out guard in a cabin to control the entrance and exit, and, in front of one of the four garden doors, a well-dressed server to transport women inside the house (Ekdal, 1991; 8-9). The kiosk also decorated with massive furniture of the mid-nineteenth century, along with silver objects, rugs and carpets brought from Britain, and a bronze statute made by China (Tugay, 2015, 48).

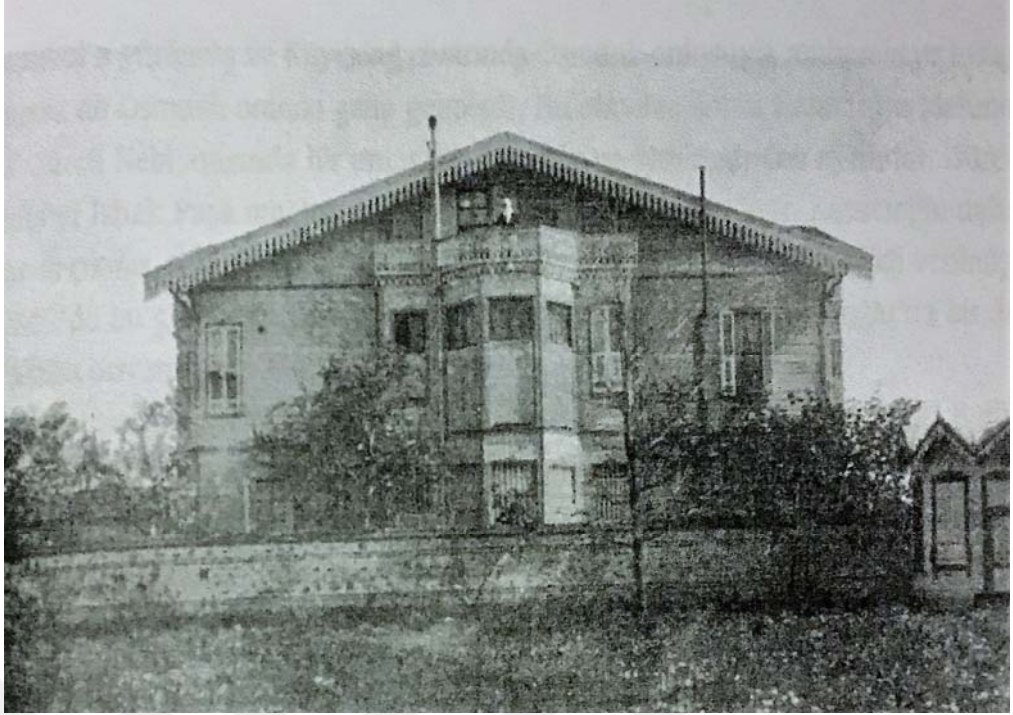


Figure 4.4. Kiosk of Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Paşa (From *Kapalı Hayat Kutusu Kadıköy Konakları*, Müfid Ekdal, 2005, İstanbul; YKY.)



Figure 4.5. The road through Kiosk of Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Paşa inside of its garden (From *Kapalı Hayat Kutusu Kadıköy Konakları*, Müfid Ekdal, 2005, İstanbul; YKY.)

There were also a telegraph line and an official who was employed to keep watch (Ekdal, 28), and there was a telephone line inside of Paşa's room to coordinate personnel and contact outside of the kiosk (33). We also know that Paşa gave two feasts to notables when he was Sadrazam, and that gold and silver dinner services were used at those lavish meals (28). But, it is also known that although Western

furniture started to be a symbol of prestige and status since the early nineteenth century, Ottomans did not allow their entrance into their domestic life entirely (Bertram, 2012, 158). For example, Gazi Muhtar Paşa's kiosk was designed as classical home based on the gender segregation principle of Ottoman houses. This gender segregation meant having the *selamlık* part close to the street door and adjoined to the outside wall to prevent male guests from entering further inside of the house (Ekdal; 10). Luxury was also maintained with narrow limits sometimes. For example, when Gazi Muhtar Paşa's son married the Egyptian Princess, Nimet Hanım, he is surprised by the abundance of alternatives in lunch and dinner, and suggests a decrease in from eight to six courses of food (Tugay, 80). These examples refer back to the existence of tactics in these modernized lives, and show that the struggle of strategies did not end yet.

Bourdieu says that "[l]ife-styles are thus the systematic products of habitus, which, perceived in their mutual relations through the schemes of the habitus, become sign systems that are socially qualified (as 'distinguished', 'vulgar' etc.)" (1996, 172). In other words, habitus is "an agent's whole set of practices (or those of a whole set of agents produced by similar conditions) are both systematic, in as much as they are the product of the application of identical (or interchangeable) schemes, and systematically distinct from the practices constituting another life-style" (170). In this sense, eating, drinking, dressing, sport activities and entertaining are basic fields for showing the distinctive features of their class for elites as happened in many Western societies during the *belle époque*. That is why *sayfiye culture* obtained a new form in Kadıköy during the *belle époque*. Levantine families introduced distinctive aspects of life styles, much of it from Britain, and introduced several novelties to Kadıköy. Egyptians were considered as influential on the Ottoman elite's life styles from nineteenth century as was explained in the previous chapter. Although, they generally preferred Boğaziçi as the locations to settle down, Kadıköy was an alternative for some inhabitants who wanted to remain apart from extravagant lifestyle of Boğaziçi; there were at least a limited Egyptian effect by the means of relations between relatives, as is observable in the case of Gazi Mahmut Muhtar Paşa. There were similarities between an Egyptian *belle époque* and what

was experienced in Kadıköy in those years, and, it can be considered that the 1930s is the *belle époque* for Kadıköy under governance of the Republican regime.

In this context, taking a closer look at the general features of Kadıköy's inhabitants who lived in kiosks, *konaks*, and *yalıs* in those years, will bring into tighter focus the social fabric of the district, and provide more familiarity with members of this *leisure class* (using Veblen's terminology), or with new status groups in a Weberian conceptualization, and in either case, the leading actors of the *sayfiye culture* there. Division between kiosks and modest houses is also a significant point to take into consideration to highlight the everyday life in Kadıköy. Ali Neyzi's description of Kızıltoprak a decade after the period under investigation may help to illustrate:

In the village of Kızıltoprak, the settlement and thus social life nearly splited in half as "kiosks" and "houses". Fifteen or twenty kiosks, heaped out two sides of the railway. Each of them was twenty or twenty-five roomed, wooden kiosks those settled down in great gardens. As for that the other residential areas of the village consisted of "houses" those their numbers arrived approxiamately two hundreds. (1983, 9)

On the other hand, there is not sufficient extant knowledge to make deeper comparisons between those modest houses and elegant kiosks. But, it is clear that there was not homogeneity even among kiosks or to what degree of luxury they had. For instance, Neyzi's house did not have a modernized heating system like Gazi Muhtar Paşa's kiosk, rather most households used stoves. Except for the heated room, stoves were not worked continously, and other rooms were quite cold in daytime, or in winters. In this sense, 30-40 çeki (approximately 250 kilograms) of wood were taken in during the summers and stocked for winter use (Neyzi, 1986, 217-18). However, it may be prudent to avoid certain generalizations on the social change in Kadıköy, while continuing to try to understand the role of status groups in the development of *sayfiyye culture*, and in everyday life, and in the reciprocal interaction among those three components of *habitus*.

4.2.1. Inhabitants of Kadıköy: Families and Individuals

Essentially, the question of “who lives in those kiosks, *konaks* and *yalıs*” expresses one of the most significant points of this study. The cosmopolitan character of Kadıköy’s demographic, included a population comprised of a number of differing identities and classes, and this aspect of its cosmopolitan character appealed to those who were attracted to live in the area. They were also attracted by the distance they could have from the city’s noise and dirt. These factors contributed to the motivation of these status groups to move to Kadıköy, and where the wealthy elites had a more conspicuous role in the social change there with their luxury life styles. Although ascertaining the interaction among these individuals or groups has not been possible yet, taking a look briefly at several famous families who lived in there will be suggestive for elaborating the impact of this colorful social fabric on the phenomenon. The brief and panoramical summary below may provide an opportunity to further analyze how Kadıköy came to change from a humble village to a *sayfiye* place, and more than only a settlement place by the means of its social fabric. In this way, the *habitual* transition will be clearer in the sense of its actors and agents.

In this period, *Büyük Moda* was known as the space of Levantine families, those interested in trade, and notables in the society, while humble Greek and Armenian people lived in *Küçük Moda*. There were also Muslim Turks in smaller numbers, but the character of the whole district was created by the ostentatious homes of Levantines (Önce, 29). Living in Moda started in the 1870s with the broker Lorando and Tübini families (Ekdal, 1996, 33). The story of Lorando and his relative Tübini in the nineteenth century, originated from before the Second Constitutional Period. Both of them were from Syra Island, and were Italian, but held French citizenship. Lorando built a grand mansion in Küçük Moda what is recorded as a ‘palace’ in the land registers. He had also donated some parts of Assomption Church’s land. In time, this family had kinship with elite families from different nationalities such as Ostrorog (Polish) and Furstenbergs (Austrian) (23-24).

Tübini families had also a gorgeous mansion like a palace, in Moda Burnu, which came to be known as *Tübini Mahallesi* (Tubini Neighborhood) in a short time after. The father of the family, Berrand Tübini was a broker in Galata, while his son managed a furniture store with 400 employees in Beşiktaş. They lived in Beyoğlu in winters, but moved to Moda in summers. Nomiko, son-in-law of the father Tübini, built seven houses for his children in Moda after he inherited Berrand Tübini's properties when he died. In the course of time, *Moda Çayırı* (Moda Meadow) passed from Tübini's to the Whittalls and Lafontaines (22-23).⁴³ Those British families firstly came to İzmir from their countries to conduct trading, by taking advantage of privileges given to British Empire, and thereby acquired an exorbitant fortune in a short time (26-27).



Figure 4.6. Sir William James Whittall, his wife and sister; in their yacht (1906) (From www.levantineheritage.com)

For the Whithall family, after the father Charlton Whithall's death, one of his sons (among eight children) Sir James William Whithall settled in Moda in 1873 and stayed here until he died in 1910 with his extended family (28-29). From the Lafontaine family, James Lafontaine lived and traded in İzmir till his death in 1826.

⁴³ Abdülaziz took on debt from Jean Lorando and Berrand Tübini in 1873, but he could not pay on time, and this debt increased because of interest added to it (750 000 golden in total). The issue was moved to Commercial Court by debtees, then they applied to France, and the government turned the problem into a diplomatic and politic crisis that concluded with a breakdown of relations between the two states. Moreover, France sent a naval force for a potential war. This high tension just could be defused by mediation of Germany in 1905 (23-24).

His first son (1798) moved to İstanbul when he was young and developed strong relations among Galata Levantines (31).⁴⁴ Several members of this family preferred Moda as a place to settle (32).⁴⁵ According to narration in memoirs, the social space in Moda was shaped under the impact of those families since their first inhabiting at the end of the nineteenth century. This was so much so that the physical appearance of Moda did not appear unfamiliar to Europeans who visited (Önce, 26). For instance, Ekdal defines the impact of Whithall family on the Moda's social space in this way:

In the beginning of twentieth century Whitthalls was the most prominent one among families those make their name in Moda within spectacular life, social activities, land-sea sports and limitless income that originated trade that carried out by themselves by the way. The family was wide. Moreover, relatives, guests those came from Britain in every summer lived a diverging life comparing Turkish families in Moda that was a peerless nook of İstanbul, did not find strange the place that they occupied. (...) Football, tennis sports, Yacht Club commenced to be inhabited by means of this British family and other British families those were relatives of it and Levantines in Moda. It was impossible not to be admired gorgeous mansions those they lived in, views in their gardens those remind paradise and have any kinds of fruiter and ornamental trees. (26)

Other parts of the district had alternative intensities in the sense of inhabitants' identity and social status. As Kızıltoprak, Erenköy, Göztepe came into prominence, military and civil *paşas* settled around the railway. Courtiers mostly preferred Erenköy, also Feneryolu and Fenerbahçe. Although, Mühürdar, Suadiye, Kalamış, Caddebostan were not as popular for courtiers, there were also a small number of notable families who settled in those places. In this sense, the elitist character of the district was spread into the railway region and along some parts of the shoreline. The daughter of Sultan Abdülmecid, the sister of Abdülhamid II Cemile Sultan, the daughter of Murad V and nephew of Abdülhamid II Hatice Sultan, the daughter of Abdülhamid II Şadiye Sultan in Erenköy, the *müşir* (marshal) Ahmed Eyüp Paşa in Feneryolu, the *müşir* Deli Fuad Paşa in Fenerbahçe, the *şehremini*

⁴⁴ Then he administered branch office of Ottoman Bank in İstanbul. Later attended as director of *Düyun-u Umumiye* and died in 1884. His brother Edward also worked in İstanbul, in his own company. He died in 1886. Both of them were buried in English graveyard in Haydarpaşa.

⁴⁵ The third son of Edward Lafontaine was part of the British Army in the First World War and was assigned as military police on the Asian side of Boğaziçi during first years of the ceasefire. He commanded in Moda and Kadıköy. (32)

Rıdvan Paşa in Göztepe were just a few instances of the remarkable caste of elite that chose to settle here.

On for the cosmopolitan social space of the district, those individuals and families had an alternative role. Although there were several population factors at the context during the second half of the nineteenth century that created a distinctive social fabric in the district, the appeal of the place to courtier elites and Ottoman bourgeois had a significant role, and examples include two *şehzades* and several children of Sultans, and a number of Sarai members who choose Kadıköy as a permanent or seasonal residence. Within Fikirtepesi Köşkü V. Murad, and the kiosk in İbrahimağa Şehzade Ziyaeddin Efendi were two famous inhabitants of the district in this period.⁴⁶ After the proclamation of Second Constitutional Period son of Murad V; Salahaddin Efendi became to settle down in his father's kiosk with his family (Giz, 107-108). just use the end of this sentence, the inital detail is not needed Actually, Mehmed Ziyaeddin Efendi was known as elegant, flirtatious, extrovert person that frequently seen in promenade places. He was also the first *şehzade* registered as a civilian academy (109).

Cemile Sultan was married to Mahmut Celaleddin Paşa (son of Müşir Damat Fethi Paşa) who was choked to death by Abdülhamid II on the grounds that being one of convicts of Sultan Abdülaziz's death. Cemile Sultan had been estranged from her brother for a long time and maintained a melancholic life in a kiosk in Erenköy. Her grandchild Prenses Mevhibe Korle describes Cemile Sultan as "forever in a mournful and wistful state" (Korle, 13). She mentions that she had never seen her grandmother in a colorful dress; her clothes were only brown and black in appropriately the depressed atmosphere of her life (13), and she kept letters, send by Mahmud Celaleddin Paşa from Taif when he was imprisoned, at her bedside until

⁴⁶ V. Murad also settled in Kurbağalidere Köşkü for a while before he built own mansion in Fikirtepe. Kurbağalidere Köşkü was a present from Sultan Abdülmecid to his son; Şehzade Abdülaziz, after a long term *kafes* practice ended. Abdülmecid abolished restrictions on *şehzades*' free moving right and presented a *Veliâhd Dairesi* (Prince Room) in Dolmabahçe Palace, Kurbağalidere Köşkü, and horses, boats for transportation. When Abdülaziz succeeded the throne, he reserved the kiosk for his nephew Murad Efendi but after a short time settlement Murad Efendi constructed a palatial mansion that would be costed 43 627,5 and earnt reputation with its beauty Ottoman gold on the land taken for him by the Sultan (Giz, 106-107)

she died (15). On the other hand, Hatice Sultan had a vigorous life in Erenköy years, compared to Cemile Sultan. After 25 years of imprisonment in the Çırağan Palace with her sister Fehime Sultan, she persuaded Abdülhamid II to let allow those sisters to marry under the condition that their fathers would no longer see Murad V. Their marriages were not satisfactory for such beautiful women, and merely provided relative independence to them. When Hatice Sultan moved to Erenköy after the Second Constitutional Period was proclaimed, she was married her second husband voluntarily, after colorful period of flirting (Giz, 115).⁴⁷

Another *paşa* who was charged with Sultan Abdülaziz's death by Abdülhamit II, Sadrazam Midhat Paşa and his family were inhabitants of Erenköy. They preferred a 'secure' district after the famous attack of Çerkes Hasan (1876) on their house in Beyazıt (Kent, 30). But it is known that he was exiled to Taif (1881) after this attack, and was killed in 1884. In the years of the Second Constitutional Period, his family had continued to live in Erenköy. His daughter Memduha Hanım was a sociable person although she had been divorced, and after a short time was married when she was young. While she took responsibility of her three sons, she also conducted social responsibility activities in *Himaye-i Etfal* (Society for the Protection of Children) and pursued a musical life. According to her grandchild Seniye Fenmen, she was an "extrovert in social relations, cool among relatives; do not speak more, po-faced" person (ibid.).

Abdülhamid II's two daughters, Şadiye and Refia Sultan, were also among settlers of Kadıköy. Refia Sultan was married to Ahmet Eyüp Paşa's son Binbaşı Ali Fuad Bey, and moved from their permanent settlement to his father-in-law's kiosks in Feneryolu in the summers (Giz, 116). They lived in this 'palatial' house, bought from Cemile Sultan, after she moved Erenköy when her husband died in exile, until the dynasty was sent into exile in the Republican Period (Ekdal, 344-345). Like her sister, Şadiye Sultan was a seasonal inhabitant of the district, and stayed at her husband Fahir Bey's summer kiosk in Erenköy. She describes everyday life in this *sayfiye*

⁴⁷ For his narration on Hatice Sultan, Giz refers Nezahat Nureddin Ege, as a person familiarized the life of her.

seasons in this way: “We went to swimming regularly in evening and morning. We protruded to sea by boat, contemplated sunset. We pulled oars, played sea sports. We went on evening excursions in Fenerbahçe, Moda shorelines by car.” (Şadiye Sultan, 2013, 66)

Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Paşa and Tahsin Paşa were other settlers of Feneryolu with their families. Tahsin Paşa was “a man of middle height, who always wears black dress or *redingot*, with fez, and known as ‘Kara Tahsin Paşa’ by the reason that he was dark skinned, serious and immensely proper person” (Ekdal, Kadıköy, 349). He had obtained the title of paşa when attended Abdülhamid II’s Mabeyn Başkatibi, and after the Sultan was deposed he was sent to exile. Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Paşa had a bright military and bureaucratic career. He participated in several significant military campaigns and wars in that crucial period of the Empire such as Bosna-Hersek, Karadağ, Kozan, Yemen, and including the famous “93 Harbi” with Russia.

After the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Period, he returned 23 years later after an assignment in Cairo, and took several responsible positions in the bureaucracy under the rule of the new regime. Being a member of *Ayan*, then the president of *Ayan*, and organizing a council of cabinet as the Sadrazam were most significant duties among them. The abolishment of this cabinet in a few time dispatched him to isolation in his kiosk in Feneryolu. Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Paşa also known as an intellectual person. He studied on the concept of time and endeavored to solve the troubles originated from differences between local and European calendars. He wrote *Riyaz'ül-Muhtar Mir'atül-Mikat ve L'edvar* (Garden of Muhtar; Times/Places on the Mirror of Cycles) and *La Reforme du Clendrier* (Calendar Reform) and attempted to publish a periodical by using latin characters in Turkish, but it stayed as just a project (340).



Figure 4.7. Mahmud Muhtar Paşa and his family (From *Bir Aile*, Üç Asır, Emine Fouad Tugay, 2015, İstanbul, Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları)

His son, Mahmud Muhtar Paşa, grew up in the kiosk of Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Paşa, in Feneryolu. He started his educational career in Kızıltoprak, and then was sent to Galatasaray Lycee as boarding student when he was nine. His French style education was interrupted by his training as a soldier (75-76). After he got married to Prenses Nimetullah, who was the daughter of old Hidir of Egypt İsmail Paşa and had their first baby, they moved to *Mermer Konak* in Moda. Because of he was under investigation of the regime because of his critical thoughts, he left İstanbul in 1903, and this 'voluntarily exile' ended in 1908, with the proclamation of the Second Constitution. He served as the commander of *Birinci Ordu* (First Army) and gave priority to the education of soldiers. While staying in Moda, he used a boat to arrive the office (81-88). During the 31 March events, he made a significant effort according to his grandchild Emine Fuad Tugay, but because of he was in Moda, he was not able to fix the problem in time, and when the problem became uncontrollable and protestors came onto the Asian side of İstanbul, he hid in the mansion of Whithall family (91-93).

4. 2. 2. Mapping Second Constitutional Period's Kadıköy

As has been emphasized, Kadıköy's inhabitants were not limited only to those families and individuals settled in kiosks, *konaks*, and *yalis*. In fact, some intellectuals and artists resided there, over the years, such as Şemseddin Sami,

Ahmet Rasim, Refik Fersan, Refik Halid, Safveti Ziya, Cenap Şahabeddin, Ömer Seyfeddin, Reşad Ekrem Koçu, and Sermed Muhtar Alus, and this group maintained alternative lifestyles in the sense of socio-economic status. There is also information about dwellings of the population with low income around Haydarpaşa and İbrahimağa, together with old settlers of Kadıköy in the center of the district. Immigrants over the years had moved to the interior parts of the district. To capture the transition of population and settlement in the district since the end of the nineteenth century, constructing the structural transition by examining some maps will help to illustrate this transition.





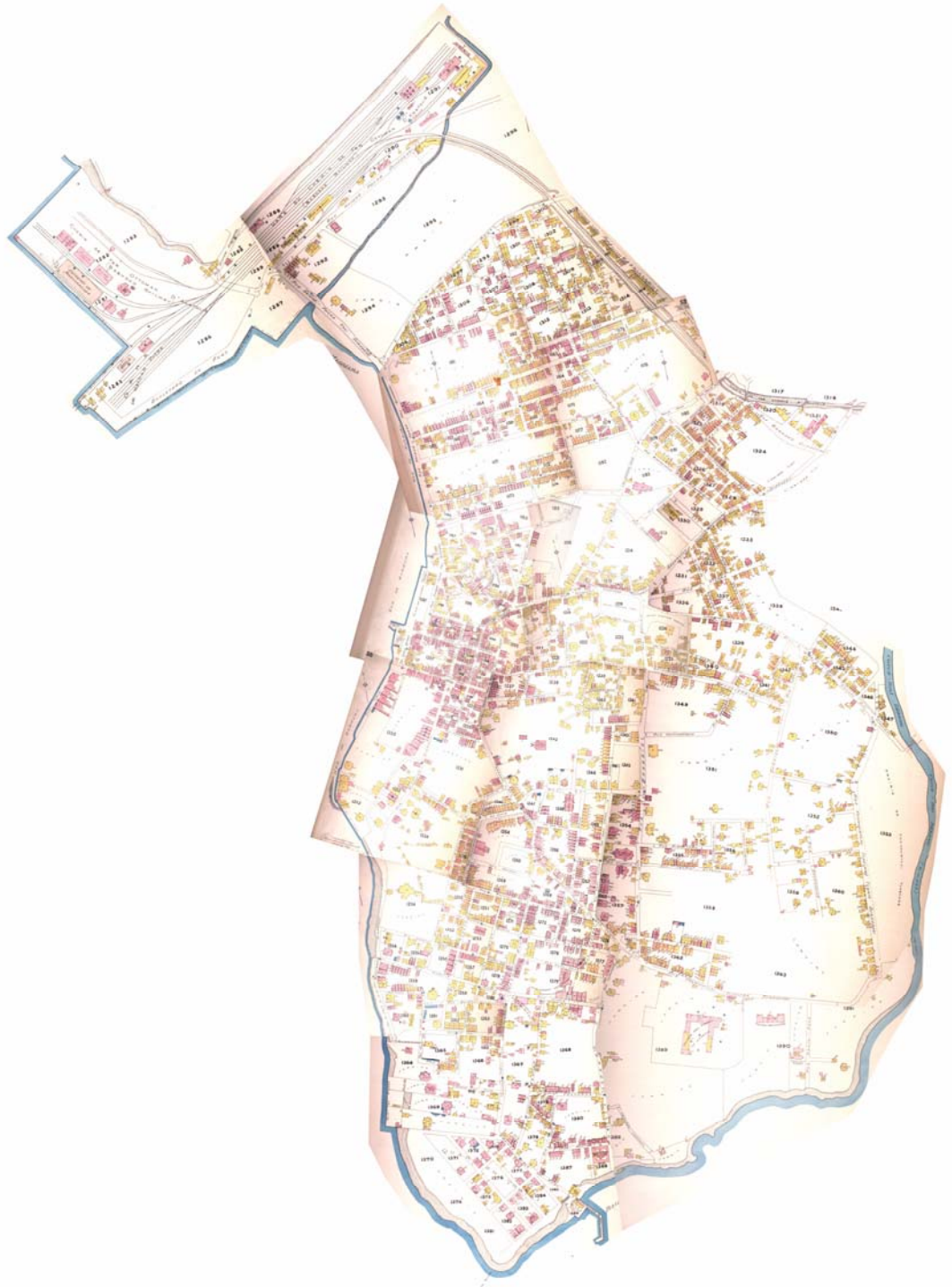
Map 4.1. Biladi Selase (1845)

On the map of *Biladi Selase* (See. Map 4.1), it can be seen that even in the mid-nineteenth century, Kadıköy conserved its feature of being a humble village distant from conflicts of the city. In this map, the district is full of green areas, especially

when compared with today's Kadıköy there was just minimum settlement around the Port of Kadıköy. Alongside the relative density in the center of the district, scattered settlement is also seen in Moda. In this sense, this map shows that immediately before the Haydarpaşa-İzmit Railway started to be constructed in 1873, and ferries came into service in 1850, Kadıköy was still an unknown part of İstanbul; which had been in a transformative process for the last decades. Although, there is not any dramatic difference between this map and most of the previous ones⁴⁸, when compared with a later map of 1906, the size and direction of the change will be more obvious.

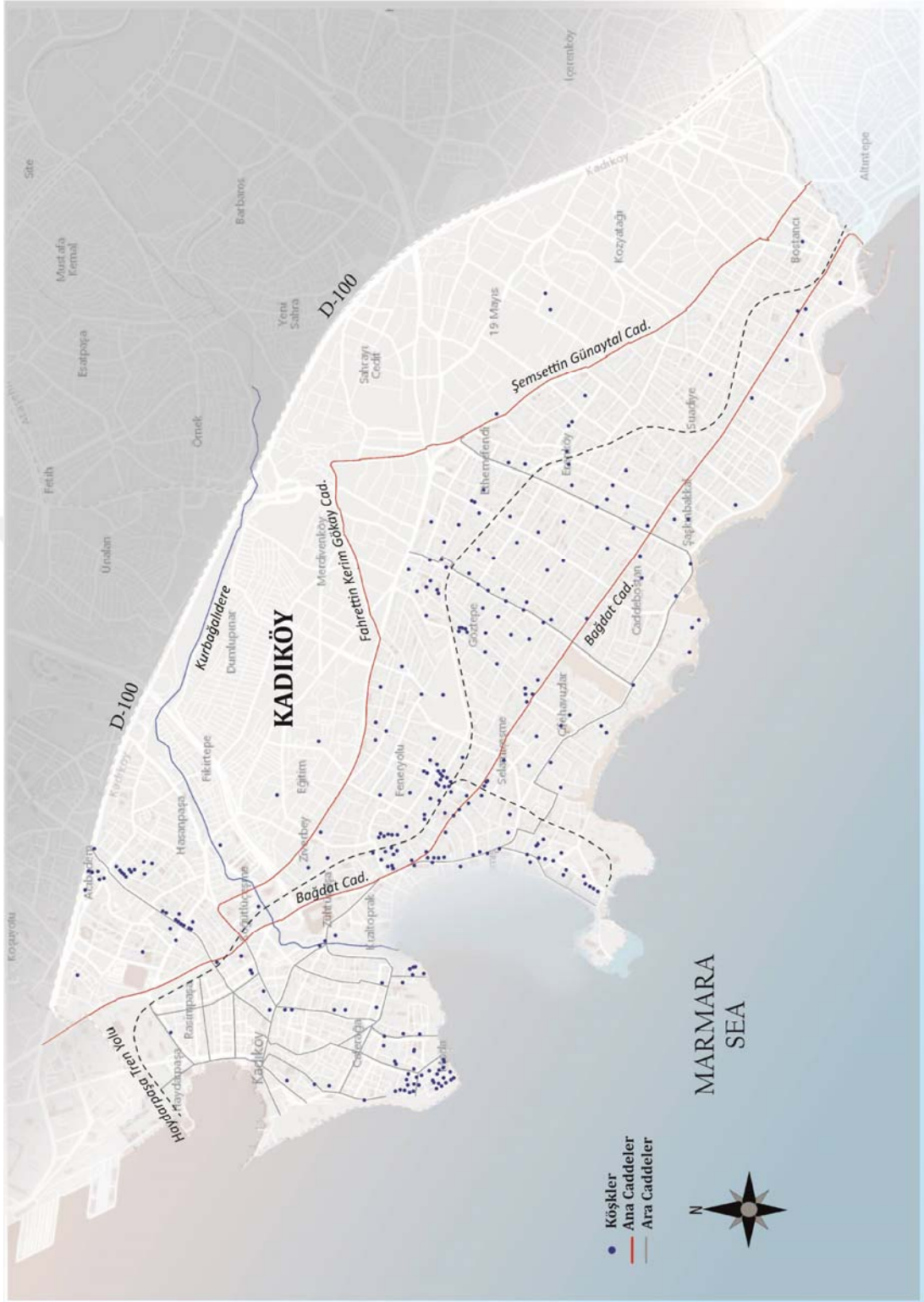


⁴⁸ For a general analyze of Kadıköy's transition that is prepared by appealing maps and gravures please see Kayra, Cahit (1990). *İstanbul, Mekânlar e Zamanlar*. İstanbul: Ak Yayınları.



Map 4.2. Goad's Map (1906, unified sheets)

In this map, the railway can be clearly seen between some buildings around it to provide coordination. Intense housing from Yeldeğirmeni to Moda, Yoğurtçu and Kuşdili is another noticable phenomenon that implies the great change in approximately a half century. It can be seen how hotels, apartments, theatres, clubs, schools, temples compose a vivid, colorful and cosmopolite physical and social space on the map. On the other hand, Goad's map is a minor part of this study, as it does not allow for visualizing the phenomenon in a comprehensive way. Although, the date of this map provides the possibility of analyzing the first expressions of the change in this *sayfiye* district through the next decades, we do not have vivid visual materials that to picture the Second Constitutional Period with Kadıköy's streets, neighborhoods, houses, public and private institutions, and other components.



Map 4.3. General Distribution of Kiosks in Kadıköy in Second Constitutional Period (This map prepared by using Müfid Ekdal study on kiosks and konaks of Kadıköy as base, and supported some other memoirs)

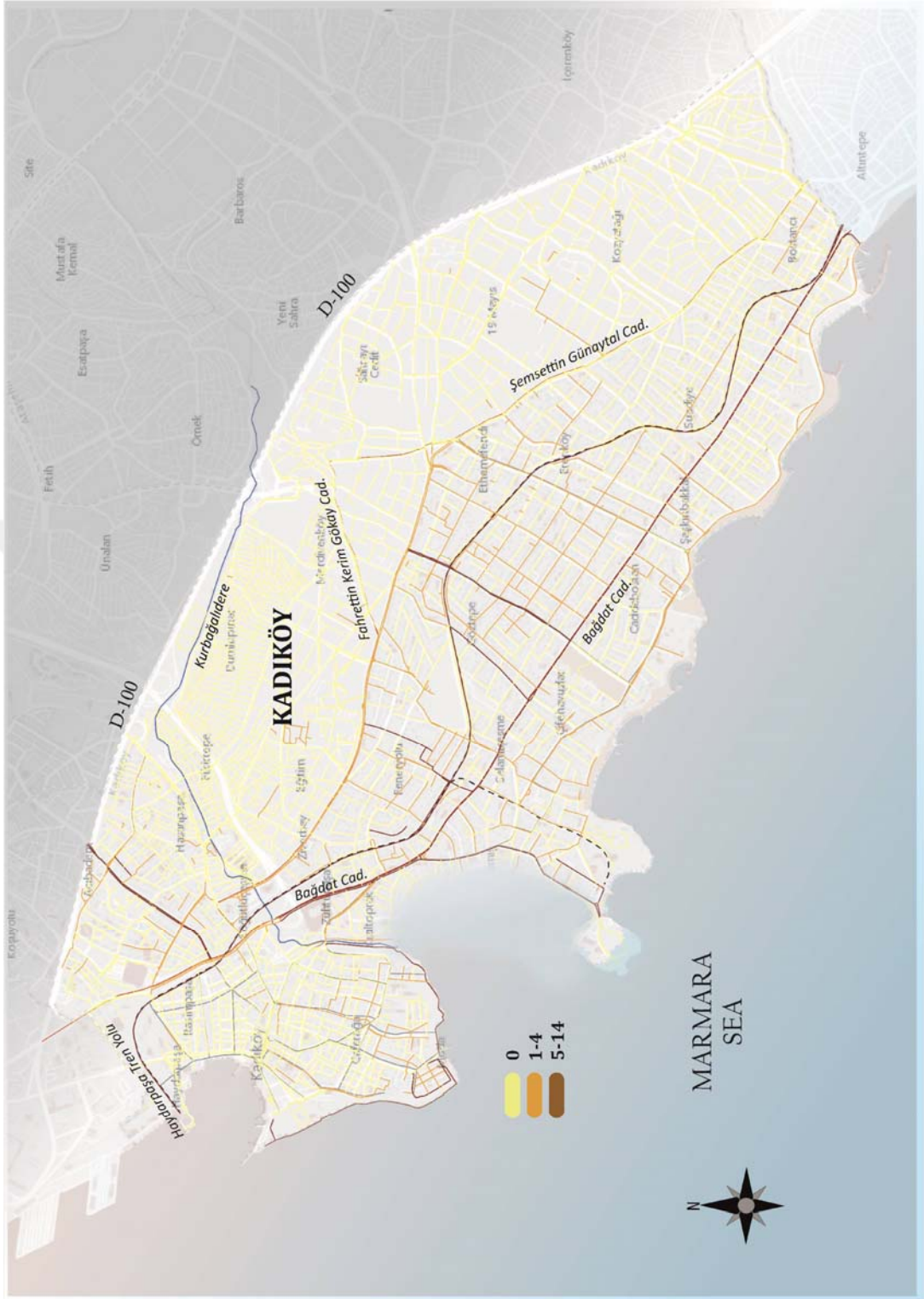
The map above may supply needed details, at least in the sense of housing by elites, or of the *leisure class* in Veblen's terminology. In this map can be seen the general distribution of kiosks, *konaks*, and *yalis* common in the collective memory of Kadıköy's inhabitants as can be found from their memoirs applied for this study. Although it is difficult to complete a detailed picture of the district, the kiosk intensification can be used as a tool of analyzing social fabric there. In this way, it is possible to make a comparison with Wirth's formulation and the *saffiye*. His formulation is composed by three aspects, size (scale), density, and heterogeneity/differentiation. According to Wirth, for a sociological analysis of urban space (i.e., a district), those elements are essentials as mentioned in the first chapter of this study (12). The Size/Scale of the population aggregate signifies "greater range of individual variation" in his perspective. If the population increases, or how much the size is, division of labor, deeper interaction, and heterogeneity will increase in parallelism this wideness, thus, urbanized lifestyle will appear more concretely (70-71).

In the map at first glance, the increase of structuration attracts the attention comparatively when compared to previous periods, and is even observable in Goad's map. Although the size of population was not as much as Wirth's approach may require, the striking increase shows the special form of urbanism there as part of Istanbul growth, and as a freshly developing suburb of the city. It is clear to see an intensified settlement, even if just in the sense of the high status group's housing clustering around the railway down from Kızıltoprak, and along the shoreline especially in Moda and Fener-Kalamış region demonstrate this rapid increase. Prominence of the role of opening Haydarpaşa-İzmit Railway in 1873 for regeneration of Kadıköy in the beginnings of twentieth century is revealed by observing this remarkable increase. Desire of getting far from the Court because of ideological difference, or removing from the Court and its environment by the political authority, or just aiming relaxing in a new and relatively secluded place, or another motivation; while all of them directed attractions to Kadıköy on several occasions, the railway facilitated transportation through the district, and the ferry service that was another new travel phenomenon for Istanbulians.



Map 4.4. A section from map of Fenerbahçe (1934) (From Levent Civelekoğlu Archive)

This conjuncture of being close to the railway or the sea for providing transportation between their location and Istanbul is seen as a basic motivation for residents of those kiosks, *konaks* and *yalis*. Due to their high incomes which were well above the average, most of the owners of those houses had the capacity to own boats in order to travel between the two sides of the city. But, again, it should be stressed that the areas near the railway were more preferred than the shoreline. Two regions come into prominence along the shorelines, Moda and Kalamış-Fener. However, the Kalamış-Fener shoreline had a short railway that bifurcated on Feneryolu Station of the main railway and went down till the shoreline, and called 'ekabir treni (train of grandees)' due to its regular passengers those were mostly belonged to Ottoman bureaucracy (See Map 6).



Map 4.5. Distribution of kiosk, konaks, and yalis intensification on roads and streets (Base of the shows today's roads and streets, but intensification of buildings are belonged the Second Constitutional Period in Kadıköy)

Essentially, only the Moda shoreline is seen as relatively disconnected with the railway among places those have intense settlement on the map. In the next map (*Map 4.5.*), although there is an intensified line that starts in Mühürdar, continues through Moda, Kuşdili and gets close again to the railway around the top of Yoğurtçu Meadow, the remaining background of the railway in Moda is an issue as density, one aspect of Wirthian analysis of the urbanism, arises. Wirth describes density as promoter factor for size, by increasing the complexity in the space. In a limited space, rise of density rate creates a 'urban milieu' that strenghtens the urbanized life by enhancing the diversity, thus making individuals familiar alternative lifestyles and identities, thus getting more toleration in the society (74). Although we cannot with clarity mention a powerful density in general on the map, when we take into consideration that those are only the first kiosk, konak, and yalı owners of the district in this period, the meaning of this intensification may be clearer. Combining specific regions on the district shows that there is a combination of a modern urbanized lifestyle, and the sayfiye culture that is leading to further development of the district.

On the other side, heterogeneity, as an essential part of this urbanized life, and another stake of Wirth's formulation implies more mobility in this densed space. According to Wirth, in such a limited and intensified space, heterogeneity increases the interaction between different social groups, and this high interaction enhances the transivity and enforces the borders; thus class structures (or status groups) became to change (75-76). At this point, paying attention to Herbert J. Gans critiques on Wirths's perpective on urbanization will be helpful to elaborate this map sociologically. Gans objects to Wirth's urbanization theory firstly because it actually works away on mass society, rather the city by comparing modern settlement forms of industrialized society with pre-industrial society. So according to his theory, any modern institutionalized settlement society can be described as urbanized. On the other hand, this approach also ignores the individuals and degrades them as objectified, atomic parts of mass society. In this sense, it also elaborates the city lifestyle in a superficial way, and misses the variety. And finally,

his analysis comprehends just settlers of inner city, thus outer city and the suburbs are not included in Wirth's theory (Gans, 1968, 35).

In this context, Gans lists five basic types of inner-city settlers as *the "cosmopolites"*, those "live in the city in order to be near the special "cultural" facilities that can be located only near the center of the city" and mostly consist of unmarried or childless intellectuals and professionals; where *the "unmarried or childless"* are divided in two as permanent or temporary (those prefer to move away from the inner city when getting married or having children); and where *the "ethnic villagers"* who isolate themselves despite the fact that they live the inner city and they are there as a result of necessity and tradition, rather than voluntariness; and, *the "deprived"*, that is those are very poor and weak; and, *the "trapped" and downward-mobile* (37-38). In this way, Gans clarified the features of the various inhabitants of the inner city, and emphasizes the heterogeneity in a class-based categorization. He asserts that such kind of heterogeneity decreases when moving away from the inner city, to the outer areas and suburbs, and that Wirth's approach on the urbanized life style, actually, fits "the transient areas" (39). But, there is a common view that asserts that residential areas of suburbs have a more homogeneous population, different than cities, and also demographically divergent: "they are younger; more of them are married; they have higher incomes; and they hold proportionately more white collar jobs" (41).

According to Gans, homogeneity in suburbs is, in fact, related with the newness of those settlements. He asserts that even in the city "[b]rand new neighborhoods are more homogeneous than older ones, because they have not yet experienced resident turnover, which frequently results in population heterogeneity" (43). At the beginning, just the wealthy can easily settle there, and may prevent outsiders by using their economic and political power (ibid.). But, at the end of the day, diversification between city and suburb turns spurious, and a part of city, suburbs takes its share from the urbanized life style depending upon its specific conditions. From this perspective, the Second Constitutional Period in Kadıköy is seen as both urbanized and suburbanized, with inhabitants in those kiosk intensified regions as a

factor that influenced preferences of the following settlers, and forms the distribution of kiosks in the district. In other words, it is possible to map the status groups of the district in this period to clarify the heterogeneity in general, and to view the diversification of the high status groups.

The next map (*Map 4.6.*) shows the new status groups those came to Kadıköy after it started to develop since mid-nineteenth century, and lived in those kiosks, *konaks*, and *yalis* in the period of this study can be observed. Actually, families and individuals those have kiosks, *konaks*, and *yalis* in Second Constitutional Period's Kadıköy can be categorized in several ways and methods by taking as the base of their nationalities, jobs, relationships and such kinds of variance. But, within this study, a Weberian perspective seemed preferable to classify them depending upon their social environment, as found in the memoirs. As it has been explained in the first chapter (see pg. 14-15), Weber argues that the stratification of the society, which emerges as the result of power relations in the society can be analyzed in three levels, class, status groups, and political parties. While political parties contain a conscious and target-oriented group of people, classes include less consciousness among their members comparing other stratification elements, and mostly just situationize the composition of stratas. But, members of status groups have more commonalities in everyday life, and they share close life styles in the sense of opportunities, worldviews, living standards, and so on. In making a habitual analyze of kiosk, *konak* and *yalı* owners of Kadıköy in the Second Constitutional Period, looking at status groups is seen as more accessible.

Table 4.1. Categorization of Kiosk Owners

CLASSES	MEMBERS	NUMBERS
Courtier-Family	Members of Ottoman Dynasty	13
Courtier-Bureaucrat	High-level bureucrats (Sadrazam, Vali, Nazır etc) and high-ranking commanders*	86
Courtier-Court Official	Persons those worked in the Court in the status of officials (Başkatip, esvapçıbaşı etc) and ordinary military officers (subay), <i>zabits</i>	27
Courtier-White Collar	Educated people those worked in the Court	3
Merchant	Local or foreign merchants and Levantines	39

* Individuals those their families were belonged to this group also added to this group.

Table 4.1. (Continued)

White Collar	Educated people those worked out of the Court	18
Intellectual-Artist	Writers, Poets, Musicians, Painters etc.	10
Ordinary Paşa	Persons those we know them as just "pasha" and do not know how they obtained this title	14
Scholars	Academicians in university or medrese	5
Others	Unknown owners	81

In this sense, to categorize those people, firstly it is possible to detect the kiosks, *konaks*, and *yalis* built in Kadıköy in this period and found in memoirs. Although, several texts mention different buildings within their households, the basic source of this list was Müfid Ekdal's study on Kadıköy's kiosks and *konaks*. While listing those buildings, it can be found their owners and inhabitants as far as they are mentioned in Ekdal's study, or as found in other memoirs. Then by composing columns for their jobs, titles, ethno-religious identity, relatives, and some special notes, there develop an outline that shows their social environment. While being *paşa* or *Levantine* came into prominence as title, their jobs were mostly related with trade or alternative affairs in the Court. Actually, these data need a categorization that would combine those alternative components in each one etiquette, and ought to reflect this complication to make analyzing lifestyles easier.

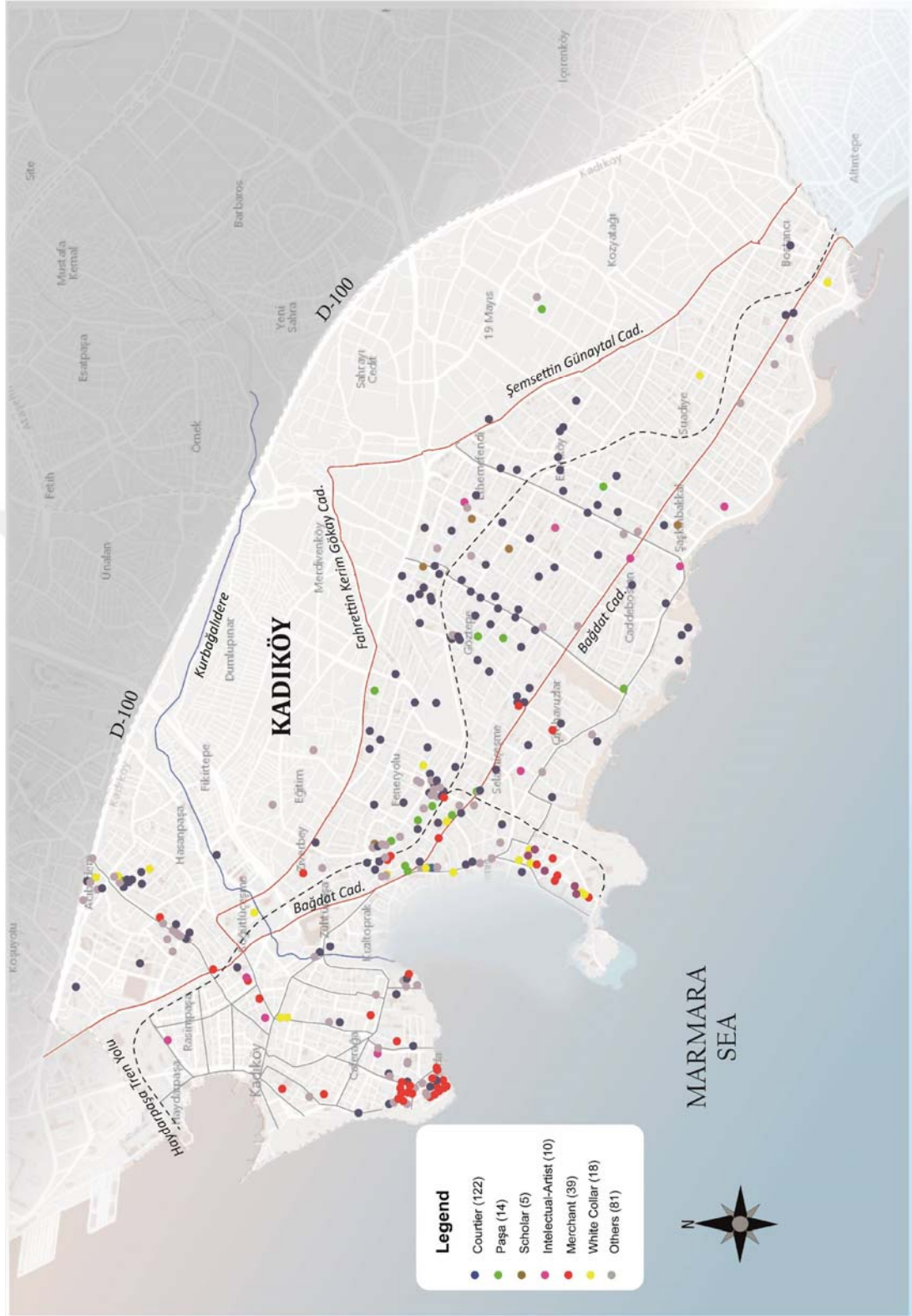
In this way, it was then possible to classify them in nine status groups, and create a comprehensive list (See *Appendix 2*). But, it should be noted that those components were taken as signifier of a common lifestyle specific to our case. In essence, Weber developed the concept of status group to obviate dilettantish categorization of the society in regarding the stratification. He defines the status as the "social estimation of honor," indicating that it is about social prestige and recognition. His motivation was to offer a more nuanced analysis by adding a new level of analysis, particularly *contra* Marx, that shows how the society is stratified independently from economic and other classical dynamics. It is no surprise that working in the same job, belonging same family or ethno-religious groups create a social class in the sense of socio-economic positions. Within the concept of status group(s), Weber draws our

attention to beyond those class-based categorization, and emphasizes that social honor includes much more than those variables. Prestigious of any lifestyle may arouse several ways in different everyday life practices of any groups and classes. In this sense, it has the potentiality of overlapping or conflicting with the class stratification at the same time, but in any case, social status signifies a different stratification form in the society that based on aesthetic, culture, worldview and some other preferences those composes the lifestyle. Class-based conditions may support these components of a specific lifestyle, but sometimes it may not overlap with them (1978, 932).

In Kadıköy during the Second Constitutional Period, there was a strong correlation between class-based stratification and composition of status groups. Undoubtedly, emergence of new status groups during the modernization process of Ottoman Empire that was concentrated after mid-nineteenth century became reforming the borders of classical classes. But in the Second Constitutional Period, although their impact on everyday life became visible, the integration between classical elites and the middle class that was arising and producing new higher status groups in the society was not yet completed. Actually, they were to wait until after the First World War I, and first years of Republican Period (Toprak, 2017, xx) for this. In this sense, in our case there were still a huge rate of overlapping between classical variables of social classes and status groups. On the other hand, the parallel between the preferences of newly rising middle class and the upper class of the society was impressive, implying the presence of Weber's third type of class – the “social class” whose members share similar experiences and tastes – as well as the congruence between the two classes in terms of status/distinction indicators in terms of taste and consumption patterns.

In this context, while these maps were prepared and data were categorized any kiosk and konak owner was considered as member of higher status group in the society. In fact, we do not have enough data on details of middle- or lower-status groups' lifestyles, and thus during this study this dimension of the phenomena mostly remains in the background. So, on the maps you can see how groups with

higher statuses among the Kadıköy inhabitants come from several social classes. The table above (*Table 4.1.*) explains the feature, content and number of members of those status groups, and reveals the variety of kiosk, *konak*, and *yalı* owners and elite inhabitants in Kadıköy, and thereby provides the opportunity of analyzing change of the social fabric. Actually, the question of whom or which group of people appealed to which part of the district is important to refine the analysis. While those houses formed the everyday life as the epicenter of *sayfiye culture*, or as everyday life took shape by the influence of the lifestyle in those houses, it is clear that the owners and inhabitants of those kiosks were basic actors of this change. In this context, the visual impact of the data listed on the Kadıköy map makes the point more strongly. The map below (Map 8) shows how those new status groups located in Kadıköy, in the Second Constitutional Period according to memoirs and Ekdal's semi-memoir study on Kadıköy kiosks and *konaks*.



Map 4.6. Distribution of kiosks, konaks, and yalis according to status groups

When we look at the map and paying attention to the table above, regional aggregation and intensification in specific parts of the district by kiosk owners start to be more understandable. While in Göztepe, Erenköy, Caddebostan, and Feneryolu courtiers and ordinary *paşas* are dominant; white-collar workers and merchants aggregated in Moda and Fener-Kalamış regions on the map. A limited number of scholars mostly concentrate around of Göztepe and Erenköy, but intellectual and artists have scattered distribution. Suadiye, Bostancı are generally free from kiosks except for Acıbadem. Actually, Acıbadem constitutes the boundary between Üsküdar and Kadıköy, so the map does not comprehend all the parts of this place. Similarly, although they are inside of today's Kadıköy municipality, the topic of D-100 is out of this map's borders because of the sources do not refer to any buildings there. Thus, when we mention "Kadıköy", more or less, it means what can be seen on this map for the period of this study.

If taken into consideration that the title of "merchant" is mostly composed of Levantines, and that "courtier" comprehends a wide and various scale of Ottoman elites, as can be seen in the table above (Table 6); the diversification on the map reveals the character of social stratification in the district and how *site effect* unfolds there. As mentioned in the first chapter, according to Bourdieu, social order and power relations in the society are symbolically materialized in physical space by distance. He asserts that position of social agents are embodied in physical space in a site that can be determined, and described by taking into consideration its closeness, or distance to other sites. "Juxtapositional structure of social positions", and "spontaneous symbolization of social space" in physical space became visible due to the distance (1993, 124). The intensification on Moda Burnu and Fener-Kalamış shoreline meant the appeal of foreign merchants and Levantine population there reveals footprints of the new social order in Ottoman society that emerged depending on modernity (and Westernization).

Several Levantine families already been mentioned preferred to live seasonally or permanently there, after they obtained priviledges within the change of regulations in Ottoman economy due to political order changes happening in the world. When

they started to come to Ottoman cities for trade, they gravitated to port cities because of accessibility, especially İzmir and İstanbul. Those who decided to work and live in İstanbul, steered for Galata-Pera region to merchandize or do other business, but they selected alternative places for settlement. Significant Levantine families who settled in Moda in the mid-nineteenth century were among those people who worked on the European side of the city, and settled down in other districts. Many of them moving from İzmir to İstanbul, chose Moda, which may be explained by their affection to be close to the sea, the popularity the sea transportation at this time, and the easy accessibility of Moda. It was these considerations they made when choosing Kadıköy. As the Haydarpaşa-İzmit railway started to be built later, their choice to live some distance from the interior and upper side of the district is clarified. The sea transportation was the main for of transport to arrive in the district before the construction of the railway, and the point may be considered in choosing which part of the area to live. In any case, they preferred to live in an available part of the city, but keeping their worldview intact, and lifestyle, and their economic capital that provided by new economic order gave them a chance of discovering a fresh and secluded place.

On the other hand, after the railway construction, when Ottoman elites started to spread from Kızıltoprak to Erenköy, they still continued to live in the same region except for a relatively low density in Fener-Kalamış, and this is not a clearly explicable. Actually, Fener-Kalamış consists of generally foreigners, especially Levantines. When comparing the clustering of courtiers and merchant class on the map, the difference between their frequencies demands some attention. While courtiers spread on a wide area in more wide ranges, merchant class focuses on mostly a constricted land. So, the appeal of Levantines and foreigners is clear at least to the end of the period that this study covers. So, it can be argued that the holders of symbolic power that is those were still the leaders of the political order, and had a great cultural, social, and symbolic capital in this term, occupied a wide space and range on the map.

These factors also signify the importance of the appeal of Kadikoy to Ottoman elites. Although a major part of the district was only peopled a short time ago as it can be observed in the *Bilad-ı Selase* map where it shows the distribution of kiosks, *konaks*, and *yalis* according to status groups (*Map 8*) where they filled up the area in a few decades. According to Bourdieu, the translation of social space to physical space is realized “more or less blurred” as always happen in translation in general (124). The relation between “spatial structure of the distribution of good and services” and “spatial structure of the distribution of agents” may shape different versions of capital and the potential power of authorizing the space into physical space in alternative forms depending upon the place of the agents are situated, or their temporary positioning, or permanent ones (*ibid.*). So, elaborating this issue requires a multi-dimensional perspective.

When it considered from this point of view, the appeal of Ottoman elites to Kadıköy and their first settlement there shows different forms of distance. While they are close to the modernized transportation services, the space they intensified was distanced from the the areas associated with classical İstanbul. Independently from their intentions, their existence represents the state power in this space and implies spreading state power into suburbs. Their preference to settle down on the route of the railway, makes them close each other, and provides visibility in the eye of people those use the train route. But, inhabiting Kadıköy meant being distant from those classical types of social environment, and may imply marginalism, as Neyzi emphasizes when he recalls his grandmother’s preference, and this preferences indicates consciously moving away from “the corrupted lifestyle in Boğaziçi” that would provide the basis of a new lifestyle in the future, and in turn come to create Republican elites (1986, 32 and 166).

In fact, capital possession in Bourdiean terminology actually came from Ottoman elites to Republicans in the distinctive context of the Second Constitutional Period, and within its crucial role Kadıköy’s specific experience is seen in this map. Intensification of courtier status groups can be seen through this transfer from the old to the new. Ottoman cosmopolitanism was realized in Kadıköy in a deeper level,

in special living spaces with their entirely new novelty and innovation, enhanced this transfer. This intensified the Ottoman elite population that lived in Kadıköy during this period as may be seen on the map. The experienced of these several novelties those came to exist in this heterogeneous and cosmopolitan social fabric as will be explained in the next parts of this chapter, and, in turn, those novelties became basic components of Republican elites' everyday life. Theatre, cinema, tennis, yacht culture and such kinds of diversions were practiced by this elite population by adapting them to Ottoman sensibilities. Undoubtedly, those novelties were not unfamiliar to the other Istanbul districts or to the rest of Ottoman elites in Kadıköy, and the popular appeal of those novelties in Kadıköy will be emphasized in the next part of this chapter. But as the main holder of symbolic power, the argument of the importance of the role of elites on the development of Kadıköy is an explicit issue explored during this study, in tandem with the exclusive conditions of Kadıköy in the context of Ottoman modernity in developing its suburban character in this period. Hesitating to make a teleological relation, it may be argued that it is possible to identify some leading actors of the social transition of Ottoman modernity on this map. In the next sections, basic agents of their dynamic social environment, and prominent components of everyday life, mostly shaped around kiosk and *konak* life, are examined first by touching upon the luxury consumption that was a point of critique in the context of Ottoman modernity.

4. 3. Luxury Consumption, Entertainment and Art

Although there were origins based in the Tulip Era⁴⁹, critiques of luxury consumption among Ottoman elites focus on the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid. According to a text of Cevdet Paşa, the impact of the Crimean War (1853-1856) on culture, women's appearance in *mesire* in what was considered to be an inappropriate way, and on the increase in luxury consumption aligned with the competition between these women on beauty, well-dressing, following European fashions, emerged in this period, as explained in Chapter 3. In the study on one of

⁴⁹ For a specific analyze on this age and consumer culture in Ottoman society please see Salzman, Ariel (2000). "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. Donald Quataert). NY: State University of New York Press

Sultan Abdülmecid's daughters, Refia Sultan, the write Ali Akyıldız chronicles the issue by analyzing Refia Sultan's shopping practice, and emphasizes that non-Muslim merchants of the Empire moved any products of luxury consumption to Sultans and their wives' from European countries, and the cost of this craziness was an exceptional indebtedness to the state (Akyıldız, 2003, 4).

The reasons behind critiques of Second Hamidian bureaucratic elites in the Second Constitutional Period, are based on the perceptions that grew from this close historical background (Faroqhi, 2014, 299). Yakup Kadri's symbolization of Naim Efendi's resignation from bureaucracy implies the corruption underway at that time. In this context, Kıztaşı's anecdote also clarifies the sense of observing the ongoing stratification of the society in Kadıköy immediately prior to the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy. According to Şerif Mardin, "...when one looks into Turkish history in some detail, conspicuous consumption seems to have been of a very special kind. Conspicuous consumption among Ottoman grandees consists mostly of largesse..." (Mardin, 418), and this value had been protected in rich Muslims' lives through to the close of the nineteenth century (419). The distinctive feature of consumption habits, also follow from identified differences of the society differ from the West:

Ottoman society retained, into the nineteenth century, the lack of differentiation and diffuseness which made class boundaries softer than in the West. Social mobility did not result in a softening of the boundaries between the cultures, because the power game that was played by these two groups [dervish centers and children of the upper class-H.Y.] was the "zero sum type; one was either a member of ruling group or a member of the ruled. (424)

In the Second Constitutional Period, the complexity of issue in Kadikoy seems to increase in parallel with the whole city. The beginning of spreading the *sayfiyye culture* among lower status groups and emergence *sayfiyye culture* as a popular everyday life activity actualized in there. This elitist culture began to trickle down but it would take time to actually become popular among the whole society. Kadıköy was a significant transitional space that provided the spread of *sayfiye culture* through the vast majority of the general public. But, in the Second

Constitutional Period, while some practices were embraced by ordinary residents, such as like theatre, or cinema, some of them were unfamiliar or by their expense, remained out of reach to the people like tennis, or yachting (See “Sport Activities” part in this chapter).

As one of crucial practices set the stage for the luxury consumption were new fashion trends in dressing, eating and attending new socialization forms to show those fashionable activities and on the body. Modern streets and *mesire* places emerged as the stage of those new socialization forms. Individuals took the opportunity of their *new* lifestyle by displaying fashionable elements belonging to them, and “doing *piyasa*” (promenading) there. In Sermet Muhtar Alus’s novel, *Pembe Maşlahlı Hanım*, those places and activities were described in an almost comical way. In the novel, which was described in *Akbaba* as “both the best novel of the recent past, and the most vivid history”, (Demiryürek, 2006, 98) a young, beautiful and lonely women’s affairs are told within a projection on the Kuşdili, Fenerbahçe, and the famous *mesire* places of Kadıköy, as practiced in there.

This appeal of the consumptive display led people to those places, especially for holidays, and was quite impressive: “Today is Friday... Excursion spots will not take people; anywhere will recurrently overflow; who knows how Fenerbahçe will also such crowd...” (1933, 198) There are any groups of people: “Oh my Allah, such a crowd... The whole people of Kadıköy stand up... It seems like anyone is here... From the most influential people to the youngests, the most little children everyone is in promenade.” (133). In such a variety of crowd, the heroine of the novel hesitates to meet people’s eyes: “Today, I did not wear *yeldirme*, *maşlah*⁵⁰ because of surroundings will be disheveled, and worthless group will also be here. I veiled black (*saten dö Liyon*) abaya; took long white tulle umbrella.” (6) The contest between individuals on fashionable dressing is expressed explicitly: “I recognized yesterday. Brown started to be trend again but we did not know. Any elegant women wear light brown abaya; yellow shoes... Why I do not have, what is my imperfection?” (202).

⁵⁰ Those are alternative kinds of hijab wearing; which were fashionable in those years.



Figure 4.8. A postcard that has a note on itself as “Le Pont de GourbaghaliDere à KadıKeuy” (From archive of SALT Research. Date of the postcard is unknown.)

Ahmed Rasim’s comments on his experience in Fener to support this perception about women’s contests on fashionable dressing: “Going to Fener made our pockets empty but our eyes full.” (2012, 18) Ragıp Akyavaş also supports this argument about his time spent in Kurbağalıdere and Kuşdili Meadow:

The slack water what is called as Kurbağalıdere and Kuşdili were one of the most famous entertainment place of Kadıköyü, even İstanbul. Brown-skinned, blonde, dark colored, attractive, yashmak and yeldirme weared houries those one more beautiful than other and hold colorful umbrellas in hands thrilled the group of zükur (male) to death by looking languorously. (Akyavaş, 2004, 58-59)

Despite fashion beginning as an elite practice, according to commonly held fashion theories it spread over time, although is still not entirely clarified, and may support the disappearance of a hierarchical social order in traditional societies (Jirousek, 2000, 225). Specifically in the sense of changing dressing codes, it is known that the Tanzimat Era was the crucial turning point that influenced both of men’s and women’s clothes (228). These instances above imply its extensive growth in Kadıköy, at least as found in memoirs of individuals, and, in the context of Ottoman modernity and transition of society in general, and this spread of practice implies a matured phase of the development.

Undoubtedly, the fashion and luxury consumption was not limited only to dressing as Ahmed Rasim’s experience implies: “As for my bodily pains because of ruined

thin sidewalks my waist is quite injured; my skin needs to be washed, my eyes are heavy, my head and brain are in howl.”(Rasim, 18) His complaints are concerned with traffic of the place. As Faroqhi mentions, alongside dressing, luxury cars were also an instrument of prestige and status symbol in late Ottoman society (Faroqhi, 302). So, it will come as no surprise that those places witnessed the display of care as much as possible, and came to be known as a “circus of cars” as Ahmed Rasim did (Rasim, 18).⁵¹ Ali Neyzi mentions that his father described Fenerbahçe as a “remarkably favorite mesire place” and that “taking stroll on the circular road at the center of this place with chic cars, greeting passing people, and sometimes secretly putting a letter” show how valuable these narrations can be in illustrating these changes (1983, 115).

It is pointed out that on Mondays and Fridays Kalamış Street was overflowing with vehicles of those people wishing to go to Fenerbahçe to promanede. Gorgeous phaetons, broughams, landaus belonging to the Ottoman elites ‘rushed into’ Fenerbahçe like a ‘convoy’ (Akyavaş, 87-88). It may be observed that in this transitional time and space how luxury consumption was instrumental for status and prestige in the society as seen in this study through the work of Veblen. Stratification of society in status groups also became more clarified within those examples. Holders of economic capital collect the status and prestige by showing their fashionable dress and cars. This use also implies that luxury consumption and fashion take a significant place in strategies of Kadıköy’s *habitus*, and *mesire* places come into prominence as stages of the “show business” of these status and prestige struggle.

In opposition to the dynamism created through the vanity, competition, and fashion, mesire places provided arelaxation opportunity. For instance, another

⁵¹ To support his naming “circus of cars”, Rasim lists types of cars in there as in this way: “There was each one those all from çekçeks to paraşol, vineyard car, phaeton, brik, brougham, landao, half landao, one-horse, doubl-horses. Shades of horses are also various. Grey, dapple-grey iron greyı, red, black, mottled, spotted, unspotted, multi-colored spotted, and much more than! Even riders of donkeys are sometimes seen in this promenade.” (18)

Kadıköy settler, Şahende Hanım⁵² depicts Kurbağalidere as not just vivacious, but also as 'restful' so "that you can sit your friends near the river, and view this 'poetical' image". He mentions Sailing through Moda on a boat while at the same time listening 'alafranga' music coming from the Moda meadows, and, contemplating the beautiful sunset on Fenerbahçe and Prince Islands, while finally arriving Yoğurtçu Meadow. These accounts help to describe the relaxing, romantic days of those years in Kadıköy (2016, 109-110).

Certainly, flirting was another prominent part of those activities in *mesire* places. New forms of socialization influenced men and women relations in the sense of perceptions of men and women in particular, and also within a family. Due to the cosmopolitan social environment in Kadıköy especially at the weekends, Beyoğlu's Western inhabitants chose to visit there, thereby increasing the developing alternative socialization forms and instruments for individuals. Alongside men and women passing by a small shop noted, 'exacerbating' customer singing 'zendostâne (debauchedly)' songs, as unexceptional behaviours (Akyavaş, 90). Furthermore, some gestures might be used to express special meanings, and these could include for example, coughing as catching the attention of a beloved, or kissing a walking stick to imply smooching somebody (66). Essentially, development of new socialization ways meant a corresponding change of women's position in the society, and the perceptions on both the role of women and men role in the family and society, were discussed through the filter, and in the context of women's clothing in Ottoman society.

Actually the transformation of the dress codes was rooted in a long history of İstanbul. As observed in decrees of the period, the change in the traditional forms of clothing started in the eighteenth century. Some of craftsmen, artisans, and doctors exceeded what were the known limits of their class, by wearing fashions similar with statesmen, and this exceeded their social class. Decrees emphasized the necessity of boundaries between different classes and criticized men because of their "inclining vanity as women" since Ahmed the Third's period (Argit, 2016, 246).

⁵² Şahende Hanım was the unique women suspect of Cemiyet-i Hafiye Prosecution.

This first perceptible breakdown continued for decades, until arriving at a new phase in the Second Constitutional Period. In point of fact, alongside Ahmet Cevdet's critics on the new habits of the society that frequently referred in this study, many academics contribute to the discussion in the context of *alafrangalaşma*, and in the changing dressing codes linked this phenomenon. For example, Basiretçi Ali Efendi argued that women's transparent *yaşmaks* and flashy *hotozs* were visible signs of increased dissipation and corruption (2001, 63). While this debate continued, the more liberal climate that was dominant in the beginnings of the Second Constitutional Period enabled further women's change.

Ahmet Refik describes women's traditional dressing as "yashmak on the head, paşmak (shoes, slippers, patten etc) on foots, ferace on the back in streets"; but, on the contrary too colorful in domestic spaces (1998, 78). According to Refik, the eighteenth century witnessed the increase of 'vanity' and 'luster', and in the Tulip Era, of Sadabad entertainments were influenced by women's and boy's dressing in this direction, going so far as to even prohibit women's going out publicly around in 'müheyyic-i irkî şehvet alacak (arousing)'. This issue produced intense discussions on women's dressing, and eventually launched into a state matter, but those provisions did not prevent the increase of fashion change, meaning *alafrangalaşma* in dressing (78-80). In this sense, the competition on fashionable dressing in mesire places was not limited to Kadikoy, but we may argue that the elitist identity of Kadıköy's inhabitants and dominance of this higher-level status groups in everyday life move there an exceptional position that prevent considering there out of fashion, or providing chance of know a Kadıköy settler due to his/her remarkable elegancy as Recaizade's novel character implies in *Araba Sevdası* even before the Second Constitutional Period (29).

Emine Foad Tugay expresses that they followed French fashion in this period and preferred quite ostentatious dress (378) of the grandson of Cemile Sultan. Princess Mevhibe mentions that whenever they needed clothing, they simply called Madam Hrisso and had here sew new clothes by choosing material among multifarious

samples (1987, 32). In another example, Şadiye Sultan describes one of popular forms of head cover in this way:

Yashmak was composed of a slim tulle, one point of it pinned up to hair by diamond brooches in a talented way and after a beautiful style was given to the head, mouth and nose aspects were veiled by the other point [of this tulle] while eyes and eyebrows were left open. Due to the tulle was transparent, it served to open those veiled parts [of the head and face] in a more transparent way, rather to hide them. (2013, 29)

Gossiping on other women's dress as Şahende Hanım mentions (109,) also came to be an ordinary behaviour in mesire places, and, certainly, heterogeneity was an observable phenomenon in this case, like others. For instance, Theophile Gautier explains that once he got off the Kadıköy ferry, three Greek women attracted his attention among Muslims, by way of their fashionable dressing, and chic hairstyle (Türker, 20). These instances overlap with the basic argument of this thesis that Kadıköy's habitus in this period was quite open to novelties, and modernization, due to its cosmopolitan, heterogeneous demography, and due to high status groups' pioneering role in spreading those novelties. As the basic holders of economic and social capital, they had a strong voice on everyday life and *sayfiye culture*.

Theatres and cinema came into prominence as spaces for expositions, socialization, and, as an instrument of social change. Although, Kadıköy did not have a crucial role on the development of theatre in Ottoman society, for instance, as much as seen in Beyoğlu or Galata, it did have a significant part of socialization in everyday life there. The emergence of theatre in Ottoman society at a professional level began in 1850s. Theater has been encouraged by the support of embassies, but came to be a usual activity in Ottoman palaces. With the increased number of foreign companies and visitors to Istanbul, media attention spread and opera came in to be known in those years, and the development of the theatre noticeably accelerated (Uslu, 2016, 528-529). Between the 1880s to 1908, there was an increase in theatre, but the Gedikpaşa Tiyatrosu was destroyed in 1884, and Üsküdar and Kadıköy municipalities banned plays except for those performed in the Turkish language, but

this stagnation ended in 1908 within the beginning of the Second Constitutional Period (534).

F. Marion Crawford mentions Kadıköy in the 1890's as "an attractive place with the unique Turkish theatre of Konstantiniye or (close) environments" and depicts Kel Hasan's Theatre in Kuşdili:

The theatre saloon is a rambling building that made by timber on end of the wide meadow; which is in foot sloops of the settlement, decor was superficial, music is terrible and all of watchers are male. But the owner and handler of the organization is quintessentially Turk, first class comedian. He is a person that may be the source of pride for any stage of the world if he is supported. Just two-three shows are made in a week, even then in daytime and the curtain opens when watchers are prepared. Although the building is combustible everyone continuously smoke and demand is too high to ice-cream and coffee sellers as it happens wherever Turks get together. Events in the stage take place in legendary Orient countries and the all success of the play is hidden in talent of the person that is both player-director, and the owner of the theatre. (2015, 74).

The oldest known theatre in Kadıköy was the Theatron Halkidonas (Apollon Theatre in Turkish sources) that was built by the Kadıköy Greek Community, on the land that was given by an inhabitant of Moda, Zanni Stefanos Skilitçis, in 1873. As seen in two posters in Greek Theatre Museum archives, this theatre was multi-lingual. In an account of Türker, it was restored in 1915, and parallel to this growth of theater, movies started to be displayed. Türker also notes that the first Muslim women actress Afife Jale acted in her first play there (45). This may be one of the most compelling details that show how the cosmopolitan character of the district made it more open to novelties and differing types of diversions, and as a developing suburb, how Kadıköy supported Ottoman modernity by contributing to the use and exposure of those novelties.



Figure 4.9. The Mühürdar Garden in Kadıköy (1880-1893) (From Abdülhamid II Collection of Library of Congress)

Actually, theatre and cinema were related with both cultural and social capital, because they contain both intellectual and artistic dimensions, entertainment, and socialization. With this capital, they bring intellectual, cultural, and social prestige. Mühürdar Garden was another significant place for theatre fans, and exemplifies this issue. Alongside playing host to several social activities of Muslim and non-Muslim families such as wedding ceremonies, circumcision feasts, and Hacivat-Karagöz performances, theatre plays were staged there, since the end of the nineteenth century (47). Those activities were integrated with each other as components of *sayfiye culture* and as parts of everyday life in Kadıköy for both its inhabitants and seasonal residents, or other temporary guests. While, entertainment and other socialization activities were concentrated in specific places, theatre and cinema obtained a seat among traditional performing arts such as Hacivat-Karagöz, orta oyunu, and puppet shows. So it is found that in memoirs they are remembered together, as in Korle's expression: "Our unique amusement was watching Karagöz play in Ramadan nights or often going to the cinema with our fathers or watching Kel Hasan, Naşit Theatres those came to Kızıltoprak or staged in theatre in Kuşdili (Korle, 75).

Ortaoyunu Kumpanyası was coordinated by Küçük İsmail and Hamdi Efendi in Kuşdili (Şahende Hanım, 151), theatres of Komik Abdi and Hasan Efendi, and also in

Kuşdili and Yoğurtçu (Akyavaş, 53), Karagöz Ahmet Efendi's theatre in Yoğurtçu or Kızıltoprak (Neyzi, 1983, 135) were other theatres those took places in memoirs. We also know that there were travelling puppeteers, who performed for a fee at kiosks and performed special shows for households (134). Cinema was another popular activity in mesire places of Kadıköy, but cinema started later than theatre Istanbul-wide, there are some accounts proving that cinema was a part of entertainment activities in mesire places of Kadıköy since the beginning of twentieth century.

It is known that the first movie shown in Yıldız Palace, in the presence of Abdülhamid II, and the first public projection organized in Beyoğlu (Sponeck Birahanesi), was in 1896 (Lüleci, 2016, 469). Like theatre, the center of cinema was Beyoğlu in the beginning years and first participants were non-Muslim people, and some others from within the Ottoman elite. Until 1908, it rapidly spread, and first permanent cinema, the Pathé Sineması, opened June 30, 1908, in Tepebaşı (470). As a place developing cultural novelties, Kadıköy was not so distant from this story. The first known summer cinema was established in 1906, and several theatre cinemas showed theatre plays as well, including the Apollon and Kuşdili, and some gardens played host to movie screenings, like Zamboğlu, and Mısırlıoğlu, and, finally, there were more humble venues prior to building a cinema before 1918 (Ekdal, 1996, 231-236).

Ekdal remembers Kuşdili Meadow as *Hamdi'nin Gazinosu* (Hamdi's Casino) built near the river *Kuşdili Sineması* (Cinema of Kuşdili) and describes movie screenings there:

Cinema machine was not electrical; [rather] hand torqued. A Greek machinist both look at the movie through the hole and winded the cinema tool by the boom that in his hands. When he got so tired, he called one of children those looking forward for entering. The child both winded the cinema machine and watched the movie through the hole. (2009, 161).

Additionally, special balloon shows, renting velosiped and motorbikes, listening to music in casinos built in mesire places or gardens were components of entertainment and art activities of *sayfiye culture* and everydaylife in Kadıköy (160-

64). Those art and entertainment activities along with luxury consumption and fashion composed a special social environment in Kadıköy, in the Second Constitutional Period that allowed for the emergence of *sayfiyye culture* as the basic feature of everyday life. These emergences of Ottoman modernity, fashion, cinema, theatre, luxury consumption meant a transition from traditional to modern, and were strategies of Westernization, in general. But, as the basic holder of symbolic capital, Ottoman elites adapted these strategies on their lifestyles on the one hand, but on the other hand they developed some tactics while adapting those strategies. So, it is a combination of old and new, traditional and modern, strategy and tactic, in a hybrid way, that became characteristic of the Second Constitutional Period in Kadıköy.

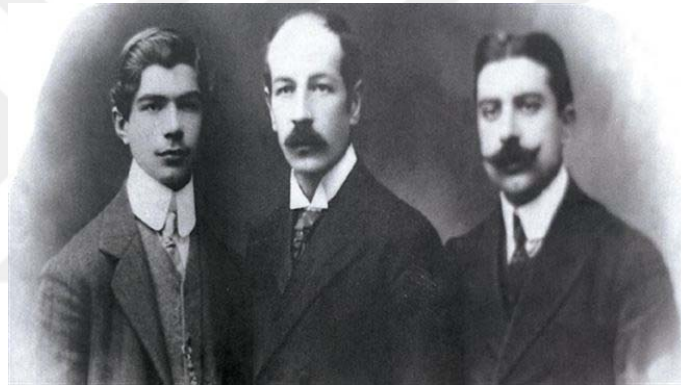


Figure 4.10. Refik (Şemseddin) Fersan, Tanburi Cemil, Musa Süreyya Bey (1914) (From *Refik Bey... Refik Fersan ve Hatıraları*, Murat Bardakçı, 2012, İstanbul, Pan Yayıncılık)

Music comes into prominence as another component of everyday life as an art and entertainment activity. Music is differentiated from the others due to its ancient origins in Ottoman society. The years of the Second Constitutional Period imply a transitional period for Ottoman classical music. As one of popular guests, Tanburî Cemil represents this transitional period that started before, and contained encountering *alafranga* music (Cemil, 2002, 105)⁵³. In Kadıköy, both inside and outside of kiosks, *konaks* and *yalis*, music had an important place. Besides outdoor activities in public gardens and *mesire* places, houses were opened to music,

⁵³ It may be helpful to refer to 87-119 of *Tanburî Cemil'in Hayâtı* written by his son Mes'ud Cemil to elaborate the transformation of Turkish music from the Selim III's period to beginning of twentieth century from an authorized person.

especially, by leading by artists and intellectuals. For instance, it is known that Leyla Saz organized music meetings in her kiosk by bringing together her special friends and famous musicians of the period (Korle, 77).

The kiosk of Mabeyinci Faik Bey was another “musiki mahfili (gathering-place of music)” in Göztepe that hosted Tanburî Cemil, Levon (Hancıyan) Efendi, Enderunî Hafız Hüsnü Efendi, udî Nevres and other several musicians by Refik Fersan for both education and ceremonies (Fersan, 1995, 109). Even, the famous anecdote⁵⁴ of Tanburî Cemil’s artistry that illuminates how a bulbul influenced Cemil’s performance, happened in this kiosk according to Refik Fersan’s memoirs (111). Raif Bey’s kiosk was one of those houses that witnessed nightly musical events and hosted prominent musicians accepted as contemporary cornerstones of Turkish music or invited promising young artists of the future such as Münir Nurettin (Korle; 77). Certainly, *alafranga* music also took place in Kadıköy’s everyday life, and some inhabitants preferred this type as is seen with Şadiye Hatun (19) or the daughter of Leyla Saz (Neyzi, 127).

4. 4. Gender Segregation: Sea Baths

Boyar and Fleet hold that the nineteenth century was “the century of novelties” (297). In this dynamic period of Ottoman social history that was combining new forms of everyday life practices taken from the West but adapted to Ottoman tastes and traditional styles, the emergence of sea baths in Istanbul show that same type of combination of traditional and new with new sea bathrooms modeled on Turkish

⁵⁴ Refik Bey tells this well-known anecdote in this way: “It was a silent, moonlit night of the 1908 spring...

My dear departed master Tanburî Cemil Bey was enraptured by melodies of bulbul that cry out in the garden of our kiosk in Göztepe’deki, (...) and started an instrumental solo Segâh makamı. (...) that night, this nice animal that was singing beyond, slowly got close to us by the reason of charming effect of divine melodies of kemençe... It land on edge of a very thin and branch that was on the opposite of kemençe and part of a small rose tree that was partly opened, partly still consisted of buds and we sit down under; now it was not singing. It was listening in exact tranquility and awe. At the end of each solo it lost oneself and firtly beg complimentarily, but if this demand was ignored it started to scream, cry, and threaten, thus enforced to continue to the concert. How such a delicate and merciful artist like Cemil Bey behave ruthlessly to this miserable lover? In sum, until the dayspring this amorous concert submerged both of this tiny miserable lover and us to gladness and gratification in a sipiritual climate that do not have the possibility of being described.” (Fersan, 112)

baths, and trendy in Europe (390). In his famous travel narrative, *Seyahatnâme*, Evliya Çelebi mentions 'derya hamamları (sea bathrooms)' in Eyüp and Langa districts of İstanbul as far back as the seventeenth century. As Burçak Evren writes while describing the *Salacak* shoreline downstream of *Kağıthane Deresi* "...all beautiful women have a bath in July... wrapping mukaşşer badam (almond those are not pelled off) rose pink alike coquettish bodies in nilgün (red) ibrişim futalara (waistclothes) swim like fishes." Within the witnessing of a folk song⁵⁵ Evren argues that in this century those places were used for swimming, and in the nineteenth century it was not an entirely new activity for the society (Evren, 2000, 27).

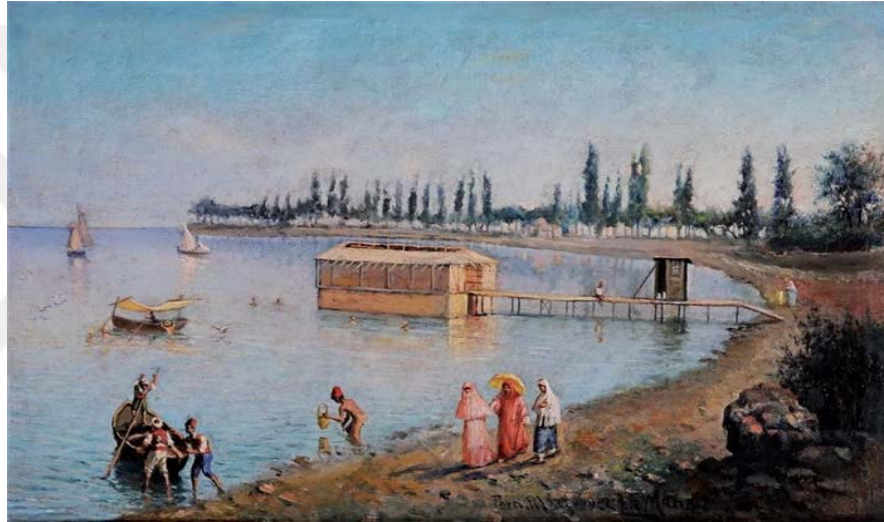


Figure 4.11. *Fenerbahçe Deniz Hamamı*, painting of Leonardo de Mango (1922) (From www.artnet.com)

In *Osmanlı Deniz Hamamları* (Ottoman Sea Baths), Süleyman Beyoğlu objects to the argument that Ottoman sea bathrooms firstly emerged in the nineteenth century as a result of Westernization. According to him, swimming was a usual everyday life activity in Ottoman society before the society encountered the modernity or Westernism. Sea bathrooms were developed for people's need for seawater, as a consequence of Islamic understanding of the sea and swimming in the sense of health and entertainment (Beyoğlu, 54). He argues that, thereby, in the nineteenth century, we can observe sea baths as an already existing phenomenon, and like

⁵⁵ "Edirne Tunca suyunda/ Bursa'nın kaplucasında/ İstanbul Kumkapusu'nda/ Deniz melekleri oynar. (In the water of Edirne Tunca/Thermal spring of Bursa/Kumkapu of Istanbul/Sea angels play)"

Reşad Ekrem Koçu, exemplifies that there were already three basic sea baths in Istanbul between 1826-1850 (55). On the other hand, the effect of Westernization on sea baths is clear. Beyoğlu accepts that under the effect of Westernization the number of sea baths increased and especially non-Muslim intensified districts became popular as those places (ibid.).

Actually, even sea baths may be seen as omnipresent facts, since the motivation for the usage those places was already there, but the routine of sea bathing practice was different when we look at memoirs, and anecdotes on the issue. Gürel asserts that using sea baths (sea bathing) was not a spread as an everyday activity until at the end of the nineteenth century. However, as it can be observed in Abdülhamid II's case in the nineteenth century, the common perspective about sea bathing began to change. The healthiness effects of seawater for human body started to appear as a discussion topic in newspapers, set fired by Dr. Andriyadis, like happened in Europe in eighteenth century (Gürel, 2016, 35). So, the approach of the sea for or entertainment was new phenomena for Ottoman society, and specifically Istanbulians.

According to Reşad Ekrem Koçu, since the beginning of sea baths' first establishment, there were two forms, public and private sea baths. Private sea baths were built in front of or at the side of seaside residences, and were constructed as small, wooden rooms on the sea and restored every summer because of winter's damage. Public sea bathrooms were categorized as women and men baths, and separated by gender. In some cases they were gender specific, with sea bath only for men and women, but mostly men and women baths were built in same place. In such proximity, the distance between two baths must be determined by considering how men cannot hear the womens' voices, their sizes were classified in three groups, and they usually had two *arşın*⁵⁶ deepness and water-resist timbers used in construction (Koçu, 1966, 4439). So although the mentality changed and modernized in the sense of using sea as a entertainment tool, traditional values

⁵⁶ *Arşın* means the unit of measurement of longness in this period.

were not left behind, and while building those places, people took into consideration the principles of current strategies in their time.

The first sea bath of Kadıköy was established in the same place where the Moda Beach would be built. It was divided into two parts, women's and man's bath, and managed by two Christian brothers Hayik and Ardaş (after their father, the founder of the sea bath, died). Muslim women started to visit this sea bathroom after it was established. In Kalamış, Albanian İsmail Efendi from Erenköy and the brother of Hayik, Aşot, had sea bathrooms (Ekdal, 1996, 140-141). Moda, Fenerbahçe, Caddebostan and Suadiye Beaches would be constructed in next years, after First World War and when the War of Independence ended. Thereby, this novelty was brought to Kadıköy by the means of non-Muslim population similar to other changes, but then embraced commonly. So, the tactic of a minority group in Ottoman society achieved impact on strategy in the society in this way, but relying on a more powerful strategy worldwide.

Families lived in *yalis*, had own sea baths, and so they were also actors of emergence of this new practice. But public baths brought together various individuals, so their contribution to spread of this practice can be seen more strongly than the others. Korle illustrates the sea bath in Kalamış:

In Kalamış, the place that iskele is here today, there was a sea bathroom. This bathroom divided two: dressing rooms and an open place, in the next of it again dressing rooms, and one more sea bathroom that have a pool at the center and covered by woods. This one was women-only. Women entered to sea from here; and men entered to sea from other side, in open by exiting dressing rooms and going down the stairs. (Korle, 78)

Sadri Sema mentions those bathrooms calling them "baraka (barrack)" and "denizkondu" which means small and hovel cabin because of their isolation from the wonderful sea and sun (Sema, 2002, 337). Actually, those bathrooms were constructed in this way to be closed to outsiders' eyes for modesty. While men and boys could go beyond if they wish, women could not exit private baths. In public baths, this privilege of men was reflected on the plan of baths. Although,

architectural structures of men and women's bathrooms were mostly similar, there was an extra balcony and road outside of the bathroom in men's sea baths for going beyond and sunbathing (Koçu, 4440). So, traditional gender segregation was still powerfully influential in everyday life, and despite *sayfiyye culture*, as a result of multi dimensional alliance of strategies in the society.

On the other hand, there was a certain rule that aimed to prevent swimming at a great distance from the land because of increasing number of accidents but people mostly did not obey this rule, and preferred to escape from the isolated space to the free, and seawater or put the sea own selves in beaches without sea baths. One of the basic motivations of men escaping from the men reserved sea baths may have been to try to voyeuristically see women in their other sea bathing costumes. Setting eyes on such a woman allocated space was exceedingly desirable for men in this period. For this reason, there was a policeman in a formal boat shuttling between the two seas baths to prevent such kinds of attempts:

Due to women or men-only seabathrooms were extremely close to each other, sometimes a daring peeper that has been exited from men's side, enforced the boat of police to an exciting follow-up. Because there were hovel lids those openable to the outside, namely sea in men's [sea]bathrooms. That was not the deal to go out by lifting them and approach to women's [sea]bathroom. Additionally coming by boats and snuggleing next side of women's [sea]bathroom was possible. (...) Because of this reason a boated police shuttled between haremlikli-selamlıklı [gender segregated] two wooden bathrooms. (Es, 2015, 35)

Although those attentive precautions were inevitable, they did not stop the attempts, and according to a well-known tale, after one of such kind of attempt, a man managed to enter the women's bath and until women recognized his moustache, he stayed among the women. After he was recognized, he escaped from the police and other men made similar attempts. One week later a French woman played a joke by using an artificial moustache in women's bath and she had great difficulty to explain her sex (36). Thus, strategies and tactics were together in the society, and there were no borders among them in such a transitional time and space.

Actually, seeing women on the road of the sea bath was enough for men to be excited although they were demurely covered as Hikmet Feridun Es describes:

While women march through wooden bridge of the bathroom with sun umbrella on their hands, inside of summer-weight, silk, floathy abayahs; while looking their back men dream in this way: "Now they will arrive, wear off their abayahs, then undress; finally underwearing turn to come and slack up those beautiful bodies into ice-cold sea!" (33)

But regulations were in place. Dressing codes also differed according to women and men following traditional gender perspective of the society. Men were required to wear shorts, which covered their body from belly to knees, *peştamal* (loincloth) and towels. They could choose to take those clothes from the service or bring them themselves. Women's clothing consisted of two parts, a sort of long dress or tunic cover from throat to ankles and long underwear, which must be over knees in maximum level (Kamil Şahin, 1998, 155).

Content of seas bathing was as much interesting as its regulations and perceptions on it, as an element of everyday life, and we confront a combination of old and new again. Actually, the activities in sea baths were mostly common with classical Turkish bathrooms, which still worked in this term. Individuals entered cabinet to change clothes, and then went to the water. There must be a *hamamcıbaşı* to regulate people's bath activity in sea baths like it was a requirement in classical baths. There might be some drinks for sale, but alcohol was banned. However, first of all, the motivation of building those alternative styles of baths differentiated each other. Sea baths were established to prevent accidents in the sea because of swimming individually although there was also a similar motivation about health because of curing effect of the seawater like classical baths (Boyar, 308).

Additionally, the socialization in sea baths and classical baths were realized in different ways. For instance, Hikmet Feridun Es mentions that individuals who preferred sea baths have different motivations from who went to classical baths as in this way: "Women customer of sea baths did not resemble customers of hot-water mahalle (neighborhood) baths. Elderlies and unpretentious also go to hot-

water baths. But, in those times, individuals those need to go swimming more of youths, and people that have modern tastes.” (32)

According to this notes, young individuals preferred to sea baths to swim and ‘have modern tastes’. Es also caricaturizes ‘mutaassıp’ people’s reflection on the issue:

- Rocks will rain down our heads in truth! You jump into the sea in everybody because of the weather is hot! Those moderns lost the feeling of ashamed my sibling! Their heat got to their heads in fact. If the weather is too hot, go into gusülhane (bathing cubicle); pour out two bucket iced-cold brackish water from head to foot; fresh up well! Why bother to show herkese namahrem (religiously do not allowed) parts of your body... (ibid)

So, users of these two baths had different perspectives on baths as it is seen in these examples. But, aside from the sea bath was a combination of old and new, and traditional and modern; as more traditional the classical baths, and relatively modern sea baths were present together in the society in this term. In other words, the fragmental character of symbolic capital is exemplified. The following sections examines the more avantgarde elements of everyday life and *sayfiye culture* in Kadıköy, which include predominantly types of new activities of “novelties”, that the society had not encountered before.

4. 5. Sport Activities

The last topic that will be elaborated in this study, among components of everyday life and *sayfiye culture* in Kadıköy in the Second Constitutional Period is sport. Like music, sport activities have ancient origins that continued through in Ottoman society. But, modernization influenced these activities like many others, and many new types of sport emerged in the process of social change. Actually, the role of Levantine families on the development of Ottoman modernity at a cultural level, and the cultural interaction between British and Ottoman Empire has not caught the attention of many researchers, although there are many examples available to elaborate this problematic side-by-side existence at a political and bureaucratic

level⁵⁷. In the case of Kadıköy, the impact of Levantines and specifically the influence of British culture is emphasized, and according to narration in selected memoirs and found in some secondary sources, many new sports were introduced to Kadıköy society by Levantines and British people among those Levantines as it will be exemplified below (See pg.89).



Figure 4.12. Cadikeuy Football Club, Champion Team of 1905-06 Season (From howlingpixel.com)

For instance, the first known football match was played in November 27th, 1880, in Kadıköy. In this match, the rules were determined by the British Football Federation, and two teams, divided as the *Handsones* and *Uglies*, consisted of British players (Yüce, 2014, 24). In 1881, a more professional match played in Haydarpaşa Çayırı, where 'local people' watched this match with much attention, according to *The Constantinople Messenger*:

The last Saturday in Haydarpaşa Meadow members of Olympic Football Club played a football match under (union) principles by splitting in two teams Blues and Whites association (...) A crowded watcher group witnessed this match that played in extremely beautiful weather and seen rarely in this country. Local peoples those were among watchers so amazed to and looked askance at player's run like they would break themselves up and their contacts those they did like a bull. (25)

⁵⁷ For a fresh instance please look Dönmez, Ahmet (2014), *Osmanlı Modernleşmesinde İngiliz Etkisi-Diplomasi ve Reform (1833-1841)*, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi.

Introducing this entirely new phenomenon to the society implies an intervention of the symbolic capital of Western societies into Kadıköy's *habitus*, and in just a few short years after football was embraced, the Ottoman population took to the stage as serious football players. The Moda Spor Club was established in 1903 again by Levantines who lived in Kadıköy. One of its matches with Kadıköyspor was coached by Ali Sami Yen, the founder of Galatasaray Football Club, which is still today one of five big clubs in Turkish football. It is known that one Ottoman naval military official, Fuat Bey, played on this team, which was the champion of the 1907-1908 season, using a fake British (Kavukçuoğlu, 2010, 35). These examples demonstrate that the symbolic capital of foreigners, particularly, the Levantines was empowered by transferring an everyday life activity from British society into this space, which was ready for change due to the cosmopolitan character of Kadıköy.

The first match of 1908-1909 season was played between Galatasaray and Barham in *Papaz Bahçesi* (Yüce, 194). Another significant and still active football club in Turkish Football, Fenerbahçe Sport Club, was born in those years in Kadıköy. It is known that several young individuals interested in football played amateur matches in Kuşdili Meadow in the early part of the twentieth century including Ziya Songülen (official in Düyun-u Umumiye), Ayetullah (personnel in one of water company), Asaf Beşpınar (has the epithet "Indian" because of his mother is Indian), Necip Okaner (student in navy) and Galip Kulaksızoğlu (student in navy). In 1907, they decided to establish their own football club and started to meet Necip's house in Moda (with the exception of Galip since he had already joined the Galatasaray Football Club (65). As similar developments occurred in other districts in Ottoman Istanbul, football became a part of new, modernized lifestyle of Ottoman society, that is to say, football entered the everyday life of Ottomans as a result of modernity and by means of those avant-garde inhabitants of the society, the residents of Kadıköy.



Figure 4.13. Moda Kürek Yarışları (1910) (From www.zamantika.com)

In fact, football was just one sport brought from Levantine families to Kadıköy. Cricket was also introduced at the Constantinople Moda Cricket Club and at the Constantinople Bebek Cricket Club where cricket matches were played mostly in Yoğurt Çeşme or Yoğurtçu Meadow (Öndeş, 2012, 119). The first tennis court of İstanbul was built in Küçük Moda, in 1908 by the Whittall family, and the Moda Tennis Club was organized in the 1910s in the same location and again under the leadership of the Whithalls (123). On the other hand, Kadıköy, continued to have space for traditional sports. For instance, Moda, played host to hunting as a classical sport in its meadow in those years, according to Sir James William Vitol's granddaughter, Miss İren (2009, 160). In this example of cricket, the dualistic feature of this transitional phase of Ottoman modernity, and the modernizing innovations held within the district are exemplified again.

The prominence of these activities emerged as prestigious, and with them, the associated attached status. The Rowing Club (*İ Kopilatiki Leshi* in Greek) was also organized in Moda, and coordinated its first known contest in 1898 there (Türker, 60). Tennis was the one of most prominent sports among the newly introduced branches due in part to its elitist following. It was more common among diplomats, so required social and symbolic capital (Öndeş, 123). It also required economic capital, because it was played with expensive equipment available to a limited group in the society as Yüce's quotation from Ruşen Eşref Ünaydın shows:

Both of these two games [tennis and cricket] were a kind of aristocratic English national games those required much of tools, kneepad, racket, white shoes those have plastic sole, white undershirt and pants, Arteks shirt and much more such kinds of materials and equipments. And in İstanbul that was in capitulations, both of them, especially cricket was like in monopoly of Britishs. (38)

Through the following years, the Moda Tennis Club also organized the Moda Sea Club in the 1930s, and it also held the essential elitist identity in those years, and its distinctive impact started to be felt in those years (Öndeş, 42). The Moda Yachting Club was organized in 1910, firstly as Turkish-British Club with the majority of members being Levantines, but wealthy Turkish families joined in time (133).

4. 6. Conclusion

From the lengthy investigation in this chapter, it is clear that the social environment that formed around kiosks, *konaks*, and *yalis* influenced the development of *sayfiye culture* in Ottoman society in a fundemantal way. Cultural novelties associated with components of the *alafranga* lifestyle were easily embraced and adapted into everyday life in those houses. Existing social agents were combined new ones, and in this way classical and modern, local and Westernized were integrated by elite inhabitants of Kadıköy. This adaptation was not limited to the inside of houses as families and individuals were in mutual interaction with social environment outside of the house. In this sense, for instance while inside of houses were met new European objects, designed in an *alafranga* way, new table manners, or moved those already transferred habits to Kadıköy inside of their houses; *mesire* places witnessed emergence of new socialization methods and practices by hosting any novelties like theatre, cinema, football, sea baths those were in the process of development in city-wide. The role of Levantines and foreigners in development of new elements of everyday life in the district, specifically in entertainment, art and sport activities, is remarkable. The cosmopolite demography in the district provided the suitable ground for regeneration and revitalization of the district. Social fabric permitted to embracement this hybrid lifestyle, and contributed Ottoman modernity in a significant and defining way. *Sayfiye culture* had found a fertile place to grow.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In this study, the intention was to emphasize and describe the prominence of Kadıköy and *sayfiye culture* and to situate these aspects with the meaning of social change in Ottoman society, specifically at the end of the late Ottoman period. The long and complicated transformation process of Ottoman Empire through a modern-nation state had many crucial turning points that signified alternative phases of the Ottoman modernity. One of those milestones is the beginning of twentieth century, especially, in the sense of social change. Those years are also the commencement time of Kadıköy's development that includes the transition from a small village to a popular *sayfiye* place. Kadıköy was both of the actor and witness of this change like the whole İstanbul was due to being the capital city of the Empire. Thereby, it is clear that the change of Kadıköy is integrated with the transformation process of Ottoman society, and examining its transition process give us some clues on both of dynamics and repercussions of transformative process.

The origins of this transition were laid down in the previous decades, specifically in the second half of the nineteenth century, at the time of the commencement of ferry service (1850) and of the building of the Haydarpaşa-İzmit railway (1873). These two phenomena combined various other dynamics in the conjuncture of post-Crimean War (1853-1856) in İstanbul, and the district commenced to change its composition and character. Ottoman courtiers, Levantines, foreign merchants and bureaucrats, Crimean War migrants, Jews from Kuzguncuk, all spread throughout the district that had previously been mostly Greek, Armenian and Turk population, thereby creating a multi-cultural demography in Kadıköy. The appeal of one-day or seasonal guests also increased in those years and the district commenced to be an alternative for Boğaziçi, where the center of luxury living *sayfiye culture* was located. Rather merely satisfying need of recreation and entertainment in summer seasons, Kadıköy also commenced to be a settlement for

those people who were searching for peace and quiet, or for more elite places, and thus it played a role in the transformation of Ottoman society by adapting elements of new lifestyle, and to being distant from the Court and city-center in both a physical and social sense.

At this context, this study auspicates with the historical evolution of Kadıköy from the ancient times through the modern, by focusing structural, municipal, and social dimension of the issue. According to this, Kadıköy has an actually long history that based on ancient times even before the emergence of first settlement in historical peninsula in Istanbul. But, although this seniority, the district always just a humble settlement around the gorgeous city on the opposite shore, even it was taken by Ottomans in 1353. After the commencement of being a part of the Ottoman Empire, the district conserved its feature of secluded, untouched nature, and stayed as a village until the eighteenth century; the period that is famous as entertainment, and luxury consumption and called as the Tulip Era. Actually, Ottoman elites *sayfiye* houses in Anatolian side of the city before the Tulip Era and Kadıköy had many of those houses, but still it was a virgin area that had not been discovered by crowds yet. Certainly, holding the authority of taking *hasbahçe* by a small group of Ottoman elites was influential on the preserving of this seclusion. In the eighteenth century, this rule was broadened, and taking *hasbahçe* emerged as a new trend among Ottoman elites.

On the other side, the eighteenth century, also known as the period of increased relation between European and Ottoman elites, and its influence on everyday life by means of the change in lifestyle of the upper class. When we arrived the nineteenth century, we meet the advantageous position of Levantines in the trade, and accordingly in everyday life, due to the privileges those given to European countries because of new economic order in the world. Therefore, alongside Ottoman courtiers and elites, foreigners and Levantines knuckled down to appeal Kadıköy as a *sayfiyye* place. Commencement of regular ferry services (1856) and building Haydarpaşa-İzmit railway (1873) coincide with the second half of this century that is the time of revival of interest to Kadıköy as a recreational place. So,

development of new transportation tools routes those designed in new technology and novelties in economy directly influenced the destiny of the district. Especially, train and ferry services made Kadıköy a prominent suburb by providing the connection between the city-center and this humble peripheral region.

Those developments also reshaped demography of the district that was composed by mostly Greeks, Turks and Armenians in the beginning of the century. Appeal of Ottoman elites, Levantines, foreign merchants, and migrants of Crimean War (1853-1856), Kuzguncuk fire (1860) created more complicated population in Kadıköy through the ends of nineteenth century. While Jews those escaped the fire and migrants of the war from different ethnic and religious group settled interior parts of the district; wealthy section of this population resided on specific lines and regions and built their gorgeous kiosks, *konaks*, and *yalis*. Levantines and foreign merchants intensified in Moda and Fenerbahçe shorelines; Ottoman elites preferred mostly around the railway to settle down; and other groups of people those had low-income comparing with them, and ethnically heterogeneous stayed inwards of the district.

Actually, building *Selimiye Kışlası* (Selimiye Military Post) and *Haydarpaşa Askeri Hastanesi* (Haydarpaşa Military Hospital) were also influential on the development of district and the new demography at the ends of the century. British soldiers those came to fight together with Ottomans in the Crimean War (1853-1856) located in *Selimiye Kışlası*. They used Haydarpaşa as an exercising place, and spent their time in of the district. The military hospital hosted several pashas, soldiers, and official personnel who worked and settled there. The prominence of those buildings was not limited by the revitalizing the demography; their architectural novelty also symbolized a new phase in Kadıköy's history. Within the new perspectives on municipalism and urbanism those included modernization of the institutions and understandings; those buildings created the new face of Kadıköy. At the end of the day, Kadıköy had a new portrait at the beginning of twentieth century with monumental buildings to represent the new architectural understanding, comparatively modernized streets, a great number of kiosks,

konaks, and *yalis* mostly belonging to Ottoman elites, and Levantines, and several meadows for entertainment and a cosmopolitan demographic.

In the next chapter, the study continued with the elaboration of *sayfiye culture* and its relation with Kadıköy. The old version of seasonal mobilization that was called as *göç* in Ottoman society is based on ancient origin in Byzantine period. But, in the transformative process that has been signified before, this everyday life activity gained a new form. Kadıköy was one of the regions those this activity developed in its new form in there, and entered in an interactional process with the everyday life in the sense of mutually influence. While, before the Tanzimat Era, the Sultan, his family, his bureaucrats and their families replaced from permanent settlement to summer residences, in a specific time that was proclaimed by the Sultan and the season starts and ends in this time limit; in the nineteenth century, due to the social mobility that originated from Crimean War's (1853-1856) effects in socio-economical level, and the general innovative climate of the century. Everyday life activity commenced to be more flexible and gain popularity.

British and French soldiers spent vast amounts of their money during the war, and this contributed to the emergence of an Ottoman middle class enlarged by those newly wealthy including shopkeepers, tradesmen. On the other side, Greek ship-owners and bureaucrats' activities influenced small villages in Boğaziçi, and provided the possibilities for development of those regions as *sayfiye* places. Actually, those developments implied a new phase in social stratification in Ottoman society. Emergence of a group of Ottoman traders thus development of middle-class that would create Republican elites in the future, symbolizing this new stage that commenced in the Tanzimat Era, developed during the Crimean War, in the sense of adding novelties to various aspects of everyday life. These new habits and elements of everyday life were brought by non-Muslims who came during the Crimean War, or Egyptian elites who displayed their luxury lifestyle. These changes were firstly embraced by Ottoman courtiers and then by members of middle class. Their everyday life activities and adaptation of novelties on their lifestyle played a determinant role on the development of *sayfiye culture*.

Undoubtedly, non-Muslim minorities were a part of Ottoman middleclass at the beginning. Classical Ottoman pluralism was dominant in this new class as much as circumstances permitted. But increasing debates on identity and precipitating factors of this debate such as wars, rebellions, economic decline of the Empire, expansionism of the West etc. did not allow to unification of this class. Let alone the unification, this fragmental agent that divided as Ottoman-Muslim bureaucrats and non-Muslim merchants got more polarized as the days went on. Actually, the role of minorities was significant on this polarization, especially in the first phase because they preferred to support their national capital rather to contribute imperial budget. Therefore, while on the one side the economic crisis continuously grew, on the other side, the actors and agents were regenerated by new socio-economic conditions. Alongside the money, transportation of the culture from the West to the Ottoman society mostly conducted by this new class within the classical Ottoman elites.

While, this long-running transformative process changed the *habitus* of social groups in Ottoman society, and power relations was reshaped day-by-day; new habits were developed, accrued, and flourished in new social spaces in a mutually interactional process. Beginning of the twentieth century was one of the most complicated stages in the all transformation process. Although, the society already met several new habits, and cultural elements of a new lifestyle; dualistic climate of Tanzimat Period was still evident in the society, and combinations of old and new, classical/traditional and modern, local and foreigner was observable in everyday life and, as well, in many institutions at the macro level. In this context, *sayfiye culture* which was formed and developed around seasonally living in summer residences, and was a part of the entertainment and sport activities of everyday life there, had its share of this complicated dualism.

Kadıköy commenced to develop as one of those revitalized places since the second half of the nineteenth century. Essentially, increasing popularity of Kadıköy and arising *sayfiye culture* as a popular activity exceeding classical and elitist borders are synchronically happened. In other words, Kadıköy and *sayfiye culture* owed their

development and popularity to each other in this period. Although, Boğaziçi was classical center of the luxury lifestyle and *sayfiye culture* of İstanbul for centuries, within it auspicated to be spread through middle class, and obtained popularity, new suburbs of the city played a prominent role in development of this phenomenon as it has already been mentioned. But, Kadıköy's prominence was not limited being a part of this common phenomenon; it meant much more specifications.

Distinctive feature of Kadıköy as a developing *sayfiye* place and a fresh suburb is explained in details in the last chapter. Kiosks, *konaks* and *yalis* occupy a significant place in this chapter due to their centrality for Kadıköy's everyday life and their crucial role in development of *sayfiye culture* in there, in this period. As a matter of fact, kiosk and *konak* life connote some concepts those are belonged classical lifestyle of Ottoman elites. The rituals and specific elements of Ottoman bureaucrats and wealth families in those houses have a plentiful content that allow to study on Ottoman society and lifestyle of Ottoman elites, and take a broad place in fictive texts, specifically in novels, in virtue of this convenience that provides possibilities to depict those phenomena. Actually, in this study's time, kiosk and *konak* life commenced to lose their power in everyday life, but still they protect their glory and magnificence. In this sense, most of novels gave the place them as a symbol of imperial elitism that entered in a disappearing process in the beginning of the century. More clearly, those novels elaborate the kiosk and *konak* life as almost extinct phenomenon like the empire experience similarly in those times.

On the other hand, this dissolving lifestyle implies a phase of *alafrangalaşma* in Ottoman society. While the time went on since the first close interaction between Ottoman and Western elites in seventeenth century, and Ottoman bourgeoisie emerged in eighteenth century; novelties those mostly comprehend material culture were firstly embraced in those houses. As this chapter has already been revealed, in Kadıköy, kiosk and *konak* life hold this dualist function in quite complicated way. Distribution of those buildings in the district, and the qualifications of households inside of them imply this complexity in the sense of

conflicts and consensus among alternative lifestyles. Differences and commonalities between kiosks and *konaks* of Ottoman elites and merchant, and Levantines, or foreigners, undoubtedly, signify transitivity in everyday life. Similarly, diversification of Ottoman elites' kiosks and *konaks*, and alternative motivations those moved them to Kadıköy, allude to same transitory function of those buildings as significant agencies in everyday life.

While old and new elements of everyday life were combined inside of those houses, and hybrid culture found a fruitful ground to grow, outside of those houses also give the birth of a new lifestyle that include this adaptation. Kadıköy had a great number of *mesire* places those played the crucial role in this development. Meadows in Haydarpaşa, Kuşdili, Yoğurtçu, Moda, Kurbağalidere, and Fenerbahçe were popular entertainment and socialization places. Within the all shoreline and large and small public gardens they hosted several novelties together old ones. Theatre, cinema, football, tennis, cricket and such kind of novelties coexisted with present activities in there like Karagöz, Orta Oyunu etc. While some classical practices turned into new form in time such as sea bathing, transition of some others spread much more time or a contest emerged between the old and new ones like the *alaturca* and *alafiranga* music. But, any of them could found a place in those places, and created alternative socializations, and lifestyles. At this context, this thesis reveals the social environment in Kadıköy that supplied the social change by means of adaptation Westernization and modernity to local culture, in relatively flexible conditions comparing other sides of İstanbul, and an exceptional way thanks to its specific features, especially staying virgin until second half of the nineteenth century. Thereby, Kadıköy's and *sayfiye culture's* places in the Ottoman modernity is clarified, and a new dimension is added to general discussion on *habitual* change in Ottoman society in the sense of modernization and Westernization by the means of this study.

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APPENDICES

A. List of Schools in Kadıköy in Second Constitutional Period (Based on Memoirs)

	<i>Name</i>	<i>Building Date</i>	<i>Level</i>
<i>Armenian School</i>	Mıgırdıç Mezburyan Sansaryan School	1879	Unknown
<i>Armenian School</i>	Torosyan School	1909	Primary School
<i>Armenian School</i>	Muhtaryan School	1870	Unknown
<i>Armenian School</i>	Aramyan Uncuyan School	1905	Primary and Secondary School
<i>Armenian School</i>	Esiryen Primary School	1880s	Primary School
<i>Armenian School</i>	Ispartayan Pre-School	1880s	Pre-School
<i>Armenian School</i>	Mangabardi Armenian School	Unknown	Unknown
<i>Armenian School</i>	Muradyan School	1873	Unknown
<i>Armenian School</i>	Anarat Hıgrutyun Armenian School	1900	Primary School-Pre-School
<i>Armenian School</i>	Mikhitarist College	1842	College
<i>Armenian School</i>	"Armenian Schooll in Muvakkithane Street"	Unknown	Unknown
<i>Armenian School</i>	Sultanyan School	Unknown	Unknown
<i>Armenian School</i>	Berberyan School	1776-1879	Unknown
<i>Armenian School</i>	Alman School	Unknown	Primary School
<i>French School</i>	Dame de Sion High School	1863	High School
<i>French School</i>	Saint Joseph High School	1870	High School
<i>French School</i>	Saint Louis French Primary School	1906	Primary School
<i>French School</i>	Saint Euphemie French Secondary School	Unknown	Secondary School
<i>French-Turkish Sc.</i>	Ekol Franko-Türk Primary Schoolu	1912	Unknown
<i>German School</i>	Alman School	Unknown	Primary School
<i>Greek School</i>	Rum School	Unknown	Unknown
<i>Greek School</i>	Kalamış Rum Primary School	Unknown	Primary School
<i>Greek School</i>	"The School in the garden of Assomption Church"	Unknown	Unknown
<i>Italian School</i>	Seuola Femminile Elementari Italiane	Unknown	Primary School-Pre-School
<i>Italian School</i>	Seuola Elementari Maschile Italiana	Unknown	Primary School-Pre-School
<i>Turkish School</i>	İmalâthane-i Osmani	Second Hamidean Era	High School?
<i>Turkish School</i>	Murad-ı Hamis İptidai Mektebi	Unknown	Primary School
<i>Turkish School</i>	Zühtü Paşa İptidai Mektebi	1890	Primary School
<i>Turkish School</i>	Hamidiye Erkek Rüştiyesi	1899-1900	High School
<i>Turkish School</i>	Hamidiye Kız Rüştiyesi	1902	High School
<i>Turkish School</i>	Aşyan School	Unknown	Primary School-Pre-School
<i>Turkish School</i>	İstikbal Mektebi	Unknown	Primary School-Pre-School
<i>Turkish School</i>	1. Mektebi Latif Branch	1891-1898	Primary School
<i>Turkish School</i>	1. Celal Bey Gir Branch	1898-1905	Primary School
<i>Turkish School</i>	Dârü'l-İrfan Mektebi	1898-1909	Primary School
<i>Turkish School</i>	Sahrayı Cedid İptidaisi	1899-1905	Primary School
<i>Turkish School</i>	Kenzül-maarif	1900-1914?	Primary School-Secondary School
<i>Turkish School</i>	Numune-i Tedris Mektebi	1901-1905	Primary School
<i>Turkish School</i>	Mekteb-i Terakki	1909-1914?	Primary School-Secondary School
<i>Turkish School</i>	İttihâd-ı Osmaniye Mektebi	1910-1915	Primary School-Secondary School
<i>Unknown</i>	"Mesdemoiselles' School (Matmazallerin Okulu)"	Unknown	Pre-School
<i>Unknown</i>	"Madame's School (Madamın Mektebi)"	1910s	Unknown
<i>Unknown</i>	Haliliye-i Mahmudiye School	1880-1915	Primary School
<i>Unknown</i>	Enver Paşa School	Unknown	Unknown

B. Distribution of Higher Status Groups in Kadıköy those live in Kiosks, Konaks and Yalis

TITLE/STATUS	NEIGHBORHOOD	BUILDING	OWNER OF BUILDING/INHABITANTS	JOB(S) OF OWNERS/INHABITANTS	ETHNO-REL. IDENTITY	RELATIONSHIPS
Courtier-Bureauçrat	Kızıllaprak	Prenses Tevhide Hamm Kiosk	Prenses Tevhide	*	Muslim	Prenses Zeynep's (Kâmil) nephew Prenses Zehra's daughter
Courtier-Bureauçrat	Kızıllaprak	East Toprani Paşa Kiosk	East Toprani Paşa	Commander	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureauçrat	Kızıllaprak	Ahmet Zühri Paşa Kiosk	Ahmet Zühri Paşa	Vizier	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureauçrat	Kızıllaprak	Hakkı Paşa Kiosk	Hakkı Paşa	Unknown	Muslim	Son-in-law of Zühri Paşa
Courtier-Bureauçrat	Feneriyolu	Daughter of Zühri Paşa's Kiosk	Daughter of Zühri Paşa	Unknown	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureauçrat	Feneriyolu	Vedihlî Tevrik Paşa Kiosk	Vedihlî Tevrik Paşa Family	Diplomat	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureauçrat	Feneriyolu	Ahmet Eyyup Paşa Kiosk	Ahmet Eyyup Paşa Family	Commander	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureauçrat	Feneriyolu	Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Paşa Kiosk	Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Paşa Family	Commander and Sadrazam	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureauçrat	Feneriyolu	Fethiye Hamm Kiosk	Fethiye Hamm	Unknown	Muslim	Sister of Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Paşa
Courtier-Bureauçrat	Feneriyolu	Arap Sami Bey Kiosk	Sami Bey and his Family	Member of Şurayî Devlet	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureauçrat	Feneriyolu	Nuri Paşa Kiosk	Mustafa Nuri Paşa Family	Mirlîka (Brigadier)	Muslim	Ahmet Eyyup Paşa's brother-in-law (bacanak)
Courtier-Bureauçrat	Feneriyolu	Dr. Mahmut Hakkı Paşa Kiosk	M. Hakkı Paşa and his Family	Second Nazir in Mekkeli Tibbiye-i Şahane	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureauçrat	Çiftahavuzlar	Cemil Topuzlu Paşa Kiosk	Cemil Topuzlu Paşa	Şehemini and Doctor (Saray Hekimi)	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureauçrat	Çiftahavuzlar	Abdullahî Suphi Paşa Kiosk	Abdullahî Suphi Paşa and his Family	Adlye and Maarif Minister	Muslim	Father of H. Suphi Tamnöver
Courtier-Bureauçrat	Çiftahavuzlar	Hasan Rami Paşa	Unknown	Minister of Bahriye	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureauçrat	Caddebostan	Ragıp Sarca Paşa Kiosk	Ragıp Sarca Paşa and his Family	Mabeyinci	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureauçrat	Caddebostan	Tevhide Hamm Kiosk	Several members of Ragıp Paşa Family	*	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureauçrat	Caddebostan	Zincirli Kiosk	Vekilhanç Emullah Efendi	Vekilhanç (Major-domo)	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureauçrat	Caddebostan	Hasan Rami Paşa Kiosk	Hasan Rami Paşa and his Family	Minister of Bahriye	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureauçrat	Caddebostan	Hacı Akif Paşa Kiosk	Hacı Akif Paşa Family	Commander of Ertağul Sıvan Alayı	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureauçrat	Gaztepe	Müğfir Hayri Paşa Kiosk	Müğfir Hayri Paşa Family	Governor of Selanik Commander of III Army	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureauçrat	Gaztepe	İshak Paşa Kiosk	İshak Paşa and his Family	Unknown	Muslim	Paşa's wife Münöver Hamm was daughter of Dail Paşa Paşa

B. Distribution of Higher Status Groups in Kadıköy those live in Kiosks, Konaks and Yalis (Continued)

Courier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Rifat Hüsamethin Paşa Kiosk	Rifat Hüsamethin Paşa	Professor in Military Medical School Dissection of Pathology (Retired)	Muslim	•
Courier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Rudan Paşa Kiosk	Rudan Paşa	Şehitrimin (btw 1890-1906)	Muslim	•
Courier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	All Şamîl Paşa Kiosk	All Şamîl Paşa	Commander of Uskudar	Muslim	•
Courier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Hacı Vesim Paşa Kiosk	Hacı Vesim Paşa	Kaptanı Derya (Admiral in Chief)	Muslim	•
Courier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Zülfürlü İsmail Paşa Kiosk	Zülfürlü İsmail Paşa	High-ranking Commander	Muslim	•
Courier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Topçu Ferik Hasan Kiosk	Hasan Kıpçak	Major Artillery General	Muslim	•
Courier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Cemal Paşa Kiosk	Cemal Paşa	Manager of Muhendishane	Muslim	•
Courier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Cevat Paşa Kiosk	Cevat Çobanlı	High-ranking Commander	Muslim	•
Courier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Sadrızam Salih Paşa Kiosk	Salih Paşa	Minister of Nafla, Bahriye Grand Vizier (Sadrızam)	Muslim	•
Courier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Abidin Paşa Kiosk	Abidin Paşa	Member of Military Minister Office of Muhakemat	Muslim	•
Courier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Servet Paşa Kiosk	Ferik Servet Paşa	Manager of Military School, Military Assistant (Vaver) of Abdülhamit II	Muslim	•
Courier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Gazi Osman Paşa Kiosk	Gazi Osman Paşa	High-ranking Commander	Muslim	•
Courier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Bağdat Valisi Mevdî Efendi's Kiosk	Mevdî Efendi	Governor of Bağdat	Muslim	•
Courier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Ömer Fâik Paşa Kiosk	Ömer Fâik Paşa	One of Military Assistant Sultan Keşaplı Artillery General	Muslim	•
Courier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Hurşit Mehmet Paşa Kiosk	Hurşit Mehmet Paşa Family	Minister of Maliye, Ekmâf and Dahiliye, Sadaret Müsteşarlığı	Muslim	•
Courier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Arif Hikmet Paşa	Arif Hikmet Paşa	Amiral	Muslim	•
Courier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Mehmet Ali Paşa Kiosk	Mehmet Ali Paşa	Süvari Zabiti, Hünkar Yaverliği	Muslim	•
Courier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Ferik Salt Paşa's House	Ferik Salt Paşa Family	Unknown	Muslim	•
Courier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Yusuf Paşa Kiosk	Yusuf Paşa Family	Governor of Bağdat	Muslim	•
Courier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Halis Bey Kiosk	Halis Bey Family	Minister of Hazîne-i Hassa	Muslim	•
Courier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Bekir Paşa Kiosk	Bekir Paşa Family	exceptional Governor (Fevkâlade Vail) of Hal	Muslim	•
Courier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Ömer Hüsnî Efendi Kiosk	Ömer Hüsnî Efendi Family	Şeyhülislam	Muslim	•
Courier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Adil Bey Kiosk	Adil Bey Family	Cunciler of DahiliyeSadaret	Muslim	•
Courier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Vahitü Bey Kiosk	Vahitü Bey Family	Governor of İzmit	Muslim	•

B. Distribution of Higher Status Groups in Kadıköy those live in Kiosks, Konaks and Yalis (Continued)

Courtier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Ahmet Dervis Paşa Kiosk	Ahmet Dervis Paşa Family	Governor of Yemen	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Ahmet Rasim Paşa Kiosk	Ahmet Rasim Paşa Family	Governorship in many regions, Vizier	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Göztepe	Ahmet Cevdet Paşa Kiosk	Ahmet Cevdet Paşa Family	Various governorship and ministries, Historian (Vakanüvislik)	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Erenköy	Zurafal Kiosk	Mümin Tahir Paşa	Minister of Education	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Erenköy	Kabasısalı Mehmet Paşa Kiosk	Kabasısalı Mehmet Paşa	Başjurnalci (Head of Informers)	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Erenköy	Galip Paşa Kiosk	Galip Paşa	Minister of Ewarf (Vakt's)	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Erenköy	Ziya Paşa Kiosk	Ziya Paşa	Minister of Finance	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Erenköy	Mustafa Zihni Paşa	Mustafa Zihni Paşa Family	Ministers of Ewarf, Trade and Nafia, Governor of Selanik, Halep and Bursa, Presidency of Şurya-i Devlet	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Erenköy	Mehmed Ziya Paşa Kiosk	Mehmed Ziya Paşa Family	Minister of Finance	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Erenköy	All Paşa Kiosk	All Paşa Family	Head Doctor of Haydarpaşa Askerî Hastanesi	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Bostancı	All Rıza Paşa Kiosk	All Rıza Paşa	Minister of Health	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Bostancı	Cavit Paşa Konağı	Cavit Paşa Family	Vidiz Commander	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Kalamış-Fener	Zihevrazde Ahmet Paşa Kiosk	Ahmet Paşa Family	Member of Şurya-i Devlet	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Kalamış-Fener	Daughters of Zihevrazde Ahmet Paşa Kiosks	Zihevrazde Ahmet Paşa's daughters	*	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Kalamış-Fener	Deif Fuad Paşa Kiosk	Deif Fuad Paşa and his Family	High-ranking Commander, Diplomat	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Kalamış-Fener	Marvokordato Paşa's House	Marvokordato Paşa	Member of Ayan	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Moda	Mahmut Bey's House	Bronsart Paşa	Head of General Staff	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Moda	Mahmut Muhtar Paşa Kiosk	Mahmut Muhtar Paşa Family	High-ranking Commander	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Moda	Ahmed İzzet Paşa	Ahmed İzzet Paşa Family	Grand Vizier (Sadrazam)	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Bahariye	Harcıye Nazım Reşit Paşa's Kiosk	Reşit Paşa	Foreign Minister	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Şifa	Lütfiye Hanım Kiosk	Lütfiye Hanım (Zihni Paşa's daughter)	*	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Acıbadem	Ahmed Ratıp Paşa	Ahmed Ratıp Paşa	Governor of Hicaz	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Hasanpaşa	Hasan Hüsnü Paşa	Hasan Hüsnü Paşa Family	Minister of Bahriye&Vizier	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Acıbadem	Hasan Rahmi Paşa Kiosk	Hasan Rahmi Paşa and his Family	Minister of Bahriye	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Acıbadem	All Bey's House	All Bey and his Family	Kaymakam	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Acıbadem	Velip Paşa Kiosk	Velip Paşa and his Family	Askerî Odular Komutanı	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Acıbadem	Konak of Telgraf Nazırı H. Hasip Paşa	Hasip Paşa and his Family	Telgraf Nazırı	Muslim	*
Courtier-Bureaucrat	Acıbadem	Emni Paşa'nın Kiosk	Emni Paşa and his Family	İstanbul Merkez Komutanlarından	Muslim	*

B. Distribution of Higher Status Groups in Kadıköy those live in Kiosks, Konaks and Yalis (Continued)

Courier-Bureaucrat	Acibadem	Rasim Paşa	Rasim Paşa and his Family	Minister of Bahriye	Muslim	*
Courier-Bureaucrat	Acibadem	Esat Paşa	Esat Paşa and his Family	Assistant of Galiz Paşa, Derz naziri in Harbiye Mektebi, Commander	Muslim	*
Courier-Court Official	Acibadem	Cemil Cahit Paşa Kiosk	C. Cahit Paşa and his Family	Military Officer (Subay)	Muslim	*
Courier-Court Official	Acibadem	Izzet Paşa Kiosk	Izzet Paşa and his Family	Military Officer (Subay)	Muslim	*
Courier-Court Official	Acibadem	Muhar Bey Kiosk	Muhar Bey and his Family	Istihkam Military Officer (Subay)	Muslim	*
Courier-Court Official	Kızıtoprak	Evapçıbaşı İlyas Bey Kiosk	İlyas Bey Family	Evapçıbaşı	Muslim	*
Courier-Court Official	Kızıtoprak	Kilerçbaşı Osman Bey Kiosk	Kilerçbaşı Osman Bey Family	Kilerçbaşı	Muslim	*
Courier-Court Official	Feneryolu	Sabri Bey (Naci Moralı) Kiosk	Kalkandelenli Sabri Bey	Manager of Yıldız Library	Muslim	*
Courier-Court Official	Feneryolu	Bağdatlı Talih Paşa Kiosk	Talih Paşa and his Family	First Secretary	Muslim	*
Courier-Court Official	Feneryolu	Şükri Bey's House	Şükri Bey Family	Manager of Carpet Affairs in Foreign Customs	Muslim	*
Courier-Court Official	Feneryolu	All Rıza Bey Kiosk	All Rıza Bey Family	Military Officer (Subay)	Muslim	*
Courier-Court Official	Feneryolu	Mustafa Mazhar Bey Kiosk	Mustafa Mazhar Bey and his Family	Matbah Manager, officer of Hazine-i Hassa	Muslim	*
Courier-Court Official	Feneryolu	Cemal Bey's House	Cemal Bey Family	Military Officer (Subay)	Muslim	*
Courier-Court Official	Feneryolu	Esat Erendi-Nuzhet Feza Hanım's House	Esat Erendi and Nuzhet Feza Hanım	State Official	Muslim	*
Courier-Court Official	Feneryolu	Masraf Nazım Rıza Bey Kiosk	Rıza Bey and his Family	Second Branch Office Manager of Muhasebat Office in Daire-i Askeriye	Muslim	*
Courier-Court Official	Feneryolu	Mahir Bey's House	Mahir Bey and his Family	Emniyet Sandığı Muhammedi	Muslim	*
Courier-Court Official	Selimiyye	Doktor Mahmud Çalalettin Paşa Kiosk	Doktor Mahmud Çalalettin Paşa	Doctor	Muslim	Kırkanlıtar Halit Ağa's son
Courier-Court Official	Çiftlikavuzlar	Yagürçubası Ahmet Erendi's Kiosk	Hacı Mehmet Erendi and his Family	Head Treasurer of Military Minister Muhاسبی-Padişahi (Accountant of Sultan)	Muslim	*
Courier-Court Official	Göztepe	Nadir Ağa Kiosk	Nadir Ağa	Kassam	Muslim	*
Courier-Court Official	Göztepe	Çifte Konaklar	Kassam Şükri Bey	Military Officer (Subay)	Muslim	*
Courier-Court Official	Göztepe	Camgâz Osman Paşa Kiosk	Camgâz Osman Paşa and his Family	Zabit	Muslim	*
Courier-Court Official	Göztepe	All Refik Paşa Kiosk	All Refik Paşa and his Family	Accountant of Evkar	Muslim	F. Kerim Galay moved to there as son-in-law
Courier-Court Official	Göztepe	Canıp Bey Kiosk	Canıp Bey Family	One of accountant of Abdülhamid II	Muslim	*
Courier-Court Official	Göztepe	Behram Bey (Bahri Kınacı) Kiosk	Behram Bey Family		Muslim	*

B. Distribution of Higher Status Groups in Kadıköy those live in Kiosks, Konaks and Yalis (Continued)

Courier-Court Official	Göztepe	Ihsan Paşa Kiosk	Ihsan Paşa Family	Tophane Müşirliği İnşaat Komisyonu Reisliği	Muslim	*
Courier-Court Official	Bostancı	Pembe Kiosk	Hacı Mehmet Efendi Family	First Secretary of Abdülaziz's mother Pertevniyal Valide Sultan	Muslim	*
Courier-Court Official	Moda	Hakkı Şinasi Paşa Kiosk	Hakkı Şinasi Paşa	Military doctor	Muslim	*
Courier-Court Official	Şişli	Esvaçbaşı İlyas Bey's House	İlyas Bey	Esvaçbaşı	Muslim	*
Courier-Court Official	Şişli	Berberbaşı Sükrü Bey's House	Sükrü Bey Family	Berberbaşı	Muslim	*
Courier-Family	Kızılköpek	Selahattin Efendi Kiosk	Selahattin Efendi	Şehzade (Son of Sultan)	Muslim	Murad V's son
Courier-Family	Feneriyeolu	Abdülkadir Efendi Kiosk	Abdülkadir Efendi	Şehzade (Son of Sultan)	Muslim	*
Courier-Family	Feneriyeolu	Şehzade A. Nureddin Efendi's House	Fahriye Zişan Hanım and her sister	*	Muslim	(Old) wife of Ahmed Nureddin Efendi
Courier-Family	Feneriyeolu	Redia Sultan Kiosk	Redia Sultan	*	Muslim	Daughter of II. Abdülhamid
Courier-Family	Selimiye	Saliha Sultan Kiosk	Saliha Sultan	*	Muslim	Daughter of Abdülaziz Abdülhamit II's brother-in-law (kayınbıradarı)
Courier-Family	Göztepe	Izzet Paşa Kiosk	Izzet Paşa Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Courier-Family	Göztepe	Rukiye Sultan Kiosk	Rukiye Sultan and Ş. Abdülmecid Efendi	*	Muslim	Murad V's grandchild
Courier-Family	Göztepe	Adile Sultan Kiosk	Adile Sultan	*	Muslim	Sister of Rukiye Sultan
Courier-Family	Göztepe	Nureddin Paşa Kiosk	Nureddin Paşa	*	Muslim	Abdülhamid II's son-in-law
Courier-Family	Erenköy	Cemile Sultan Kiosk	Cemile Sultan	*	Muslim	Daughter of Sultan Abdülmecid, Sister of II. Abdülhamid
Courier-Family	Erenköy	Hatice Sultan Kiosk	Hatice Sultan	*	Muslim	Daughter of V. Murad, Nephew of II. Abdülhamid
Courier-Family	Erenköy	Şadiye Sultan Kiosk	Şadiye Sultan	*	Muslim	Daughter of II. Abdülhamid
Courier-Family	Haydarpaşa	Ziyaeddin Efendi Kiosk	Ziyaeddin Efendi	Şehzade (Son of Sultan)	Muslim	Sultan Reşad's son
Courier-White Collar	Moda	Arif Sarıca Kiosk	Arif Sarıca Paşa	One of doctors work in the Palace	Muslim	Brother of Mahbeyri Rıdvan Paşa
Courier-White Collar	Moda	Papa Kalfa's House	Papa Kalfa	Architecture	Non-Muslim	*
Courier-White Collar	Şişli	Reşit Paşa Kiosk	Reşit Paşa	Military Prosecutor	Muslim	*
Intellectual Artist	Göztepe	Tanrıal İzzet Bey Kiosk	Tanrıal İzzet Bey Family	Hattat (Calligrapher)	Muslim	*
Intellectual Artist	Erenköy	Mihran Efendi Kiosk	Mihran Efendi	Journalist&Matbaa Sahibi	Armenian	*

B. Distribution of Higher Status Groups in Kadıköy those live in Kiosks, Konaks and Yalis (Continued)

Intellectual/Artist	Erenköy	Şemseddin Sami Kiosk	Şemseddin Sami	Intellectual	Muslim	Celal İsmail Paşa's brother-in-law (bacanak)
Intellectual/Artist	Moda	Cem's House	Mehmet Cemil	Cartographer	Muslim	•
Intellectual/Artist	Moda	Süleyman Nazif's House	Süleyman Nazif	Writer	Muslim	•
Intellectual/Artist	Haydarpaşa	Tahsin Nâhid's House	Tahsin Nâhid	Poet	Muslim	•
Intellectual/Artist	Üsküdar	All Rifat Çalgatay Kiosk	All Rifat Çalgatay Family	Musican	Muslim	•
Merchant	Kızıltoprak	Double Kiosks 1 (Hasan Amir Bey Kiosk)	Hasan Amir Bey Family	Ship-owner	Muslim	•
Merchant	Kızıltoprak	Double Kiosks (2)	Tagrıade Hakkı Bey Family	Unknown	Muslim	•
Merchant	Kızıltoprak	Mücevherci Acem's Kiosk	Cevahirci Hüseyin Efendi and his Family	Jeweller	Muslim	•
Merchant	Feneriyolu	Tagrıade Hilmi Bey's Kiosk	Tagrıade Hilmi Bey Family	Marble Merchant	Muslim	•
Merchant	Feneriyolu	Yağcı Ahmet Bey's House	Ahmet Bey Family	Oil Merchant	Muslim	•
Merchant	Selamlıçerne	Şişman Yankı's House	Yankı Anayadı's	Merchant	Non-Muslim	•
Merchant	Çiftlikavuzlar	Kurukahveci İhsan Bey Kiosk	İhsan Bey and his Family	Coffee Merchant	Muslim	Kurukahveci Mehmet Efendi's nephew
Merchant	Moda	Lorando's Palace	Lorando (and Fürstenberg) Family	Broker	Levantine	•
Merchant	Moda	Frederici's House 1	Frederici Family	Broker	Levantine	•
Merchant	Moda	Frederici's House 2	Frederici Family	Broker	Levantine	•
Merchant	Moda	Frederici Tubini's House	Tubini (and Frederici) Family	Broker	Levantine	•
Merchant	Moda	Nomico's House	Tubini Family	Broker	Levantine	•
Merchant	Moda	Nomico's Children's Houses 1	Tubini Family (Virgin Nomico)	Broker	Levantine	•
Merchant	Moda	Nomico's Children's House 2	Tubini Family	Broker	Levantine	•
Merchant	Moda	Nomico's Children's Houses 3	Tubini Family	Broker	Levantine	•
Merchant	Moda	Nomico's Children's Houses 4	Tubini Family	Broker	Levantine	•
Merchant	Moda	Nomico's Children's Houses 5	Tubini Family	Broker	Levantine	•
Merchant	Moda	Nomico's Children's Houses 6	Tubini Family	Broker	Levantine	•
Merchant	Moda	Nomico's Children's Houses 7	Tubini Family	Broker	Levantine	•
Merchant	Moda	Whitchall's House	Whitchall Family	Broker	Levantine	•
Merchant	Moda	One of Whitchall's Children's House 1	Whitchall Family	Broker	Levantine	•
Merchant	Moda	One of Whitchall's Children's House 2	Whitchall Family	Broker	Levantine	•
Merchant	Moda	One of Whitchall's Children's House 3	Whitchall Family	Broker	Levantine	•
Merchant	Moda	One of Whitchall's Children's House 4	Whitchall Family	Broker	Levantine	•
Merchant	Moda	One of Whitchall's Children's House 5	Whitchall Family	Broker	Levantine	•
Merchant	Moda	One of Whitchall's Children's House 6	Whitchall Family	Broker	Levantine	•

B. Distribution of Higher Status Groups in Kadıköy those live in Kiosks, Konaks and Yalis (Continued)

Merchant	Muhurdar	Zaharof's House	Zaharof	Marketing expert	Armenian	*
Merchant	Muhurdar	Bilkantyan Efendi's House	Bilkantyan Efendi	*	Armenian	*
Merchant	Baharive	Ismael Efendi's House	Ismael Efendi	Merchant	Muslim	
Merchant	Sifa	Hamamzade Akif Bey's House	Hamamzade Akif Bey	Public Bath Owner	Muslim	*
Merchant	Sokuluçayme	Zamboglu Kiosk	Zamboglu Family	Broker	Armenian	*
Merchant	Sokuluçayme	Morinoğlu Kiosk	Bogos Musri and his Family	Broker&Sarraf	Armenian	*
Merchant	Fenerbahçe	Baron Oppenheim's Kiosk	Baron Oppenheim	Broker	Levantine	*
Merchant	Fenerbahçe	Jean Botter's Houses 1	Jean Botter	Tailor of II. Abdulhamid	Levantine	*
Merchant	Fenerbahçe	Jean Botter's Houses 2	Louisa&Sezar Goedredy Family	Insurance Broker	Levantine	Louisa Botter was daughter of Jean Botter
Merchant	Fenerbahçe	Hipolit Degust's Houses (2 number)	Degust Family	Antique Dealer	Levantine	*
Merchant	Fenerbahçe	Semadani's Houses	Semadani Family (and tenants)	Wine Merchant	Levantine	*
Ordinary Paşa	Kazlıtoprak	Kâim Paşa Kiosk	Kâim Paşa Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Ordinary Paşa	Kazlıtoprak	Bezmîğül Diber Hamm Kiosk	Bezmîğül Diber Hamm Family	*	Muslim	Kâim Paşa's sister
Ordinary Paşa	Kazlıtoprak	Hasan Edip Paşa Kiosk	Hasan Edip Paşa	Unknown	Muslim	*
Ordinary Paşa	Feneriyolu	Hüseyin Rahim Paşa Kiosk	Hüseyin Rahim Paşa	Unknown	Muslim	*
Ordinary Paşa	Feneriyolu	Diyrikil Hasan Paşa Kiosk	Diyrikil Hasan Paşa	Unknown	Muslim	*
Ordinary Paşa	Feneriyolu	Mustafa Hilmi Paşa Kiosk	Mustafa Hilmi Paşa Family	Commander	Muslim	Paşa's third wife Behice Hanım was sister of Regat Paşa
Ordinary Paşa	Feneriyolu	All Rıza Paşa Kiosk	Rıza Paşa Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Ordinary Paşa	Feneriyolu	Hüseyin Hüsnü Paşa Kiosk	Hüseyin Hüsnü Paşa and his Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Ordinary Paşa	Çifteliazular	Cafar Paşa Kiosk	Cafar Paşa and his Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Ordinary Paşa	Göztepe	Galip Paşa Kiosk	Galip Paşa Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Ordinary Paşa	Göztepe	Hasip Paşa Kiosk	Hasip Paşa Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Ordinary Paşa	Göztepe	Sokulu Abdülkerim Paşa Kiosk	Sokulu Abdülkerim Paşa	Unknown	Muslim	*
Ordinary Paşa	Göztepe	Topal Ismail Hakkı Paşa Kiosk	Ismail Hakkı Paşa Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Ordinary Paşa	Kozyatağı	Gazi Edhem Paşa	Gazi Edhem Paşa	Unknown	Muslim	*
Ordinary Paşa	Kozyatağı	Regat Paşa Konakı	Regat Paşa Family	Financier	Muslim	*
Ordinary Paşa	Feneriyolu	Celal İsmail Paşa Kiosk	Celal İsmail Paşa Family	Scholar in medicine	Muslim	Şemseddin Sami's brother-in-law (bakacak)
White Collar	Kazlıtoprak	Sadık Bey Kiosk	Sadık Bey Family	Judge	Muslim	*

B. Distribution of Higher Status Groups in Kadıköy those live in Kiosks, Konaks and Yalis (Continued)

White collar	Fenerbahçe	All Mübarek Bey Kiosk	All Mübarek Bey Family	Agricultural Engineer	Muslim	*
White collar	Feneriyolu	İskeçelli Yusuf Ziya Bey Kiosk	Yusuf Ziya Bey and his Family	Manager in Reji	Muslim	*
White collar	Göztepe	Nazif Bey Kiosk	Nazif Bey Family	Doctor	Muslim	*
White collar	Saadıye	Hayri Bey Kiosk	Hayri Bey Family	Anadolü Simandieri Serkoniseri	Muslim	*
White collar	Bostancı	[Tamaraj] Hüquenin Kiosk	Eduard Hüquenin	Bağdat Demiryolları Direktörlüğü	Levantine	*
White collar	Kalamış-Fener	Doksan Pencere Ev	Şekket Bey Family	Ziraat Bakanlıği Maden İşleri General Manager	Muslim	*
White collar	Kalamış-Fener	Karako's House	Jan Karako	Dentist	*	*
White collar	Kalamış-Fener	Villa Melite	Vilfred de Sain	Manager in Telefon İdaresi	Levantine	Neighbour of Jean Botter's assistant Robert
White collar	Kalamış-Fener	Mosyo Cingria's House	Mosyo Cingria	Engineer	Levantine	*
White collar	Bahariye	Daniş Bey Kiosk	Daniş Delea Bey	Agricultural Engineer?	Muslim	*
White collar	Fenerbahçe	Jean Botter's Houses 3	Marie Josephine&Alfred Ritzo Family	Lawyer	Levantine	Marie Josephine was second daughter of Jean Botter
White collar	Fenerbahçe	Dilman's House	Mosyo Dilman and his sister	Engineer	Levantine	*
White collar	Aciadam	Ethem bey	Ethem Bey and his Family	Mühendis	Muslim	*
White collar	Aciadam	Haci Eminie Harim	*	Lawyer	Muslim	*
White collar	Aciadam	Servet Bey Kiosk	Servet Bey and his Family	One of managers of Şirket-i Hayriye	Muslim	*
Others	Feneriyolu	Sadik Fendil's House	Sadik Fendil Family	Başkalfa in Şekerai Hacı Bekir Müessesesi	Muslim	*
Others	Feneriyolu	Haydar Bey's House	Haydar Bey Family	Member of İdare Meclisi	Muslim	*
Others	Moda	Kiosk of Antipa	Andreas Antipa	Pharmacist	Levantine	*
Others	Fenerbahçe	Robert's House	Robert	Assistant of tailor	Non-Muslim	Robert was assistant of Jean Botter
Others	Fenerbahçe	Villa Gaetta	Freo Kaffero	Sailor	Non-Muslim	*
Others	Kalamış-Fener	Houses of Erenköy Mosque's Imam 1	Erenköy Mosque's Imam	Imam	Muslim	*
Others	Kalamış-Fener	Tevfik Amir Bey Kiosk	Tevfik Amir Bey and his Family	Professor in Galatasaray Highschool, Member of Şehir Meclisi	Muslim	*
Scholars	Kızıltoprak	Mehmet Ali Ayrı Kiosk	Mehmet Ali Ayrı Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Scholars	Göztepe	Mustafa Asım Yörük's House	Mustafa Asım Yörük	Mebusan Meclisi I. Reis Vekili, Vera İdadisi, Darülfünun İlahiyat ve Edebiyat şubeleri, Darülmüalliminde Hoca	Muslim	*

B. Distribution of Higher Status Groups in Kadıköy those live in Kiosks, Konaks and Yalis (Continued)

Scholars	Göztepe	Mahmudî Fakî Bey Kiosk	Semiyüddin Asyâk	Medreseül Kuzatka muallim	Muslim	*
Unknown	Göztepe	M. Cemaleddin Seven's House	M. Cemaleddin Seven	Müdersis, Ayaşofya Derişanı	Muslim	*
Unknown	Kahtoprak	Raif Bey Kiosk	Raif Bey Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Kahtoprak	The Kiosk of Hüseyin Fevzi Paşa's Wife	Hüseyin Fevzi Paşa Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Kahtoprak	Hüseyin Paşa Kiosk	Hüseyin Paşa	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Kahtoprak	Kıbrıslıların Kiosk	Unknown	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Kahtoprak	Mehurre Hanımın Kiosk	Mehurre Hanım Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Kahtoprak	Meliha Hanım Kiosk	Meliha Hanım	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Kahtoprak	Konak of Sadıkzade(ler)	Sadıkzade Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Kahtoprak	V. Murad Kiosk	Unknown	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Kahtoprak	Kılıçlı Köşk	Yeche Hanım	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Feneriyolu	Batallıs Perahî's House	Batallıs Perahî	Unknown	Armenian	*
Unknown	Feneriyolu	Mehmet Balic Bey's House	Mehmet Balic Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Feneriyolu	Ihsan Hanım's House	Ihsan Hanım and her Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Feneriyolu	Lutfiye Hanım's Kiosk	Lutfiye Hanım	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Feneriyolu	Bedros Bekeryan's House	Bedros Bekeryan	Unknown	Armenian	*
Unknown	Feneriyolu	Hacı Bekir's House	Hacı Bekir Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Çiftelievazlar	Hacı Bekir Kiosk	Muhibdin Bey and his Family	Unknown	Muslim	Hacıbekir's son
Unknown	Caddelerüstü	Mr. Theron Dannon Kiosk	Unknown	Unknown	Non-Muslim	*
Unknown	Göztepe	Sami Paşa Kiosk	Unknown	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Göztepe	Hulusi Bey Kiosk	Hulusi Bey Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Göztepe	Ramiz Bey Kiosk	Ramiz Bey Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Göztepe	Mazhar Bey/Behiye Sultan Kiosk	Unknown	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Göztepe	Hakim Efendi Kiosk	Hakim Efendi Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Göztepe	Hafiz Hüseyin Paşa Kiosk	Hafiz Hüseyin Paşa Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Göztepe	Köse Mustafa Paşa Kiosk	Köse Mustafa Paşa Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Erenköy	Fevzi Bey Kiosk	Fevzi Bey Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Erenköy	Unknown Kiosk	Sacide Oruz Hanım's Sister	Unknown	Muslim	Fevzi Bey's mother-in-law (kayınvalide)
Unknown	Erenköy	Hacı Müftü Efendi Kiosk	Unknown	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Sarıdıye	Unknown Kiosk	Unknown	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Bostancı	Seven Kiosk/Pembe Kiosk	Alemdağlar Family	Unknown	Muslim	*

B. Distribution of Higher Status Groups in Kadıköy those live in Kiosks, Konaks and Yalis (Continued)

Unknown	Kalamys-Fener	East Papa Kiosk	Unknown	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Kalamys-Fener	Kocaşag Arif Bey Kiosk	Arif Bey Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Kalamys-Fener	Houses of Erenköy Mosque's Imam 3	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	*
Unknown	Moda	Kefeli's House	Kefeli Family	Unknown	Non-Muslim	*
Unknown	Moda	Bulgurlu's House	Bulgurlu Family	Unknown	Non-Muslim	*
Unknown	Moda	Nemlizade Ibrahim Bey's House	Nemlizade Ibrahim Bey Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Moda	Mr Dowson's House	Mr. Dowson	Unknown	Non-Muslim	*
Unknown	Moda	Mr Dowson's House	Son of Mr. Dowson	Unknown	Non-Muslim	*
Unknown	Moda	Villa Wohl	Sofru Family	Unknown	Non-Muslim	*
Unknown	Moda	Villa Charnaud	John Charnaud	Unknown	Non-Muslim	*
Unknown	Moda	Villa Glavani	Glavani Family	Unknown	Non-Muslim	*
Unknown	Moda	Lazyan's Kiosk	Lazyan	Unknown	Non-Muslim	*
Unknown	Muhurdar	Unknown Kiosk	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	*
Unknown	Biharlye	Unknown Kiosk	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	*
Unknown	Biharlye	Abdulrezzak Abol Erendi's House	Cerrah Bekir Bey Family	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Biharlye	Armenak Şekerçyan's House	Şekerçyan Erendi	Unknown	Armenian	*
Unknown	Şifa	Unknown Kiosk	Unknown	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Şifa	Unknown Kiosk	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	*
Unknown	Fenerbahçe	Villa Mon Plaisir	Jan Jori	Unknown	Non-Muslim	*
Unknown	Fenerbahçe	Jean Borter's Houses 4	Marie&Smith-Ly'e Family	Unknown	Non-Muslim	*
Unknown	Fenerbahçe	Theodoridis's Kiosk	Theodoridis Family	Unknown	Non-Muslim	*
Unknown	Fenerbahçe	Mr. Hunter's House	Mr. and Mrs. Hunter	Unknown	Non-Muslim	*
Unknown	Acibadem	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Acibadem	Batumular's Kiosk	Unknown	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Acibadem	Sarıncı Kiosk	Unknown	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Acibadem	Tirmaççı Salim Bey Kiosk	Unknown	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Acibadem	Veznedar Kiosk	Unknown	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Acibadem	Ehkatipier's/Misirilar's Kiosk	Unknown	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Acibadem	Erin Pasajı's Kiosk	Unknown	Unknown	Muslim	*
Unknown	Acibadem	Kaplanlar's Kiosk	Unknown	Unknown	Muslim	*

C. List of Ibadethanes in Kadıköy in Second Constitutional Period (Based on Memoirs)

	Names	Building Date
Mosques	Kethüda Mosque	1550*
	Osmanağa Mosque	1612
	İbrahimağa Mosque	Unknown
	Caferağa Mosque	Unknown
	Kaptan Hasan Paşa Mosque	1900
	Sultan Mustafa Mosque	1760
	Rasim Paşa Mosque	1902
	Zühtü Paşa Mosque	1883
	Göztepe Mosque	1902
	Erenköy İstasyon Mosque	Second Hamidiean Era
	Tuğlacı Mosque	1860
	Galip Paşa Mosque	1898
	Erenköy Kazasker Mosque	Second Hamidiean Era
	Suadiye Mosque	Second Hamidiean Era
	Kozyatağı Mosque	1895
	Mehmet Çavuş Mosque	1665
Churchs	Surp Takavor Church	XVII. Century*
	Surp Levon Armenian Church	1911
	Ayia Euphemie Church	Unknown
	Ayia Ionis Hristosmos (Kalamış) Church	Unknown
	Ayia Trias Rum Ortodoks Church	1902
	Anglikan Church	1878
	Assomption Church	1863
Synagogues	Hemdet Israel	1899
Dervish Lodges	Şahkulu Tekkesi	Orhan Gazi Era
	Mecidiye Dergâhı	1305

**Estimated*