

A COMPERATIVE STUDY IN TWO NEIGHBORHOODS IN TOKYO AND
İSTANBUL: AN ARCHITECTURAL AND AESTHETICAL ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

A COMPERATIVE STUDY IN TWO NEIGHBORHOODS IN TOKYO AND ISTANBUL: AN ARCHITECTURAL AND AESTHETICAL ANALYSIS

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This master thesis comprizes of a comparative study between two neighborhoods in two different cities: Nezu-Tokyo and Ortakoy-Istanbul. Although two cities that have been chosen seem incomparable in many respects, the study scale –neighborhoods- provide a deeper apprehension to understand the differences or similarities that the two cultures and their architecture share. In the master thesis, the main factors that form, constitute, and limit the neighborhoods, with the help of the photographical medium, will be analyzed.

Japanese and Turkish Culture, despite the fact that they belong to different geographies, share a certain closeness and intimacy. In the two cultures, it is possible to observe that, there exists (at least within certain cultural areas) an attempt to protect internal harmonies against the effects of globalizarion. After experiencing the similar characteristics of urban space in these two neighborhoods, this study has focused on the creation of space, within the help of atmoshere and boundary concepts, within a theoretical frame drawn by an aesthetical approach.

Although the cities that were chosen are very large in scale, the neighborhoods which were chosen still carry a local character, where citizens spend most of their time and closely affect their surroundings. It could also be claimed that, positioned between

architectural and urban scale, neighborhoods constitute the different faces of a city. In a neighborhood that possesses both traditional characters and effects of urbanization at the same time, we can observe the social habits and individual diversities, rules of a city planning and flux of different ingredients that form the metropolitan and daily life, and neighbor relations.

In this regard, my intention, with the close-scope study of two neighborhoods, is to make a research to indicate the very distinct ways to create space and the ways in which everyday life is conveyed, within the context of two different cultures.

Key words:

Neighborhoods, daily life aesthetics, atmosphere, space, boundary, Ortakoy, Nezu.

ÖZ

**TOKYO VE İSTANBUL'DA MAHALLE ÖLÇEĞİNDE KİYASLAMALI
İNCELEME: MİMARİ VE ESTETİK BİR ANALİZ**

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Bu tez, Tokyo ve İstanbul bağlamında, yapılı çevrenin yaratımını, değiştirilmesini ve algılanmasını inceleyerek karşılaştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu karşılaştırma, kent mekanlarının sahip olduğu belirleyici atmosferi oluşturan elemanların -sokaklar, binalar ve kentsel çevreyi oluşturan diğer nesnelere- formu, dizilimi, birbirleriyle olan ilişkileri, yaratımları ve deneyimlenmeleri üzerinden yapılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, karşılaştırmanın yapılacağı alanlar seçilirken, kültürel ve tarihi birliği olan, insanların mekanla ve birbirleriyle olan ilişkilerinin yoğun olarak sürdüğü alanların ele alınması önemli bir ölçüt teşkil etmiştir.

Her ne kadar birbirlerine uzak coğrafyalarda yer alsalar da Japon ve Türk kültürleri arasında yakınlık var olmuştur. Her iki kültür globalleşmenin etkilerine rağmen kendi içsel ahenklerini sürdürmektedirler. Bu durum her iki mahallede kentsel mekanın oluşumu gözlemlendiğinde farkedilmektedir. Bu sebeple seçilen ve sınır olarak belirlenen mahalle ölçeği ve iki şehirde seçilen mahalleler (Nezu ve Ortaköy) bu çalışmanın amaçları için uygun bulunmaktadır. Bu mahallelerde mekanın oluşumu,

atmosfer ve sınır kavramlarının getirdiđi zengin açılımlarla incelenmiştir. Bir diđer önemli nokta ise, estetik bakış açısının mekan yaratım ve deneyimlenmesinde diđer bakış açılarına göre daha yakın bir tefsir sağlayabileceğinin düşünülmesidir. Çalışmada öncelikle iki mahallenin tarihsel ve kültürel alt yapısı araştırılmış, mahallenin tarihsel ve kültürel alt yapısı araştırılmış, mahallede yaşayan toplulukların günlük hayatlarından izler sürülmüştür. İkincil olarak ise, günlük yaşamın ve tarihsel-kültürel özelliklerin fiziksel çevrede nasıl çözüldüğü ve şekillendiğı soruları sorulmuştur. Üçüncü bölümde, mahallelere farklı atmosferi kazandıran elemanların analizi yapılmış, benzer mekanların şekillenmesindeki küçük farklılıkların doğurduğu farklı deneyimler ve yaratım süreçlerinin ipuçları belirlemiştir. Her iki mahallenin de paylaştığı kaotik ve düzensiz görünüm, çalışmayı görünene formların arkasında kalan yaratım süreçlerini anlayabilmek için daha özel bir ölçüğe taşımış, böylelikle “yerleşim” in farklı kavramlar ve bakış açılarıyla ortaya çıkması hedeflenmiştir. Mekanın oluşumuna ve sınırlarının çizimine yoğunlaşmak, bireylerin mekanla kurdukları çok yönlü ilişkileri de işaret etmiştir. “Kimlik”, “benlik”, “öteki”, “zaman” ya da “doğa”ya farklı bakış açılarıyla değerlendirerek kurulan mekanlar, mahallelerde değişime açık, canlı, zengin ve çok katmanlı mekanları oluşturmaktadır. Bu çeşitlilik, -yapılı çevreyi yaratan benzer elemanların sonsuz yaratım sürecinde farklı farklı ele alınması -yaratıma eklenen, yine sonsuz olasılıklar veren algılama sürecinin de doğmasına yol açmıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler:

Mahalleler, gündelik yaşam estetiđi, atmosfer, mekan, sınır, Ortaköy, Nezu

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Questions on the built environment and the creation of urban spaces offer a wide range of issues. These concern the social and economical characteristics of the inhabitants, their change and effects on the human habitat. Additionally, current discussions emphasize the weak relation between people and the built environment because of today's global economies. The annihilation of space is also mentioned as a problem because of highly developed communication technologies. Constant changes bring about the identical images of cities, and the lack of depth in urban space. However, a city is composed of different urban areas, and it would not be futile to comment that there exist urban places where unique characteristics still remain and the human-environment relation is still visible.

This study concerns the creation of space, the way it is formed and cultivated, and the forces that create the multiple peculiarities it displays. For this reason, two neighborhood areas in Tokyo and İstanbul, where unique relationships between people and the environment exist, where streets and buildings are shaped in relation to tacit and everyday (actions) experiences. In these two neighborhood areas, namely Nezu (Tokyo) and Ortaköy (İstanbul), by comparing the elements that are used to create space, I will try to reveal the different or similar qualities of two neighborhoods. In this regard, the problem that is posed in this study concerns buildings, streets, gardens, walls, the elements of physical surroundings, and how they become what they are.

To begin with, it is possible to argue that the former effects of globalization could be strongly felt in two cities, and some doubts may rise also for neighborhoods. It would not be too realistic to deny the impacts of globalization, which causes similar images of cities to emerge and the alienation of space. On the other hand, in this thesis, I have tried to indicate that there exists certain ways and codes to create space that are peculiar to each culture. In this sense, it could be observed that even the effects of globalization result in different

arrangements of space in two neighborhoods, each carrying its own way in relation with the peculiar codes. This character creates different appearances in the neighborhoods. Moreover, as mentioned, in İstanbul and Tokyo, there exist urban spaces that are shaped by the daily routines and the habits of the inhabitants. Nezu and Ortaköy have been chosen because they still show traditional pattern, and also carry the traces of daily routine. To be able to possess this quality, they obtain certain characteristics that create boundaries, and could prevent the flux of metropolitan life.

I will try to explain this character under the title of atmosphere concept. The concept of atmosphere corresponds that there exists different elements, which create certain atmosphere of a space, and also certain boundaries that distinguish from one space to another. Moreover, atmosphere of a space signifies the orientation of the architectural elements in space, and also includes space's tactile qualities, its cognitive and experiential implications. In this regard, concept of atmosphere indicates not only to the form of buildings or streets, but also deals with the experience and the human subject. These rich and different syntheses of elements that create atmosphere give space its sole character in Ortaköy and Nezu.

Another important point to underline is that, the main theoretical framework of the study has been drawn from an aesthetical point of view. Daily life aesthetics, one of the main keywords of the study, implies the significance of the built environment as a unique creation of human beings. The daily life aesthetics underlines the relation between the inhabitants and the environment, and indicates that both creation and apprehension of our surroundings is suggestive and open to interpretation. In this way significance and value of the built environment and its mixed experience in everyday life could be depicted in a sensitive and comprehensible way.

As a result, what was aimed in the thesis has been to reach the understanding of space, and the relationship of the individual to space through specific formation of boundaries. The definition of space will be evaluated under the concepts of atmosphere and boundary, while the relationship between the humans and the built environment is interpreted within the frame of daily life aesthetics. In this way significance and value of built environment and its mixed experience in everyday life could be depicted in a sensitive and comprehensible way.

After indicating the frameworks and aims of the study, it is possible to summarize the approaches that will be followed in the thesis. My research in two countries showed that although the development of two cities has been different, neighborhood areas existed –and

still exist- as main fragments of İstanbul and Tokyo. In this regard, where traditional and unique characteristics of space are displayed are chosen as study cases.

These neighborhoods, Nezu (Tokyo) and Ortaköy (İstanbul) are distinguished from their adjoining neighbors, and have historical consistency inside their boundary lines. I will try to explain this consistency in the following chapter, which will be reserved to the reasons adopting neighborhood areas as the cases of this study. The identical character of historical and social background of the neighborhoods will be explained in detail. This chapter also brings about the questions like how this character is reflected on the physical surroundings on two neighborhoods, on their boundaries, form, streets, houses, or mass quality. With the help of maps and photographs, these questions will be evaluated in the third chapter. To reach an attentive comprehension and without missing out any important point, physical characteristics of the neighborhoods have been discussed with the help of the ideas Gernot Bohme and Pauline von Bonsdorff introduce, under the topic of “atmosphere”.

In chapter four, where different approaches to space in two neighbourhoods are discussed, these relations will be evaluated more in detail. Aiming to compare different ways that space could be interpreted and to reveal the ideas behind the visible forms, chapter four will be divided into three sub-sections: Space as orientation, and as field of communication and experience. In each section of this investigation, a different approach will be followed. In order to indicate the fruitfulness of an aesthetical point of view and to elucidate the manifold character of space, I will introduce another perspective: to consider the built environment as an aesthetic creation by thinking if an aesthetic view could reveal the true nature of things, the way Heidegger claims. The next chapter, in which approaches to the concept of boundary will be posed, starts with Georg Trakl’s poem, to question the implications of boundary. In this last chapter, it will be argued that qualifications of space could not be understood without the suggested lines that designate the formation and usage of space. These lines are shaped by the tools and elements that draw the boundaries; they either establish or cease a relation between one space and another, between public and private, inside and outside, earth and building, nature and culture. In this regard, chapter four includes three titles that could explain the character of boundary lines, the character of surface elements, the connection with the ground, and orientation of the objects in space, and the way they create a boundary. The last section aims to create an integrative point between space and boundary.

Neighborhood Areas

After summarizing the outlines of the study, I will briefly argue the main motives for choosing these two neighborhoods, Nezu and Ortaköy, as the study scale, and try to answer the questions that could be evoked behind the choice of these cities and of such a scale. Concerning the subject, two neighborhoods in two different cities in İstanbul and Tokyo, two ideas may come to mind. The first is about the criteria used in the selection of the cities, and the second is about the study scale: “neighborhoods”.

To begin with the criterion that is used, it is possible to claim two different ways to look at the cities that have been chosen. The first view puts the emphasis on “difference”, and the second on “similarity” between the cities. However, in this study, my purpose, by deepening the perspectives and changing the scale, is to find out the main ideas beyond the appearance of differences and similarities of the cities. We can admit that the cities that will be studied, İstanbul and Tokyo, belong to distinctly different geographies of the world. They are different in climate, population, topography and history. Consequently, the main factors that create the formation of the cities differ. However, we can also claim that both countries, Turkey and Japan, have something in common. They both have a unique culture that has non-western roots, and they have their own peculiarities and aesthetic apprehension that is reflected in their architecture.

On the other hand, it is also possible to say that İstanbul and Tokyo, as the most populated cities in Turkey and Japan, are subject to constant changes in architecture. Since they are both metropolis, they have territories of high-rise buildings of the global corporate, and are fully loaded with the common signs and symbols of the 21st century. Although it is discussed that this process caused similarities between the big cities of the world, it may also be claimed that every culture still has a unique sense of place. This sense of place that could be strongly felt in Tokyo and in İstanbul is certainly different from other western cities, and has a specific character in a rich sense.

Before explaining the character of chosen areas, it could also be necessary to introduce the background of neighborhoods in two cultures, in order to underline the similarities. In Japanese, the words “Kinjo no tsukai” are used to define neighbor relations, and certain rules and responsibilities in the community; R. P. Dore has translated the words as “the social-

intercourse customs of the neighborhood”¹. Being an identifying unit for social relations, neighborhoods have been also considered as main administrative units of Tokyo, in the urban history. In the case of İstanbul, neighborhoods –“mahalle” in Turkish- are considered as “protective and cohesive unit” for family and the household.² They also provide local identity and solidarity, where strong social relations with neighbors take place. In this regard, it could be argued that, in both cultures neighborhoods are considered as a physical and social entity. In two cultures neighborhood areas are connected to a specific community. Ortaköy and Nezu, as a part of the historical areas of two cities, still carry this sense of community and traditional sense of space. They are the places inhabited in a full sense, and contain depth in different layers.

It will be necessary to explain these properties of two neighborhoods in detail. As mentioned, in both neighborhoods, it is still possible to see traditional settlement characteristics. Ortaköy is an old seacoast village. The sea-part of Ortaköy is one of the most popular places in İstanbul. In this area renovated houses have been transformed into restaurants, cafes or stores. However, my study area is the center of the neighborhood, which has adverse characteristics with the seacoast section: While the seaside is very cosmopolitan and decorated with the fashionable signs or symbols, the core of the neighborhood is calm and mostly formed by a local sense of space.

Nezu neighborhood also belongs to the historical part of Tokyo, which is defined as the “Low City”. This area has been constructed while Tokyo’s name was Edo, before the Meiji Restoration, namely the period of Japanese Modernization. The old name of the city, Edo, has been changed after its declaration as capital. New settlements have been built in the “High City”, according to new “modern” urban policy. Therefore, Nezu, as part of old and traditional Edo, still keeps traditional traces.

Another important character is that, in both places the inhabitants of the neighborhoods belong to middle-class society. This socio-economical character may have two implications: First, it affects the physical character of neighborhoods, their appearance and their form. Most of the inhabitants live in a more traditional way, and their taste or economical situation help to protect the traditional sense of space. Second, the behavior of these inhabitants, their daily life routines shape the place they live. In these neighborhoods, most of the population is made of

¹ R. P. Dore, *City Life in Japan, A Study of Tokyo Ward*. Richmond, Surrey: Japan Library Pres, 1999. p.255

² Cem Behar. *A Neighborhood in Ottoman İstanbul, Fruit vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap Ilyas Mahalle*. Albany: State University of New York Pres, 2003: p.4

housewives, children, or people who work in their own stores close by. This way of life creates a sense of community where the concept of neighborhood still could be felt, and is reflected in the space. Daily routines of the inhabitants, like daily shopping in the close by stores, attention to plants or gardens, or creating arbitrary and temporary spaces to spend time in the street enriches life and the form of neighborhoods, the distribution of the building types, such as markets, groceries or other local commercial shops.

In this sense, my intention, with the close-scope study of the two neighborhoods, is to make a research to understand the very distinct ways, tools, and instruments the two cultures use to create space. With this study, it is possible to reveal identity expressions, values about place, relations between constructed environment and society, and the use of space in daily life in two different cultures.

CHAPTER 2

NEIGHBOURHOODS IN URBAN LIFE

“Cities are amalgams of buildings and people. They are inhabited settings from which daily rituals -the mundane and the extraordinary, the random and the staged -derive their validity. In the urban artifact and its mutations are considered continuities of time and place.”³

Kostof, in his book “The City Shaped”, figures out the formation of cities in history. His concern, as he claims, is to find out the reasons behind the cities’ form, not the form as abstract, but the form as a receptacle of meaning.⁴ A city, however, is composed of many parts. Each part has a different character, history or topography. Considering the complex diversity of contemporary cities, searching for a strict form could result in generalizations and even be misleading. However, choosing a restricted area could be more appropriate in order to observe certain relations in the creation of space. Similar to a city, in a neighborhood there exist different areas with different characteristics: streets, houses, shopping areas or green spaces. However, they are placed closely, and because of the intimacy they display, their relation with each other is more visible.

Another point that Kostof emphasizes is the importance of the knowledge about the cultural background, and the structure of society, to be able to read the built environment correctly.⁵ It could also be assumed that background information on structure of neighborhoods is necessary for the purposes of this study. In this sense, I will try to indicate the background information on neighborhoods in this chapter. The following sections are reserved for the

³Spiro Kostof. The City Shaped: Urban patterns and meanings through history / Original drawings by Richard Tobias. Boston : Little, Brown, 1991.p.16

⁴Spiro Kostof. The City Shaped: Urban patterns and meanings through history / Original drawings by Richard Tobias. Boston : Little, Brown, 1991. p.9

⁵ ibid. p.10

benefits of neighborhoods scale, and the rhythm of daily life in neighborhood areas. After underlining the convenience of choosing neighborhood as the scale of my study, the importance of the neighborhoods as communities in the history of Japan and Turkey will be specified. As a last topic, I will represent the main points in the planning studies in two cities, in relation with neighborhood's position; in order to interpret the traces of time, which are legible in two neighborhoods because of the physical qualities they have.

2.1. The Study Scale: Neighborhoods

In order to understand the advantages that the study scale brings, we can refer R. P. Dore's book "City Life in Japan". Dore's study subject, Shitayama-cho, is a neighborhood of Tokyo. Although Dore made a very detailed analysis concerning a variety of topics, because of his study scale -neighborhoods- it is possible to point to a connection with his ideas. Dore's aim is to be able to understand "what is it like to be a Japanese living in Shitayama-cho", as he explains.⁶ According to Dore, the main advantage of this topic, a study on neighborhoods, is the acquaintance with the people concerned, and the acquaintance with the general background of their lives.⁷ A neighborhood study, he claims, offers a means of studying people's life, in a close scope: patterns of community organization, friendships and neighbor relations, the functions of shrines and temples. Dore signifies his final topic as, with the study of people of similar backgrounds, it may become meaningful to make generalizations about them.⁸

In a similar vain, an architectural perspective could also assure neighborhood's special position in a city, which are the intersection points between architectural and urban scale. Therefore, neighborhoods also stand between the strict rules of city planning; habits and traditions of a society; and personal attitudes of individuals.

Since my study is based on the physical character of the built environment, the main points I will underline will concern the formation of neighborhood character, or space's character in particular. A neighborhood study brings the intimacy that cannot be found in a larger scale study, as claimed by Dore, and gives advantages to understand how "*daily rituals* -

⁶ R. P. Dore, *City Life in Japan, A Study of Tokyo Ward*. Richmond, Surrey: Japan Library Pres, 1999. p.3.

⁷ His study is a broad survey, which includes background of inhabitants (their education, income, expenditure, health, political and religious attitudes) and their daily life (family and neighbor relations, houses, planning) in post-war Japan. Dore has lived in Shitayama-cho for six months, and became friends with the people who lived there. With the interviews he made, he had a chance to comprehend the relationships in family, neighbors and community at large.

⁸ R. P. Dore, *City Life in Japan, A Study of Tokyo Ward*. Richmond, Surrey: Japan Library Pres, 1999.

the mundane and the extraordinary, the random and the staged” take place. Participation of each individual in the city's formation and flow supports the formation of the environment, and with a close scope this support could be clearly visible. In summary, each neighborhood gives us a chance to observe many factors and their relationship that form a space at once. In order to understand this relationship, Ortaköy and Nezu are assumed as good examples, since they still keep the traditional patterns and places where the traces of everyday life could be strongly observed.

2.2. Neighborhoods as Scene of Daily Life and Rituals

Rykwert in his book *“The Idea of a Town”* underlines that the ancient towns were the symbolic patterns that were designed by mythical and ritual terms. Therefore it would be futile to seek any rational or pragmatic logic for them.⁹ Although today rituals have dissolved and everyday behaviors do not have any mythical content, they are still rituals in a sense, since they include certain rhythms.¹⁰ Since we have argued neighborhoods as the spaces between architectural and urban scale, we also should take into consideration the rituals of everyday life, and their relation with the formation of the environment.

I will try to explain the subject above, how the everyday flows, and how the habits of the society have been conveyed into space in the neighborhood scale, with two relevant examples: the first is by Yoshihari Tsukamoto, from Atelier Bow-Wow.¹¹ By following an opposite route -instead of mentioning the effect of human behavior effect on the built environment; to explain the built environment’s effect on human behavior- Tsukamoto expresses a particular example on how physical context -urban space, architecture and furniture- determines everyday behavior. He argues that from a distance, the residential and urban spaces look like a theatre that repeats almost the same repertoire. The identical environment, whose tools are urban space, architecture or furniture, may have provided this scene. This approach is quite influential, because it explains different behaviors of people in different cities, areas or neighborhoods, and how they are related with space. The longitude of

⁹ Joseph Rykwert. *The Idea of a Town: the anthropology of urban form in Rome, Italy and the ancient world*. Reprint with new pref. Previously published: Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976.p.31

¹⁰ M.Adnan Barlas, *Urban Streets and Urban Rituals*. Ankara : METU Faculty of Architecture, 2006. p.xv

¹¹ Yoshihari Tsukamoto is a partner of Atelier Bow-Wow, an architectural firm practicing in Tokyo. Their book *“Post Bubble City”*¹¹ discusses the architectural themes, such as site, public space, gap space, smallness or depth, within the context of Tokyo. Therefore, it might be important to understand Bow Wow’s observations about space and human relations in the city.

the roads defines the distance between inhabitants, the thicknesses of the walls gives a clue about inside and outside and how the boundaries are drawn, the scale of the buildings, gardens or windows determine human movements, relation with nature, society and architecture. At this point, I also may open a parenthesis and comment that the physical context is also connected to the atmosphere of a city, which Bohme comments that the built environment is similar to a theatre scene with one difference. Unlike the theatre scene, built environment is, or should in a sense, constructed to play, not to watch.¹²

Besides space's support on the flow of everyday life as mentioned above, a deeper approach that connects the creation of the built environment with the human psyche could be argued. This scope of understanding that was explained in Barlas's book "Urban Streets Urban Rituals", which assumes that the development of the self is deeply related with the built environment.¹³ Barlas, with the support of Jungian psychology, argues that the milieu that people create is not accidental, but connected with the collective consciousness of the society, which reflects itself in the everyday life scene. Therefore it would not be futile to argue that there may exist different intentions, in accordance to a society's ways of living, behind the visible forms.

2.3. The Historical Background of Neighborhoods in Tokyo

Before introducing Nezu neighborhood's character, it may be convenient to refer to the general background of life in Japan, the Japanese sense of self, individual-society-neighbor relation, to have a deeper understanding about the environment. This background information is necessary to see the development of city life, and the position of "neighborhood" in urban formation.

2.3.1. Japanese Neighborhood Communities in Urban Life

Nancy Rosenberger, in the introduction of her edited book "Japanese Sense of Self" gives a brief history about the anthropological studies in Japan. Although there are different apprehensions in the book, the main question that has been discussed is the connection of "self"

¹² Gernot Böhme. *The Atmosphere of a City*. Issues no.7 in *Contemporary Culture and Aesthetics*. Theory paper 1998.

¹³ M.Adnan Barlas, *Urban Streets and Urban Rituals*. Ankara : METU Faculty of Architecture, 2006 p. xv.

and the “other”. In other words, the definition of “individual” and the “community” has been emphasized. It is possible to assume that this definition has a different character than that of the west, and requires attention for a deeper understanding.¹⁴

Trying to capture the relations in Japanese Society better, I will refer to Dore, whose study reflects the attitudes of contemporary life in Tokyo, and is followed by a historical perspective. The conventions, rules or gestures of Japanese Society, especially in human relations have great importance in Japan. These rules arrange the social relations in society, relations between friends, workers, teachers and neighbors. However, these ceremonial habits are not only used in special events, but are accepted as part of daily living. Therefore, there are a variety of different words to describe different rules or relations, which are unique to Japanese Society.¹⁵ These rules also include the relations between neighbors. In this sense, the word “Kinjo no tsukai” was also underlined by Dore, to describe the social-intercourse customs of the neighborhood. This social-intercourse customs include the first meetings when moved, special visits, rules about gift exchanges, gestures and language that is used between neighbors. “Kinjo no tsukai” arranges the formal relations, on the other hand the informal relations are shaped compulsorily, as Dore writes, “Privacy becomes impossible, intimacy inevitable, and no holds are barred.”; because of “the closeness of the houses and the acoustic properties of their wooden walls make it impossible to keep one’s prayers or one’s parties, one’s sorrow or one’s quarrels a secret from the neighbors.”¹⁶ The relationship between neighbors is voluntarily, as part of customs, and also inevitable because of physical characteristics of the built environment. Dore concludes that despite the working of all those forces, which tend to make city life anonymous and atomic; nevertheless, inhabitants of Shitayama-cho frequently develop with their neighbors relations of a degree of intimacy which is usually associated with village rather than with city life.¹⁷ Of course, such intimate relationship prevails in general only among housewives, shopkeepers or domestic craftsmen who spend most of their time at home.¹⁸

¹⁴ Nancy R. Rosenberger *Japanese Sense of Self*. Camb., New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1992 p.9

¹⁵ Rosenberger underlines that it was Doi Takeo, a Japanese psychoanalyst, who asserted the importance of using Japanese words and concepts. and followed by the other scholars afterwards, in order to avoid the assumptions inherent in Western theories, which focus on definitions of hierarchy, power, collectivity, individuality, and morality. Nancy R. Rosenberger *Japanese Sense of Self*. Camb., New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1992 p.9.

¹⁶ R. P. Dore, *City Life in Japan, A Study of Tokyo Ward*. Richmond, Surrey: Japan Library Pres, 1999. p.263.

¹⁷ *ibid.* p.267

¹⁸ *ibid.* p.264

According to Dore, this attitude in the neighborhood could be a result of tradition in the community, where inhabitants were brought up in small settled communities; or the strong background of Edo, old Tokyo. The author claims that the formal etiquette of neighbor relations resembles that of the village, rather than urban living. With this kind of rooted system, new immigrants could be absorbed, and a framework of informal neighbor relations, could grow. In this sense, Dore underlines the fact that a neighborhood community tradition has been constructed in Tokyo in history. This idea has also been supported by authors like Edward Seidensticker and Andre Sorensen.

Seen in this light, a historical perspective has been necessary to comprehend the life in the neighborhood scene. As a starting point, we can summarize the main reasons that form a neighborhood community in Tokyo. The first reasons are the disasters such as fires, earthquakes, and war. The second one is on the other hand is, administration. In the Edo period, organization of communal life was of an advanced level. According to Edward Seidensticker, each ward used to have its own gatekeepers, fire chief, who was also responsible for building houses in the ward. Considering the fires in the history of Edo¹⁹, this would be practical. Sorensen explains this character as “the idea of local self-sufficiency”, the enforcement of neighborhood self sufficiency and co-operation to arrange urban needs: in road maintenance, waste management, water supply, policing, fire fighting, festival organizing and tax paying, which had long influences on urban public service provision²⁰.

This tendency has become more official in the Meiji period, when the modern municipal administration was developed and small face-to-face ward community was replaced with a large-scale impersonal mechanism²¹. However the gap that has occurred in the transition period, between Edo and Meiji, also provided a ground for the ward associations, which are still active today, and have crucial importance in urban life. In the big earthquake of 1923, and also during the Second World War, ward associations played an important role. These associations are called “*tonari-gumi*”, and today they usually arrange cultural and sports activities, presentation of neighborhood or arranging the *matsuri* ceremonies, and also still contribute to the welfare. In Bunkyo-ku, to which Nezu belongs, the *tonari-gumi*'s work still continues; they work on the projects about the continuity of urban traditions, such as *matsuris*,

¹⁹ Edward Seidensticker gives a detailed history about fires in Edo and Tokyo. Edward Seidensticker. *Low City, High City, Tokyo From Edo to the Earthquake*. Tokyo: Charles Tuttle Co. Publishers, 1983. p.14.

²⁰ Andrea Soransen, Lecture Notes, Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 2006. p.4.

²¹ R. P. Dore, *City Life in Japan, A Study of Tokyo Ward*. Richmond, Surrey: Japan Library Pres, 1999. p.271

tea ceremony or ikebana workshops, and also make researches about Nezu's architectural pattern.

2.3.2. Formation of Tokyo and Nezu Neighborhood's Position in the City

NEZU. Historic district in the western part of Bunkyo Ward, Tokyo. It is noted for its many narrow streets lined with old wooden houses and small shops, and for a strong, community based historic preservation movement. The area mostly survived the damage from the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923 and the air raids of 1945 (qq.v.), with the result that it is one of the few places in the city that gives authentic glimpse into the landscape of old Tokyo. Nezu is commonly thought of as a leftover bit of shitamachi (q.v.) because of the strong sense of neighborhood and history, although much of the area is actually on a slope and would be more properly identified with yamanote (q.v.). The Nezu Shrine is a famous landmark in the area.²²

Edward Seidensticker's two books, *Low City, High City and The City Raised*, narrates Tokyo's urban history, with the help of architectural, social and economical developments. He writes, from the beginnings of its existence as the shogun's capital, Edo was divided into two broad regions, the hilly Yamonate or High City, describing a semicircle generally to the west of the Shogun's castle, now the Emperor's palace, and the flat Low City, the Shitamachi, completing the circle on the east. The High City was mostly a place of temples and shrines and aristocratic dwellings. The Low City however, was mostly the plebeian half of the city, and although the aristocracy was very cultivated, its tastes –or the tastes thought proper to the establishment- were antiquarian and academic. He writes, “*The vigor of Edo was in its Low City*”²³.

The urban pattern of the Low City, to which Nezu belongs to, was mostly composed of a grid plan, while the high town followed the hilly geography of the *yamanote* area²⁴. According to Soransen, understanding the legacy of Edo period urbanization is essential to understand 20th century Japanese urban planning growth. To give an example, the idea of the ideal house

²² This definition has been quoted from the book “Historical Dictionary of Tokyo”, by Roman Cybriwsky. The book contains encyclopedic information about Tokyo city. Roman Cybriwsky. *Historical Dictionary of Tokyo*. Lanham, Md., & London: The Scarecrow Press Inc, 1997. p.106

²³ Edward Seidensticker *Low City, High City, Tokyo From Edo to the Earthquake*. Tokyo: Charles Tuttle Co. Publishers, 1983. p.8

²⁴ Andrea Soransen, Lecture Notes, Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 2006. p.2.

in a city, a single-family house in a garden, has emerged in Edo: *“The idea of the single family home set in a garden. Japan developed its own ideal suburban living based on the samurai districts. With the development of a growing middle class with industrialization in the early 20th century, these ideals fostered an indigenous Japanese style of suburban development.”*²⁵ Today, this idea still continues in Tokyo and Nezu, since the single-family houses constitute the big proportion of Nezu.

So far, I have tried to explain the historical background of neighborhoods in Tokyo, and tried to summarize the pattern of old Tokyo -Edo- since its traces still survive today, both in architecture and urban life, especially in the area I am researching. In what follows, I will try to introduce the Ortaköy neighborhood with similar topics. Afterwards, the next chapter, the physical characteristics of the Nezu and Ortaköy neighborhoods, their physical pattern, streets, and buildings will be analyzed.

2.4. The Historical Background of Neighborhoods in İstanbul

2.4.1. Turkish Neighborhood Communities in Urban Life

Questioning the urban history of İstanbul in terms of neighborhood communities and life in general, with reference to “self” and “other” relationship in the society and the environment, could be a harder task to achieve comparing to the Japanese. Although there have been many scholars who worked on history and the architecture of cities, such anthropological studies on urban life and community relations are not very common. However, the traces of social relations with reference to the physical environment could be followed from the studies that are made about structures of family and population in Ottoman and Republican İstanbul. In the previous part, we have indicated that the relations in Japanese society should be evaluated in a sensitive manner. With a similar approach, we can assume that we are face to face with a society structure different than western examples from a historical and cultural point of view. According to Alan Duben the most important change in the cultural and social structure in the West is the division between affinity and business relations. However, this property is not certain for the Non-Western societies. Duben argues that Japanese and Turkish societies are the most striking examples, since what is valid for division, is also valid for social stratification,

²⁵ Andrea Soransen, Lecture Notes, Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 2006. p.4

and in both Japan and Turkey, weakness of social class strata is a proof for that character.²⁶ The author's subject of research, the Turkish family structure, also includes changes in the society during the Westernization or modernization process. This point of strata gives Duben the impression that even after the modern law system and bureaucracy; the informal and patrimonial codes in the humans relations, that are based by kinship survived in the areas modern laws could not reach.²⁷ In this regard, we can argue that in Turkish society structure there existed certain codes between society relations, which are based on customs and traditions.

A historical perspective to neighborhood communities could also be revealing, although the sources especially on neighborhood life in İstanbul is very constricted. However, we can add two studies that include family relations and demographical data of Ottoman and Republic neighborhoods in İstanbul between the years 1880 and 1940.²⁸ The first is a book by Alan Duben and Cem Behar, named "İstanbul Households".²⁹ In the book, the authors analyzed a certain neighborhood in intramural İstanbul, Kasap İlyas, to depict the social and architectural construction of neighborhoods more in detail. They define the fragments that construct the neighborhood as follows: "In 1885 Kasab İlyas *mahalle* contained around 150 houses, two mosques, three public fountains, three stables, five *bekarodalari*, five *bostans*, a *hamam*, two bakeries, a school, a police station, a *tekke* (dervish convent) with a small cemetery next to it, five gardens, thirty-seven shops, twenty-four *magaza* (store houses) and thirty-one vacant lots."³⁰ With this information, it is possible to conclude that neighborhoods have been structures that could conduct themselves, without any intervention, as the authors also indicate: "The *mahalles* were the centers of economic and social life. Largely divided along ethnic –not class- lines, they were communities with a certain degree of autonomous

²⁶ Alan Duben. *Kent, Aile, Tarih*. Çev: Leyla Simsek. İletişim Yayınları İstanbul 2002. p.30. Duben also offers Chie Nakane's book *Japanese Society*, Berkeley (University of California Press) and J. C. Abegglen, *The Japanese Factory: Aspects of Its Social Organization*, Glencoe, Illinois (The Free Press) 1958; for further reading.

²⁷ Alan Duben. *Kent, Aile, Tarih*. Çev: Leyla Şimşek. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002. p.87.

²⁸ Authors have used the demographical data of İstanbul, which could be helpful for the scope of this study to picture the physical character in the neighborhoods. Alan Duben & Cem Behar. *İstanbul Households, Marriage, family and fertility, 1880-1940*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. p.11

²⁹ Duben and Behar write that there existed 147 neighborhoods in intramural İstanbul in the year 1907, which composed of the area Fatih and Eminonu today. With reference to Ottoman Population Statistic's data, the authors also declare the population was 240.528 of the area. Since there existed 147 neighborhoods, the authors assume that each neighborhood contains an average population of 1600. *ibid.* p.30

³⁰ *ibid.* p. 29

control over their day-to-day affairs and a degree of communal solidarity, with a myriad of informal mechanisms for monitoring and regulating public morality.”³¹

Behar himself deepens the studies on Ottoman neighborhood “Kasap Ilyas” in “A Neighborhood in Ottoman İstanbul” which is the second source that could be helpful. In the book, he gives us more concrete information about neighborhoods in İstanbul during the Ottoman and early Republic Periods. First, he argues that the *mahalles*, (neighborhoods) were the basic communities and played a key role “in shaping local identities and solidarities”. By solidarity, he means, collective defense, different mechanisms of mutual control and surveillance. He adds; “In many *mahalles* collective social life was real, durable, and strong. In many of them, for instance, self-appointed bands of youths would act as militias to defend the *mahalle*’s “honor” from outside “aggressions”. In others, there were, in the nineteenth century, self-organized amateur “fire-brigades” who took charge of the extinction of real and of the prevention of potential fires.”³² Another important point that Behar also argues is that close and frequent contacts of people lead to a sense of belonging in the city, which was strongly felt in daily life in neighborhoods.³³ Therefore, we can argue that in İstanbul, there was also a neighborhood community, which assured the participation of inhabitants and the sense of belonging of people to the environment. As mentioned, the neighborhoods used to have antonymous character, since they were governed by the “kadi”s, the religious judges, whose duty have been urban administration such as to collect taxes.³⁴ However, after the declaration of Tanzimat, the social structure of neighborhoods in İstanbul changed, and *muhtars*, who did not have any religious base, became the local administrator, while *kadis* and imams lost their power; but *mahalles* remained as “ the basic blocks of urban fabric of the city.”³⁵

As a result of the information above, I may finally conclude on some points. First of all, we can see the similar lines in the neighborhood structure and surveillance in Tokyo and in İstanbul. Although we don’t have enough information to argue that the city of İstanbul is like a

³¹ *ibid.* p.30

³² Cem Behar. *A Neighborhood in Ottoman İstanbul, Fruit vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap Ilyas Mahalle*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003: p.4

³³ Cem Behar. *A Neighborhood in Ottoman İstanbul, Fruit vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap Ilyas Mahalle*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003: p.6

³⁴ The religious leaders such as imams, priests or rabbis mediated the *kadis*’ power. They constituted the quite important figures in the neighborhoods; such as they were acted as a guarantor for each individual. A newcomer to the neighborhood should have imam’s approval to build a house, and his proof of his/her solvency. Alan Duben & Cem Behar. *İstanbul Households, Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880-1940*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991: p.31

³⁵ Alan Duben & Cem Behar. *İstanbul Households, Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880-1940*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1991. p.31

village made from neighborhoods as Dore says about Tokyo, we can argue that the neighborhoods traditionally constitute a basement for the city structure in İstanbul. Moreover, the big fires that have occurred in both cities are also two common points, and they constitute a reason to strengthen the sense of community, and lead the neighborhoods' to develop their own mechanism against the dangers of urban life, big fires and disasters, or wars. These fires were even used as means to make master plans in İstanbul, as will be discussed in the next section. Naturally, there could be many different points that differentiate two cities. The most important one, I may argue, is the multi-nationality of İstanbul, and comparatively homogenous character of Tokyo, in history, and even today. This character could result in differentiations on the physical construction in the neighborhoods. The next chapter could be helpful to comprehend the ways of living that different groups posse, and how this distinction is reflected to the physical surroundings in İstanbul, where I will try to summarize the city's common history and Ortaköy's place in it.

2.4.2. Formation of İstanbul and Ortaköy Neighborhood's Position in the City

According to Turgut Cansever, the merit of a city lies in its effort to bring different tendencies and intentions together in an acceptable and coherent way, and for respectful purposes. The reason is that, a city bears the most complex matters of human existence and conflicts of human life together.³⁶ Since our subject is İstanbul, these questions of life and existence may become even more complex, because of the reasons I will try to explain as follows. The history of İstanbul goes as before as far back 3000 BC and even more, but more importantly, the governance of the city have changed accordingly.³⁷ The deep history of the city brings about the change in the citizens, and also in the culture and architecture of the city. Therefore, İstanbul has been an instance for how different forms of existence could come together. As an example, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar narrates the multi cultural character of the city by depicting colorful clothes in the Bedesten Bazaars of the 17th century that each cloth shows different property in accordance with their owners' nationality.³⁸

³⁶ Turgut Cansever. *İstanbul'un Dört Çağı, İstanbul Panelleri*. Haz. Fatma Türe. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları,1996: p.118

³⁷ Afife Batur. *İstanbul'un Dört Çağı, İstanbul Panelleri*. Haz. Fatma Türe. İstanbul:Yapı Kredi Yayınları1996.

p.100

³⁸ Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Beş Şehir*. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları 2008: p. 124.

In this sense, İstanbul has been home for variant citizens, with different religions and nationality. İlber Ortaylı argues that this multi national character could hardly be found in Renaissance European cities. However, İstanbul, since Byzantium, has been a city that shelters different societies together, and more importantly, this character has not been formed with migrations from outside, but carries this essence as its own property.³⁹

Reciprocally, this attribution of İstanbul has reflected on the architecture and arrangement of the land division. Ortaylı indicates that the settlements of the city have been divided into three parts: The area that the Palace belongs constitutes the center, and the others contain governmental institutions and housing units. The area of the Palace changes in history. To give an example, while the palace in Byzantium reign was in Küçük Ayasofya, the Ottoman Palace was built in Topkapı. However, the main center has not changed; it was always in the area, which we call Historical Peninsula. Governmental institutions have settled in Babiali, and spread in the XIXth century. Main housing areas usually shelter the dominant group, and their citizens change in accordance with the governance.⁴⁰ It is important to point that the land divisions in İstanbul do not occur because of income diversities, but because of ethnical differences. Therefore in a neighborhood, people from different income group used to live together.⁴¹

Among historical peninsula, another important area has been the Bosphorus, where Ortaköy is placed. Known as Arkheion in the Antique Period, argues that Ortaköy has been a settlement since Byzantium for fishermen.⁴² The area also included a big monastery, palaces and patriarchies, which prove the most important peculiarity of the neighborhood: its multi nationality. Ortaköy has been a home for Greeks, Jews, Armenians and Turks, and without any apparent conflict with each other.⁴³ Migration of Turks to Ortaköy has been between the years 1520-66. After this time, a Muslim Turkish neighborhood has been settled in the two sides of the river that is perpendicular to the sea, in the 17th century. This water stream is where we call

³⁹ İlber Ortaylı, *İstanbul'un Dört Çağı, İstanbul Panelleri* Haz. Fatma Türe. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları. 1996. pp.52-53

⁴⁰ For instance, Fener has been a home for the Muslims during the Byzantium Era, and has been a home for minorities in the Ottoman Era. Districts like Fatih, Aksaray and Cerrahpaşa, which are also in the historical peninsula borders, constitute the main housing areas. İlber Ortaylı, *İstanbul'un Dört Çağı, İstanbul Panelleri* Haz. Fatma Türe. Yapı Kredi Yayınları İstanbul 1996. p.54

⁴¹ Ortaylı mentions that in Fatih, Zeyrek and Vefa usually bureaucrats or the educated class used to live. İlber Ortaylı, *İstanbul'un Dört Çağı, İstanbul Panelleri* Haz. Fatma Türe. Yapı Kredi Yayınları İstanbul 1996. p.54

⁴² Erhan Isozen. *Dünden Bugüne Besiktas* Ed. Nuri Akbayar. Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Yayınları 1998. P.50

⁴³ Evliya Celebi mentions Jewish community in Ortaköy, and also there is information that after many disasters, Jews have chose Ortaköy as their home. *Ibid.* p.50

Dereboyu Street today. After the migrations, it is possible to argue that the neighborhood changed its appearance in accordance with Muslim life and culture.

During the formation of the neighborhood in history, we can conclude that the inside area mostly belonged to the Turkish community, while the seacoast has been occupied by Armenian, Jew and Greek craftsmen.⁴⁴

How planning of the city has started and affected to the formation of Ortaköy neighborhood is another question to consider. According to Zafer Toprak, there have been three sudden changes in the city, and the last one has been in the 19th century, when İstanbul's population has risen from 300.000 to 1 million.⁴⁵ Accordingly, İstanbul's first master plan also takes place in these years. However, Ugur Tanyeli argues that it was not the population that triggers the planning tendencies but it was the desire for being modern.⁴⁶ Tanyeli mentions the Moltke Plan, which was partly successful, and another attempt that took place in 1838. The second plan has determined the main roads in the city, which are still in use today. On the other hand, both plans could not be applied properly. Instead, realizations could be possible only after a reason that destroys the mass of buildings, such as fires. After a fire, the demolished part of a city is reconstructed according to a grid plan.⁴⁷ These historical changes give Ortaköy its mixed character in the urban design today.

2.5. FINAL REMARKS

As a final remark, we can recapitulate the main points that were underlined so far. First of all, it is possible to argue that the character of neighborhoods took their origin not from a close past. Both Ortaköy and Nezu have been shaped by the specific forces of history; such as migrations, wars, and disasters. In two cities, each destruction is seen as a chance for reconstruction.

⁴⁴ The houses by the coast have remained, and renovated to turn Ortaköy seaside a centre for entertainment in İstanbul. Ortaköy's public square is a very popular place today. The square is also important because it houses three religions: the Ortaköy Mosque, the Church of Ayios Fokas, and the Jewish Synagogue. The reason I have underlined this character is that today Ortaköy is seen as a symbol that reflects the multi-nationality of İstanbul.

⁴⁵ The other important changes have occurred in the history, Toprak mentions: In 1450, before the Ottomans, population was around 50.000. In 1600s, it raised to 150-200.000, and in the 18th century, the population has been around 300.000. However, at the end of the 19th century, the population rised to 1 million. Zafer Toprak, İstanbul'un Dört Çağı, İstanbul Panelleri. Haz. Fatma Türe. Yapı Kredi Yayınları İstanbul 1996. p.77

⁴⁶ Uğur Tanyeli. İstanbul'un Dört Çağı, İstanbul Panelleri. Haz. Fatma Türe. Yapı Kredi Yayınları İstanbul 1996.

p.89

⁴⁷ ibid. p.90.

In addition, Tokyo and İstanbul witnessed different urban planning attempts, to be able to control the growth, and also to create modern cities. On the other hand, planning studies have not succeeded as the way they were desired, and let the city parts to grow organically, which may explain today's irregular look of both cities, and neighborhoods. As a final comment, we can say that, in two societies, there exist traditions that can determine neighbor relations, individual's relation to the other, and could also have implications like attitude towards the built environment and nature. Two neighborhoods contain the impacts of history, flow of daily life and habits of the society, and take their form in accordance to these forces. Therefore, from this point on, we will deal with the space in Nezu and Ortaköy, that these forces create and change in time. In this regard, the main concern in the next chapter will be the physical characteristic of neighborhood's areas, the different qualities they possess, distribution of streets and mass character of the buildings, within the boundaries.

CHAPTER 3

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NEIGHBORHOODS

In this chapter, I will try to give a brief explanation about the physical characteristics of two neighborhood areas. The topics that will be brought up in this chapter will be explained more in detail in the following chapters. In order to understand approaches towards concepts of space or boundary, the subjects that will be analyzed in the next chapters, it is necessary to underline the main physical properties of the settlements. In this regard, I will try to point out the physical characteristics of the elements that create the neighborhoods. However, before starting, I wish to introduce another notion that will help to explain the method I will follow.

3.1. Concept of Atmosphere

As indicated earlier, contemporary discussions on borderless geographies and highly developed communication technologies imply the weakening of relation between humans and built environment, where borderless spaces loose character and open to the endless flow of the metropolises. It is not possible to exclude Tokyo and İstanbul from this discussion. On the contrary, both cities are acclaimed as two of the most fashionable cities in the world. Consequently, Nezu in Tokyo and Ortaköy in İstanbul carry the impacts of the flux of the highly dense metropolitans of which they are a part. Nevertheless, as I will try to indicate in various cases, the neighborhoods also contain the unique sense of space. In Nezu there are still the traces of the old and intimate neighborhood of Low City, and in Ortaköy the patterns of an old Bosphorus village still survive. To be able to contain the intimate space, existence of certain elements that prevent the flux of metropolises in these neighborhood areas could be presumed. These elements, which I will try to determine in this chapter, give a particular “atmosphere” and specific character to urban spaces. How this special character is formed and distinguished from the other parts of the city, or what sort of elements create the special atmosphere of two

neighborhoods, are the primary concerns I will try to reveal in this chapter. In the following chapters, the concepts of space and boundary that Nezu and Ortaköy carry will be discussed to provide an integrative point of view.

So far, we have discussed the forces that form two neighborhoods, the impacts of history, flow of daily life and habits of the society. As a starting point, we can assume that the built environment has multiple faces. Therefore, one needs to refer the multiple means to comprehend and illuminate space and its content. As a result of this assumption, the word “atmosphere” has been used, since it could reveal different dimensions that physical surroundings possesses. To explain the special atmosphere that is attributed to neighborhoods more accurately, an attempt to clear what atmosphere of a space corresponds to could be important in the first place. At this point, I will try to refer to ideas of Pauline von Bonsdorff, whose discussion on atmosphere could be very helpful concerning our research. She argues that space is usually assumed as spatial relations between identified objects. However, in affective space, it is the atmosphere and ambiance of the space that is related. This time space in general is defined as a space of being, instead of knowing and doing; and; “Since it is not defined and structured through projects, it is also wider and more generous and its temporality unfolds rather than progress.”⁴⁸ Moreover, explaining the atmosphere of space could only be possible when one yields to it, therefore it also requires the subject’s experience, since atmosphere is “dependent on tacit components of experience: on how it feels to be in a certain space, including light, humidity, temperature, smells, ground, acoustics and the exposure of one’s body to air or to other people’s gazes.”⁴⁹ Similarly, Gernot Böhme, in his article on the atmosphere of a city, discusses that atmosphere is not only concerned with visual and spatial structures and visible forms, “but of what it radiates because of these features, or in what way it co-determines the dispositions of the inhabitants”.⁵⁰ One can argue that questions of orientation are the important components of space, as could be seen in Kevin Lynch’s or Cullen’s writings. On the other hand, atmosphere of a space could not be defined regardless the bodily disposition. This experience, therefore, could not only be bound to visual reality, but to the

⁴⁸ Pauline von Bonsdorff. *The Human Habitat, Aesthetic and Axiological Perspectives*. International Institute of Applied Aesthetics Series Vol. 5. Gummerus Kirjapaino Oy Jyvaskyla, 1998. p.142

⁴⁹ Pauline von Bonsdorff. *The Human Habitat, Aesthetic and Axiological Perspectives*. International Institute of Applied Aesthetics Series Vol. 5. Gummerus Kirjapaino Oy Jyvaskyla, 1998.p. 144c

⁵⁰ Gernot Böhme. *The Atmosphere of a City*. Issues no.7 in contemporary culture and aesthetics. Theory paper 1998. p 9

odors, voices, and tactile character, and atmosphere of a space is connected to the way we experience it with our whole body.

The importance of the subject's own experience also fuses the subject as agent. This quality brings person's own background, culture and language; and opens the semantic strata of a place. On the other hand, embedding individual's experience in the creation of atmosphere, also constitute a bond between subject and object, the humans and the world. If we postulate the dichotomy between the world and subjects, and assume affectivity as creator of subject's existence as an unfinished and continuous product of both "exploratory and performatory activities" in the interplay with the environment, than we arrive Bonssdorf's synthesizing model of atmosphere. To explain it more clearly, I will cite Böhme again. He remarks that the studying atmosphere gives us advantage of studying on the side of the object, as well as on the side of the subject. His example is the stage design, which I have mentioned earlier, since stage is created with the help of light, sound, music, and spatial orientation of objects. The paradigm of stage design helps to comprehend the elements or the instruments of the creation of atmosphere. The difference is, however, in a city, the atmosphere is not created for the observers, as in the stage- but for the actors.⁵¹

As a result, the main attributions that give the sole atmosphere of a space could give us clues about our steps from this point on. Firstly, a unique atmosphere is the product of physical characteristics, the orientation of the architectural elements in space. However, atmosphere of a space is not only created by visual qualities, but also with tactile qualities, voices or odors that address other senses. On the other hand, space also has cognitive implications, since it carries a language and meaning. The meaning also mingles with the viewer's own background, culture and tradition. In this sense we can argue that the built environment contains different layers and multiple faces, which could be sensed affectively, with the physical characters of space, and could also known cognitively, with the meanings behind these physical attributions. As final point, the importance of the subject's experience, how it feels when one yields her/his body to a certain space, constitutes a bridge between cognitive and affective forces. These points we have discussed in this section, will also constitute a framework for the space concept in the next chapter.

In what follows, I will try to explain the physical means that create the unique environmental characteristics of two neighborhoods under the light of the discussions above. A

⁵¹ Gernot Böhme. *The Atmosphere of a City*. Issues no.7 in contemporary culture and aesthetics. Theory paper 1998.

neighborhood with specific atmosphere should contain boundaries that distinguish it from the other parts of the city, and they could not be identical with boundary lines on the map. The subject of the next section is to follow these traces to determine the main elements that create boundary of neighborhoods. Afterwards, the mass character of two neighborhoods will be evaluated, not only by examining the physical properties, but also the way they are experienced by inhabitants. The main elements that form the neighborhoods, buildings, streets, and their disposition will be the scope in the next part, and the final section has been reserved to the comparison of the information we gained on two neighborhoods.

It is possible to classify the main topics that will be mentioned in this chapter as:

1. Boundaries of the neighborhood: where does a neighborhood start and end, and what are its relations with other neighborhoods
2. Mass character of the neighborhood, arrangement between mass (buildings) and empty (space between buildings, streets, parks, gardens...) spaces, their ratios and dispositions
3. Disposition and scale of the elements that form the neighborhood:
 - a. Streets of the neighborhood, their disposition and measurements
 - b. Buildings: houses, stores or shopping areas
 - c. Public spaces

3.2. Nezu Neighborhood



Figure 1: Nezu neighborhood map and neighborhood's boundaries

3.2.1. Boundaries of Nezu Neighborhood

The boundary that is considered on the map is the "official" boundary of the Nezu neighborhood, which we see on the maps of Tokyo. Nezu boundary lines, as we follow them, don't seem to have any rational rule: They are not identical with the main roads; neither do they have any specific form that could be justified. Rather, these lines follow a different route than the streets, and seem to have their own autonomous position.

I will try to explain this property with two examples: the first is the line northwest, behind the Nezu shrine. This boundary line splits Nezu from Yayoi. Form of this fragmented line could not be easily explained. Another important focus is that, on the south side of the neighborhood, the boundary line between Nezu and Yanaka, passes in a very narrow street,

which is not frequently used by the inhabitants. We can explain this apparent inconsistency between the boundary lines and the form of the streets with Tokyo's planning history. The research Sorensen made shows that among many master plans, the city has followed its own way, instead of the planned city projects on the paper. After the last master plan, The Post-war Reconstruction, just a very low percent could have been realized, and carry a risk in case of earthquake and fire⁵². Although Nezu mainly kept its old pattern; it would not be realistic to say that Nezu has the same pattern throughout the century. Since the Meiji Period, when serious planning activities began for Tokyo, some streets may have become wider, and some have been destroyed. As is claimed by Kostof, a city, however perfect its initial shape, is never complete, never at rest. Everyday, thousands of intentional and unintentional acts take place and their effects are perceptible only over a certain stretch of time⁵³. This inconsistency between the lines, therefore, could be the result of the continuously changing form of the city, and of Nezu, consequently.

As explained in the above chapters, it can also be claimed that the traces of the division between the high city and the low city could still be observed in Tokyo generally. In the case of Nezu, as a part of Low City, we can see the reflections of grid planning. The next section could be more illuminative in terms of the characteristics of Nezu; and the meanings of boundary lines in the neighborhoods.

⁵² Andrea Soransen, Lecture Notes, Postwar Reconstruction, Tokyo: Unoversity of Tokyo, 2006. p.3.

⁵³ Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped: urban patterns and meanings through history* / Original drawings by Richard Tobias. Boston: Little, Brown, 1991. p.13



Figure2. Neighbors, roads of Nezu, and the route that shows the direction of figures below. Source: www.maps.google.com





Figures 3-4-5-6: Intersection between Nezukannon and Shinabozu dori. Source: google maps. www.maps.google.com



Figures 7-8: Center of Nezu, Source: www.maps.google.com

3.2.2. The Mass Character of the Neighbourhood

The film, belongs to those genres of art that are, so to speak congenial to the mode how city dwellers are experiencing their urban surroundings. The quick succession of images, the unexpected cuts, montage, all these ingredients of films correspond to the urban experience: the surprising shift of scenes, the multiplicity of sensations and the dominance of the visual.⁵⁴

The important point that Böhme introduces should be emphasized on the concept of atmosphere, to explain with his words, “The atmosphere of a city is precisely the way of life unfolds within the city.”⁵⁵ Comprehending the way life unfolds in a city, or in a neighbourhood in our case, is not an easy task to achieve. The reason is that it requires attention not only for the physical characteristics, but also the way these physical characteristics are conveyed, and also the way they interact with the inhabitants.

As mentioned above, cities are living organisms and changes that occur in a city could be perceived only over a certain stretch of time. This passing of time could be years, days, or even different hours of a day. Additionally, an observer walking in the streets has time variable with him. He walks in a street, and experiences the changing of the scenes, as in a film sequence. To be able to comprehend the main character of neighbourhoods, I will try to focus on the formation of streets, the way they are shaped and changed, as the way we experience them.⁵⁶ We can assume that this kind of approach could be convenient to follow because it helps to see the city as a living organism, and feel the vibration and movement of the city. With this way we could come close to perceive the ways of life, or the atmosphere in the neighbourhoods. Secondly, it gives us a chance to reflect the relation between humans and the built environment more accurately, and helps to preview the formation of space and boundary on our route, which has been signed on the map above.

⁵⁴ Heinz Paetzold. XVII. Congress of Aesthetics. Congress Book 1.Elements of the Post-functionalist Urbanism. Ed. Jale Erzen. Ankara: Sanart Publication, 2008. pp 24-25

⁵⁵ Gernot Böhme. The Atmosphere of a City. Issues no.7 in contemporary culture and aesthetics. Theory paper 1998. p.8

⁵⁶ Trying to capture the neighborhood life could be identical of captured time and space in a movie: In a city, as in a movie, time and space unfolds, makes the visitors/viewer experience different spaces at the same time, or same space at the different time.

We can begin with the centre of Nezu neighbourhood, which the intersection of Nezukannon Dori and Shinobozu Dori. (figures 3-8) This area is also where the Metro Station is, moreover, where the roads are wider. These perpendicular streets are the two main roads of Nezu, which also circulate in the city. In the centre of the neighbourhood, there is a figures studio on the right, a store for cleaning stuff on the left. Following our route towards the northeast, we see a supermarket on the right corner, and a small restaurant on the left corner. To compare the both sides of the area, which is divided by Nezukannon Dori, we can get the impression that there is a series of two storey buildings on the left side. However, as we get to the boundary through Sendagi, the buildings get higher. On the right side, higher buildings are placed following to supermarket. In this area, (where is close to Ikenohata), the neighbourhood changes character since the public buildings increase, and they reflect facades and mass character of the neighbourhood changes.



Figure 9: Shinobazu Dori towards Sendagi



Figure 10: Shinobazu Dori towards Ikenohata

Cullen in his book “Townscape” introduces cities to his reader, by narrating the streets, centres and squares. However, besides the heavy stone buildings and easily comprehensible streets of England, from where Cullen gives his examples, Nezu reflects the Japanese urban characteristics: not the city of walls; as claimed by Yoshinobu Ashihara in the book *The Aesthetic Townscape*, but a city lacking an established and shared model, without any system or fixed pattern.⁵⁷ In Nezu, as could be seen from the figures, instead of masses, we see more

⁵⁷ Yoshinobu Ashihara. *The Aesthetic Townscape*. Cambridge Mass: MIT Press. 1983.

fragile and individualistic buildings. They constitute this seemingly chaotic appearance of the streets.

Talking about a certain rule in the stories, either in height, width or mass of the buildings in the main streets is not possible.⁵⁸ Moreover, there is no “square” in the Nezu neighborhood, where streets are finalized and intersect. The Nezukannon Dori Avenue and Shinobazu Dori Avenue divide the neighborhood into four unequal pieces. These avenues carry the main traffic in the neighborhood; also connect Nezu with the city. The traffic in the neighborhood is not very crowded in the main roads, and consequently, it is not possible to complain about the cars’ voices, horns or smell of the gas produced by the cars most of the time. As Cullen explains, the presence of traffic in the environment gives a sense of purpose and a contact with the outside world.⁵⁹ When roads get narrower and change their character inside areas, their purpose changes to serve the inhabitants.

Keeping in mind that these roads are the shop windows of the neighbourhood, we can follow our route to the northeast. Walking in Nezukannon Dori towards Yanaka neighbourhood, it is possible to see the changing scale, facades and the general medium of the neighbourhood. Most of the buildings have two storeys and traditional shops increase in number. On the street, the flags hang on the streetlights are the signs that we walk in a shopping street. Every corner creates a curiosity to get in, because of the inviting colours of flowers, variety of objects on the facades and the juxtaposition of different elements in a street. Most of the branching roads are very narrow and the buildings on the left change their appearance, become more local. Although where we walk is the same street, this part is quite different than the upper side of Nezukannon Dori. After Shinobazu Dori, the appearance of the street changes. The neighbour of Nezu, Yanaka, which belongs to more traditional part of Tokyo is where we are approaching now. This area is very famous with its historical buildings, such as old wooden houses and temples, and also with its cemetery. Yanaka, as Nezu, is also preserved from the big earthquake of 1923, and the bombings of World War II.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ The 1919 Urban Buildings Law, Japan’s first building code, brings the certain rules and regulations and was an important step forward, as before its passage planners had been little able to control inappropriate or dangerous building. Detailed descriptions of allowable land uses, building coverage, and heights, for each of the three land use zones, and also outlined details of permitted building materials, minimum window area for air circulation etc. for each zone has been determined. The building line system defined roads as any public right of way 2.7 meters (9 feet or greater). Moreover, it designated the edges of all such roads as building lines. Thirdly it declared that buildings could only be built on lots with frontage on a building line. Sorensen Lecture Notes.

⁵⁹ Gordon Cullen. *Townscape*. New York: Reinhold Pub. Corp, 1961.p.223

⁶⁰ Historic district in northern Taito Ward, Tokyo, just to the north of Ueno and Ueno Park. (qq.v.) It is noted for its rows of old wooden houses and small shops, and for its many old temples and cemeteries. Development of Yanaka



Figures 11-12: the narrow street that divided Nezu and Yanaka and Ikenohata, which is mentioned on the boundaries of the Nezu neighbourhood



Figure13: The intersection where Nezu ends and Yanaka starts. Source: google maps. www.maps.google.com

The section of two streets, Nezukannon-Dori and the boundary street, is the point where Nezu ends and Yanaka starts. A centre in smaller scale, this section gives us clues about character of Yanaka: Gift shops on two sides, and a housing agency on the other: This intersection of roads is as a natural continuity of the pattern we passed slowly since the Nezu

is traced to the aftermath of the Meireki Fire (q.v.) of 1657, when many of the temples of Edo (q.v.) were ordered to be relocated there. Because Yanaka escaped the worst damage from Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923 and the air raids of 1945 (qq.v.), it is one of the few places in Tokyo to authentic glimpses of what the historic city looked like. (pp162-163)

centre. Rounded corners invite us to turn, and to explore the boundaries. Walking in this street could be an attempt to understand the meaning of the boundary, and could give a clue to understand if the boundaries on maps refer to any difference in between two neighbourhoods. In the figures above; the right side is Yanaka and the left side is Nezu. It is not possible to underline any difference on both sides, either in mass quality, or about the change of function on both sides. However, the important point to underline is, the neighbours of Nezu: Yanaka, Sendagi, Ikenoata, and Yayoi, all have their own and more homogeneous character. Yanaka is more historical, while Sendagi and Ikenehota are comparatively more cosmopolite. Nezu, on the other hand, changes its appearance while approaching the other neighbouring areas: gets more intimate towards Yanaka; buildings get higher towards Sendagi, or office buildings increase towards Ikenehota. While other neighbourhoods have their own homogeneity, Nezu carries the four different characters of its four neighbours. The boundary between Nezu and Yayoi, on the other hand, has different character. The southeast of Nezu, end with a university campus, and a shrine. Both green and planned areas: Tokyo University and Nezu Shrine, softens the boundaries within these neighbourhoods.

As a result of the above observations, we can claim that in Nezu, there isn't any sharp change in the boundary streets that distinguishes different neighbourhoods on the map, but the change appears in the pattern, or the ambience of Nezu. This change is not very sharp, but also easy to catch by sight. All different and living patterns also give Nezu a dynamic character. Reason of Nezu's changing pattern could be its division of four different and unsymmetrical parts, on both sides of the two main roads. This character, -changing of Nezu's pattern towards its end lines- could be explained by Cullen's comparison of towns with art galleries. In the art galleries, he starts, we see art works, each self-contained and framed. We leave one artwork to see the other; each is a new experience. However apprehension of a town is not like seeing set places, hanging on the wall. They are next to each other, touching, and stand in three dimensions, the eye moves through each of them, continuously. *"One scene gives place naturally to another, providing scope for the exercise of skill in effecting transition."* It could be argued that there is a combination of the two in Nezu, we feel this natural change in the streets while walking towards the different areas of the neighbourhood. On the other hand, we see the high-rise apartments and one-storey houses belong to the same street, or the sharp change of the atmosphere in the branch roads, a sudden silence or a sudden change of the scale. On the other hand, we also witness some unexpected changes, when we enter the streets that

are perpendicular to our route. Some of the streets are unexpectedly narrow, and most of the streets carry various characters at the same time: old and new, silence and sound exist side by side. Moreover, each street either ends up with a very intimate place; or pregnant with branches that create the unexpected silence and change of scale.



Figures 14-15: The lumps created with the arrangements of streets in Nezu.

3.2.3. Dispositions and Scale of the Elements that Form the Neighbourhood

3.2.3.1. Streets of the neighborhood, their disposition and measurements

Nezu area is composed of three types of streets: main streets, where the traffic is busy and crowded; shopping streets, where the local shops of the neighbourhood are placed, and residential areas where the streets are narrow and sometimes closed to traffic. It is possible to claim that the main roads are linear. However, the disposition of shopping streets has a tendency to break this linear distribution. This creates the labyrinth like appearance of the neighbourhood. (Figure 14) Streets of the residential areas strengthen this labyrinthine look of Nezu: some of the roads are very narrow, most of them are less than 4 meters and some are with dead ends. It is possible to write some of the streets' width as follows:

Nezukannon Dori: Around 15 meters

Shinobozu Dori: Around, 19 meters

Branch streets are: (in the map above, the horizontal streets)

1. Around 3,5 meters,
2. Around 3,7-4,5 meters
3. 2,4-3 meters
4. 7-7,5 meters (between Yanaka and Nezu neighborhood)

The distribution of the roads, when they get unexpectedly narrow or lead us to dead ends, create the boundary lines inside the neighborhood. These areas are sort of arranged in a way that only inhabitants can use them; as the streets inside the housing areas create certain intimacy and privacy. Also they form spaces that could be manipulated by the inhabitants. I will try to explain this character more in detail in the next chapters. Since the very narrow streets are placed very close to main roads, mass quality of the neighborhood show opposite character, we see the very tall buildings with very small ones in the same frame.

3.2.3.2. Buildings: houses, stores or shopping areas

As mentioned, Nezu has different faces, changing towards different areas. This change in appearance also brings the change in plan. Looking at the map of Nezu, we can see that buildings vary in size, seem random and scattered in the islands. Some are relatively bigger, while some buildings are smaller, however, buildings stand side by side; there is a juxtaposition of different scales. Another important point is that in the neighborhood, small shops and housing units are mixed in each street. The small shops in these areas serve for the inhabitants mostly, where their owners also live in the same place.

form the facades as :

1. Brick surfaces, with different partitions and colors
2. Wooden surfaces with different colors
3. Mats
4. Big glossy windows
5. Fences
6. Metal surfaces with different size and colors
7. Ceramic tiles, each with different size and color
8. Plaster surfaces, different kind and color
9. Brute concrete surfaces
10. Mixed usages

In Nezu, and generally in Tokyo, there is at least 40 cm gap between each building. This gap also emphasizes the scattered appearance in the map. Another reason for this scattered look is the connection between the buildings and the street. Pavements, which constitute a transition point, are not continuous; they change pattern or shape, and sometimes totally disappear. Each building has a different size of space between the road and the pavement. Each building has its own way to attach to its surroundings: some buildings have gardens, while others are directly open to the street.

3.2.3.3. Public Spaces: Parks, Shrines, and Gardens

Lastly, there are two planned green areas in the neighborhood: one is the Nezu Shrine, which constitutes 41000 m², the second is the children's park in Nezu around 700 square meters. Except the transitory spaces mentioned above, the public squares are not common in Nezu, neither do people create any spaces to gather and chat. Even though one of the most important shrines in Tokyo, the Nezu Shrine takes place in Nezu, we can argue that there are not commercial points that can attract the tourists around the Nezu neighborhood. Rather, the neighborhood has protected its calm and residential profile.



Figure17: The empty-full spaces of the same area.



Figure18: Different windows and doors in Nezu

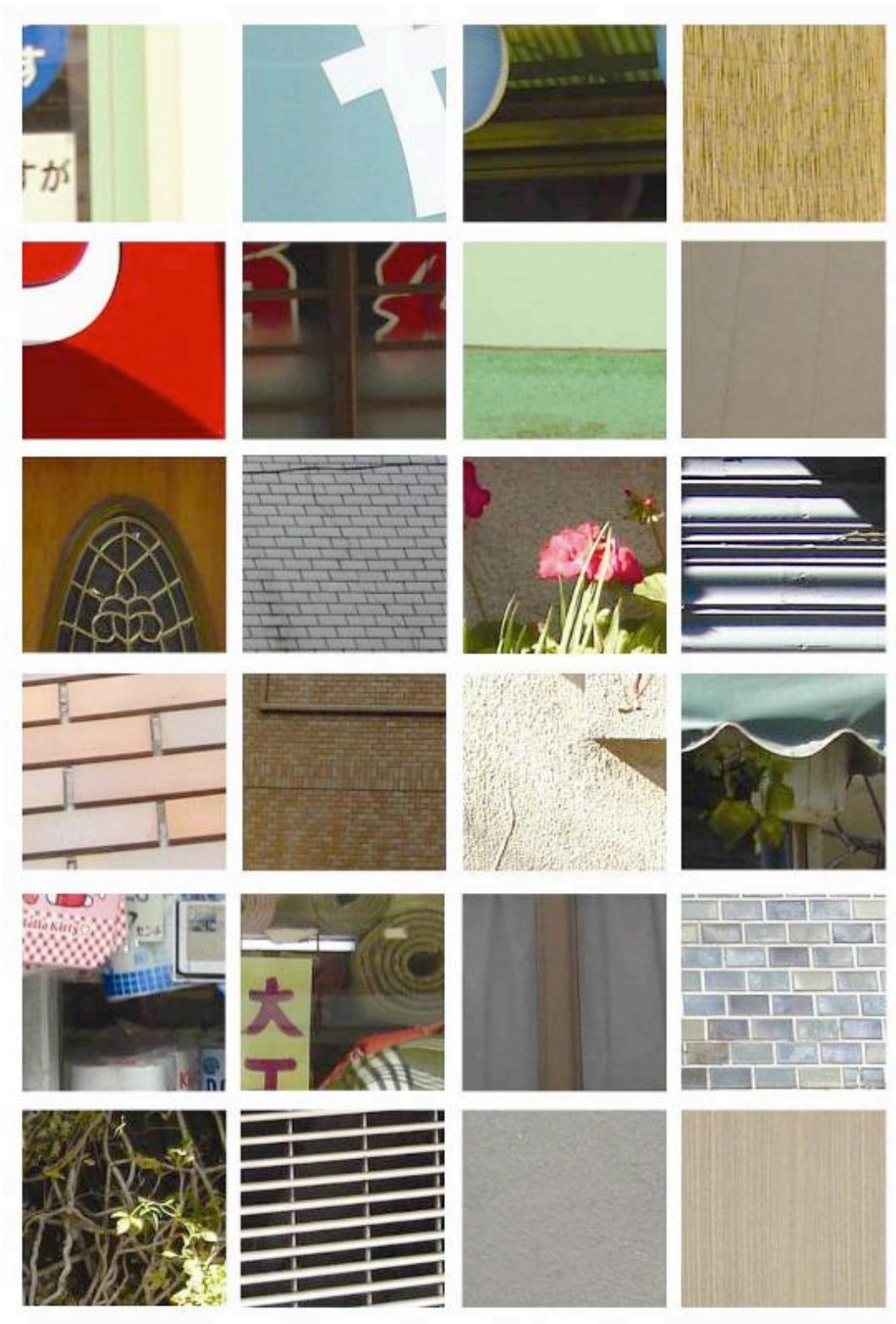


Figure 19: Different façade patterns in Nezu

3.3. Ortaköy Neighbourhood



Figure 20: Ortaköy neighbourhood boundaries

3.3.1. Boundaries of Ortaköy Neighbourhood

The way the official boundaries have been drawn in Ortaköy does not seem rational, as in Nezu. The reason could easily be seen from the first glance: Although the lines seem to

follow the streets, they are rather rounded and fragmented. With a close look to boundaries, we can point out that Ortaköy connects three of its neighbourhoods with rather deserted areas. The reason for the phrase “isolated” is that these areas are private housing units called “site” in Turkish. *Sites*, which are private housing groups are not only split away from the neighbourhood but also from the city with high walls, and only let the inhabitants to pass. Therefore, it could be argued that these areas that connect Ulus on the west, Levazım on the northwest, and Kuruçeşme on the north are the big boundary areas themselves, and the boundary line could also be drawn before them. In this sense, while Ortaköy is connected to its neighbours with private housing groups, areas which do not connect to the city, with Mecidiye neighbourhood, this connection is provided with a busy street. It could also be argued that in Ortaköy, similar to Nezu, city planning followed its own course.

A historical approach could also be necessary to be able to comprehend neighbourhood’s boundary. Cem Behar, with his research on Kasap İlyas Mahalle proves that the notion of “mahalle” is very flexible. He indicates there existed subgroup of streets embedded in a neighbourhood with a different name in the 20th century in İstanbul. He writes: “For instance, Çavuşzade Street has always been a part of the Kasap İlyas *mahalle*. Nevertheless, it was considered by many of its twentieth-century inhabitants as forming a separate entity having distinct characteristics.”⁶¹ Behar indicates that this distinction within the same neighbourhood could be the result of different groups from different ethnicity or religion. The mobility of these groups could create the flexibility in the borders of a neighbourhood. Although we do not have any scientific proof about Ortaköy, the deep historical background of İstanbul is already known. As a result, we also should keep in mind that the real boundaries have been drawn and re-drawn through the daily life of the inhabitants in history. Official boundaries, on the other hand, could be used for governance purposes. Therefore, to be able to find out the real boundaries, it is necessary to investigate the neighbourhood more in detail. With a close scope to Ortaköy, we can identify the changes in the atmosphere of the neighbourhood, and the changes in the physical surroundings respectively, in the following section.

⁶¹ Cem Behar. *A Neighborhood in Ottoman İstanbul, Fruit vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003: p.4



Figure 21: Neighbors, roads of Ortaköy and the route that shows the direction of figures below. Source: www.maps.google.com



Figures 22-23: The seaside part of Ortaköy.

3.3.2. The Mass Character of the Neighbourhood

It is possible to begin with the Ortaköy Mosque on the seaside. Although the mosque is not included in the boundaries, it is the symbol of Ortaköy. The route towards the west takes us to the Mecidiye neighbourhood, where we encounter the large public square and small cafes. This area, as I have mentioned above, has been a home for non-Muslims in history, and is distinguished from the Muslim neighbourhood with the main road, called “Muallim Naci Caddesi”. As one of the most cosmopolite areas in the city, the area is now used for commercial purposes of cafes, stores and nightclubs. However, on a weekday, one can still notice the atmosphere it still carries, with indirect and narrow streets, and with the buildings, behind the signboards, which surround the visitor. This area, which is one of the most famous public spaces of İstanbul, ends with the Ortaköy dock. Following the dock, we see more private areas such as Kabataş Cinema and Restaurant, Galatasaray University, which are not open to the public but are used by specific people. This character is more obvious since we encounter tall stonewalls that cut the connection with the sea. These walls assure that we pass through another area of a city, and come to the end of Ortaköy neighbourhood. On the other hand, towards the east, towards Kurucesme, there exist green parks that are open to the public, and the greenery follows until the next neighbourhood, Kurucesme and Arnavutkoy. The main road that binds Ortaköy to Mecidiye and Kurucesme is also one of the most important roads in İstanbul, so we can say that it is one of the main arterial roads that carry the traffic of the city. This road combines all the villages in the Bosphorus, and the traffic is crowded in each hour of the day, towards Ortaköy. Dereboyu Street, on the other hand, is the local street of Ortaköy. It also constitutes the boundary between Mecidiye neighbourhood and Ortaköy, and also Levazim neighbourhood on northwest. Dereboyu Street is perpendicular to Muallim Naci Avenue, and continues until another public square with a mosque and a small park.



Figures 24 and 25: The small square in front of the Dereboyu mosque.

Following Dereboyu Street could give us the main atmosphere of Ortaköy, and the way it changes towards the core of the neighbourhood. In the beginning, we can see the two storey buildings that are small cafes and kiosks on the left; the famous *hamam* designed by architect Sinan, an apartment and a hotel on the right. Dereboyu Street is the widest street in the core of Ortaköy. Towards the north, we can see that the buildings with two storeys change in to six to eight storey apartments, with local grocers and shops in the ground level. This change in the buildings does not only occur in the heights, but also in the facades of the buildings. When more glossy and attractive-look buildings stand in the beginning of the street, we come across grey and serious facades of the apartments towards the end. The street is, on the other hand, very alive and full most of the day. Besides the buildings, people also change profile in the street towards the west: when the visitors are common in the seaside, natives of the neighbourhood raise in number, so that we can see people greeting and chatting, shop owners sitting in front of their shops and enjoying the day. The comparatively large size of the pavements let people to roam around, sit or do different activities at the same time. Although it is a boundary between Mecidiye and Ortaköy, in Dereboyu Street, it is not possible to put difference easily between the right and the left side of the street. Similar to Nezu, there is no common rule that forms the street: We see buildings in different sizes, height and function on each side. The street carries us to a public square. which contains a mosque and a small park where people gather to worship. After the small square, street twists towards the northeast, than

we encounter private building blocks settled in the hills, which are isolated from the rest of the neighbourhood with walls.

As I will try to indicate in the following chapters, one of the most significant characteristics of Ortaköy is its topography. The neighbourhood is composed of a sequence of hills that rise respectively around the Dereboyu Street. As mentioned, in Dereboyu, (the street's name could be translated as "riverside" there has been a river, and it is still possible to follow the traces of the old topography, even though today, the buildings cover the hills and the road covers the river.



Figures 26-27-28-29: The housing settlements in the hills of Ortaköy.

As could be followed from the map, the streets around Dereboyu ascend side by side, twisting and curling on each other, and creating the irregular look: we see the uncontrolled

picture of buildings, with different height, size and colour, mixed with greenery over the hills. When one follows the way up, movement and the topography is felt better with the changing view on each corner, even sometimes the visitor comes across with one of the most beautiful views in İstanbul. The streets act more like paths, with their nonlinearity and chaotic look, because there is no continuity of any element that forms a street: pavements, garbage bins, electric lights, and street furniture. It could also be because of this non-continuity, that one feels close to nature, since the streets we follow are not totally filled with buildings or divided by the repetition of the same element, but seem to have their own autonomy and irregularity. It is possible to follow the difference in the ambiance of the area that are settled on the hills, of the neighbourhood than Dereboyu Street and the area at the seaside. This area, which is composed of housing settlements mostly, is divided from the rest of the neighbourhood because of topography, and also because of the different atmosphere it possesses. It is still possible to see people walking around, hear dogs barking, children playing, or birds singing. Before discussing about the atmosphere difference, we can argue that, similar to Nezu, in Ortaköy there is an inconsistency between the buildings' size and pattern, street width and character. However, in Ortaköy, the way these differences occur also varies. For example, in the seaside, where cafes and shops are placed, the buildings change in appearance to attract the visitor. We see living colours, signboards, different furniture that are chosen to be more conspicuous. Although this area is divided from the rest of the neighbourhood with Muallim Naci Avenue, this character still exists in the beginning of Dereboyu Street. On the other hand, when we walk towards the west, the buildings change in appearance. This time we see more modest shops that attract inhabitants only, and a sequence of grey apartments that are also used for commercial purposes. On the other hand, when we dive into the housing areas, we can witness the change in colours, texture, height of the buildings, each has a different character. The neighbourhood gets calmer, however, the presence of people is felt. This character is totally different than the *private housing groups* at the edge of the neighbourhood, where each apartment is identical. As a result, although there are common properties in each area, we can identify the four faces in Ortaköy: The area by the coast which is divided by Muallim Naci Avenue, Dereboyu street which is the main shopping street of the neighbourhood, housing settlements that are divided by the topography; and finally, *private housing groups* that are placed at the edges.



Figures 30-31: The cul-de-sacs constituted by topography in Ortaköy.

3.3.3. Dispositions and Scale of the Elements that Form the Neighbourhood

3.3.3.1. Streets of the neighborhood, their disposition and measurements

Ortaköy neighborhood has been divided by the Bosphorus (E5) Highway, which constitutes the largest road of the neighborhood. On the other hand, it could also be controversial to discuss this road as a part of Ortaköy, since it passes above without touching the area. Other largest streets are carry the main traffic are: Muallim Naci Avenue (around 13-14 meters, combines Mecidiye, Ortaköy and Kurucesme), Dereboyu Street (around 11-14 meters, combines Levazim, Mecidiye and Ortaköy) and Portakal Yokusu Street (around 6-6,5 meters, combines Ulus, Kurucesme, Ortaköy). Other streets that combine the housing areas are

(Aydınlık Street: 3,5-4,8 meters, Duvarci Street: 2,4-3,9 meters, Revanici Street: 6,6-5,6 meters) comparatively narrower. It could be said that the main shopping street of the neighborhood is Dereboyu, and also the streets perpendicular to it, like Bulgurcu Street, Gurcu Kizi Street, Cudi Efendi Street. Streets like Leylek Yuvası and Yusuf Bali end up with stairs, or stairs constitute the streets, because of topography.

The perpendicular character of two important roads, Muallim Naci Avenue and Dereboyu Street also create a boundary, as their disposition prevents the turmoil of the city to flux into neighborhood. The hilly topography of the neighborhood is another element that determines the arrangement of the streets, and causes the play of the grades to create dynamic look and spaces that are formed above and below the ground level. This character also brings the areas that users could design in accordance with their needs and likes.

3.3.3.2. Buildings: houses, stores or shopping areas

The distribution of public and private spaces is shown on the map. As could be commented, Dereboyu Street is the main shopping street of Ortaköy, and serves to Mecidiye and Ortaköy neighborhood at the same time. It could be possible to add that these streets satisfy inhabitants daily shopping; also with the banks and social services (schools, education centers, and small hospitals, and religious buildings) they carry the capacity to serve people from outside. On the other hand, in Ortaköy, we can argue that the most of the shops take place in the main streets, and the streets perpendicular to them. It is true that there are small stores in the housing areas, but they are not as mixed as in Nezu. It is also possible to follow this property from the maps.

The buildings are attached to each other unlike in Nezu, on the other hand, difference in buildings' size and attachment to the street show similar characteristics in both neighborhoods. Another common point that two neighborhood share is the scattered look of facades: the multiplicity of the elements on the facades such as electric cables, gas units, cloth hangers, pipes, rings and small address plates on the buildings in Ortaköy create the segmented look of the streets. Figure 28 presents the different layers and materials on the facades, which we can summarize as follows:

1. Plaster surfaces, different kind and color
2. Wooden surfaces with different colors

3. Mosaic surfaces, with different partitions and colors
4. Stone buildings
5. Fences
6. Metal surfaces with different size and colors
7. Plate surfaces: American siding (plastic with wooden look)
8. Mixed usages

3.3.3.3. Public spaces: Parks, Squares, and Gardens

The square on the seaside (around 3500 square meters) public parks (around 5000 square meters) and Cemil Topuzlu Park (around 10650 square meters), and the square at the end of the Dereboyu Street (around 1000 square meters) could be counted as the public spaces in Ortaköy. On the other hand, similar to Nezu, it is also possible to argue that, there is no consistencies in the way buildings are attach to the street: in many cases these inconsistencies create transitory spaces, atriums, gardens and occupied pavements.

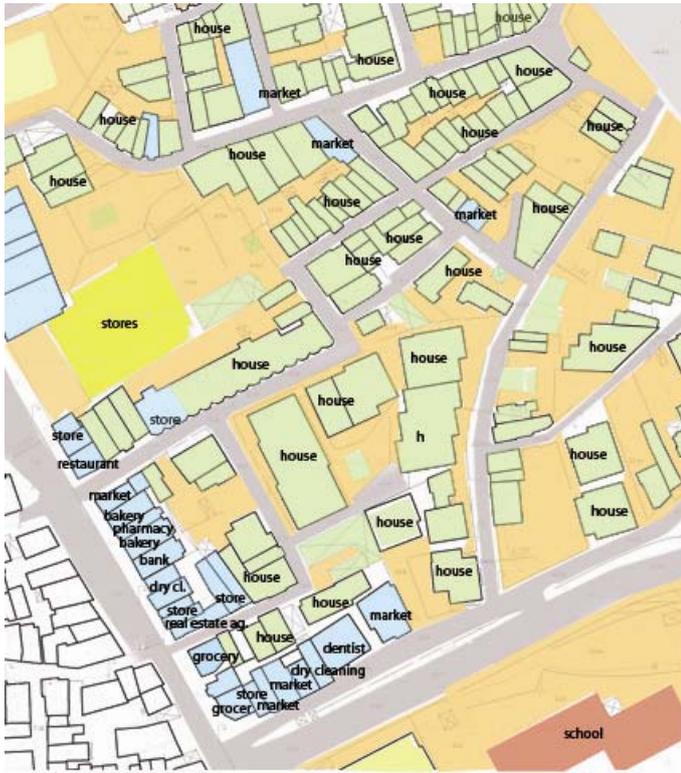


Figure 32: Houses, empty spaces and public buildings in a section of Ortaköy area.



Figure 33. The empty-full spaces of the same area.



Figure 34: Different windows and doors in Ortaköy



Figure 35: Different facade patterns in Ortaköy

3.4. Final Remarks

As has been mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the critical point about the atmosphere of a place concerns not only its physical characteristics but also the way these characteristics convey, and create the ways of life. By comparing the physical characteristics of two neighbourhoods, it is possible to clarify these properties. In Nezu there are no sharp boundary lines that constitute transition points between two very different areas, or neighbours. On the other hand we see a relative change in the neighbourhood properties towards different areas. Additionally, in the same street it is possible to follow the change from the buildings appearances, the measurement of streets assures that properties of the street do not remain the same. On the other hand, inside each grid, there exist narrower streets and dead ends that prevent the flow of the city, and create private areas for the inhabitants only. Because of their labyrinthine arrangement, only the people who know the areas use the streets, so that they become semi-private spaces. In Ortaköy, as been discussed, the perpendicular character of two important streets give the neighbourhood its intimacy. Main roads carry the traffic of the city without interrupting the inner harmony of the neighbourhood, and the topography in the housing areas help to create intimacy of the streets. Because of the properties of topography and irregular arrangement of the buildings, someone who walks in the neighbourhood also witnesses the surprising turns, and gets involved to the environment, views the sea, the Bosphorus Bridge and different layers of the roads he/she passed, and will pass. Since there is no a pre-determined division in the streets, these views open unexpectedly, without leading to a final conclusion or destination. In other words, there are no fixed points to make someone perceive a certain frame, rather the haunted look of the houses and streets give impression that everything is open to change. Despite the capacity of Ortaköy that brings far and close together, in Nezu, because of the narrow streets and the density of the different tools and equipments, a certain feeling of hereness and closeness transpires. In two neighbourhoods, we can argue that the difference between shopping street and housing areas is not hidden in the visual characteristics only, but also in voices or silence, since the lack of human voice or car traffic makes the inhabitants hear other voices or recognize other properties in the streets. Another difference lies in the distribution of public and private spaces in both neighbourhoods. From the observations we had so far, we can also question for the meaning of public and private in two neighbourhoods. This issue will be evaluated in the next chapters. Finally, arrangement of

shops and small restaurants in Nezu, which take place in the housing areas, also signify another difference, since in Ortaköy restaurants and small shops are mostly settled in main streets or streets perpendicular to them. On the other hand, we can argue that both neighbourhoods contain irregularities in their physical appearance: the irregularities in the form and dimension of the streets, the disorder in the sequence and the tactile character of the buildings, and the arrangement of the mass in the neighbourhoods. However, the way that these characteristics are reflected is not totally identical, the common points Nezu and Ortaköy share could unfold in different ways, creating different atmospheres. This different character could be the result of particular lifestyles, as Bohme argues, “The atmosphere of a city is precisely the way of life unfolds within the city.”⁶²

So far, I have tried to explain the general atmosphere of two neighbourhoods by explaining their physical character and cultural background. However, to be able to comprehend the reasons that create the different formations in two neighbourhoods, a close scope study could be necessary. In the following chapters, by pursuing the way space is created and bounded, I will try to capture particular atmosphere that belongs to neighbourhoods, and the development of the social and physical relations in the societies. The research will concern not only the cognitive process of built environment, but also the subject’s experience of the physical characteristics.

⁶² Gernot Bohme. The Atmosphere of a City. Issues no.7 in contemporary culture and aesthetics. Theory paper 1998. p.8

CHAPTER 4

VARIOUS (SELECTIVE) APPROACHES TO CONCEPT OF SPACE

In vain, great-hearted Kublai, I shall attempt to describe Zaira, city of the high bastions. I could tell you how many steps make up the streets rising like stairways, and the degree of the arcades' curves, and what kind of zinc scales cover the roofs; but I already know this would be the same as telling you nothing. The city does not consist of this, but of relationships between the measurements of its space and the events of its past: the height of a lamppost and the distance from the ground of a hanged usurper's swaying feet; the line strung from the lamppost to the railing opposite and the festoons that decorate the course of the queen's nuptial procession; the height of that railing and the leap of the adulterer who climbed over it at dawn, the tilt of a guttering and a cat's progress along it as he slips into the same window, the firing range of a gunboat which has suddenly appeared beyond the cape and the bomb that destroys the guttering, the rips in the fish net and the three old man seated on the dock mending nets and telling each other for the hundredth time the story of the gunboat of the usurper, who some say was the queen's illegitimate son, abandoned in his swaddling clothes there on the dock.

As this wave from memories flows in, the city soaks up like a sponge and expands. A description of Zaira as it is today should contain all Zaira's past. The city, however, does not tell its past, but contains it like the lines of a hand, written in the corners of the streets, the gratings of the windows, the banisters of the steps, the antennae of the lighting rods, the poles of the flags, every segment marked in turn with starches, indentations, scrolls.⁶³

The quoted text above is one of Italo Calvino's narrated cities in his book "Invisible Cities", in which he poetically signifies the essence of a city space, its creation, inscription and

⁶³ Italo Calvino. *Invisible Cities*. Translated from the Italian by William Weaver. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974.p. 13

change. His narration could be an illuminating example for this chapter, in which, I will try to indicate how space could be read, commented or evaluated in two specific sites of this study; Nezu and Ortaköy. So far, I have tried to explain the formative character of the two neighborhoods in the historical and urban context. In this chapter, our discussion will be more detailed and evaluated, since we will focus on specific areas in two neighborhoods, with the help of photographs. Trying to explain the space concept used in this thesis in two different urban districts could be a very difficult and complex task to achieve. Urban space has been the actor of many debates, and discussed in social, political or economical manners. However, my approach will be the creation, arrangement and formation of space and place, by observing the very tools of architecture, walls, fenestrations, gardens, streets, or the other urban objects, their dimensions, dispositions or relations. How these elements come together and create spaces with different character, convey and reflect certain modes, and how do inhabitants' and visitors' relation develops with the built environment are the other questions at stake. Keeping in mind that a city space also consisting of "the events of its past"; the temporal qualities, or the inscriptions of the neighborhood's past that are manifested in the creation of space will also be evaluated. In this way, I aim to reach the comprehension of the special character of space, and also, the multiple ways in which space could be interpreted, in order to reach beyond what is seen and sensed physically, in both neighborhoods.

Before explaining the formation of space in detail, first I will try to summarize the main concerns that might help in the process of understanding. Primarily, it could be appropriate to claim that both Japanese and Turkish cities have their special ways to construct the built environment. Even in the fashionable urban areas of Tokyo and İstanbul, there is a unique sense of habitation that distinguishes these cities from European examples. In order to describe this peculiarity more clearly, Rudolf Arnheim could be referred to. In "The Dynamics of Architectural Form" Arnheim argues about "grown" cities, cities that have not been planned; and grew like natural landscapes, or old European towns. Getting lost in them is a delight, he continues, because "one can interpret and enjoy the experience as a sequence of unexpected vistas". In this way, instead of trying to discover an objective order in the whole, one's mind derives from such circumstances an order of its own. Arnheim also assigns that this experience is a recording of the linear sequence of sights, as the way images unfold in a movie.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Rudolf Arnheim. "The Dynamics of Architectural Form". University of California Press. Berkeley: 1977. pp114-115

Arnheim's ideas are not foreign to our discussion of space in Ortaköy and Nezu in the previous chapter. The spatial character is eminent in Nezu and Ortaköy, and I may argue, more generally, in Tokyo and İstanbul. Anyone who has a chance to walk around in Tokyo and in İstanbul may feel that both cities provide rich possibilities to discover, as one feels that she is communicating with the city in his/her own way. This peculiarity could be the result of the dynamism that both cities and neighborhoods share, and could legitimize to discuss space as active and in relative with change, which I intended to define as the formation of space in two districts. (of time and inhabitants.)

Another point that may give strength to this dynamic character is that, both Ortaköy and Nezu are not places, which have been totally planned by architects or municipalities. The space in two neighborhoods, especially in the housing areas, is formed by the inhabitants, in accordance with their movement and the energy of daily activities. As a result of these similarities that Nezu and Ortaköy share, using the same subtitles to describe the space concept in both neighborhoods may become possible. Moreover, in discussing the neighborhoods under the same subtitles in terms of the chosen space concept, the intended questions like "could seemingly similar approaches to space result in similar consequences, or the seemingly similar spaces are the consequences of different approaches?" could also be asked. These questions also concern intentions on creation of space, and the process behind it. In this sense, I have tried to picture the space formation from three different angles; namely "Space and the Sense of Orientation", "Space as a Field of Communication"; and "Space as Field of Experience". Consequently, commenting on space as sense of orientation, field of communication and experience -since each part indicates not only construction of space with concrete elements but also perception and movement- is related with this movement and change of space and its users; and also related to the concept of atmosphere that was explained in the previous chapter.

In each section, different evaluation of space is discussed with the help of figures, and the texts of authorities who wrote about the way space is composed in contemporary and traditional sense, in Tokyo and İstanbul.

4.1. Space As Sense Of Orientation

The sense of orientation in space could be explained as placement of the individual subject in space, *"the person's unspoken reaction to the environment, which might be expressed as 'I*

am in IT or above IT or below IT, I am outside IT, I am enclosed or I am exposed”; as was described by Cullen⁶⁵. Thus, locating oneself in space is a result of division in the territory. This division in turn indicates a hierarchy between different spaces, public or private, houses, streets, gardens or courtyards. Additionally, the sense of belonging to a space, or “*hereness*” and “*thereness*” is defined with territoriality. In Cullen’s analysis, the most powerful expression of “*hereness*” is enclosure, and outdoor room; while “*thereness*” is expressed with level change or division of space.

The division of space, or territoriality is also used as one of the key concepts in the book “*Urban Streets and Urban Rituals*”; in which he makes a comprehensive research about human settlements, in order to indicate the importance of the street in urban life.⁶⁶ Barlas claims, territoriality is deeply connected with personalization and personalized space, and affords different human needs; need to control, safety, familiarity or belongingness.⁶⁷ Therefore, it is important to emphasize how space is defined in terms of division and how the subjects orient themselves in relation with the environment. This issue will be discussed with the photographs as follows.



Figures 1 and 2: Examples from Nezu neighborhood, the ways to define space.

⁶⁵ Gordon Cullen. *Townscape*. New York: Reinhold Pub. Corp, 1961. p.29.

⁶⁶ Adnan Barlas. *Urban Streets and Urban Rituals*. Ankara: METU Faculty of Architecture, 2006. pp. 81-97

⁶⁷ M. Adnan Barlas. *Urban Streets and Urban Rituals*. Ankara: METU Faculty of Architecture, 2006.p.29

The first figure is the garage of a house in Nezu. This semi public space has been defined with the change in the pavements and vases are used as boundary markers. As could be seen, there are not specific lines that divide different territories; rather they are movable and permeable. Division between “here” and “there” is fragile and uncertain. On the figure 2, another semi-public space in Nezu, which was defined by the columns and balconies. Projecting to the pavements, this space has been transformed into a bicycle park, and gained identity with its spatial qualities, texture, and objects. This character gives this space a sense of belongingness and feeling of “hereness”. Both these figures have been taken in the housing areas of Nezu, which are quiet and intimate areas of Nezu neighborhood. In the photos above we see that boundaries; here/there is constructed with very slight differences.

To recapitulate, orientation {positioning} brings about the perception of distance or closeness, sense of “*hereness*” and “*thereness*”; and affords the needs of humans, such as belongingness to a space. Secondly, the configuration of space is provided by territoriality, and in turn, with the help of territoriality; organization of space occurs. However, a “persons unspoken reaction to the environment”; being in a place, or being outside of a place; is bounded with the perception of the environment. Especially in non-western cultures like the Turkish and the Japanese, the perception of space might have had different evolutions. In order to comprehend the consciousness of surroundings more accurately, one should know about the way that subject-object relationship occurs, which could be explained as follows:

In the edited book by Nancy Rosenberger, “Japanese Sense of Self”; all the authors – native or foreigners of Japan- share a common attitude about the main character of the Japanese self: each author defines it as multiple, moving and changing.⁶⁸ Augustine Berque, one of the authors, extends this idea to the landscape of Japan, and frames the collective and individual self in their surroundings. Berque searches the philosophical and historical background of the Japanese way of identifying self and milieu. With a historical and philosophical view, he quotes Watsuji Tetsuro (1889-1960), Basho (1644-1694) and Ippen (1234-1289), famous Japanese philosophers and monks. Berque applies Tetsuro’s works to the different concepts of Japanese and Western self, in order to indicate that Japanese self and environment are interactive; and the self melts with the environment by identifying with patterns of nature. In

⁶⁸ Nancy R. Rosenberger *Japanese Sense of Self*. Ed. Nancy R. Rosenberger. Cambridge: New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1992. p.15

the organization of space, there is a tendency to de-center, or displace, the subject's integrating point of view.⁶⁹ Berque gives the example of Japanese cities, for their abandonment of unitary perspectives and dominant orientations. The traditional Japanese culture suppresses the interference of the subject in the environment. Instead of abstracting the subject from the environment, there is dissolution of self in pure concreteness, in the ideas of *Basho*, or *Ippen*; as Berque claims. These characteristics are quite alien to the centering process of modern Europe, since the European subject has preeminent status, and therefore, European cities are designed in accordance with linear perspectives.⁷⁰ In the previous chapter, we have already indicated how these characteristics of two neighborhoods, are reflected in a different way.



Figure 3: A house in Nezu, which is surrounded by flowerpots.

In figure 3, we see the lattice was turned into a flower hang, and although the life inside could not be seen, thin materials and organization of space opens up the house and involves it with the surroundings. Public and private, inside and outside have different evaluations, in the streets of Nezu. The same peculiarity also brings a living appearance to space, which I will try to indicate in the next part with figures, namely “Space as Field of Experience”.

⁶⁹ Augustine Berque. *Japanese Sense of Self*. Ed. Nancy R. Rosenberger. Cambridge: New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1992. p.93.

⁷⁰ Augustine Berque. *Japanese Sense of Self*. Ed. Nancy R. Rosenberger. Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1992. p. 97

⁷⁰ *ibid.* p.9

As mentioned earlier, I will try and discuss the formation of space in Ortaköy, under the same subtitles that I have elaborated in the Nezu area. Similar to Nezu, there is also a sense of dynamism, which was not only carried by the inhabitants; but also with the buildings or the constructed environment in general in Ortaköy. This sense of dynamism could be the consequence of scattered buildings around, or the interposition of old and new, that I will explain in the following part, but more importantly, this character could legitimize to discuss space as active and in relative with change.



Figures 4 and 5: Ortaköy neighborhood the ways to define space.



Figure 6: A planned public space is used for private needs in Ortaköy.

As could be followed from the figure 4, In Ortaköy, topography plays an important role to describe the sense of positioning. Defining the “hereness” and “thereness” of a place is comparatively easy, since with the help of topography, building series seem to be separated. However, a close scope reveals that, each building in the same line shares a common wall. Although they are different in texture, height or color, there is a mingling of buildings, as could be strongly felt in the relation with the ground. Thus, in turn, this mingling blurs the feeling of distances

Keeping in mind that İstanbul has developed in an organic way, and in accordance with the topography, we can argue that the newer buildings seem to follow the same rule. In figure number 5, we see housing areas in Ortaköy. Comparatively larger streets give a chance to shoot a wider area than Nezu. The buildings are strictly tied up, even in a way to disturb each other. Entailed by the circular form, each building has a different direction. The semi-public spaces seem to occur accidentally, as pavements ascend or descend; getting wide or narrow.

The final figure, figure number 6, could explain the complexity of strict divisions in Ortaköy. A small public square is used for drying clothes, gives a sense that every definition of space with boundaries can be easily transformed, or could be re-defined endlessly. Each inhabitant uses his/her imagination to achieve this.

Above, I have mentioned the different concepts of division of space and positioning of the body in the environment in Nezu, and how the territoriality and orientation in space require a tactful observation. The same could also be true for Ortaköy. Although there the divisions are provided by walls, streets and pavements, a careful view reveals that, it seems not easy to differentiate the public and private, inside and outside beyond the complex or chaotic appearance. To give an example, I will try to refer Resat Ekrem Kocu’s unfinished İstanbul Encyclopedia. It also covered an important place in Orhan Pamuk’s İstanbul memories, this encyclopedia has been an attempt to put an alphabetical order to places, people or events of İstanbul. However it was a futile attempt according to Pamuk, an encyclopedia, which is a western product, could not be convenient to categorize İstanbul’s disorder: *“The real matter is to understand that every effort to explain İstanbul’s complexity with Western “scientific” classification methods would be futile. Another reason for that is, certainly İstanbul’s difference from any other*

Western cities; its complexity, anarchy, multiple singularity and its disorder that resists to usual classifications.”⁷¹

4.2. Space as Field of Communication

So far, I have tried to discuss the orientation of people in space in Nezu and Ortaköy neighborhoods. The scope of this discussion has been the physical attributes of space: division or territorialization of the environment with the elements that provide this division, alignment of buildings in the topography, or the material character that affects this orientation. From this point on, I will try to focus on the semiotics of space; or the “meaning” of the built environment. Considering the diversity of literature on semiotics and the difficulty of the subject; it could be important to indicate in what terms the word “meaning” will be used. At this point I will refer to Pauline von Bonsdorff, who discusses the interrelations between personal experience and the collective, historical and political strata of meaning. According to her, the built environment is meaningful implies that it has a history, because of the fact that it has been used in certain ways and has served cultural –practical or symbolic- purposes.⁷² Besides being meaningful in form, meaningfulness also has to do with content, with how life is organized and takes place; with how history is acknowledged or with how relations between urban and rural land or the urban and the natural environment are structured.⁷³ In this sense, in a meaningful built environment, one can easily understand where he/she stands geographically, politically, socially and existentially. These remarks prove that, meaning is culturally bound, and could be comprehended cognitively. Discussions on meaning has been made in the concept of atmosphere, underlining the fact that the subject’s own background, culture and language is equally important to comprehend the meanings of space. Hence, in a study that concerns two different cultures, questions on meaning become critical: First, is it possible to determine or decode if the built environment is meaningful, especially in the case of Nezu, since it belongs to a different culture; and second with what means space could be commented to be

⁷¹ “Asıl konu, İstanbul’un karmaşasının Batılı “bilimsel” sınıflama ve açıklama usulleriyle anlama gayretinin başarısız olduğunu görmektir. Bunun bir nedeni elbette İstanbul’un diğer Batı şehirlerinden farklılığı karmaşası, anarşisi, kat kat tuhaflığı, alışlagelmiş sınıflamalara direnen düzensizliğidir”. Translated by the author. Orhan Pamuk. *İstanbul, Hatıralar ve Sehir*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006. p.160.

⁷² Pauline von Bonsdorff. *The Human Habitat, Aesthetic and Axiological Perspectives*. Jyvaskyla: International Institute of Applied Aesthetics Series Vol. 5., 1998. p.99

⁷³ Pauline von Bonsdorff. *The Human Habitat, Aesthetic and Axiological Perspectives*. Jyvaskyla: International Institute of Applied Aesthetics Series Vol. 5., 1998. p.101

“meaningful” or “meaningless” in both neighborhoods.

Bonsdorff gives us a clue about the answer: “it is important to note that to experience a square as having meaning does not imply that one knows its history or present use very well: it is enough to be convinced that the square has some particular role in culture.”⁷⁴ Another necessary explanation is about the usage of word “sense”: The word “sense” (of an environment), is closer to a directionality to qualities, to what is felt. However, to speak of sense does not imply that there is a specific sense, which could be articulated as a particular meaning or reference. Sense is relative to the experiencer, but it is not constituted by him/her alone, and the richness of sense is, like meaningfulness, conducive to meaning. “Materials, stylistic or formal aspects, temporal depth, the scale of the buildings, the paces and modes of the movement and change and the rhythms of the urban life are factors which may create sense and its opposite, alienation.”⁷⁵ Bonsdorff also argues that the significance of the built environment does not inhere in its made components only, as she links “culture and nature, the cognitive and the sensuous, the individual and the social, the self and the world” with experience. As a result, meaning has two aspects: cognitive and affective forces work together to create a meaning. Therefore, there is this multiplicity of environment, in terms of sense and meaning, multiplicity of experiences of space, which cannot be reduced to oneness, and it is possible to argue that there are multiple ways to correlate oneself to space. The synthesizing model of atmosphere, as introduced by Bonsdorff also defines the self’s existence as an unfinished quality, within the interplay with its surroundings. My concern, in this part, is to read the various ways of correlating and communicating with the built environment; within the Nezu and Ortaköy examples. I will try to explain how meaning could be created and articulated in space; and how space makes sense for the inhabitants. In the next part, on the other hand, the focus point will be the experience of space, which concerns the movement and time, and the relations between humans and objects.

While approaching space as a field of communication, a distinction that separates space’s position could be underlined: First, space provides an area for inhabitants to come across and communicate face-to face. Second, it connects the inhabitants, with signs and symbols, by its built artifacts. This way space joins the communication of people, and can become an activator of communication. These two approaches could be explained in two subtitles: Space as Scene of Communication, and Space as Activator of Communication.

⁷⁴ Ibid. p.99

⁷⁵ ibid. p.101

4.2.1. Space as Scene of Communication

As I have tried to explain above, the urban space provides a rich field for its inhabitants in terms of correlating themselves within the environment. I will argue now, how space could become a scene of communication, and in what means it provides the interrelation between the inhabitants. Firstly, it could be cited that, its form and surface creates a flat area for communication and transmission.⁷⁶ Second, with the interrelation between the masses there occur spaces for inhabitants to communicate: streets, gardens or lumps. The space surrounds the inhabitants and creates either intimacy, or distance/remoteness, so that one can become either an actor or an observer in space.

In urban life, streets provide a special significance in terms of communication, as has been underlined by Barlas. He argues that the street emerges from the need to communicate, between different social domains, public and private. Communication is the street's the notional attribute according to him, how a street becomes meaningful depends on its accordance with its spatial/physical and notional attributes.⁷⁷ Therefore, an environment that is designed without consideration of these attributes loses its meaning. This happens when consciousness takes over in the shaping of the street, and overwhelmingly rationalizes the human adaptation to the environment.⁷⁸ The totally planned streets with concrete and unchanged character could result in the lost of meaning in the environment; since they do not let the inhabitants play with their surroundings. In environments where the touch of inhabitants is felt, also gives familiarity and closeness to visitors, as in the examples we will discuss.

⁷⁶ Diana Agrest. *Architecture from without: theoretical framings for a critical practice*. Cambridge, Mass. : MIT Press, 1991 p.20

⁷⁷ M.Adnan Barlas, *Urban Streets and Urban Rituals*. Ankara : METU Faculty of Architecture, 2006. p.72

⁷⁸ M.Adnan Barlas, *Urban Streets and Urban Rituals*. Ankara : METU Faculty of Architecture, 2006. p.75



Figures 7-8: The small lumps and streets in Nezu.

In Nezu, there are no focal points or planned squares where people can gather or talk. However, the small niches that are provided by narrow streets can function as unplanned squares and semi-public space. The scale of these small lumps creates intimacy, with a feeling surrounded by space. (figure 8) There is a multiple usage in these streets, however, it is important to notice that these semi-public spaces are not open to everyone; they serve to a small community that owns the dwellings around. The space becomes a scene of communication in Nezu, mostly by creating intimacy and closeness.



Figures 9-10: The small lumps and streets in Ortaköy. The stairs that became a field of game for children.



Figure 11: The different possibilities that Ortaköy provides for inhabitants to come across.

In Ortaköy, each corner is potentially a gathering space. Many narrow streets or not very well planned corners can be transformed easily for different usages: Chatting, car parking, playing ground... Each space provides different usages and ways of communication at the same time, and in a way comparatively different from Nezu: These spaces are more open, they are not only in usage of the owners of houses but also people from the next street, or children of different areas.

As mentioned before, in Ortaköy, there is a unique visual opportunity because of İstanbul's topography. Even from a narrow street, a revealing grand frame is opened to a larger dimension and provides many angles for the inhabitants to perceive their surroundings. (figure 11) Therefore the streets of different levels become the setting of various social interactions. According to Norberg-Schulz, this special topographic character that İstanbul carries comes naturally from its history. Besides giving identity to space, topography concerns with security, and security is one of the main concerns in the concept of place. Therefore, the great cities of the past were settled on a landscape that were natural paths of communication. This property brings about physical protection and characteristic identity (*genius loci*), and in turn, naturally protected space and can easily interact with the surroundings. In İstanbul, he discusses, both demands are satisfied maximally, "where 'paths' from east and west, north and south meet at a

point of incomparable beauty".⁷⁹ Located one of the most special point in İstanbul, Ortaköy neighborhood naturally constitutes an interactive space, in relation with its past.

4.2.2. Space as Activator of Communication

Another significant quality of space is how the built environment actively forms the relation between humans. As has been discussed, there are various ways of relating oneself to the environment since it serves for multiple needs, and the symbolic functions of dwellings, is an intrinsic quality of space. Therefore, referring to Paul Crowther, who discusses this attribution as a basic character of architecture, could be appropriate.⁸⁰ According to him, architecture answers more than the basic need to shelter. In each architectural product, there is a question of "how shelter can be constructed from available materials", and each building becomes a significant consideration in its own right. Once the basic needs to shelter are covered, than an array of psychological needs demand satisfaction, and these involve the articulation of both personal and collective identities. Crowther continues with a quotation from Norberg-Schulz, that architecture gives an "existential foothold" to human kind, and such a foothold requires symbols. Consequently, while discussing the creation of space, one should also consider the symbolic functions beyond the appearing forms of the built environment.⁸¹

In a similar way, Diana Agrest argues that the form and function dichotomy has restricted our vision of built environment, since function is only one of the structural links that determine the signifying nature of our surroundings. Urban structure has a multidimensional character, and there are other meanings that are not linked in a direct way to form, but are defined by the structural relations existing among different forms within a given culture.⁸² She also emphasizes that the built environment is not only a channel that convey messages, but it itself constitutes a complex message. Therefore, we need to understand the structure of which is being communicated, -the structure of the space and the multiple meanings it stands for- in order to associate relations other than functional, between form and meaning. In this way, it is possible reveal multiple functions, that are intertwined in the architectural objects.⁸³ Moreover,

⁷⁹ Schulz, N., C., *Intentions in Architecture*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1966.

⁸⁰ Paul Crowther.. *Phenomenology of Visual Arts*, (Unpublished Manuscript), p. 198.

⁸¹ Paul Crowther. *Phenomenology of Visual Arts*, (Unpublished Manuscript), p. 198.

⁸² Diana Agrest. *Architecture from without: theoretical framings for a critical practice*. Cambridge, Mass. : MIT Press, 1991 p.15

⁸³ Agrest offers the notion of signification, instead of communication in her book "Architecture From Without", for

the answers to the questions that have been raised at the beginning of this section, “do the seemingly similar spaces are the consequences of different approaches?” could be searched in this manner, since each architectural object may possess different meanings in different cultures.

Applying these theoretical discussions to concrete examples from Nezu and Ortaköy may help to understand the structure of forms and the depth of the built environment that is constituted by symbols and signs, and their meaning in relation to people.



Figures 12-13-14: The signs in the streets of Nezu.

several reasons: First, signification brings about the notions such as code and message. These notions provide the awareness of not only what is being communicated, but also the structure of which is being communicated. Thus, it makes possible to establish specific relations, other than functional, between form and meaning. Second, it helps us to read different signs in relation to a given culture, that any object will have a different signification in different cultural contexts. (Information conveyed must be seen in terms of the culture that produces these objects.) Third, with this way, it is possible to reveal multiple functions that are implicit in the architectural object. From these remarks, one may find common points with this study: As Agrest discusses, each object may carry different significations and could reflect different meanings, and that coincides with the multiple characters of the surroundings as mentioned earlier. Moreover, Agrest also underlines the structure of the messages, that our point of study is not only the message that is conveyed in space, but the way, or the structure as Agrest calls, that the message is dispersed.



Figures 15-16-17: The communication on the streets.

With these three figures above, from the Nezu neighborhood, figures 12, 13 and 14, the structure of messages in the streets, -where each object may carry multiple functions, or convey different messages- could be explained. However, in the first figure we also see the signs on the road: the Japanese alphabet -itself is a reduction of a complex signs systems of kanji- shows that no cars are allowed there, because of a school building, and the green color assures this character. On the second figure, there are signs that let the pedestrians walk, or bicycles pass. In this way, we are informed that we are on the corner or at the end of a road, or on the edge of a street that prohibits cars. Besides functioning as illumination elements, lamps on the roads also indicate that we are on a shopping street. The flags hung on lamps assure us of this property. The design of these street lamps and flags are unique to each neighborhood, and changes form in a different area. The billboards or signs of cafes try to make contact with the people, by attracting attention. The colors or materials of each house are also a way of signification that reflects the owners taste, or the way he/she relates herself with the street. On the figure 14, The green color on the street signifies the distinction between car and pedestrian traffic.

The white road signs in the figure 15, are one of the most visually dominant properties of the Nezu streets. They signify the difference between the pedestrian or vehicle traffic, even though there is no material change or level difference on the street. In the figure we see white markers, which are ended unexpectedly, possibly because the perpendicular street is narrower. The address signboard indicates our place in the map, and the house's oblique relation on the corner. In the figures 16 and 17, we see the signboards announce the news.



Figures 18-19: The bell tower of a church in Ortaköy, and the ruins.



Figure 20: Expression of individuality the street.

Figure 18 shows the bell tower of a church in Ortaköy. The religious symbols here are more visible, comparing to Nezu, as one can hear the calls for three different religions, or recognize their symbols in the neighborhood. This property has been a pride of the citizens who live there, and is a result of the neighborhood's history as a village composed of different ethnicities. Neighborhood also houses ruins, which are not known which time they belong to, but they still survive. (Figure 19) The inhabitants are accustomed to live with the collapsed houses or ruins of stone arches. These ruins constitute one of the main characters of the neighborhood, signify the historical background, and help to read the streets within different layers of time.

Finally, in figure 20, the different colors of each house attracting attention indicates the expression of individuality on the street. This point also been underlined by Barlas as the importance of the symbolic function of a dwelling, as he argues that humans need to express their individual uniqueness or translate it into a collective symbol, by creating signs. Therefore, the environment they created, especially the living areas constitute a special position. The form and the spatial configuration of a dwelling is the symbol of the “self”, while the interior of the house corresponds to the deeper layers of the psyche.⁸⁴

So far, I have represented three ideas that include comments on the meanings behind visible forms. The first includes those of Crowther who argues that the architecture covers not only basic needs like shelter, but also physiological needs. Barlas’s discussion is based on the fact that individual’s house could also be linked to his/her symbol of self. The examples given in Ortaköy and Nezu also proves that there exists messages that convey in the built environment such as which way to go, to stop, which color does the owner of a house like, or which community’s existence could be understood from a specific sign. In this regard, we have examples to follow that space in the two areas makes “sense” as the way we have discussed. On the other hand, how the built environment itself is a complex message, in Agrest’s terms could also be argued in a different way: with the built environment’s tools and orientation, with the rich layers of the streets; we read here and there, self and other, public and private, practical and sensuous qualities that the built environment constitutes and activates messages as a field of interpretation. It is possible to watch the streets as they open up multiple texts even if inhabitants usually remain silent in relation with each other.

4.3. Space as Field of Experience

Reading the signs and symbols of the built environment is related to being an observer. However, the formation of the concept of space is not inhered in its made components only, but is connected with the experience of it. A person, while experiencing a space could become aware of the temporal and physical qualities of it, since experiencing (a space) includes cognitive and sensuous forces, links perceiver and the perceived, emphasizes subjectivity and temporality. Bonsdorff relates meaning and sense with experience, because “in perception and

⁸⁴ M.Adnan Barlas, *Urban Streets and Urban Rituals*. Ankara : METU Faculty of Architecture, 2006. p.63 Barlas discusses this issue with the arguments of Bachelard (1969), Cooper (1974), Rykwert (1974), and Norberg-Schulz (1971).

experience, meaning is not merely actualized, but it is also generated”.⁸⁵ In the process of perception we use our senses together: we move our body or its parts –hand, nose, and tongue– towards things or the sources of sensory stimuli.⁸⁶ As a result, experience links our cognitive and sensuous motors: when we see a color, feel a smell or hear a voice, our memories and thoughts are evoked. The changes in seasons echo in the space so that we can feel the passage of time, transformation of the light, colors, scents, or voices in space. Consequently, experience of space binds the human nature to its surroundings, not only physically but also cognitively and affectively. In this part, I will try to inspect the possibilities that the environment rich in experience could lay to be rich in experience under two subtitles: The Subjective Experience and the Living Character.

4.3.1. The Subjective Experience

According to Cullen, a town is a sequence of spaces created by buildings.⁸⁷ These spaces, masses and gaps, their combination and relation create various possibilities and sequences that are formed again and again by each individual who passes through. To be able to comprehend the importance of subjective experience, one should also consider the variables that effect the subjective perception: the time of the year and the day, or the season, the spatial character and dimension of the space, the colors or odors of the surroundings. Needless to say, the subjective experience is also linked with the subject itself, the cultural background or individual character of the person, and the way he/she correlates himself/herself with the environment. Therefore, in the first case, I will try to explain the crucial points in Nezu neighborhood, and the way the Japanese sense of space articulates itself.

⁸⁵ Pauline von Bonsdorff. *The Human Habitat, Aesthetic and Axiological Perspectives*. Jyvaskyla: International Institute of Applied Aesthetics Series Vol. 5., 1998..p.30

⁸⁶ Pauline von Bonsdorff. *The Human Habitat, Aesthetic and Axiological Perspectives*. Jyvaskyla: International Institute of Applied Aesthetics Series Vol. 5., 1998. p.30

⁸⁷ Gordon Cullen. *Townscape*. New York, Reinhold Pub. Corp: 1961. p.46..



Figures 21-22: Streets of Nezu.

In the figure 21, we see one of the Nezu's colorful streets. Not only the form of the buildings and the formation of the street, but also their colors or patterns, or color or pattern of each element that constitute space may create a stimuli that triggers subjective experience. Another street from Nezu, figure 22, includes a variety of mixed contexts, that constitute surroundings rich in experience. To sharpen the comprehension in the creation of space and its relation with the subjective experience, I will refer Gunter Nitschke's thoughts on the Japanese sense of space and place, as the way he explains in his article called "*MA The Japanese Sense of 'Place' in old and new architecture and planning*".

The Japanese sense of place is ma, best described as a consciousness of place, not in the sense of 'piazza', an enclosed three-dimensional entity, but rather as Hans Scharoun used the word 'Platz' in his first Berlin competition scheme, where he spoke of 'Zentrale Platze' or places of central activities. I feel, even though English is not my mother tongue, that the English word place could be used to imply the simultaneous awareness of the intellectual concepts form + non-form, object + space, coupled with subjective experience. In this way we can get a nearer to the Japanese concept of space, which, from now on, I will refer to as sense of place, or simply ma. So - this Japanese sense of ma is not something that is created by compositional elements, it is the thing that takes place in the imagination of the human who experiences these

elements. Therefore, one could define ma as “experiential” place, being nearer to mysterious atmosphere caused by the external distribution of symbols.⁸⁸

We can argue about the two concerns from the Nitschke’s ideas on “Ma” (in kanji, Chinese alphabet). First, space is not a strict form resulted from the distribution of three-dimensional objects, but an experience recorded in memory. It contains time and movement, and since it is “experiential”, it is evocative: space evokes the feelings, memories, and provides an interactive field, with the help of the external distribution of symbols, as Nitschke puts it. Second, space is not only constituted with the objects of the built environment, but also with the involvement of people. The Japanese sense of place is a relational condition of man and his surroundings, as we can conclude, in Japan, the concept of relational space traditionally exists.⁸⁹ This way of apprehension of the space, as a connection with things, humans and objects, attributes space an active character, and links the environment with the inhabitants. In another words, it assures that the space is not frozen but life-like, uncompleted and participatory, and causes the subject and the object (be the environment, furniture or a decorative object) have an interactive relationship.

In the case of the Ortaköy neighborhood, one can also mention the richness of the context, and the mingling of the old and the new in the streets. However, before explaining this character, it could be privileged to interrogate if space could be evaluated as “being experiential” in terms of the Japanese sense of place, in the Ortaköy neighborhood.

⁸⁸ Gunter Nitschke. *Ma: The Japanese Sense of Place in Old and New Architecture and Planning*. *Architectural Design*, March, 1966.

⁸⁹ It is also possible to see this sense of space in contemporary Japanese architect’s works, such as SANAA. According to Ryue Nishizawa, there are various ways to designate “ma”; and defining a relation between the objects and people is one of them. Ryue Nishizawa. Jenerik Kabulleri Mütevazi Bir Tavırla Kırmak. *Betonart Architecture Magazine*. Spring 2009, vol. 23. p.



Figure 23: Streets of Ortaköy.

In the case of Turkish neighborhoods, one can mention the old planning of İstanbul, which Erzen also discusses in the plan of Süleymaniye Complex. As I have tried to indicate in the previous parts, the circular character of the urban pattern –which is also present in Ortaköy– which invites one to walk around, and brings about the different possibilities to view one object from different points. Therefore the subject moves around its object, he apprehends infinite character of the place and time, and his own existence.⁹⁰ As a result, we can also argue that the construction of space has an experiential character, and may have its roots in the traditional perception of the life and of the surroundings. Today one can come across this idea not only in the formation of the neighborhood, but also in the variety of possibilities that it provides for the inhabitants. The next section could be helpful to explain this peculiarity.

4.3.2. Living Character

I will try to explain how the complementary of the subjective experience is the living quality of space in this part. Living space implies space's openness to change and transformation. This change occurs in its spatial qualities, and is concerned with time: days, years or decades. In order to see the traces of time, one needs to comprehend the immediate

⁹⁰ Turgut. Cansever, *İslamda Şehir ve Mimari*. İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1997, p.115

moment, and the past at the same time, and at the same place. According to Erzen, a city is a place where historical dimension manifests itself prominently. She mentions the hero of the book “An Artist of the Floating World”, by Kazuo Ishiguro, who sits in a park and dreams about the people who used to live at the same place before the Second World War.⁹¹ The main character of the book goes to the bank in a park everyday, since he considers that the bank coincides with the same place where he used to sit every night, in his favorite club. This place revives his memories, although his entire neighborhood collapsed after the war, he still finds the traces of his life before, among the voids that are created by the new buildings. The concrete objects, and the space which is formed by the voids as well as solids, create a temporal relations in between the inhabitants and the time, and sometimes, in a dense street, voids can also move imagination.



Figure 24: The old houses in Nezu neighborhood. Figure 25: The old houses in Ortaköy neighborhood.

One of the specific characters that strengthen the complexity of the environmental perception is the juxtaposition of the old and the new in the street. Compared to İstanbul,

⁹¹ Jale Erzen. Kent Estetiği ve Ankara İçin Bir Manifesto, Unpublished Speech. Will be published by Architects Association p.5

Tokyo is a new city. On the other hand, Nezu is one of the areas, which still carries old planning traces. One may argue that the old buildings in the street are not “historical” in the sense we see in İstanbul, but they also let one sense the passage of time, and stimulate memories. Ortaköy possesses a deep historical layer and their traces keep the memory alive. In figure 25, we see the row houses that once belonged to the Greek population. They have changed their owners, some were sold, some remained untouched. Their situation now, creates a gloomy aura on the passers by, which was also strengthened by their juxtaposition, since some are renovated, while others are abandoned and ruined. This gloomy appearance of the streets has also been mentioned by Orhan Pamuk, who describes those ruins of his childhood as spirits of İstanbul.⁹²



Figures 26 & 27: The flowerpots in the streets of Nezu.



Figures 28-29-30: The flowerpots in the streets of Ortaköy.

⁹² Orhan Pamuk. *İstanbul, Hatıralar ve Şehir*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006. p.239



Figures 30-37: The plants in Ortaköy.

In the figures 26 and 27, flowerpots in the streets of Nezu could be observed. In each street the abundance of plants in vases or gardens creates another main aspect of the space character in the Nezu neighbourhood. With too much effect that desires attention, streets shelter colours and scents. This property is also very common in Tokyo that one can surprise how in a high dense metropolitan, people can live very close to nature and the earth. On the other hand, compared to Nezu, in Ortaköy, flowerpots do not constitute the dominant character of the streets, because of attention is given to the ground plan. (figures between 27 and 36) I will try and explain this subject in the next chapter. However, there is another point that draws attention: In Ortaköy, the plants or trees look more uncontrolled or random, and they grow in any place that they have a chance to grow: Inside the ruins, in gardens, between the pavements or over the buildings. Generally speaking, rather than growing as the way inhabitants want them to, which is more common in Nezu, in Ortaköy, the plants seem to have their own autonomy. This character may also explain the attitude towards nature, which I will try to indicate in the following part.

4.4. Final Remarks on Space Concept

In this final part, I will try to give an integrative point of view to the ideas I have evaluated so far. As has been mentioned in many instances, the built environment has multi-faces and dimensions, and as Bondsorff argues, a comprehensive understanding of the built environment with all its components could not be possible.⁹³ Up to this point, the space concept in the two neighbourhood areas have been explained under three different sections: space as the field of orientation, of signification or communication and, of experience connected with the atmosphere. They create certain atmosphere. In the previous sections, I have tried to reveal the main character of space that gives special atmosphere to both neighbourhoods. However, it is not likely to claim that the formation of space in two neighbourhoods has been totally revealed, or as mentioned is feasible to be revealed. Therefore, as a concluding commentary, I would like to introduce another perspective, which may help to apprehend space's manifold character: to consider the built environment as an aesthetical creation.

This kind of approach may quickly bring to mind several discussions that could be made on the relation between the art and architecture, the difference between the artistic and the everyday object, and finally, the difference of experiencing an object of art and the space as a whole. To clarify these discussions first, it is possible to quote Bondsorff, who mentions the distinction between the everyday object and an artistic work as a result of the Romantic idealism of art, as in German idealism. She argues that this dual approach brings the idea that the work of architecture could be treated as a work of art only if it is different from an ordinary building. This is the echo of seeing art and aesthetics as different from other practises, and is related to the idealization of the art object from the everyday world.⁹⁴ However, from another point of view, we can argue “when the object is a building, the point of looking at it as art is that it helps us to focus and find interesting, expressive or revealing features which may or may not enhance this challenge. Only this way it is true that ‘art’ adds to the object, that it introduces elements that were not there before, but in this it does not differ from sensitive and creative perception in general.” Bondsorff finds the traces of this in the ideas of contemporary

⁹³ Pauline von Bondsorff. *The Human Habitat, Aesthetic and Axiological Perspectives*. Jyväskylä: International Institute of Applied Aesthetics Series Vol. 5., 1998. p.50

⁹⁴ Pauline von Bondsorff. *The Human Habitat, Aesthetic and Axiological Perspectives*. Jyväskylä: International Institute of Applied Aesthetics Series Vol. 5., 1998.. p.108

art theorists such as Arthur Danto and Mara Miller. Additionally, the evaluation of art in Eastern geographies has a different course than in the west.

Our concern on the other hand, is not only to be able to treat one single building, but the whole built environment as a work of art, since it may help to reveal the multiple character that it may contain, and the different dimensions that we haven't noticed before.

To explain it more clearly, I will try to give an example from the Japanese sense of art first, and try to evaluate the concept of space in Nezu under the light of Japanese aesthetics. Donald Keene, in his article "Japanese Aesthetics", underlines the four characteristics of Japanese taste. The first one among all is "suggestion". Keene exemplifies Japanese paintings of 13th century with their few brush strokes and monochrome colour, make one think about the beauty of the full moon while looking at the painting of a cloudy dark sky.⁹⁵ The above indication of "living character" of both neighbourhoods could be connected to this quality: The unfinished character of the buildings, allocation of the plants and other objects, and the seemingly unintended randomness of the environment, give the viewer a chance to evoke his/her own imagination or memory, and contribute the surrounding to complete in a different way in each time.



Figures 38-39: With the play of shadows on the street, the space attributes an illusive character.

⁹⁵ Donald Keene. Japanese Aesthetics. *Japanese Aesthetics and Culture, A Reader*. Edited by N. Hume. New York: State University of New York Press, 1995. p.36



Figures 40-41-42: The façade of a café, the colours of the frames join the sun's play. Figures 40-41 Half of the street is light and the other is dark, crated by the excellent proportions of the street and the its interplay with light. One can discuss, although the formation of space seem random, or unintended in Nezu, there is a hidden intention, that could be only be sensed when we start to see the formation of space as an aesthetic experience.

To explain the creation of space and its connection with the creation of art, one can also refer to miniatures and the depiction of space in them. As has been discussed, the evaluation of Eastern art has a different course than the West, and miniatures constitute an interesting example with their indication of perspective and space, as Erzen comments: “The bleeding borders of miniatures where a part of the story is drawn outside the rectangle of the picture. Although many miniatures have rectangular formats, it is still felt that the narrative somehow continues outside it, the picture may be the visible area of an endless narration. Many figures or pictorial elements are cropped at the edge in a way that gives the impression that they continue outside.”⁹⁶ The perspective portrayed in the miniatures does not constitute an idealized look through the objects. They rather embed the observer inside because of their circular depiction of space, and eliminate the difference between the space represented and the space that the observer is a part of. Similarly, Melling's etchings, which have an incredible comprehension of life and customs in İstanbul according to Orhan Pamuk, portray the city's landscape horizontally. Although Melling's etchings have been drawn with the help of the Western perspective, Pamuk continues, his avoiding a focal point and depiction of human figures distinguishes him from other artists that portray İstanbul, and also gives the idea to the

⁹⁶ (Jale Erzen. 1999, Aesthetics and Antithesis in Ottoman Art and Architecture. Journal of Islamic Studies, 2:1, 1991

onlooker that the drawing transcends above its boundaries. Besides, The Bosphorus, and its joyous and exciting geography and architecture could not be figured any other way.⁹⁷

Although one can discuss that the creation of an artwork can go beyond the intentions of the creation and gain universal quality, it is also true that an artwork is produced within a cultural context. We can connect the works of art and their way of depiction with the environments we have discussed, in the creation of space in two neighborhoods: the quality of Nezu's intimate spaces created by the labyrinth streets (change of street from public to private), the orientation of buildings in Ortaköy's topography (breaking the subject's fixed point, streets in Ortaköy also carry different layers to evoke imagination), the extraordinary attention on the placement of everyday objects in Nezu, (the way they are used in a creative way such as the vases), the transitive and living character of architectural elements that constitute space in Ortaköy (closeness of walls and usage of one space for various purposes), (arrangement of streets, existence of multiple objects. Voids created between the buildings)... The meaning they contain behind their form could be more clear with the fruitfulness of this perspective – seeing the built environment as art- as Bonsdorff argues, “it calls attention to expressive features and to the production of meaning, even to the point of being generative of meaning”.⁹⁸ On the other hand, Bonsdorff adds that “But the art perspective may also be counterproductive to the environmental meaning and sense. This happens when and if it presents an unrealistic ideal of the building as a finished and self-enclosed whole.” To see the construction of space, and the buildings of these two neighborhoods, as a finished and self-closed whole is quite improbable, if we consider the whole characteristics of space we have indicated so far. Since we have observed that visitors and inhabitants join the creation of space actively, we could comment on the problems on the subject-object dichotomy. Finally, the experience of a built environment is not less complicated than experiencing a work of art.

To sum up, in this section, I have tried to indicate the discussions on works of art as an interpretive framework for the construction of space in my field of study. Trying to gain an aesthetic experience from the experience of space could help us to bridge more synthetic connections with the environment, and may cause the inhabitants to become more perceptive and interpretive. In the following chapter, the questions concerning the boundaries of space will

⁹⁷ Orhan Pamuk. *Istanbul, Hatıralar ve Sehir*. Istanbul: Iletisim Yayinlari, 2006. pp. 64-77.

⁹⁸ Pauline von Bonsdorff. *The Human Habitat, Aesthetic and Axiological Perspectives*. Jyvaskyla: International Institute of Applied Aesthetics Series Vol. 5., 1998.. p.108

be our points of scope. The subjects will be undertaken in a similar way we have discussed space so far, by focusing specific areas and the components of space in a detailed way.

By following the point of view we have offered in this section, next chapter will start with a poem by Georg Trakl, which, according to Heidegger, explains the nature of language. This poem's importance is based on Heidegger's point of view, when he poses the question of true nature of things, while discussing peasant shoes, in a painting by Van Gogh.⁹⁹ Heidegger argues that only in the drawing of peasant shoes we could notice the shoes in truth, the worker's labor, her efforts while on her way against the raw wind, traces of soil on the lines in leather, the loneliness of the field when the evening falls under the soles. Only a work of art could open up these ideas, and tell what peasant shoes are in truth, as he writes: "In the work of art the truth of an entity has set itself to work. To set means here: to bring a stand." The idea that we can sense the true quality of a pair of peasant shoes, with their true being, concerns that art works are the "reproduction of the thing's general essence"¹⁰⁰ This view has been illuminative for this research, since we are also trying to comprehend the nature of things. How they are depicted and set forth to our eyes in the case of the built environment that would open up the ways to comprehend their general essence, as I will try to indicate in the next chapter.

⁹⁹ Martin Heidegger. *The Origin of the Work of Art, Philosophies of art and beauty; selected readings in aesthetics from Plato to Heidegger*. Edited by Albert Hofstadter and Richard Kuhns, New York: Modern Library, 1964.p. 664

¹⁰⁰ Martin Heidegger. *The Origin of the Work of Art, Philosophies of art and beauty; selected readings in aesthetics from Plato to Heidegger*. Edited by Albert Hofstadter and Richard Kuhns, New York: Modern Library, 1964.p. 666

CHAPTER 5

VARIOUS (SELECTIVE) APPROACHES TO CONCEPT OF BOUNDRY

Yoshinobu Ashihara starts his book *The Aesthetic Townscape* with an assertive argument. After his journeys to many cities and after witnessing whole different perceptions of dwelling, he declares that, “the key explanation for the great diversity in basic perceptions of space lies in the nature of boundary that distinguishes internal from external space and in the treatment of territorial space”.¹⁰¹ Boundary describes the whole relation between people and environment, where townscape is born, and according to Ashihara, the townscape is “a manifestation of a community’s temporal and spatial conception of its existence.”¹⁰²

Ashihara is not alone when underlining the decisive character of boundary on the man made environment. Christian Norberg-Schulz explains the eluding of everyday-life world from the planners’ and architects’ attention, and argues that the phenomenology of architecture could concretize our everyday life-world. He re-interprets Georg Trakl’s poem, “A Winter Evening”:

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Window with falling snow is arrayed,
Long tolls the vesper bell,
The house is provided well,
The table is for many laid.

Wandering ones, more than a few,
Come to the door on darksome courses,
Golden blooms the tree of graces
Drawing up the earth’s cool dew.

Wanderer quietly steps within;

¹⁰¹ Yoshinobu Ashihara. *The Aesthetic Townscape*. Cambridge Mass: MIT Press. 1983. p. xi

¹⁰² Yoshinobu Ashihara. *The Aesthetic Townscape*. Cambridge Mass: MIT Press. 1983. p. xi

¹⁰³ N. C. Schulz. *Genius Loci Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*. New York: Rizzoli International Publications Inc 1980. p.8

Pain has turned the threshold to stone.
There lie, in limpid brightness shown,
Upon the table bread and wine.

The poem was used by Heidegger to explain the nature of language, and according to Schulz it is significant because, it distinguishes an “inside” from an “outside”. The poem uses the everyday objects such as “house”, “window” or “threshold”, Schulz cites; it illuminates the fundamental phenomena of our life-world. For a better comprehension, Schulz tries to reveal the meanings behind Trakl’s verses. From his analysis, it is possible to argue that the whole poem designates the dialogue between inside and outside, and all the implications that this dialogue signifies. This dialogue is represented in all of the verses of the poem; however, I will try to underline the two striking examples. The first one is the voice of the vesper bell, which could be heard everywhere, and although it is a quality of the outside, the fact that it could be heard from the inside, makes the “private inside become a part of comprehensive, heard totality”.¹⁰⁴ The second was described by the bread and wine on the table, that cause inside to be “illuminated” {Schulz’s italics} by the fruits of nature that is brought by human’s labor. These two examples explain the endless dialogue between the two elements of the built environment that are distinguished by “boundary”: inside and outside, public and private, man and nature. It is the space-defining elements, or the boundary, that gives similar spatial organizations a different character, and, human actions do not take place in an homogenous space, but “in a space distinguished by qualitative differences, such as “up” and “down”. Therefore, it is important to define space in concrete and qualitative manner, and the distinction between inside and outside is the basis aspect of concrete space.¹⁰⁵

Putting boundary at the centre of discussion on the built environment would not be improper, since, as the poem shows us, the conception of boundary has deeper implications. Boundary itself does not only define territoriality, but it also distinguishes and describes public and private, nature and culture, site and building, space and place, self and other, ownership and anonymity of the built environment, and it designates the dialogue or the oppression between them. Therefore, arguing the concept of boundary after an attempt to picture the concept of space would help to fill the gaps that may have been left out in the previous chapter. The topics which will be evaluated while discussing the boundary and its implications could be

¹⁰⁴ Christian Norberg-Schulz. *Genius Loci Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*. New York: Rizzoli International Publications. 1980 p.8

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.* p.8

seen as a complementary of the preliminary chapter, as I aim to integrate a better apprehension of space in two neighborhoods. In this regard, I tried to follow the path that was offered in the poem {used the poem as a framework}, to be able to comprehend the nature of boundary with its whole components by analyzing them in turn. This interpretation has already been discussed in the last section. In the first part, I will try to inspect the surface of the buildings that could define -with walls, floors, ceilings- or re-define -with windows, doors or all kind of fenestrations- the boundary to comprehend the relation between inside and outside, public and private, and self and other. Secondly, I will try to show how the datum line is drawn that may help to understand the connection with the ground, or distinction between nature and culture, the site and the building. Finally, I will try to capture the whole relationship of the elements of the built environment, the objects and their spatial orientation, that distinguish “space” from “place”, since the boundary could be signified with various elements.

5.1. The Boundary and Surface Elements

Before discussing the façade elements as instruments of boundary that distinguish inside from outside, individual from society, self from the other, we should remember first that we are dealing with the two societies where well-defined dichotomies may not be valid. As have been explained in the previous chapter in the way territoriality is created, the distinction between self and other has different evolution in both societies. In this part, my aim is to elaborate this character with the help of the boundary elements that constitute the vertical surfaces, their material size, scale, proportion; in other words, the physical pattern of the facades. Before starting, it could be argued that the functional elements of frame, walls, windows, floors and roofs do not simply constitute boundary surfaces, but they contribute to establishing the relations in between. As could be followed, in the same street we come across buildings with different size and openings, stand side by side.

5.1.1. The Visual Quality, Whole-Part Connection

According to Cullen, “The essential function of a town should be visible from a single glance at the plan”; because, each part of a town should be a result of the “lines of forces” that make the town to take the form it has. In other words, the formation of a town should indicate

the forces that cause it to come into being. However, modern towns mostly lack character, as Cullen argues.¹⁰⁶ In Ortaköy and Nezu, which are our examples, it is not easy to determine these lines of forces all the time. Rather, they have a mixed character, sometimes could be legitimised, but most of the times could not. I have already discussed this character in the previous part. The example of Paris could make Tokyo's appearance more comprehensible; as Ashihara compares these two cities in terms of whole-part relationship:

The survival of a city or of individual buildings within it, I believe, requires a shift from "form" to "content" and from "the whole" to "the parts". This contrast is evident in the comparison of Paris and Tokyo. Paris is a city divided with foresight into parts "cut" from the whole, while Tokyo follows the sense of the whole, enveloping all its various parts. Paris is a splendid, beautiful city, indeed, but may be encountering difficulty when it comes adjusting to the need of the twenty-first century. Its masonry architecture makes it, in a way, static and inorganic monument of the past. Tokyo, however, remains a synchronic whole, tenaciously surviving by rather an amoebic adaptability. It is an ugly, chaotic metropolis, but it is organic and constantly in the throes of change.¹⁰⁷

Ashihara than continues by explaining that the Western type of architecture and town planning traditionally put emphasis on the whole, and therefore the outline between a building and its environment, or city and country is quite distinct. However, Japanese traditional and contemporary architecture are both "asymmetrical to begin"; and grow spontaneously, without any distinct direction.¹⁰⁸ The ambiguity of the outline, as Ashihara calls it, makes the Japanese cities look chaotic, with the inclusion of various elements that constitute the buildings outline. The connection between the whole and part is therefore not clearly defined. Ambiguity of the outlines results in forms that do not possess certain artistic quality, but forms that are rather random and amorphous.¹⁰⁹ If we consider the outline of the buildings as the main vertical boundary elements, it is important to underline their character more in detail. Therefore, it could be appropriate to work on two street silhouettes in two neighbourhoods to explain first

¹⁰⁶ Gordon Cullen. *Townscape*. New York: Reinhold Pub. Corp: 1961. p 111.

¹⁰⁷ Yoshinobu Ashihara. *Hidden Order, Tokyo Trough the Twentieth Century*. Trans. Lynn Riggs. New York: Kodansha International Press, 1989. p.43

¹⁰⁸ Yoshinobu Ashihara. *Hidden Order, Tokyo Trough the Twentieth Century*. Trans. Lynn Riggs. New York: Kodansha International Press, 1989, p.55

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.* p.57

their outline to portrey and the relation they put between inside and outside. I will start with Nezu's main street on the Shinobazu-Dori and continue with a street that is mostly composed of housing, which is vertical to Shinobazu-Dori.

Even a quick look to the figures could help to understand the main character of the streets. In each street of the neighborhood, there seems no rule between the height and width of the buildings. Street 6 in figure 3 starts with an eight-storey apartment on one side, and a three-storey grocery on the other. After these buildings, two or three-storey buildings are placed in the street, each with different volumes. In the Shinobazu-Dori Avenue, which is the main street of the neighborhood, the buildings also vary in size. Therefore no coherence could be followed between the storey heights as a whole, and neither there is an obvious symmetry between the buildings.

After a short analysis on the two streets of Nezu, the same way will be followed in Ortaköy. The first street that has been chosen, Dereboyu Street, is the main street of the neighborhood. The second street is Aydınlık Street, which is constituted by the housing units.



Figure 1: Shinobazu Dori Avenue.



Figure 2: The main street of Nezu, Shinobazu-Dori Avenue. A section from the street



Figure 3: One of the vertical streets to Shinobazu Dori Avenue.



Figures 4-5: The main street of Ortaköy, Dereboyu Avenue. A section from the street



Figures 6-7-8-9: Aydınlık Street, one of the streets parallel to Dereboyu Avenue

Similar to Nezu, the two streets of Ortaköy, Dereboyu and Aydınlık Street have heterogeneous character. In Dereboyu Street the way that buildings express themselves change, which gain more local character towards the north of the neighborhood, from being modest to being assertive with big signboards and colorful facades. Not more chaotic than Nezu, the buildings vary in size and in appearance. In Aydınlık Street, which is parallel to Dereboyu, there are single houses more than apartments, and again we cannot see any coherence in the buildings' properties: each has a different height and width, and seems to come together randomly.

As a result, in two neighborhoods, it is not possible to assert a common rule that shapes the whole character of the streets. Rather, we can follow irregularity and asymmetry in the whole –part relation. “The ambiguity of outlines” exists in Nezu and Ortaköy. Each building has designed singularly, without searching any visual unity with each other. After explaining

the lack of order in the streets' silhouettes, the character of façade could be explained more in detail.

At this point, Ashihara could be referred to again, with his ideas on the distinction between traditional Western and Japanese architecture. He argues that the great products of western architecture, such as temples of Greece, have been built to be watched from a distance. Each part of a façade, with certain lines and geometry, constitute the precise whole. However Japanese architecture is not beautiful from far and under bright and dazzling sunlight, with their asymmetry and diminutive partitions. Japanese architecture, with its careful smoothed wooden texture and precision of its joints; invites the observers closer for a better understanding.¹¹⁰ While evaluating the facades partitions in both neighbourhoods, I may argue, this character is constant. Even when the buildings' storeys collide with one another, the placement of architectural elements such as windows or doors changes in each house or building, because the partition of the façade differs. All elements on each building are different in size, shape and material.



Figures 10-11-12: Figures from Nezu neighborhood, the partitions of facades.

¹¹⁰ Yoshinobu Ashihara. *Hidden Order, Tokyo Through the Twentieth Century*. Trans. Lynn Riggs. New York: Kodansha International Press, 1989. pp.80-83



Figures 13-14-15: Figures from Ortaköy neighbourhood that shows partition of the facades.

As Ashihara states, only a close view could tell each façade's character better. In both neighbourhoods, it could be argued that every element seems to come together in time, and each leaves its traces on the façade. They could be seen as chaotic; however they have one common characteristic: they are the dynamic "vital" feature of the façade and its ever-changing character.

5.1.2. The Tactile Quality and Materials

So far, I have tried to explain the visual quality of the vertical boundary surfaces. However, to be able to define boundary character properly, we also need to search for tactile quality of the buildings. The list of materials that are mostly used in two neighborhoods have been given in Chapter 3. I will try to give different examples from two neighborhoods, and explain the main implications they convey more in focus.



Figures 16-17: Nezu Neighbourhood. A section from street that is discussed above.



Figures 18-19: An apartment building with masonry walls in Ortaköy, Aydınlik Street.

As could be followed from the examples, we can again identify two different approaches, the reinforce-concrete apartments with thicker walls, and the lighter walls of wooden houses in two neighborhoods. As could easily be felt, the tactile quality of the apartments is quite different with their less transparent façade and thicker walls. However, what makes this difference more obvious is their juxtaposition. In the figure 16, we see the building next to the apartment. Besides the good condition of the former, this half atelier-half house seems to be neglected.

Examples from Ortaköy; figures 18-19, the neglect made the building look dirty and untidy. This character is the result of effects of time and nature above the walls, which make them more fragile and close to nature, opposite to concrete's thick and heavy surfaces.



Figures 20-21-22: The juxtaposition of different tactile characteristics of the walls in Ortaköy. Figure 22 Besides the different tactile character of thick and thin, light and heavy, we see the fake façades. They cover either real wooden walls with wood layers, or concrete walls with wooden-like plastic layers.



Figure 23: Another example from Nezu, the old houses next to a school building. The thin layers of the house seem easy to destroy, and big windows assure the fragile quality of the surfaces. One of the most striking point is that, even though the houses seem neglected; the flowerpots have been placed with delicate attention.



Figures 24-25-26: The figures from Ortaköy neighborhood, from the street Kaypakoğlu. The multiple layers on the facades.



Figures 27 and 28: Two figures from Nezu neighborhood that shows a street's general view. The range of different additions on the street and the facades could easily be noticed. On the right, a detail from the wall.



Figures 29-30: The wooden houses in Ortaköy. The same character that was argued above for Nezu could be felt here: juxtaposition of the old and new, temporary and permanent.



Figure 31: One of the figures that could be explained is the nature of settlements: A house in Nezu, the plants and the house mingled with each other, both seem temporary in equal way.

For the both neighborhoods, there exists a common character: in all the streets, it is not possible to determine the unity of the facades. Colours and materials of each building differ from one another. There are plain plaster surfaces or ceramic tiles, aluminum or brick faces. Moreover, there isn't continuity neither in material nor in color even in the same building. However, there may exist a difference. As a result of these examples that have been shown, one can argue that in Ortaköy, this appearance is not intended, but caused by the negligence and poverty, however, in Nezu, there is an intended choice of irregularity. Although this argument could be true, it could not be claimed that neglect or poverty do not appear in Nezu. What makes both neighborhoods' street identical is their character that carries opposite poles together. I may claim that this property cannot only be explained by poverty and carelessness. One should also pay attention to the approach to life in two cultures.

To explain the way of life more clearly, at first we can look from the history of these two cities. As mentioned in the previous chapters, the disasters did not leave the two cities. İstanbul saw many big earthquakes, and expecting a new one, same as Tokyo. Additionally; Tokyo is a city, which has collapsed many times and was re-built. Especially when the big earthquake hit Tokyo at 1910; and after the World War II, the city has been destroyed. However, there exists a unique way of understanding this destruction and re-building activity of the Japanese. In his book *High City Low City*, Edward Seidensticker quotes Tanizaki, who

was imagining Tokyo as a better place in 10 years after destruction, just at the time the earthquake shook the city.¹¹¹ This idea could be seen as an extreme case. However, Parkers sees this destruction and rebuilding as a consequence of Japanese Shinto and Buddhist belief, “the ephemeral nature of existence”. I may argue that this idea still seems obvious in contemporary Japanese settlements. The thin layers of materials of the buildings, or the transparent relation between inside and outside, reflect the awareness of temporality of the physical environment. Everything seems easy to change or may re-destroyed.¹¹²

Another writer, who mentions Junichiro Tanizaki in his book, is Orhan Pamuk, while discussing the Japanese and Turkish settlements. He explains the beauty of İstanbul that comes from random appearance of the ruins and the buildings; and he also argues that this beauty could only be discoverable for a passer by. For an inhabitant, it is the result of poverty. The people of İstanbul, who got used to live with these ruins, are not bothered by them. On the contrary, there is a strange tradition in İstanbul; watching the fires as watching the moon rise over the Bosphorus. He remembers this habit from his youth, and also mingles with the memories of the foreign writers who visited İstanbul. He argues that the destruction brought by fire is not followed by grief, rather, the inhabitants remain calm and fatalist after their lost.¹¹³ In this sense, neglecting, disasters or other events that create the special atmosphere have their sources in from the attitudes to life in history.

5.2. Connection with the Ground

Boundary and the datum line mainly concerns the building activity on earth, and the line that is drawn between the earth and the building. Before starting the inquiry about the datum line, first, I will try to open a parenthesis and indicate how this relationship could be interpreted as relation with nature. Clues about this kind of interpretation were already underlined in the beginning of this chapter, in Trakl’s poem “Winter Evening”. As mentioned, the verses of the poem indicate the relation between inside and outside, man and nature, public and private. The relation of man and nature has been symbolized by bread and wine, as a result

¹¹¹ Edward Seidensticker gives a detailed history about fires in Edo and Tokyo. Edward Seidensticker. *Low City, High City, Tokyo From Edo to the Earthquake*. Tokyo: Charles Tuttle Co. Publishers, 1983. p.14.

¹¹² Graham Parkers. *Ways of Japanese Thinking. Japanese Aesthetics and Culture, A Reader*. Edited by N. Hume. New York: State University of New York Press, 1995.

¹¹³ Orhan Pamuk. *Istanbul, Hatıralar ve Şehir*. İstanbul:İletisim Yayinlari, 2006. p.227

of human labour in nature, and his/her effort to transform it. This example is important to emphasize that nature is not only existent in the “outside” of man-made environment, but is mingled with creation of humans. It is also possible to evaluate nature’s multiple ways of existence as a part of boundary research, which I aim to explain in the next section of the thesis. Although the neighborhoods we discuss are the parts of huge metropolis, forces of nature and their effect on the built environment are still felt, such as the climate or topography of the two cities. Relation with man-made environment and nature is not only consistent in the villages or small towns, but also in the metropolitan areas, as Bonsdorff argues: “Any human habitat is built into nature and surrounded by nature.”¹¹⁴ This relationship has its effects on the datum line; the line that is drawn between the earth and the buildings, if we consider the topography as the formative factor of the building activity. Importance of nature in our research of boundary will be evaluated more in detail at the end of this chapter. Therefore, I will close the parentheses at this point. At the next section, first, I will try to indicate the relationship with the topography at the large scale. After that, a more intimate relationship with the site and the buildings of both neighborhoods will be added. These relations could be adduced as streets’ and pavements’ size and scale, their appropriation with each other, with site and with the human body.

5.2.1. Relation with Topography



Figures 32-33. Ortaköy neighbourhood and relation with topography.

¹¹⁴ Pauline von Bonsdorff. *The Human Habitat, Aesthetic and Axiological Perspectives*. Jyväskylä: International Institute of Applied Aesthetics Series Vol. 5., 1998.p. 315



Figures 34 and 35: Nezu neighbourhood's topography. (source: www.maps.google.com)

In figure 32 we see one of the hills in Ortaköy. As could be seen in the picture, each building rises individually and constitutes a silhouette that disregards the topography and neighbor's sight. It is also not quite possible to follow the hill's layers because of the scale difference of the apartments, since they dominate the topography. Figures 33 signs the hilly topography of the neighborhood, which already determines the difficulty of drawing one straight line between buildings and the site. This multiple layers of the ground in some cases provide a unique relationship between each building and site, as in the house by the stairs. I will try to show in the following figures that this connection seems random, which means, is not totally planned or desired. However, in many cases in Ortaköy, we can observe the way inhabitants adapt the spaces that occur between the datum line and the buildings easily and, in skillfully.

In the case of Nezu, we see topography changes towards to west side. (Figures 34-35) However, compared to Ortaköy, Nezu neighborhood has settled in a more flat area. Therefore, topography does not cause diversity of relations between the datum line and the buildings; neither it has a direct effect on the silhouette as in Ortaköy. However, the relation with the site

and the buildings, which I will try to explain in the following section, provides a very rich diversity.

5.2.2. Relation with Site

In the previous section, I have tried to indicate the properties of openings in the façades, their multiple characters; while explaining the surface character. In this part, the significance of the threshold that distinguishes the surface of earth and floor of the buildings will be evaluated. In this regard, the examples from two neighborhoods could be shown as follows.



Figures 36 and 37: Two examples from Nezu neighborhood, which have different relation with the ground. In the figure 36, the area in front of the house and inside of the house seems mingled, while 37 there exists a raise and difference in the pattern.



Figures 38-39-40: Three examples from Ortaköy neighborhood that signifies the different connection between the ground and the buildings.



Figures 41-42: Houses that sink in the ground in Ortaköy.



Figures 43-44-45: Typical street views from Ortaköy neighbourhood.



Figures 46-47-48: Streets from Nezu that the connection with the ground could be distinguished.

Additionally, while explaining the threshold character in Ortaköy, the striking examples of the houses that are sunk in the ground should also be mentioned. Because of the level change of the pavements throughout the years, these old houses remained below the pavement, so one should descend from the street to reach the house. (Figures 41-42) Some are in use, while others are abandoned, these houses also create a very small and private square in front of the door. These spaces are transient points where many effects on the shape of the environment could be seen: time (because the level changing occurs as a result) nature (site and topography causes these leaps between building and site), and additions of inhabitants (each space has been arranged in accordance with the taste of inhabitants). From the other examples in the streets, we can observe that each building has different ways of attaching to its site: some are bounded with stairs, some stand back and leave a semi-private space between the street, while some extend even over the pavements. As in Ortaköy, in Nezu diversity of distance between the buildings and the street creates different spaces in depth, which are peculiar to each building. Although this partition seems uncontrolled or random, it is important to note that each building has its own area (either comparatively small or big) and has its own way to attach to the street.

As a result of the observations above, we can argue that the line that combine the houses to the street is used for many purposes by owners, and they constitute a creative relationship between the street and the inhabitants. This uncontrolled picture is apparent in every characteristic of the street, disposition of the objects, facade partitions and boundaries. In this regard; two points could be underlined in both neighbourhoods, with slight differences. First, there is interplay between the functions that these spaces constitute. In both neighbourhoods, we see the pavements as display windows for shops or houses, such as flowerpots or any kind of personal belongings. These spaces that are used for multiple purposes create transitory areas, help to re-define public and private, or inside and outside. However, as mentioned, there are slight differences in two neighbourhoods. I may argue that, in Ortaköy, in each niche that is created between the building and the site –either pavements or stairs- there is a potential to be used, for example sitting either by owners or passers-by. They sit down and chat with neighbourhoods, look at the flowers or watch the sea, or look at the street from a point outside the house. They create a pose. Searching this character in Nezu would be futile. Although there is an endless labour and attractive spots that invite inhabitants or passers-by to pose and look, and although the private belongings are settled on the pavements, it is not

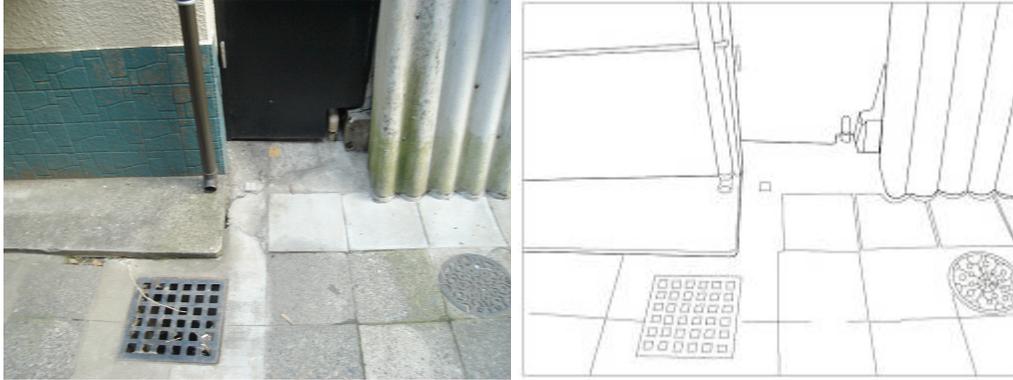
possible to see anyone sit and enjoy the surroundings. Inhabitants do not use the spaces they have created; neither passer by has enough courage for it, since everything in the streets seems too private to be a part of.

The second point that I will underline concerns the multiple patterns of the ground. At first, we can claim that it is not possible to draw a straight line between the buildings and the street in Ortaköy and Nezu. As it is true for the plan, it is also true for elevation. Each line is interrupted either with an object or an architectural element, such as doors, garden walls or flowerpots. These elements blur the connection between inside and outside, and prevent us to determine specific boundaries of the street. Moreover, these different patterns of different materials give the ground a three dimensional character. To explain it more clearly, I will refer to Rudolf Arnheim. Arnheim, while discussing the buildings relation with the ground argues that boundlessness of the earth prevents us seeing it as a three dimensional mass. He claims, “The ground appears as a flat, two-dimensional plane.”¹¹⁵ However, in Ortaköy and Nezu, ground evades its two dimensional appearance and rises or descends as buildings, pavements, or stones, or soil. In Ortaköy, this character is also assured by the topography, while in Nezu; with different patterns and various materials.



Figure 49: Different viewpoints of Ortaköy neighbourhood.

¹¹⁵ Rudolf Arnheim. “The Dynamics of Architectural Form”. University of California Press. Berkeley: 1977. p.234



Figures 50 and 51: Nezu neighbourhood and the different texture of the elements on the ground.



Figures 52-53: Ortaköy neighbourhood and the different texture of the elements on the ground

In Nezu, although the topography is not as dominant, the variety of the materials on the ground, and the variety of usages of the earth such as planting endows the earth its three dimensional quality. (Figures between 46-48) In this regard, activity of “building” does not only concern the buildings but also all kind of play on the earth: planting, digging, or covering. The ascend and descends of the different type of materials, from soil to concrete, from concrete to marble or stone, from inside to the outside, from light to dark, we feel the earth below our feet, as we involve to the surroundings with the movement of our body.

5.3. Relation of the Elements That Define the Boundary

In this final section of our boundary investigation, I will try to underline the way objects on the boundary surfaces (facades and ground) are arranged three dimensionally, also show the manipulation of boundaries with additions made by the inhabitants. This last point could also be seen as a final attempt to combine the last two chapters, concept of space and boundary. In this section, the main purpose will be to show how boundaries are drawn with the arrangement of objects that give sense of belonging, and create a soft passage from public to private.

5.3.1. Formation of Space

We have already underlined the arrangements of streets in two neighborhoods in various cases. The following two examples also assure that the same character carried by the streets exists in a closer scale. Two relevant examples above from the neighborhoods indicate how space could be manipulated to create boundary, without the boundary elements.



Figures 54: Ortaköy neighbourhood, arrangement of space



Figures 55-56-57: Nezu neighbourhood and arrangement of space..

The figure 54 is an example from Ortaköy, in which we see a private courtyard (because it is covered by walls), a semi-public space surrounded by trees, and another courtyard where wastes are gathered. Accession to these spaces that are arranged as a labyrinth is almost accidental. Although there seems no foil to stop the passers-by, the garden and courtyard is hidden and secluded.

In figures 55-56-57, in Nezu, small passage from the street through the entrance of a house could be followed. As in the previous figures, change of materials and patterns in every step is apparent. Each inhabitant has placed stones to reduce the level difference, as if they aim a different type of occupancy. In the figures, we can recognize that the owners have created different types of transitory spaces in their own way, by playing with the pavements.

The way that boundaries are drawn in the above two examples, how a public space turns in to a defined place almost seem random. On the other hand, they connect to the bigger picture we tried to depict in the previous chapters.

5.3.2. Spatial Orientation of Objects in Space

When the channels open to direct people as in the examples above creates privatized areas, orientation of different objects in space provides this quality, and gives a sense of belonging. An environment belongs to us; the experience is not only our “surroundings”, what we are as persons and as society.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Pauline von Bonsdorff. *The Human Habitat, Aesthetic and Axiological Perspectives*. Jyväskylä: International Institute of Applied Aesthetics Series Vol. 5., 1998. p.

In Nezu we have seen the properties of people that are placed with a very delicate attention. With different kind of additions, each inhabitant draws their lines and defines what belong to them. On the other hand, how the objects are used and placed in the streets of Ortaköy, and if they create any intimacy or give sense of belongingness could be re-evaluated.



Figure 58: In the streets of Ortaköy, it is not possible to find the delicate attention of the objects, or the intentions towards adornments as in Nezu, except the several examples as the photo above.



Figures 59: Final figures from Ortaköy neighborhood that shows the orientation of objects in the space and facades.



Figure 60: A close look to the orientation of objects in front of a house.



Figures 61-62-63: Figures from Nezu that show different attempts to occupy space. The bottles of water define the soil of a tree, and toys in photo 63 protect the house, by indicating the ownership.

In the figures, it is possible to observe the houses' attachment to the ground, different objects that are placed between the pavement and houses, or the layers above the façade. In figure 56, we see pieces of plywood by the wall, empty boxes, stones, and piece of paper on the tree... All seem to have been thrown away in the space in front of the house. Covered by half mosaic-half soil, this space's existence also looks random. Variety of the objects on the façade; fences, flag, cables, pipes, signs, metal supporters... Both the ground and the façade are fragmented into pieces by the involvement of various objects on the street. In the next figure,

however, there exists an intention to give a sense of belonging, and attention to create a better environment.

The figures between 58 and 63 show the attempts to occupy a space with the objects. As could also be observed from the figures, it is possible to decide this artistic value of objects coming together in Nezu: either the orientations of architectural elements like doors, windows; or the belongings of individuals; each have different and unique disposition in streets. To be able to comprehend the attitude of Japanese towards objects, as in our examples above, could be depicted in Yosijiro Ozu's movies. The scenes of objects; a vase, a light, a table, or a bicycle and their composition inside or outside, together, could be seen everywhere in Nezu. Deleuze, talking on Ozu, points out the autonomy of these objects, and call these scenes "still lifes". A still life is different from a landscape or empty space; it is defined by the presence and composition of objects, which are wrapped up in themselves or become their own container.¹¹⁷ He claims the autonomy of "still life" s causes them to reach the absolute, as instances of pure contemplation, and immediately bring about the identity of the mental and the physical, subject and the object, the world and the I.

I wish to bring this discussion to another point. The objects in space, the way they are oriented outside as of inside in Nezu reverses the distinction between inside and outside. On the other hand, although their appearance seems random, and their position unintended, -which gives their autonomy as Deleuze discusses- also indicates that the randomness is intended, there exists a human hand behind them. What we see in Ortaköy, however, the human hands behind the appearances do not intent any randomness, most of the time the objects are just put in space in truly random way (like throwing away), other times they are arranged in lines. The same intention could also be argued about attitudes towards greenery. As we have discussed, in Ortaköy, plants and trees seem to have their own autonomy in many cases, and their random appearance is mostly because of neglect. On the other hand, although there may be similarities in the way greenery is seen in Nezu, they do not grow in an uncontrolled way, rather always in pots or restricted areas. What is different is, the way that boundaries are drawn between nature and houses.

¹¹⁷ Gilles Deleuze. *Cinema 2: The Time Image*. Trans. Tomlinson, Galeta Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2001.p.16

5.4. Final Remarks On The Boundary

In this final attempt to comprehend the concept of boundary, I will try to summarize what has been discussed in this chapter, and finally try to evaluate some conclusions. The scope of the research has been several approaches towards the boundary concept, in order to show different ways space could be created and defined. The first case has been surfaces; the closures and openings; second, the ground's evaluation and connection with the built environment; and last, orientation of the objects and arrangement of space. Underlining the character of boundary in these neighbourhoods, as mentioned, is the complementary of space's definition and distinction: the distinction between in and out, up and down, public and private or self and other. Among all the observations, my aim was also to show how different spaces come together, or to use the words of Cullen, how "This" and "That" can co-exist. "This" and "That" could be up and down, nature and culture, self and other, apartments and houses, or stores and parks. In this final point, I will try to indicate two specific reasons to create boundary: to separate from the other inhabitants; create privacy, and to distinguish from the nature, for safety. Therefore, I wish to evaluate the subjects in two different subtitles: Interaction with nature and with neighbours.

5.4.1. Human Interactions

First point I will try to indicate as a final remark concerns the interaction between humans. Since we are discussing environments with high densities where people live close to each other, it is important to indicate how the relationship between neighbours is handled. I will try to explain the subject in two manners: the first concerns the neighbour relations in stores, and the second, in houses.



Figures 64-65-66-67: The stores in Nezu and Ortaköy



Figures 68-69 Nezu neighbourhood. Sometimes whole façade becomes transparent and the properties that are sold cover the openings. A façade made up by the toys.



Figures 70-71 Two grocery stores in Ortaköy. The pavement becomes a part of the store. These transitory spaces also constitute a small area to gather and chat, by the owners of the store, and the neighbours.



Figures 72-73: Stores in Ortaköy. Borders of the store are not only broken towards the street, but also towards the house which stands the next. way, the owner of the store finds her/his own way to transform the boundaries and generate a connection with the milieu.

As could be seen in the figures above, the stores create a transparent space between inside and outside, with their products on the pavements, and the totally open space. In this way, the space between the store and the road wraps the people, and constitute a more defined space: inside and outside mingles. The pavement, which is a public space, becomes more private, and the store, which is a more private space, becomes public.

The relation between inside and outside in the housing settlements also have different implications that could be mentioned. Figures 74-75 show the houses in Ortaköy, and the vertical windows of the traditional settlements. The window glasses are transparent, and the curtains provide the obscurity. Inhabitants can see the outside from a translucent surface, however passers by cannot see the inside. The iron fencing protects the inside from the dangers of the outside, and gives the grid look to the facade. In most of the cases, these fences are used as a device to carry flower pots or “Cumba”s, which are the traditional properties of the

Turkish houses, seem like a step towards the street, providing different views to the outside.¹¹⁸ The houses in Nezu also carry similar approach in a different way. It could be claimed that the screen-like big window surfaces constitute the façade in most of the houses. At the first glance, one can argue that the boundary character of the wall weakens because of openings, and this quality provides a flux between inside and outside. However, as could be followed from the many examples, the inhabitants prefer to cover these openings with other elements, creating different layers; with mat or aluminum layers, flowerpots, curtains or wooden walls, which are the examples above. It could be argued that the connection between inside and outside is strong in Nezu's housing areas, (stronger than in Ortaköy); however the reason is not only the wide openings on the façades. As we have mentioned in the previous section, it is the usage of façades, and the usage of area between house and street. The variety of the belongings affects the appearance of façade. Even the small changes over the walls, like throwing one object, putting another instead, change the whole quality, asserts individuality.



Figures 74-75: Houses in Ortaköy, and the vertical windows of the traditional settlements.

¹¹⁸ Jale Erzen. *Çevre Estetiği*. Ankara: ODTÜ Yayıncılık, 2006.p.122



Figures 76-77: Houses in Nezu. The inside and outside relationship.

As a final point, we can also argue about the surfaces between two buildings: As has been indicated earlier, in Ortaköy, boundaries between two buildings side by side, is not easy to determine as they are strictly adhered to each other. Neighbours mostly do not hesitate to use each other's areas, as in the figures 72 and 73. In Nezu, on the other hand, we can see a totally different picture: each house is separated from the other, and there exists certain but invisible boundaries that are not trespassed.

5.4.2. Relations with Nature

The existence of nature in the city, although invisible in many instances, provides a dynamic relationship. Firstly because, we can differentiate the otherness we sense in nature is different than the otherness in the artefacts, since nature is resistant and uncontrolled.¹¹⁹ Therefore the relation with nature has different implications than the relation with the neighbours. I have already mentioned that the general attention to nature in Ortaköy is different than in Nezu. The plants, greenery and topography in Ortaköy, compared to Nezu, seem to have an autonomy and spontaneity. They are uncontrolled and also, there seems no desire to

¹¹⁹ Pauline von Bonsdorff. *The Human Habitat, Aesthetic and Axiological Perspectives*. Jyväskylä: International Institute of Applied Aesthetics Series Vol. 5, 1998.p. 318.

control. In Nezu, on the other hand, the plenty of colours and difference in the kinds of plants constitute a large variation in the neighbourhood, but although not apparent, their outline is always controlled in a way. Keeping in mind that two neighbourhoods possess these characteristics, what Bonsdorff argues on nature could lead us to new perspectives.

First, according to Bonsdorff, the intentionality in nature is not the same in the artefacts. It means that there always exists something unintentional and uncontrolled in the surroundings, since each human habitat is “built into nature and surrounded by nature.”¹²⁰ It is obvious in the topography, or the colourful plants and the faces of the buildings which are changed by the different effects of seasons. Moreover, existence of nature in the surroundings brings the “feeling of hereness”, as she notes: “To touch a wooden railing, to be blinded by the sunlight, when stepping outside a building, to listen the rain against the roof are experiences which do not lead anywhere except into themselves, into the elements and flesh of the world.”¹²¹ According to the author, this moment of experience is not conceptual, but is “sensuous opening”.¹²² Because of that reason, this experience makes us free from immediate concerns, gives a feeling of hereness. This kind of experience questions us, by making us suspicious, and finally, and helps us to reveal from historical context or from our social identity. To turn back to concept of atmosphere again, we can claim that the existence of nature in the settlements also corresponds to affective values of the environment, and brings about experience of time and space in a very strong and sharp way.



¹²⁰ *ibid.* p.315

¹²¹ *ibid.* p.316

¹²² *ibid.* p.316

Figures 78-79: Photos are from Ortaköy neighborhood, which we can see the trees by the stairs and the house next to it.



Figure 80-81: Figures from Nezu that shows the plants in front of a house.

In the figures, we can comment on the physical surroundings- in both neighbourhoods -the attractive colours, or the shadow of the trees while climbing the stairs- may trigger the experience of the immediate moment. This experience is sharp also because, it opens up a wide range of polarities: “A continuum extending from cultivated to wild runs parallel to the existential and at both ends-culture and nature,- we find instances of finite and infinite, of articulated and inarticulate, of vitality and decay, of care and negligence.”¹²³

¹²³ Pauline von Bonsdorff. *The Human Habitat, Aesthetic and Axiological Perspectives*. Jyväskylä: International Institute of Applied Aesthetics Series Vol. 5., 1998. p. 316

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This thesis has been an attempt to compare the ways, tools, and instruments that two different cultures –Turkish and Japanese- use to create and manage space. The word space carries very complex implications, and it is defined and re-defined with the complex course of approaches to meaning, context and nature.

The case studies that are chosen for the subject of this study, Nezu and Ortaköy, are the neighbourhoods of two non-Western cultures. What is more important is that life in these two neighbourhoods is determined by the people who live in them. The sincerity and the transparent process that could be observed in the formation of two neighbourhoods make them the most convenient places for the purpose of this research. The study first began by observing the neighbourhoods character, streets, houses, and by noting daily life.¹²⁴ Therefore, what has been researched in this study took its roots from the physical environment. To find the ways that could make sense and lead us to conclusions, I have observed the figures' relation to each other and to the ground, the character of lines that constitute boundaries, the ways to represent objects that are at the back or in front, the meanings behind visible forms, the texture, colors, relation between light and dark, spatial orientations of the figures and the context. This idea has been the result of an effort to evaluate what is different and what is similar in the physical surroundings, and it also revealed the unique dimensions that the two cultures possess.

Throughout the study, I first introduced the context of the research: the neighborhoods, their history and place in the city, and their physical characteristics. This attempt was necessary in order to comprehend the forces that bring neighborhoods into existence. In chapter two, the consequences showed that there exist similarities behind the formation of two neighborhoods. It also should be considered that two countries have different historical backgrounds and are

¹²⁴ I should also note that I have been an inhabitant of Ortaköy for four years, and worked in Nezu for a year.

placed in totally different geographies. On the other hand, in the studies of Dore and Behar, it was discussed that the natural disasters such as fires and earthquakes have been one of the reasons, which led to create neighborhood communities. Moreover, in two societies, these communities have created autonomous neighborhood structures, which present social and economical possibilities to correspond to inhabitants' daily living. Therefore, I have argued that Nezu and Ortaköy have been scenes that reflect the daily life and rituals of their inhabitants during history. Finally, in order to comprehend the general picture that exists today, under the light of the discussions above, I have searched for the physical characteristics of neighborhoods. This research was made on boundaries of the neighborhoods, their mass character, the arrangement between mass and empty spaces, ratios and dispositions of the streets, buildings and public spaces. This general picture has been necessary to comprehend the two neighborhoods' character and also the multiplicity they presented. The indication of how the character of the streets and patterns of the facades change also revealed the relations between public and private space, and relations between their users. In both neighborhoods, the dynamic character in the streets, juxtaposition of housing areas and working places, are also supported by the different users of the environment; inhabitants, workers and visitors. In this regard, distribution of the built environment in Nezu and Ortaköy has been evaluated not only in a functional way, but also with the social dimensions it suggests. To be able to explain this multiplicity, and reveal the different ways of living in both neighborhoods, the physical characteristics have been evaluated with the concept of atmosphere.

I have argued that both neighborhoods are unique urban spaces in the city. They show a cosmopolitan character, but also with their position, urban landmarks; history, topography and pattern, they constitute traditional spaces where the participation of each individual in the city's formation and flow could be visible, and also the traces of everyday life could be strongly observed. However, to indicate how life has dissolved in space needs a comprehensive understanding. In the scope of this study, I have not only been concerned with visual and spatial structures and visible forms, "but of what it radiates because of these features, or in what way it co-determines the dispositions of the inhabitants".¹²⁵ With the help of the ideas that are behind the "atmosphere" concept, my research has been clearer, since revealing the atmosphere of a place is a twofold attempt. It assumes that the built environment could be felt

¹²⁵ Gernot Böhme. *The Atmosphere of a City*. Issues no.7 in contemporary culture and aesthetics. Theory paper 1998. p 9

not only cognitively, but also affectively. The discussion has therefore included physical attributes of space, the language and meaning behind form, and also the experience of when an individual yields his/her body into space.

Given the physical attributions of two neighborhoods and the theoretical background of atmosphere, a general approach to space's character has been important under the scope of this study. What was revealed in chapter four, is the ways space could be read, commented or evaluated in two specific sites; Nezu and Ortaköy. I have asked two main questions at the beginning: Could seemingly similar approaches to space result in similar consequences, or the seemingly similar spaces are the consequences of different approaches? Under the three connected subtitles, space as orientation, scene of communication and experience, these questions have been discussed. I have come to see that the order of elements in space seems random. This gives an impression as if there is no certain rule or restriction to form space. What is more, there exist objects and tools that are transformed or invented by the inhabitants. On the other hand, revealing what lies behind the existent chaotic look of two neighborhoods could bring us close to the answers. Territorial markers such as walls and ceilings concern the individual's attempt to classify space, and placement of herself/himself in it. On the other hand, I have argued that the process of space creation has not only occurred by architectural means, walls and ceilings or windows, but also through people's apprehension and cognition of space. To understand how this process occurs in two different cultures required background knowledge about the distinction between the self and the others in these cultures, and society. The subject/object distinction is not very strict and the object is not as dominant in the background of Japanese and Turkish cultures. Therefore, we can underline that the relationship between human objects and the built environment is very dynamic and relative with change in both neighborhoods. However, the relation between neighbors remains distinctive: boundaries between two buildings are clearly defined in Nezu, while in Ortaköy they are very transparent, and each person seems to have a second boundary in his/her mind. This character is also reflected in communication. While in Ortaköy, each space has a potential as a gathering point to chat or to play, in Nezu people have different ways to communicate. By creating intimate and closed places (these places are open to the view of foreigners, but not open to be entered) and reflecting their taste in the spaces they create, they draw a colorful picture in Nezu, and create their own tools to communicate with the physical surroundings and with each other. To sum up, the built environment has multi-faces and dimensions, and as Bondsorff argues, a

comprehensive understanding of the built environment with all its components is not possible.¹²⁶ To explain this multidimensional character properly, I have offered another perspective, to evaluate the built environment as art, which may open new dimensions and help to read the inhabitants relation with the environment in a more perceptive and interpretive way. In Nezu and Ortaköy we see that surroundings offer a suggestive relation to their inhabitants, because of the diversity that they possess. Juxtaposition of different scales, old and new, different colors, texture and relation to nature's existence in many instances brought me to the conclusion that the experience of a built environment is not less complicated than experiencing a work of art.

My attempt to comprehend the character of space in two neighborhood areas has also included the explanation of the concept of boundary and its evaluations. Chapter 5 has resorted to implications of boundary, in which all the boundary elements that define and distinguish space have been analyzed in a very detailed way. It was underlined that boundary itself does not only define territoriality, but also distinguishes public and private, nature and culture, site and building, space and place, self and other, ownership and anonymity of the built environment, and it designates the dialogue or the opposition between them. These relations have been evaluated by inspecting the surface of the buildings, the datum line between the ground, and finally the objects and their spatial orientation in space. In this chapter, I have tried to understand the qualities of space defining elements, such as the dimension of walls and windows, their tactile character, and the way they attach to the ground and each other. With this way, it was understood that in both neighborhoods there existed different layers, and it is the process of their arrangement together that create the boundary in the streets. To explain it more clearly, I mentioned the tulle on windows that provide obscurity in Ortaköy, and the topography's role that give possibilities to different visions that break the boundaries randomly. The houses in Nezu include screen-like big window surfaces and at first glance, one can argue that the boundary character of the wall weakens because of openings. However, the inhabitants prefer to cover these openings with other elements; which blend together with time, and although they break the transparency and the flux between inside and outside, they provide another relationship; within the visible effects of time and nature they reflect, the houses come close to nature. The last section of the chapter has been a consequence that, during the study, I

¹²⁶ Pauline von Bonsdorff. *The Human Habitat, Aesthetic and Axiological Perspectives*. International Institute of Applied Aesthetics Series Vol. 5. Gummerus Kirjapaino Oy Jyväskylä, 1998. p.50

have observed that it is not only the well-defined elements such as walls and windows, but also all kind of objects and their arrangement in space that distinguish one area from an other. In Nezu, this quality is also prominent, that in many instances I see the arrangement of “outside” with the same attention as “inside”, although the walls define the inside and outside clearly. This character also brings about the meaning ownership of the surroundings, and although the same concept exists in Ortaköy, there is a different approach: In Ortaköy, objects “outside” come together for a purpose, to sit, to chat, to dry clothes or to create a play-ground. However in Nezu, there is an artistic value of objects coming together and they do not serve for a specific purpose, but are as “still lifes” that are wrapped in themselves.

To evaluate the main points I have discussed so far, we can argue that the space in Nezu is mostly based on intimacy and closeness. Because of the narrow and labyrinthine streets, the frame of our view is restricted. In this way, details in the surroundings attract attention. Multiple layers on the facades and ground, colors and plants, inhabitants’ attitude to personalize space with different additions construct a living and changing character of space. The arrangement of streets create a strata from public to more private respectively, on the other hand there exist very intimate areas behind the main roads. The irregular and asymmetrical look of the buildings; side by side existence of very old, of neglected and the new and side-by-side creates spaces which look both chaotic and elaborate. Since it is not easy to determine a general attitude, we can propose that what could be defined, as negligence is an intended result of people's cultural inclinations.

Thin but multiple layers of the buildings, and the personal additions of objects seem to create an outside space close to the inside. On the other hand, there is no certain visual connection between inside and outside. Different spaces are created with fragile but certain boundaries, where effects of time and nature could be felt strongly. In Nezu, the built environment seems to have its own autonomous existence and living. This character designates an endless relationship between humans and their physical habitat. On the other hand, it is always certain that this autonomy is endowed and controlled by the people.

On the contrary, we see this inclination in two different manners in Ortaköy: although topography affects the main characteristic of the neighborhood, the attitude towards the topography oscillates between suppressing or ignoring. On the other hand, negligence of the effects of time over the buildings, and the effects of nature give a true autonomy to the surroundings, since there seem to be no intention to control or form the character of space. This

stance indicates a different relation of people with their physical surroundings. Another difference lies in the fact that, in Ortaköy, our frame can include both close and distant vistas. In streets, different viewpoints give possibilities to view the close and the far at the same time. Details over the facades mingle with the buildings' arrangements behind. As a result, we see buildings with different patterns juxtaposed with each other and with the greenery, the boundaries are mingled, but they are not as fragile as in Nezu, where each inhabitant does not hesitate to use his/her neighbor's space, and greenery is free to branch out.

Most of the time, additions of objects by people not only aim to personalize space, but are also used it for different purposes: to chat, to sit or to play. In this regard, it is possible to comment that in Ortaköy, space's character is created with anonymity, without certain boundaries; while in Nezu space is created to give intimacy and a sense of belongingness. However, both neighborhoods share a dynamic, irregular and sometimes chaotic look.

Finally, with the help of the case studies, it could be argued that, the built environment is not only an instrument that is created for use, but as Bonsdorff argues, it is inhabited in a full sense; and carries all aspects of human life.¹²⁷ Space includes many instances and various faces that change in time and in accordance with its users. The instances that are given in two different cultures also show that the same effect in space could be created with different tools, or the very same tools create different physical surroundings. The point that should be underlined, finally, is that there exist manifold possibilities and apprehensions of life behind visible forms, and we could be appropriated and be touched by space and change our perceptions and ourselves.

¹²⁷ Pauline von Bonsdorff. *The Human Habitat, Aesthetic and Axiological Perspectives*. Jyvaskyla: International Institute of Applied Aesthetics Series Vol. 5., 1998. p. 310

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Appendix A: Comparison Tables

Table A1. Comparison Table 1

CHAPTER 2		
SUBJECT	NEZU	ORTAKÖY
Placement in the city	part of old town, "low city"	part of old town, a Bosphorus village
inhabitants' profile	artisans, workers	very cosmopolite village, different communities, fisherman's and workers
plan	gridal plan in a rather flat area	hilly topography, mixed planning
neighborhood community life	neighborhood structure based in history	neighborhood structure based in history
	self-organized mechanism against the dangers of urban life, big fires and disasters, or wars.	self-organized mechanism against the dangers of urban life, big fires and disasters, or wars.
	road maintenance, waste management, water supply	self-sufficient

Table A2. Comparison Table 2

CHAPTER 4		
SUBJECT	NEZU	ORTAKÖY
territoriality	pattern difference, architectural elements (walls, balconies, lattice)	topography, territorial markers (arch. elements and other objects) are both used to separate and combine
	although the borders seem fragile and dependable, they constitute a certain distinction between the neighbors	mingling of buildings, and undefined character of strict divisions open space for use.
communication	no focal points or planned squares where people can gather or talk, except the niches between the buildings	there exists squares, moreover each corner is potentially a gathering space.
	no special effect of topography	topography enriches the communication for the inhabitants
meaning	space includes objects with multiple functions	space includes multiple signs that create different meanings
	personal additions to the formation of space	personal additions to the formation of space
experience	space creates stimuli that triggers subjective experience	space creates stimuli that triggers subjective experience
	space is alive and open to change, not self-closed	space is alive and open to change, not self-closed
	juxtaposition of old and new let one sense the passage of time	possesses a deep historical layer and their traces keep the memory alive.
	abundance of plants in vases or gardens assures living character	plants or trees look more uncontrolled or random, they have autonomous character
comment	sense of belongingness, intimacy, space creates area itself to communicate with humans	anonymity, uncertainty, dynamic look, space is changed for different usages in accordance with people's needs

Table A3. Comparison Table 3

CHAPTER 5		
SUBJECT	NEZU	ORTAKÖY
whole-part connection	irregular look, asymmetrical, fragmented facades contain many elements	irregular look, asymmetrical
tactile quality	existence of various materials, juxtaposition of old and new, and various layers cover facade	existence of various materials, juxtaposition of old and new,
relation with topography		ignores, oppresses topography from larger scale
relation with site	each building has different ways to attach to its site, the transition areas are designed	the transition areas are designed in accidental way
space's arrangement	space creates possibilities to create boundaries	space creates possibilities to create boundaries
orientation of objects	orientation of objects defines boundaries	orientation of objects blur boundaries
comment	dynamic look of boundaries create ambiguity of outlines, while fragile and ephemeral, they are defined properly	dynamic look of boundaries, negligence and time's effects create ambiguity of outlines