

TRANSFORMATION OF THE OTTOMAN BUILT ENVIRONMENT  
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY IN ANATOLIA: THE CASE OF TOKAT

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Approval of the Graduate School of Sciences

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## ABSTRACT

### TRANSFORMATION OF THE OTTOMAN BUILT ENVIRONMENT IN NINETEENTH CENTURY IN ANATOLIA: THE CASE OF TOKAT

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In this study the Ottoman built environment in the last period of the nineteenth century Anatolian city is examined. The study aims to explain the construction of new buildings as well as the transformation of earlier types during the process of contemporary modernization and centralization in the Empire. The main frame of the study is formed of the public and the private spaces that formed the urban built environment, and the transformation of these spaces. The city of Tokat has been chosen as the area of study, which still conserves built structures of the Ottoman as well as the earlier periods that are typical of an Anatolian city of the nineteenth century. Examining the transformation of public buildings and residential architecture in this city, this study emphasizes differences in degree of changes in public and private spaces, and the relation of such transformation with the central authority.

Keywords: Nineteenth century, built environment, Ottoman architecture, Anatolian city, Tokat.

## ÖZ

### ONDOKUZUNCU YÜZYILDA ANADOLU'DA OSMANLI DÖNEM YAPISAL ÇEVRESEL DÖNÜŞÜMÜ : TOKAT ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu çalışmada ondokuzuncu yüzyılda Anadolu'da bir Osmanlı kentinin yapısal çevresi incelenmektedir. İmparatorluğun bu dönemde gerçekleştirdiği modernleşme ve merkezileşme sürecinde yeni yapıların inşası ve varolan yapı tiplerinin dönüşümü anlatılmaya çalışılmaktadır. Kentin yapısal çevresini oluşturan kamusal ve özel mekanlar ve bu mekanların dönüşümü çalışmanın ana çerçevesini oluşturmaktadır. Çalışma alanı olarak, bugün hala Osmanlı ve öncesindeki dönemlere ait yapıların korunmuş olduğu tipik bir ondokuzuncu yüzyıl Anadolu kenti örneği olan Tokat şehri seçilmiştir. Bu kentteki kamusal yapıların ve konut mimarlığının dönüşümü incelenerek, kamusal ve özel mekanlarda bu değişimin derecesinde görülen farklılıklar ve bu dönüşümün merkezi otoriteyle ilişkisi vurgulanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıl, yapısal çevre, Osmanlı mimarlığı, Anadolu kenti, Tokat.

To My Family

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM .....	iii
ABSTRACT .....	iv
ÖZ .....	v
DEDICATION .....	vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	vii
LIST OF TABLES .....	x
LIST OF FIGURES .....	xi
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION .....	1
2. THE CITY OF TOKAT .....	5
2.1. Ottoman Empire in the Nineteenth Century .....	5
2.2. Social Structure .....	9
2.2.1. People of Tokat .....	9
2.2.2. Tradition and Daily Life .....	11
2.3. Spatial Formation .....	15
3. PUBLIC BUILDINGS.....	23
3.1. Trade Center .....	25
3.1.1. Traditional Means of Living .....	25
3.1.2. Changes in Trade and Its Spaces in the Nineteenth Century .....	30
3.2. Administrative Center .....	34
3.2.1. Traditional System of Administration .....	34
3.2.2. Changes in Administration and Its Spaces in the Nineteenth Century .....	38



3.3. Religious Buildings .....	44
3.4. Schools, Hospitals and Other Public Buildings .....	48
3.5. Concluding Remarks .....	53
4. RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE .....	56
4.1. Habitation in the Ottoman Empire .....	57
4.1.1. General Features of the Ottoman House .....	60
4.1.2. Tokat Houses .....	67
4.2. The Evolution of the Nineteenth Century Houses .....	72
4.2.1. Nineteenth Century Houses of Tokat .....	80
4.2.2. The Case of the So ukpınar District .....	84
4.3. Concluding Remarks .....	89
5. CONCLUSION .....	91
REFERGNCES .....	94
TABLES.....	103
FIGURES .....	106

## LIST OF TABLES

### TABLES

<b>Table 1</b> Housing Stock and Population of Tokat City Center .....	103
<b>Table 2</b> Evaluation Chart for So ukpınar Houses .....	104
<b>Table 3</b> Forty Important Historical Buildings in Tokat .....	105

## LIST OF FIGURES

### FIGURES

- Figure 1** Map of Tokat County in the Late Ottoman Period ..... 106  
Source: TU LACI, P. (1985) p.288
- Figure 2** Development of Tokat City and Major Historical Roads ..... 107  
Source: KUNTAY, O. (1982) p.20
- Figure 3** Heights of Tokat City Center ..... 108  
Source: ÖZSOY, O. (2002) p.36
- Figure 4** Tokat City Map showing districts .....109  
Source: Google Earth Maps, Tokat City Center
- Figure 5** Nine domed *Bedesten* with Two *Arasta*'s.....110  
Photograph : Ay egül Karda , May 2007
- Figure 6** Sulu Khan seen next to the *Bedesten*..... 110  
Photograph : Ay egül Karda , May 2007
- Figure 7** Nine Domes of the *Bedesten*..... 111  
Photograph : Ay egül Karda , May 2007
- Figure 8** Takyeciler Mosque attached to the *Bedesten*.....111  
Photograph : Ay egül Karda , May 2007
- Figure 9** Hatuniye Mosque .....112  
Source: GÜNESEN, B. [et al]. (2002)
- Figure 10** *Meydan* and Hatuniye Mosque (in 1926).....112  
Source: GÜNESEN, B. [et al]. (2002)
- Figure 11** Hatuniye Mosque and Ta Khan, below the Hac slopes (1920s)..... 113  
Source: GÜNESEN, B. [et al]. (2002)
- Figure 12** Ta Khan in front and Hatuniye Mosque at the rear .....113  
Source: GÜNESEN, B. [et al]. (2002)
- Figure 13** Map of Tokat city, 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Century.....114

	Source: AKTÜRE, S. (1978) p.147	
<b>Figure 14</b>	Ta Khan Arial view .....	115
	Source: GÜNESEN, B. [et al]. (2002)	
<b>Figure 15</b>	Ta Khan in 1930s .....	115
	Source: GÜNESEN, B. [et al]. (2002)	
<b>Figure 16</b>	Ta Khan exterior .....	116
	Photograph : Ay egül Karda , May 2007	
<b>Figure 17</b>	Ta Khan courtyard .....	116
	Photograph : Ay egül Karda , May 2007	
<b>Figure 18</b>	Deveci Khan (an inner city caravansary) .....	117
	Photograph : Ay egül Karda , May 2007	
<b>Figure 19</b>	Deveci Khan courtyard .....	117
	Photograph : Ay egül Karda , May 2007	
<b>Figure 20</b>	Sulu Street shops below the citidal .....	118
	Source: GÜNESEN, B. [et al]. (2002)	
<b>Figure 21</b>	Old Trade Center in the axis of east-west direction.....	118
	Source: Google Earth Maps ,Tokat City Center	
<b>Figure 22</b>	Engraving by Tournefort showing 18 <sup>th</sup> century Tokat <i>Meydan</i> .....	119
	Source: AKTÜRE, S. (1978) p.148, Figure 32	
<b>Figure 23</b>	Ali Pa a Mosque .....	120
	Source: GÜNESEN, B. [et al]. (2002)	
<b>Figure 24</b>	<i>Yaşmeydan</i> or <i>Mahkemeönü</i> .....	120
	Source: GÜNESEN, B. [et al]. (2002)	
<b>Figure 25</b>	Ali Pa a Mosque and <i>Yaşmeydan</i> or <i>Mahkemeönü</i> .....	120
	Source: GÜNESEN, B. [et al]. (2002)	
<b>Figure 26</b>	The Governors Complex across Halkalı bridge.....	121
	Source: GÜNESEN, B. [et al]. (2002)	
<b>Figure 27</b>	County Constabulary Building (1902 dated structure) .....	121

	Source: GÜNESEN, B. [et al]. (2002)	
<b>Figure 28</b>	Halkalı Bridge and Governors Building .....	122
	Source : j wr <ly y y t cpqtco kq@qo lr j qvq47939732"	
<b>Figure 29</b>	The Governors Complex (1940s).....	122
	Source: GÜNESEN, B. [et al]. (2002)	
<b>Figure 30</b>	Municipality Building and the park.....	123
	Source: GÜNESEN, B. [et al]. (2002)	
<b>Figure 31</b>	Municipality Building next to Ali Pa a Mosque.....	123
	Source: GÜNESEN, B. [et al]. (2002)	
<b>Figure 32</b>	<i>Reji İdaresi</i> building (1930s).....	124
	Source: GÜNESEN, B. [et al]. (2002)	
<b>Figure 33</b>	Sivas road to the south before the municipal construction plan (1930)	
	.....	125
	Source: GÜNESEN, B. [et al]. (2002)	
<b>Figure 34</b>	Ulu Mosque.....	126
	Photograph : Ay egül Karda , May 2007	
<b>Figure 35</b>	Behzat Mosque behind the clock tower .....	127
	Source: GÜNESEN, B. [et al]. (2002)	
<b>Figure 36</b>	dadi school on Sivas Street (1936).....	127
	Source: GÜNESEN, B. [et al]. (2002)	
<b>Figure 37</b>	Sultan Bath in Kazancılar Street. ....	128
	Photograph : Ay egül Karda , May 2007	
<b>Figure 38</b>	Yüksek Kahve Coffee Shop in Behzat Street .....	128
	Source: GÜNESEN, B. [et al]. (2002)	
<b>Figure 39</b>	Clock Tower in Behzat Street .....	129
	Source: GÜNESEN, B. [et al]. (2002)	
<b>Figure 40</b>	Ta Khan Nineteenth century fountain .....	129
	Photograph : Ay egül Karda , May 2007	

<b>Figure 41</b>	Map showing Public Buildings of Tokat .....	130
	Drawn from ARU, K. (1999) p.137	
<b>Figure 42</b>	Map of So ukpınar District and Behzat Market Place .....	131
	Drawn by Ay egül Karda	
<b>Figure 43</b>	Engraving of Houses Below Tokat citidal .....	132
	Source: <i>Slide archive</i> of the Faculty of Art, Design and Architecture at Bilkent University	
<b>Figure 44</b>	Houses Below Tokat citadel .....	132
	Source: <i>Slide archive</i> of the Faculty of Art, Design and Architecture at Bilkent University	
<b>Figure 45</b>	Plaster niche detail from the <i>başoda</i> of Bahattin pırlı House .....	133
	Photograph : Ay egül Karda , September 2009	
<b>Figure 46</b>	Door Handles from the Tokat Museum .....	133
	Photograph : Ay egül Karda , May 2007	
<b>Figure 47</b>	Two sides enclosed sofa type house plan .....	134
	Source: ÇAL, H. (1987) p.387	
<b>Figure 48</b>	Three sided outer sofa type house plan .....	134
	Source: ÇAL, H. (1987) p.389	
<b>Figure 49</b>	The outer corner sofa type house plan .....	134
	Source: ÇAL, H. (1987) p.391	
<b>Figure 50</b>	Map of Tokat City Center in the 19 <sup>th</sup> Century .....	135
	Source: AKTÜRE, S. (1978) p.164, Figure:41	
<b>Figure 51</b>	Sezai Bey House Ground Floor Plan .....	136
	Drawn from AKOK , M. (1957) p.130, Figure 1	
<b>Figure 52</b>	Sezai Bey House First Floor Plan .....	136
	Drawn from AKOK , M. (1957) p.130, Figure 1	
<b>Figure 53</b>	Ya cı Zade Abdullah House Ground Floor Plan.....	136
	Drawn from AKOK , M. (1957) p.135, Figure 5	

<b>Figure 54</b>	Ya cı Zade Abdullah House First Floor Plan.....	136
	Drawn from AKOK , M. (1957) p.135, Figure 5	
<b>Figure 55</b>	Latifo lu Mansion Ground Floor Plan .....	137
	Drawn from AKOK , M. (1957) p.145, Figure 18	
<b>Figure 56</b>	Latifo lu Mansion First Floor Plan .....	137
	Drawn from AKOK , M. (1957) p.145, Figure 17	
<b>Figure 57</b>	Latifo lu Mansion .....	137
	Source: <i>Slide archive</i> of the Faculty of Art, Design and Architecture at Bilkent University	
<b>Figure 58</b>	Latifo lu Mansion <i>Başoda</i> Ceiling .....	138
	Source: <i>Slide archive</i> of the Faculty of Art, Design and Architecture at Bilkent University	
<b>Figure 59</b>	So ukpınar District Beyhamam and Bey Street .....	139
	Source: Google Earth Maps ,Tokat City Center	
<b>Figure 60</b>	View from Behzat Market Place .....	139
	Source: GÜNESEN, B. [et al]. (2002)	
<b>Figure 61</b>	Halkalı Bridge over Behzat stream and the Clock Tower .....	140
	Source: GÜNESEN, B. [et al]. (2002)	
<b>Figure 62</b>	Mevlevihane in Bey Hamam Street .....	141
	Photograph : Ay egül Karda , September 2009	
<b>Figure 63</b>	Musluo lu Mansion .....	141
	Photograph : Ay egül Karda , September 2009	
<b>Figure 64</b>	Musluo lu Mansion Ground Floor Plan .....	142
	Drawn from ÇAL, H. (1987)	
<b>Figure 65</b>	Musluo lu Mansion First Floor Plan .....	142
	Drawn from ÇAL, H. (1987)	
<b>Figure 66</b>	Remzi Sö üt House Ground Floor Plan .....	142
	Drawn from Ani Yapı Restoration Plans	

<b>Figure 67</b> Remzi Sö üt House Frist Floor Plan .....	142
Drawn from Ani Yapı Restoration Plans	
<b>Figure 68</b> Bey Street Houses .....	143
Photograph : Ay egül Karda , May 2007	
<b>Figure 69</b> Bey Street Houses (in a row).....	143
Photograph : Ay egül Karda , May 2007	
<b>Figure 70</b> So ukpınar District Houses.....	144
Source: The Ministry of Tourism and Culture Tokat Provincial Directorate Archive	
<b>Figure 71</b> So ukpınar District Houses.....	145
Source: The Ministry of Tourism and Culture Tokat Provincial Directorate Archive	



## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This thesis aims to analyze the changing built environment during the late period of the Ottoman Empire in Anatolia. Everyday life of ordinary Ottoman citizens took place in public places as well as the residential structures, both of which were transforming at the turn of the century. Research on the public usage of the city center and the private residential formations will provide to understand the late Ottoman built environment in provinces. Thus the aim of the study is to give a portrait of the built environment of the last decades of the Ottoman Empire in the case of the city of Tokat as a provincial center in the Anatolian land.

The nineteenth century transformations especially in the Ottoman court life style and in the Ottoman capital have been subject to many studies. Research on the change in the traditional cities of Anatolia that has recently increased will help for a better understanding of the case of this thesis. Tokat, chosen as the area of study, provides for some key concepts of the study to be exemplified. With its exceptional topography and its fertile lands, Tokat has long been a settlement, which is thought to be a conservative and a culturally protected city. Although Tokat has common features of a traditional Anatolian city during the nineteenth century it is unique in its production and trade activities. It is also unique in its cultural formation, providing much evidence as to how culture evolved and how it had blended in Anatolian land.

To start with, an overview of the city of Tokat is given in the second chapter in the general context of the Ottoman rule by examining its socio-economic context, the social structure and the spatial formation before and during the nineteenth century. The third and the fourth chapters form the central discussions of the study. The third chapter deals with the public buildings of Tokat by focusing on the construction of its trade and administrative centers as well as mosques, schools, hospitals and other

public buildings. The fourth chapter studies the residential buildings of the city, exemplifying the case of the So ukpınar district. Each discussion in these chapters starts with brief analyses of historical norms of the periods prior to the nineteenth century and continues with an in-depth analysis of the late Ottoman developments.

The topographic and climatic information, which contributes to defining socio-economic conditions, will be useful for understanding the working life either at houses or in the commercial centers of the city center, explicating the cityscape. The social structure of the Ottoman society and the actors of daily life specify another important aspect of Anatolian culture. The Ottoman family, living in Anatolia as the core of the society, portrays the multi-cultural formation of different religious groups sharing the same land. On the basis of the city of Tokat, how the Ottoman city was ruled, its means of living, distribution of population, religion and tradition in reference to everyday living will be analyzed. In relation to the multi-cultural formation of social structure the common spaces of civil life, including the dwelling and the urban center, i.e. the trade and the administrative centers, will be analyzed in the environments of traditional districts.

Production and manufacture as the denominator of economy were the two important aspects of secular life to activate daily life in the Ottoman Empire. Religion, on the other hand, was the unearthly aspect of life but on the whole it was the most influential one to operate daily life. As one of the foundation stones of daily life, religion most generally referred to the interaction of Muslim and non-Muslim members of the society and the interaction between the members of different religious orders. Mostly unchanged through centuries, religious buildings were important gathering spaces to take place in the Ottoman cities.

In order to build the vision of the late Ottoman cityscape, urban circulation is another aspect of the physical state. Communication and transportation networks, which facilitated urban circulation, inform us about the way the society behaved, and whether it was an open or a closed society. Issues of gender related social status,

social hierarchy, religious differences and migration are also related to patterns of urban circulation of ordinary citizens of Anatolian cities. Patterns of urban circulation, on the other hand, could be used as tools to understand the formation of the built environment.

The socio-economic and political context of the nineteenth century should also be understood to analyze the built environment in cities. It was then that the worldwide changes in these terms were also experienced in the Ottoman Empire, and westernization transformed the norms of physical structure and the meanings charged to it. In this context, cities became more crowded and the economic situation of the society changed with the effect of migrations, as well as the misfortunes of epidemic and natural disasters that had definitive consequences upon the country and the people.

On the whole, a multi-cultural formation created the practice of daily life in Anatolia with the use of dwellings as well as the city center whereby spaces of gathering such as mosques, outdoor facilities and coffee houses also played important roles.

For evaluating the cultural and spatial formation of the nineteenth century Ottoman community in Anatolia, the common and well known sources are initially used. In the first place sources that include information about the Ottoman period of Tokat are studied. These include the records of the visits of Evliya Çelebi, Joseph Piton deTournefort, Albert Gabriel. Two important studies about the historical Tokat city are the works by the local historian Halis Cinlio lu, and the detailed study made by Sevgi Aktüre about the space formation in the nineteenth century. The studies and transcriptions of *Şer'iyeye Sicilleri*, which are the religious law documents, also support the information given by the above studies. Secondary studies that used these studies as references also provide valuable information. The work by Mehmet Be irli is an example of a combination of such records and sources. The symposium titled "Tokat in History and in Turkish Culture" includes many of the studies about the city of Tokat, which also provides valuable and variable information on the city. Finally

the studies, and surveys made about the built structures of the city, old photographs and drawings from restoration projects are important sources that are included in this study. Field trips and interviews with the local authorities as well as residents have also been helpful in becoming familiar with the city and documenting the protected structures. Other related sources include studies of traditional Ottoman structures, cityscape and the Ottoman social structure.

On the whole, in a given social topography, the paradigm of cultural and spatial transformation of Anatolia from medieval to modern age could be seen in the best way in its transformation from a classical/traditional Middle Eastern city, and in some cases in its dual centered new formation. In analyzing the nineteenth century space formation as differentiated from the traditional characteristics in these terms, this thesis attempts to provide a clearer image of the late Ottoman cityscape of Anatolia.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE CITY OF TOKAT

#### 2.1. OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In order to understand the city of Tokat in the nineteenth century, a preview of the contemporary socio-economic context is necessary. Developments both in the Ottoman Empire and in the Western world were quite radical in the nineteenth century, towards the end of which many new states were formed, and the older ones transformed, creating a new social world structure.

In the Western world the so-called dual revolution with respect to the political and industrial acts of France and Britain was resulted with a new economy and society.<sup>1</sup> In the urban context, with the increase in production, urbanization gained speed and the area of cities expanded with the migration to large industrial centers. Cities eventually became crowded, leading to problems related to communal life in the urban context. Health problems and the inadequate and crowded streets were of these problems.

The overthrow of old regimes took place, and the third quarter of the nineteenth century was hence named as of the time of victors and victims.<sup>2</sup> Economic expansion and liberalism were the realities of the period. Eventually, at the end of the “long nineteenth century”<sup>3</sup> historians evaluated the transformation of the entire structure of tradition to develop into the modern culture. An outcome of the period was the central state, which was now more powerful. The system of a centralized state

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<sup>1</sup> HOBBSAWM, E. (1975) “Introduction” *The Age of Capital 1848-1875*, Charles Scribner s Sons, pp.1-5

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> A term used by HOBBSAWM, E. (1975) ; also by ORTAYLI, . (1983) *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı* , Hil Yayınları

structure in the Ottoman Empire, similar to European cities, provided the state to serve its citizens by transportation, communication, hygiene and other services.

This last period of the nineteenth century was dominated by contradictions both in the Ottoman Empire and in the Western world. The situation of the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century was very much effected by the new circumstances. At first it was to deal with territorial losses. The economy was under strain with the loss of land and the rise in international economy.<sup>4</sup> As well as imperial wars there were also domestic rebellions within the Empire. Thus the evolution of the state took place by putting effort to overcome the weakening power of the Empire.

With the rise of the nationalist approaches, the Ottoman Empire was troubled by the dissolution of the complex structure of its society. Eventually safety problems of cities raised. Besides banditry, there were also riots and clashes among groups of subjects. The economic circumstances and international relations were other subsidiaries to affect such conflicts. Subsequently, these were changing times and the society was under the strain of the newly developing relations with a modern type of life, new institutions, a new understanding, the social dissolution and partitions from the Empire by the formation of new nation states.

Briefly, the central state expanded both in civilian and military wings as a modern form of state employment was created, educational network was set, and the military structure was changed. It was in this context that new technologies were adopted in transportation and communication as significant developments affecting the spatial formation and the social structure of the Ottoman lands.

In 1839, *Tanzimat* decree was declared, and between 1839-1876, rise of bureaucratic structure took place. From 1876 until the declaration of the Second Constitution in

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<sup>4</sup> QUARTAERT, D. (2000) "Nineteenth Century" *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*, Cambridge University Press, pp.54-73

1908, Abdülhamid II took his autocratic reign.<sup>5</sup> As explained by Tekeli, the urban transformation to take place after *Tanzimat* had common features around the provincial cities of the Empire, all of which were a result of the new beauratic structure. The fisrt is the dual structure of the city center due to the non clearance of the old strucures of the city. The new city center was formed of the govermental buildings which create a new area of attraction.<sup>6</sup>

The practice of city planning that had developed during the second half of the nineteenth century in Europe was also followed in the Ottoman Empire. Although the aim in European cities were to solve the health problems caused by industrialization, in the Ottoman cities it was rather to avoid fires, to facilitate new transportation systems and form new districts for the increasing number of population.<sup>7</sup>

The last period of the Empire is known to be the era of entry to law and bureaucracy with an effort to centralize the state. In this context, the most significant regulations to have transformed the provincial environment include the 1864 *Nizamnamesi*, the 1871 *Nizamnamesi* and the *Maarif Nizamnamesi*. The 1864 *Nizamnamesi* initially defined the “province” so a new disrtribution in the Ottoman state materialized. The aim was to undermine the power of the local notables, the *ayan*, thus a reorganization was made in the position of the governor.<sup>8</sup> Eventually the governance of the public works was given to the provincial center.<sup>9</sup> The *Nizamname* dated 1871, on the other hand, was the eventual frame of the regulation. Also the establishment of the municipal governance took place first in the 1864 *Nizamname* followed by the 1871 *Nizamname* which regularized the formation of municipal offices in cities and towns,

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<sup>5</sup> QUARTAERT, D. (2000) p.64

<sup>6</sup> TEKEL , . (1985) “Tanzimat tan Cumhuriyet e Kentsel Dönü üm” *Kentler ve Kentleşme*, Tanzimat tan Cumhuriyet e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi, leti im Yayınları, stanbul, p. 881

<sup>7</sup> TEKEL , . (1985) p. 884

<sup>8</sup> KIRMIZI , A. (2007) “Tanzimattan Sonra Osmanlı Vilayet daresi” *Abdülhamid'in Valileri Osmanlı Vilayet İdaresi 1895-1908*, Klasik, p.25

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. p.27

defining their authorization and procedures.<sup>10</sup> Consequently, the establishment of the Tokat Municipality dated to 1870.

The modernization of the education system, on the other hand, resulted in the construction of many school buildings all around the Ottoman Empire. Following the reforms of military education, the civilian education and the importance given to primary schools were at first included in the efforts of Sultan Mahmut II. Later, *Maarifi Umumiye Nizamnamesi* dated 1869 was the principle reform to regulate education.<sup>11</sup> Towards the end of the century the state expanded the efforts to raise the number of primary schools all around the Empire.<sup>12</sup> Another outcome of *Maarif Nizamnamesi* was the change in its finances as primary schools began to be run by the collective financial support of the citizens of their districts rather than by *waqf* organizations.<sup>13</sup>

In the realm of the urban built environment the effort to modernize education necessitated individual school structures as most of the existing ones were attached to a mosque or a religious complex. Similar to this new type of education buildings there are other structures with new or changed functions that included hospitals, memorial clock towers, libraries, communication and transportation facilities and structures for security forces.

In relation to these centralisation efforts of the Empire in the last quarter of the nineteenth century that also affected Tokat with the introduction of new functions and their buildings, one of the most important changes related to the city was about its governance. During the nineteenth century, due to the migration movements, Anatolian cities became crowded. People from the lost lands of the Empire also migrated to Tokat. The larger number of immigrants were settled either to the rurals

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<sup>10</sup> YOLALCI, M.E. (2002) "Osmanlılarda Ça da Belediyecilik" *Türkler*, Yeni Türkiye Yay., Ankara, Vol. 13, p.740

<sup>11</sup> GEL L , Y. (2002) "Osmanlı İköretim Kurumlarından Sıbyan Mektepleri" *Türkler*, Yeni Türkiye Yay., Ankara Vol. 15, p.36

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. p.37

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. p.38



or to the body of the county; and a number of immigrants were also placed in the city center. Then there was also an increase in the population of public officers who were newly charged in the city of Tokat. Eventually, with the increase in population, Tokat was given a higher status in the administrative distribution of the state.

Besides these developments, there were also some natural events that affected the life in the late Ottoman period in Tokat such as drought, flood, fires and the epidemic, all of which were mostly resulted from the crowding of cities. Among these, especially fires were effective in the shaping of cities.

Finally, followed by pioneering regularization efforts for the capital, the 1882 dated *Ebniye Nizamnamesi* was accepted as the first building codes of the Empire.<sup>14</sup> The widening of roads were given great importance in this law. Other subjects included are the ban against the building of dead end streets, the regularization of road widths and the building heights, the characteristics of building projections, and the precautions against fire.<sup>15</sup> These regulations affected the changes in the built environment during the last decades of the empire.

## **2.2. SOCIAL STRUCTURE**

### **2.2.1 PEOPLE OF TOKAT**

In the Ottoman Empire, similar to the Byzantine Empire, the land was under heavy guard by the state in case of possible delays in production, which was a necessity that concerned all citizens. nalçık indicates that this was made possible with the system of multiple divisions (*çift hane*) in production.<sup>16</sup> He explains precisely the system of multiple divisions as the splitting of small agricultural units called *raiyyet* farm, meaning that it was under the control of the state. These units were given in the

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<sup>14</sup> TEKEL , . (1985) . p.886

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> NALCIK, H. (2008) "Tahrir Sistemi" *Doğu-Batı Makaleler II, IV. Bölüm: Modern Türk Tarihçiliği*, Ankara, p. 284

disposition of the peasants, and they needed to be constantly controlled in case of their loss. This was made available by the inventory of land and the census of peasants from time to time, which was called *tahrir*.<sup>17</sup> Thus, most of the available material related to the study of population in the Ottoman period depends upon this census (*tahrir*) records. It is not until the 1830s that a general population census was done about the Muslim and non-Muslim citizens.

As for the city of Tokat there happened two important rises in the number of its citizens during the Ottoman rule. The first took place just after the conquest when the city was spread with the newly formed districts, and the Muslim population was settled.<sup>18</sup> The other important increase of the Muslim population took place towards the end of the nineteenth century when immigrants from the lost lands of Caucasia land were settled here.<sup>19</sup>

It is accepted that the majority of the city people were of a mixed middle class, and within this group, the most orderly structured group was the merchants and the craftsmen guild. They had distant historical roots.<sup>20</sup> However, in time this group of people that was to have formed the core of the society lost its power. In the last decade of the Empire, the economic life was greatly weakened by war, rebellions, banditry, and the dominance of European goods in the Ottoman market.<sup>21</sup>

Particularly the city of Tokat was one of the regions to have suffered from the Celali rebellions until the mid-seventeenth century. The Celali ruined and burned the outer districts of Tokat in 1601.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the demographic changes seen through the years were affected by these controversies as well as the natural disasters and epidemic

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<sup>17</sup> NALCIK, H. (2008) p.284

<sup>18</sup> BE RL , M. (2005) *Orta Karadeniz Kentleri Tarihi I Tokat (1771-1853)*, Tokat, p.296

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> CERAS , M.M. (1999) *Osmanlı Kenti Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda 18 ve 19. Yüzyillarda Kent Uygurlığı ve Mimarisi*, (trans. A. Ataöv), Yapı Kredi Yayınları, stanbul, p.64

<sup>21</sup> ÇADIRCI, M. (1991) *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentlerinin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapıları*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, p.6

<sup>22</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1978) *19. Yüzyıl Sonunda Anadolu Kenti Mekansal Yapı Çözümlemesi*, Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Baskı Atölyesi, p.145

diseases. The state would take into account the number of districts and the number of houses when it was to collect taxes, soldiers or to provide for the expenditures of the county. In 1772, according to the tax records, there were 75 districts in Tokat, in 1818 there were 76, and in 1838 there were 77 districts. In the mid-nineteenth century, no new districts were formed; rather the increasing population was settled in the existing districts. Also in the nineteenth century in large cities there was a group of people from poor laborers, miserable peasants, porters, gypsies, street peddlers and unemployed. These homeless people or bachelors would live alone in khans and in coffee houses or in rooms built above stores.<sup>23</sup>

The importance of the nineteenth century is because of the rise in population, which is interpreted by Aktüre as also to have changed the spatial structure.<sup>24</sup> Besides, all set findings related to the population records, there are many inconsequent interpretations. All found data related to population and housing records of Tokat is summarized in Table 1. According to this table it can be interpreted that during the first half of the nineteenth century, the population of Tokat city center was around 20.000, and by the end of the century this number reached 30.000.

### **2.2.2. TRADITION AND DAILY LIFE**

In this part of the study, in order to understand the perception of life for the Ottoman people, the living standards and their daily life will be examined. For the most, religion was the most significant aspect of daily life, but in time, as modern life slowly penetrated the Ottoman cities especially in the nineteenth century, the signifiers of life also changed.

Although the nineteenth century was still characterized by traditional characteristics, it was also an age of change when contacts with as well as awareness of the western world developed. The tacit law and the Islamic law are the two set of rules and

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<sup>23</sup> CERAS , M.M. (1999) p.65

<sup>24</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1978) p.1, p.220

conceptions that regulated Ottoman life. These rules ought to be accepted to have organized the life style.

Many of the studies related to the Ottoman family are done by analyzing these laws and going through judicial reports to understand how they were applied. The three types of judicial courts imply a distinction between the members of the society. The court for the Muslim subjects, which also dealt with non-Muslim members of the population, are called *Şeriye* courts, which were the general courts of justice. The court of non-Muslim subjects, which was more like religious community courts, and the court for foreigners cases were named as consular courts. In this regard, religion identified differences between the members of the society; thus, the two main groups, Muslim and non-Muslim families are studied to form an overall view of the core structure of the Ottoman society.

In the Ottoman society Turkish traditions and Islamic rules have developed within each other. Family matters, which were forced to subjects like the formation of a family, marriage, divorce and heirship, were all answered with Islamic rules and Turkish traditions. Customs had developed through a long period of time and they had in time gone through changes.

Nevertheless the idea that a non-Muslim subject of the Ottoman society lived in a different manner than the Muslim can be added to the myths related to family, as indicated by Duben.<sup>25</sup> It is accepted by most studies like the study of Ortaylı that Ottoman families, Muslim or non-Muslim, had common properties, and that the districts of a city, which indicated the physical structure of daily life, were spaces carrying common properties in the administrative and social sense both for the Muslim and the non-Muslim subjects,<sup>26</sup> which in the end indicates that the society were culturally blended though religiously it was multi cultured.

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<sup>25</sup> DUBEN, A. (2002) “Geçmi te Türk Ailesi: Mitos ve Gerçekler” *Kent,Aile, Tarih*, (trans. L. im ek), stanbul: İletişim Yayınları , pp.143-157

<sup>26</sup> ORTAYLI, . (2008a) “ Osmanlı Toplumunda Aile” *Osmanlı'da Değişim ve Anayasal Rejim Sorunu*, stanbul: Türkiye Bankası Kültür Yayınları, p.62

As for the differences of the non-Muslims in comparison to the Muslim subjects, the tax named *cizye* paid by the non-Muslims, should be mentioned. There was also an embodiment concerning the non-Muslims' dressing rules. In addition, the non-Muslims preferably lived in their own districts together with their religious societies.

During the Ottoman period, the non-Muslim society consisted of the Christians including the Greek and Armenian believers divided into different religious orders as Gregorian, Orthodox, Catholic, and the Protestants. The Jewish people of the Ottoman society were also divided into some sects. These groups are said to have mostly kept their religious rather than cultural identity. Thus, as the Muslim population, a traditional life style can be identified for the non-Muslim communities in the Empire.

Both as parts of the social structure where the state conducted the same services and as parts of common background and tradition, the Muslim and the non-Muslim members of the society lived in similar ways.<sup>27</sup> An evidence to prove such integration is the comparison made between these groups according to households of families from each group whereby both the Muslims and the non-Muslims were seen to have had the same types of households. Also in Tokat, there are some districts known to have been inhabited heterogeneously by different religious groups; thus, they had close relationship in trading activities and at times they sought remedy at the same court of state.

Economically Islamic law proposes money to be earned legitimately and demands that the father is responsible to sustain his family. Ottoman rule also tried to protect the economic situation of the family structure. Public records from Tokat show that the craftsmen chose their leaders according to their customs and that they kept the traditions of religious and commercial organizations of *Ahi*, and *Lonca*. An official price (*narh*) was given to all belongings twice a year and everyone was free to

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<sup>27</sup> ÖZDEMİR, R. (1987) "Tokat ta Ailenin Sosyo Ekonomik Yapısı (1771-1810)" *Türk Tarihinde ve Türk Kültüründe Tokat Sempozyumu (2-6 Temmuz 1986)*, (ed. S.H. Bolay, M. Yazıcıoğlu, B. Yediyıldız, M.Özdemir), Ankara: Gelişim Matbaası, p.140

produce and trade in their own workshop or shop; and they were protected by law against any loss. From the study by Özdemir about the family structure in Tokat in the last period of the eighteenth century (1771-1810),<sup>28</sup> it could be guessed that a family in the city could earn enough money to sustain his family. In the study by Özdemir, it is seen that Muslim family occupations analyzed by estate assets to exemplify the current social dispersal, included the *voyvoda*, the garrison commander, a doctor, convenience store owner, housewives and others, which shows that Muslim families living in Tokat were neither too wealthy nor too poor. At the same time, unlike some other Anatolian cities of the time like Ankara, the comparison made between Muslim and non-Muslim groups in Tokat are interpreted to be equal in their economic situation.<sup>29</sup> Within the chosen group, the wealthiest was the *voyvoda*, then the garrison commander, a housewife, a merchant, a retired soldier and other merchants indicating that state officers were economically in a better situation.

The studied estate assets show that whatever Muslims had, non-Muslims also had in their house and with little differences; thus, it is interpreted that Muslims and non-Muslims were blended ethnographically. Nineteenth Century demographic studies indicate that due to the available economic conditions the number of the members of a nuclear family of a non-Muslim family was higher and the average number of two children for a Muslim family was mostly not valid for the non-Muslim family. The study of Demirel about Ankara population includes such data, which show that Muslim families had mostly two children reaching adolescence, while non-Muslim families had up to five children; whereas the study by Özdemir related to Tokat shows that, similar to Muslim families, non-Muslim families had two children (reaching adolescence) on the average in this city in the eighteenth century. For this period we have clear evidence that in Ankara the non-Muslim society had better economic conditions but in Tokat both Muslim and non-Muslim subjects had an average life standard economically. This comparison between two cities shows that

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<sup>28</sup> ÖZDEMİR, R. (1987) pp.81-144

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. pp.132-134

the number of family members mostly depended on the life standard and the income of a family.<sup>30</sup>

As most studies related to the Ottoman family show, the family structure was shaped through law and customs, including the religious rules. Polygamy was not common; families had mostly one or two children, who, either male or female, had their rights from their family heritage. The families of Tokat mostly belonged to the middle class in terms of economic situation. Both Muslims and non-Muslims ethnographically had similar structures, having close relationships, and although religiously they were different, both embraced similar habits of culture, living in harmony.

### **2.3. SPATIAL FORMATION**

In order to understand the old times and the people of old times, as Ramsey indicates, we need to breath the same air as they did, bury ourselves in the same district and allow the same nature to penetrate into us.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, the study of topographical characteristics of the spatial formation becomes the first and one of the important bearers of history. The setting of this study is Anatolia, which is a Greek word meaning „east ; and it is used to describe the Asian part of today s Turkey. Although the borders of the study will be restricted to the city of Tokat, other central Anatolian cities, extending from the Mountains of Küre to the „Central Plateau , drawing a parallel line to the north coast of Turkey and including the cities of Amasya, Kastamonu, and reaching the steppe of Ankara, will also provide evidence to strengthen the efforts to characterize the Anatolian city.

The described borders of central Anatolia relatively present similar climatic and topographic properties. The different cities here enable us to examine a variety of land forms such as mountains surrounding and protecting, plains and rivers nourishing, and plateaus for breeding. This original topography of Anatolia has also

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<sup>30</sup> ÖZDEM R, R. (1987) p.140

<sup>31</sup> RAMSEY,W.M. (1961) “Küçük Asyadaki Roma Yolları” *Anadolu'nun Tarihi Coğrafyası*, pp.52-53

been one of the determinants of the administrative units that changed from time to time. It was before the Turks during the Roman and Byzantine times that Anatolia had been divided by its geographic conditions. The necessity to divide land into such administrative units had also been the case during the Seljuk period when the borders were defined upon previous divisions; and later the same substructures were used by the Ottoman Empire. During the thirteenth century the previously mentioned cities of the central Anatolia were included in the borders of the district of *Danişmendiye*, whereas in the last century of the Ottoman Empire, they were divided under the name of Asian provinces. Following the political reforms in 1839 they were divided once again to smaller provinces.

The province of Tokat, which has the most variable topography, lies in the valleys between the Akda and Çamlıbel mountains, surrounded by fertile savannas and a number of water sources like Tozanlı, Kelkit, and Çekerek, the three branches of Ye ılırmak. Many of the settlements starting from the Hittites had been situated around these fertile branches of Ye ılırmak.<sup>32</sup> The city of Tokat is set beneath the hills of the Haç Mountain, which perpendicularly cuts the Behzat Stream, another branch of Ye ılırmak. Tokat is placed on a plateau and is well protected from outer intrusions with the many elevating land forms surrounding it. In the general sense, the geography of Tokat and its surrounding is formed by mountain ranges parallel to the Black Sea; going east, the mountains get closer to each other and their height rises.<sup>33</sup> The heights from north to south are of three rows, each occupied by a branch of Ye ılırmak. The height increases as moved inwards; the west side has less density of heights and has wider savannas in between.<sup>34</sup> Kazova, Turhal, Erbaa, Niksar, Artova, and Zile are examples of these savannas, within these areas an important amount of agricultural activity takes place and many fruits and vegetables are grown. (Fig. 1)

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<sup>32</sup> KUNTAY, O. (1982) *Tokat Kentinin Tarihsel Gelişmesi ve İmar Planı Çalışmalarına Yardımcı Bir Araştırma*, Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi, İnanç Mimarlık Fakültesi Kent ve Bölge Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, Trabzon, p.2

<sup>33</sup> YAVUZ, E. (1986) *Tokat*, İstanbul: Tokat Otelcilik Turizm A.Ş.

<sup>34</sup> ÇELİK, O. (1974) *Öğrenciler için Tokat Coğrafyası*, Tokat, p.3



The important cities near Tokat include Kastamonu on the west, which lies in between the Küre and Ilgaz Mountains. The mountains Köro lu and Ilgaz keep Kastamonu in the passage between north and the central regions, and as the land reaches to the plateaus Çamlıbel Mountains take place. The important water resources of Kastamonu include Araç and Devrekani, Gökırmak and Devrez streams. Kastamonu, which is the city formed in the middle of the largest savanna of western Black Sea region, is situated on the sides of the Karaçomak Stream that falls to Gökırmak. One of the important mining activities from Kastamonu-Küre is of the cupric pyrite.<sup>35</sup> Grain and leguminous seeds are of the most widely grown products. The rich flora of Kastamonu provides richness also for the cuisine, which is parallel to the natural and traditional nutrition habits.<sup>36</sup> Amasya is the major neighboring city and it is also situated on the sides of a river, placed on the valley in between Ye ılırmak River and the Canik mountains.

The two main feeders of Tokat and its surrounding cities are Ye ılırmak and Kızılırmak rivers, both reaching the Black Sea and both rich in terms of their capacity of carrying alluvium. Tokat and Amasya also both have plenty of lakes. The land formations that have been emphasized in their very general character are sources of mining and nutrition. It is most probably the result of the natural conditions due to the land formation thus of climate that all the mentioned cities have a very rich and variable culture for cooking.

It is due to the wide savanna and range of mountains in between, which gives the opportunity for protection, that Tokat has been a settling area from the first decades of history. Tokat lies at a transactional position between the Black Sea and central Anatolian regions. Due to the positions of the Küre and Canik mountains and the dense location of trees, this land that carries both characteristics of the northern and central region has protection against the heavy rains of the Black Sea and the harsh

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<sup>35</sup> As defined in Merriam-Webster Online Search, cupric pyrite is a common mineral that consists of iron disulfide, has a pale brass-yellow color and metallic luster, and is burned in making sulfur dioxide and sulfuric acid.

<sup>36</sup> TAN,N. and TAN, Ö. (2005) *Gurur Kaynağımız Kastamonulular*, Ankara:N. Tan, p.537

breezes of the steppes. Thus the Ye ılırmak River is the life giver of these lands. With reference to the surface map, distances to the sea modify the climatic conditions of Tokat, which change from the Black Sea to the central Anatolian type of weather. The city of Tokat, which is closer to the Ye ılırmak River, is mostly affected by the Black Sea climate that is hot and arid in summer and tepid and rainy in the winter.

It is known that in Tokat the melted snows have at many times caused floods harming the environment and have changed it. Nevertheless, as a source of water to sprinkle the savannas, Tokat is quite important and the plants growing on these lands are varied like sugar beet, wheat, barley, orchard plants, potatoes, vetch, corn, tobacco, onion, grapes, apple, peaches, plum, pear, cherry and walnut. Thus, as the famous Turkish traveler of Ottoman times Evliya Çelebi indicates, the provinces of Tokat and Sivas are given the name „Barley Dimple (*arpa ambarı*).<sup>37</sup> Tokat was suitable for agriculture: Evliya Çelebi speaks of seven different types of wheat and some of the products include chickpea, bean, lentil with hefty and juicy fruits. As a result, most of the citizens were either dealing with gardening or they were *ehl-i sanat* (artisans) working in the textiles industry or in the copper working and hand craft works.<sup>38</sup> It is known that even today copper and timber printed cloths are the most famous crafts of the province.

Due to the position of the Tokat province, which is in between the central Anatolia, east Anatolia and the Black Sea regions, the city center lays in a natural site as a well protected area found at the intersection between the Zile and Comana routes.<sup>39</sup> The Tozanlı branch of Ye ılırmak gives passage to the north with its bridges forming the line of travel.<sup>40</sup> The city, which is settled in the valley of the Behzat Stream as mentioned before, is surrounded by the Çamlıbel and Akda mountains from the

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<sup>37</sup> ÇELEBİ, E. (2005) *Seyahatname*, skele, stanbul, pp.54-71

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> See ERC YAS, D.B. (2009) "Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom" *Comana Pontica: A City or a Sanctuary?*. 9, p.289-312. Comana Pontica is the archeological site next to Ye ılırmak 9km from the modern town of Tokat

<sup>40</sup> KUNTAY, O. (1982) p.3

west to the east. The city of Tokat is situated near the intersection of the Behzat Stream to the main stream.<sup>41</sup> To the east and west of the city there are steep mountains, and the plains available for agriculture are to the north and south part of the city.<sup>42</sup> Thus the city is formed in the direction of north to south and lays in between the commercial line starting from İstanbul to Tebriz.<sup>43</sup> It is also on the way of the Old Persian King's Road, which is through Sivas-Tokat-Pazar-Turhal-Zile-Çekerek-Yozgat-Ankara.<sup>44</sup> Aktüre indicates that the basis of the existence of these cities could be explained with reference to these roads.

The three routes that meet at the city center described by Kuntay with reference to Ramsey's map of the Roman road are (Fig. 2):

- 1- Tokat-Comana-Niksar-Ünye
- 2- Tokat-Pazar-Zile-Amasya
- 3- Tokat- Aktepe-Sivas

The Derbent passage is another point connected with a bridge, providing connection between important roads and connecting the rural areas full of vineyards to the city. This road passes through the city in the west-east direction, forming the main road of the historical city, i.e. the Sulu Street.<sup>45</sup> The Sulu Street had been the main road of the city during the Seljuk period as well as the Ottoman period, thus the city had developed on the west-east direction of this main road.

The character of the topography of Tokat is formed by the range of heights and the Behzat Stream. The historical buildings of Tokat are well fitted into this topography. The main heights are the Elican Steep (874 m), Haç (775m), Gij Gij (980m), and Ahmahlar (1024m). The elevation of the city, which is 623 meters in height, is cut

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<sup>41</sup> AKTÜRE, A. (1978) p.143

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> KUNTAY, O. (1982) p.3

into two by the Behzat Stream.<sup>46</sup> Thus the city is formed in a U and V-shaped valley. The built structures elevate to a height of 700 meters on the skirts of these hills. (Fig.3)

Evliya Çelebi, after his visit to Tokat, explained the topography of the city by indicating that it was not a place very adequate to form a city because it was situated on an “up hill and down dale land”.<sup>47</sup> Related to the city he described seven streams and that the city was surrounded with fertile lands and orchards. Evliya Çelebi described that, because the northern part of the city was open, its climate was gentle and the winters were mild here.<sup>48</sup> He described the city as having 30 districts and as much as hundred fountains in between these districts and market places. Of these 15 were outer districts and 15 of them internal districts. Houses leaned upon hills and were airy, their windows faced east and north.

Tokat has been an important Anatolian city since the twelfth century. Thus, similar to many other cities in Anatolia, most of the public buildings in Tokat used in the Ottoman era had been built during the Seljuk period. These include *khan* structures that housed the caravans coming from Halep, Antakya, and Alanya, reaching Amasya - although they had not always been passing from the city center. Some religious structures such as small mosques, *masjit* and *zawiye* structures had also been used until the last decade of the Ottoman Empire. Whereas the housing structures of this period were contemporary, they had gone through a rapid growth in number during the seventeenth century, thus could not have been protected until the nineteenth century. The houses were situated to the north of the Sulu Street and on the south slopes of the castle, which is a deliberately chosen allocation to benefit the most from the sun light and have protection from the wind and the rain as well as to protect houses from earthquakes. Other structures included a number of bath

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<sup>46</sup> ÖZSOY, O. (2002) “Tokat Kentinde Gürültü” *Tokat Kültür Araştırma Dergisi*, Tokat: December, Vol. 17, p.36

<sup>47</sup> KOPRAMAN, K.Y. (1987) “Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi nde Tokat ehrine Dair Verilen Bilgilerin De erlendirilmesi” *Türk Tarihinde ve Türk Kültüründe Tokat Sempozyumu (2-6 Temmuz 1986)*, (ed. S.H. Bolay, M. Yazıcıo lu, B. Yediyıldız, M.Özdemir), Ankara: Geli im Matbaası, p.663

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

structures situated on the access route to the city, the ay Bath on the south, the So uk Pınar on the caravan road, the Yörgü Pa a on the west, and the bath besides the Sünbül Baba Zawiye on the north.<sup>49</sup>

Similar to other Ottoman cities the heart of the city of Tokat had initially been situated in and around the citadel. It is during the Seljuk period when a settlement outside the fortifications was seen. The Sulu Street, which formed the historical axis, housed the group of structures built as early as the eleventh century. In the eleventh century during the reign of the *Danişmend* period, the Ya ıbasan and ukur Madrasas were built. Then after 1250 during the Seljuk period the bridge over Ye ilirmak were built, followed by the Gök Madrasa (1265), the Vezir Ahmet Pa a *Masjit* and a tomb (1288), the Sünbül Baba, eyh Meknun and Halef Sultan *Zawiyas* (1292), and the Alaca *Masjit* (1301). Aktüre comments that these structures show that during the Seljuk period settlement of the city spread to the south-west skirts of the citadel.<sup>50</sup> In the fourteenth century the Ottoman rule began and the other important structures built by or owned by the *waqf* are dated to the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries. Finally the houses dated to the nineteenth century provide good structural evidence for the related field of work. Cinlio olu has identified this historical fabric and structures that illustrate the six decades starting from the arrival of the Seljuks and later the Ottoman rule with 40 buildings.<sup>51</sup> (Table 3)

Aktüre s interpretation is that there is a point in the process of historical change when the spatial formation in the city of Tokat changed. The first is when its basic function of being a garrison and the protection provided by the citadel changed as the trade activity gained importance, which affected the formation of a secondary trade center in Tokat.<sup>52</sup> The secondary trade center was situated around the Hatuniye Mosque, also known as the Meydan Mosque. The space surrounded by the complex of the Hatuniye Mosque that formed the *Meydan*, the public square, took the place of

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<sup>49</sup> KUNTAY, O. (1982) p.6

<sup>50</sup> AKTÜRE, A. (1978) p.143

<sup>51</sup> C NL O LU, T. H. (1974) *Öğrenciler İçin Tokat Tarihi*, Tokat, p.25

<sup>52</sup> AKTÜRE, A. (1978) p.143

the commercial center that had once been around *taht-el kale* (meaning beneath the citadel). The second transformation in trade took place in the nineteenth century once again, changing the spatial formation of Tokat. In the last period of the nineteenth century, to the east of the Sulu Street in the north-south direction, which is drawn by the newly opened Ba dad Street, a secondary city center was formed. Also in the nineteenth century the housing districts that were mostly situated on the skirts of the citadel and near the city center expanded in the south direction towards the agricultural land plots.

On the whole, what has been left today as structural evidence including all the previously mentioned structures are from the districts of the protected area. These include *Cami-i Kebir*, and *Kabe-i Mescid* in the west-east direction, and the *Yar Ahmet* district, which is perpendicular to the Behzat Stream. Further to the south are the *Ali Paşa*, *Soğukpınar* and *Devegörmez* districts. To the end of the Sivas road is the *Beybağı* district. (Fig.4) The Behzat Stream forms a natural border to some of these districts like *Yar Ahmet*, *Soğukpınar* and *Devegörmez*. For a better understanding of daily lives, some of these traditional districts will be analyzed in the following part of the study. Thus the general context of the province and the city will be related further to its reflections upon daily life and upon space configurations in the city.

## CHAPTER 3

### PUBLIC BUILDINGS

Each generation writes his biography with its built structures.<sup>53</sup>

The Ottoman urban system emerged with wooden two to three floor houses, open settlement patterns, modest and non-monumental *çarşı*'s, with unfortified, not very large towns, as well as large cities with city walls, souks or bazaars well articulated along main thoroughfares, well-knit and often introverted city blocks, houses focused on *eyvan* or court, mostly of stone or mudbrick, and with an aesthetic very different from that of the core area houses - that is the area lying west to north of Sivas, Konya line.<sup>54</sup> Indicating that the Ottoman city possessed a wide variety of specific buildings, Cerasi lists these structures under the following headings: Structures related to charity works, education structures, libraries, trade structures, administrative structures, religious buildings, small factories, and structures of hygiene.<sup>55</sup>

Tokat was one of these cities with a variety of building stock that it had protected since the very early phases of its existence. In the seventeenth century Tokat had been very much effected by the Celali rebellions and lost many of its buildings, “still with its *Bedesten*, large khans, artisan bazaars and mansions it was a big trade and industrial city”, as Aktüre comments on Evliya Çelebi's observations about the trade centre of Tokat city. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had been important for the development of trade activity in Tokat. As trading activity had expanded so did the number of khans and artisan bazaar structures grow within the city. There had

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<sup>53</sup> As quoted from L. Mumford in U. R. Y. (2005) “Şehir Tarihi ve Türkiye'de Şehir Tarihçiliği: Yaklaşımlar, Konular ve Kaynaklar”, *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi Türk Şehir Tarihi*, Vol.3, No. 6, p. 10, footnote 2.

<sup>54</sup> CERAS, M.M. (1998) “The Deeper Structures of Ottoman Urban Housing Fabric: Conservation of Space and Form Through Basic Parameters” *The Ottoman House: papers from the Amasya Symposium, 24-27 September 1996*, (ed. S. Ireland, W. Bechhoefer), London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara and the University of Warwick, p.13

<sup>55</sup> CERAS, M.M. (1999) p.129

been many shops mostly around the Sulu Street known as the Tahte l-kal - the market place that had been below the citadel. In this area the *Bedesten* was a very important trading space and there had also been two *arastas*, closed bazaars between the Sulu Khan and the Takyeciler Mosque. (Fig.5-8)<sup>56</sup> During this period trade was the main field of occupancy for the ordinary citizens of Tokat, as well as being effective in the structural formation of the city.

Later towards the end of the nineteenth century in 1879 when Tokat became a *Liva*<sup>57</sup>, the urban context was to change. To the south of the city, buildings with new administrative functions as well as new housing districts developed as the new focal points of the city. New building types such as schools and hospital buildings were added to the structure of the city. It was only the religious activity that was more or less to stay much in the traditional way. Gathering in the urban sense continued to mostly take place in religious spaces that included the Friday prayer mosque *mescid'ül cuma*. As Ottoman citizens were not formed of a homogenised group of people, different religious groups mostly gathered separately not only for worship but also for leisure.

During the nineteenth century, Tokat was a provincial city that was also experiencing the effects of the developments emerging from the capital city, though such changes could only be realized with less impact and in a slower pace. These changes were related to the fact that it also had common structures of governance that imposed the contemporary centralisation efforts of the Empire. While losing its importance as a city of trade, a new city center was formed in the new areas where the Ba dat road was opened. The two main axes, one of trade and the other of transportation, created the overall formation of the nineteenth century city scape. Finally in the social sense there were much to show that life was now more open and busy in the urban content. This chapter examines the public buildings of Tokat in order to understand how its urban context changed in the nineteenth century.

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<sup>56</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1978) p. 145

<sup>57</sup> *Liva* was the piece of land governed by a *Mutasarîf*, also used to refer to regional county.



### **3.1. TRADE CENTER**

#### **3.1.1 TRADITIONAL MEANS OF LIVING**

In 1392 Yıldırım Beyazıt included Tokat and its surrounding areas into the Ottoman territory. The Ottomans, following the Seljuk reign, turned Tokat into an important center of trade and culture. Many of the public type of monumental structures were built in the three decades from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and many scholars, statesmen, artists and scientists, historians, Bekta i and Mevlevi Dervishes were brought up in Tokat during this period.<sup>58</sup>

The importance of Tokat as a commercial market was mainly due to its special place between crossroads and being on a trade axis. The placing of Tokat provided for it to become a city known for its copper mining and embroidering as well as other branches of artisan works, including leather, and soft goods making and printing. These three main branches of production and their by-branches such as dying, printing and other processings of leather making is thought to have constituted the major part of trade and the means of living in Tokat.

Although Ergani had been the place where copper ore was produced, it was transported to Tokat for being processed, which had been a policy known to be decided by the state, and its distribution to other smelters than Tokat had been forbidden at a stage. This preference for Tokat was a result of the place of the city. The route from Samsun to İstanbul composed the main axis so it was found more economical to store and transport copper and its products by this way.

In the earlier centuries copper mine had been produced in Gümü hane and Kastamonu-Küre. To the end of the eighteenth century the Ergani mine started producing copper. The raw copper that was mined from Ergani was transported to Tokat smelter and was processed here. Once it was made a product it was transported

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<sup>58</sup>YAV , E. (1986) pp. 61-67

again to the port of Zmit or Samsun. Be irli speaks of four copper smelters in Tokat during the nineteenth century,<sup>59</sup> one that belonged to the Tokat body of county, one to the *Mevlevi Meşihatı* and two to the *Medine-i Münevvere Fukaraları*. The copper mine was used in Ottoman military instillations and for making tools and gadgets.<sup>60</sup>

The importance given to Tokat smelter after this point is drawn out from the information given by Helmuth von Moltke that during 1838-39 a mining engineer from Austria called Gustava Paulini was invited to regularize them.<sup>61</sup> The mine was brought to the city on camels and was processed in small wooden sheds similar to bread bakeries. Moltke criticized the process asking why the stream running through the city was not used for the use and allocation of these smelters.<sup>62</sup>

The other important industrial sector since the fifteenth century had been the production of leather. In the beginning of the eighteenth century it was transported to Samsun and the yellow and blue *sahtiyan* (a type of leather) was famous in the area inclusive of the European part of the Ottoman Empire (*Rumeli*) and Wallachia.<sup>63</sup> Of the most famous products in the foreign trade though were the printed and cotton goods. These were first to be commercialized in the sixteenth century.<sup>64</sup>

The trade of copper and its by-products had started from the beginning of the eighteenth century. At first copper objects including casseroles, water vessels, lanterns, or chandeliers were produced from the copper produced in Gümü hane and Kastamonu-Küre.<sup>65</sup> As the Tokat smelter gained importance, they were followed by the growth in the copper industry of Tokat. From the end of the eighteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century the printed textiles of Tokat and the *boğasi* (textiles) of Tokat, Amasya, and Kastamonu as well as a large amount of cotton

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<sup>59</sup> BE RL , M. (2005) p.177

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. p.213

<sup>61</sup> BE RL , M. (2005) p. 181

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. p.150

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. p. 151

<sup>65</sup> YERAS MOS, S. (2008) *Tournefort Seyahatnamesi*, (trans. T. Tunçdo an) , stanbul, pp.222-223

goods supported a huge market, including the north-west Caucasia, the Balkans, the total of the steppes and also the Crimea.<sup>66</sup>

The tax records verify that people dealing with caldron making or copper work in Tokat were more important.<sup>67</sup> Thus the main branches of production in Tokat, including leather, copper and textiles production, had a large number of artisans. Besides these main occupations of trade, in Tokat there were also regular occupancies. Of these were the guilds of food processors, builders and other daily providers such as oil essential sellers, barbers, turban makers, fur coat makers, calpac makers, jewelers, bath owners, shoe makers, tailors, old-clothsmen and cotton or wool fluffers.<sup>68</sup>

The main areas of production and commerce in Tokat, including copper production, leather making and textiles, were located in certain areas within the city. *Taht-el-kale* and the Sulu Street formed the oldest center of trade in the city, later spreading around the Hatuniye Mosque and the *Meydan*, which turned into the heart of trade activity.<sup>69</sup> (Fig.9-12) Similar to other Anatolian cities, market places were located rather in the plains of the city. Concerning the *çarşı* area of Tokat, Cerasi indicates that the distances between different points of the system resulted in a linear type of development. This can be seen from the plan in which the historical axis of trade was at first the Sulu Street and then, by connecting to the *Meydan* area, such a linear type of development occurred, following the topographical features of the terrain.<sup>70</sup> (Fig.13)

Mustafa Cezar explains that, due to the development of copper production and trade, weaving, silk spinning, manufacturing and tanning, the Tokat Bazar had been extremely active. He even puts Tokat Bazaar into Evliya Çelebi category of „Royal

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<sup>66</sup> BE RL , M. (2005) p.152

<sup>67</sup> Ibid. p.149

<sup>68</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1978) pp.146-150

<sup>69</sup> This is the name given to large open spaces rather than to a square as in the Western sense.

<sup>70</sup> CEZAR, M. (1983) Typical Commercial Buildings of the Ottoman Classical Period and the Ottoman Construction System, Türkiye bankası Cultural Publications, stanbul, p.42

Bazaar .<sup>71</sup> The *Meydan* in front of Voyvoda Khan is explained to be the Grain Market; both Voyvoda and Horozlu Khan in the vicinity are identified to have a nature of traveller s lodgings, constituting a part of Tokat where important religious structures were located.<sup>72</sup>

The *Bedesten* of Tokat that had been the heart of this lively trade activity is a bedesten with an *arasta*, consisting of three sections.<sup>73</sup> *Arasta* units do not surround but they extend along its two sides. The two lateral spaces given the name Large and Little *Bedesten*.<sup>74</sup> ( Fig.5, Fig.7) The nearby Khans had served the Bedesten, as in the example of the old and the new *Bezzaz* (Drapers) Khan.<sup>75</sup>

In Anatolian cities artisans generally were selling their own productions by themselves in the same places as they produced them. Hence, copper worker, ironworker, confectioner, shoe maker, baker, jewelry maker would be in direct contact with the consumer.<sup>76</sup> But other industrial producers such as leather makers in Tokat, were not directly selling their goods to customers. Cerasi draws attention to the distribution of artistic activity in the city and its relation to khan structures. He explains this split the religious monuments, and the alms houses with social functions and the commercial components in Tokat. This is also realized by Aktüre considering the location of the tannery in the city.<sup>77</sup>

Thus the tannery and the smelter were the two important industrial establishments that were located in accordance to production needs. The tannery was located near the Behzat Stream, far from the city center and the housing districts, because of its waste that needed to be disposed. The processed copper from the smelter was being

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<sup>71</sup> CEZAR, M. (1983) p.43

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid. p.215

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1978) p.151

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

shaped by the artisans and the smelter where these copper work makers were located was in the trade center of the Sulu Street.

Textile printing and dyeing were other important productions taking place in the city. Quataert speaks of two large dye-houses printing on cotton textiles in 1830 other than smaller ones within the city.<sup>78</sup> Other structures of communal trade included the *Bedesten* with two *arastas* at the hearth of the trade center formed by the structure located on the Sulu Street. It is thought to be built in the sixteenth century. The well known khans are Voyvada Hanı, also known as Ta han (1631-1648), Sulu Khan, Ya cı Khan , Horozlu Khan , Deveci Khan, all thought to be built between the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries; and the artisan shops on the Halit street and the Sulu street formed the important trade markets of the city.<sup>79</sup> (Fig.14-20)

The tradesmen of the Ottoman period were an important group in city life. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, city artisans were organized around special guilds, corresponding to the Western norms. The capital rose in the control of these non-producing control groups who, rather than transferring the money to trade and artisans, would put money into waqf establishments which in turn resulted in the building of many waqf structures.<sup>80</sup> Thus the *çarşı*, which was an open market place, was not just a quarter of a city but was also a place that activated the potential of production.<sup>81</sup>

Evliya Çelebi interprets that the seventeenth century was a period in which trade developed in Tokat. This he connects to the increase in population, as well as the existence of numerous khans and artisan markets.<sup>82</sup> Tokat was a center of interior customs in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, standing in between roads of transportation of goods from the east, India, Iran, and other Southern Ottoman

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<sup>78</sup> BE RL , M. (2005) p.152

<sup>79</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1978) p.146

<sup>80</sup> Ibid. p. 162

<sup>81</sup> CERAS , M.M. (1999) p.116

<sup>82</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1978) p.145

countries on the passage of caravan trade.<sup>83</sup> This was the period when there was a production depending on workmanship in the city and transit trading activity.

It was common in Tokat that both Muslim and non-Muslim members of the population worked in all kinds of occupations. Although some special areas of crafts were identified with Armenian artists in the blended social structure, these master artists also raised Muslim apprentices. Nonetheless, a difference between Muslim and non-Muslim groups could also be mentioned in terms of their occupations: Non-Muslim/Armenian districts were mostly situated within the old trade center, showing that copper artisans, satin makers, dyeing and silk commerce were generally Armenian tradesmen. On the other hand, Muslim/Turkish people were occupied more with agricultural activities, working in the production areas of leather making, and felt making that used animal products as raw material.<sup>84</sup>

Briefly the old trade center below the citadel, creating an axis in the east-west direction, had been the liveliest section of the city almost until the second half of the nineteenth century. (Fig.21) Shops of artisans and tradesmen had been located in accordance to their branches of occupancy around the trade center. The trade activity in Tokat had been the denominator of daily life; acting as an open bazaar, it was the main route of foreign and internal trade. All facilities of the city, i.e. the khans, the baths, the religious sanctuaries as well as habitation, had been arranged around this trade activity.

### **3.1.2. CHANGES IN TRADE AND ITS SPACES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY**

Until the nineteenth century certain common spatial layouts had been valid for Ottoman cities as a result of tradition, life styles of religious groups, gender and civil law. On the other hand, in the late period of the Ottoman Empire, cities began to

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<sup>83</sup> BE RL , M. (2005) p.392

<sup>84</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1978) p.159

change physically, like the city of Tokat, which changed from a traditional city of trade to a city well attached to the central authority as also witnessed in the construction of new built environments.

For the most part of the nineteenth century, the city of Tokat did not radically witness progressive developments.<sup>85</sup> At the time, in terms of its economy, Tokat reached a certain climax with the copper, leather and the industries of textile and prints. The new smelter in the 1850s was of the important installations to take place in the city scape. The Austrian engineer Gustava Paulini proposed a new installation as smelter that would use water power from the Behzat Stream. Thus the installation was established and in the 1840s a group of engineers and craftsmen were brought to work here.<sup>86</sup> The new smelter built in mid-nineteenth century that replaced the older one in the Sulu Street. It is interpreted by western observers that in the 1850s Tokat smelter was modernized and accepted as the only metallurgical installation in Anatolia of its time.

Nevertheless, towards the end of the nineteenth century, this prosperity of Tokat, especially the copper industry, was interrupted due to the changes in the economic situation. The same was valid for the other branches of important industry.

The actual change in architectural space in Tokat occurred in the second half of the century. As an outcome of the Ottoman state policy, a set of radical changes occurred in terms of the economic structure of Tokat. In the 1820s, due to the lost lands including the Blacksea coasts, the printed textiles production lessened and in the 1840s it became restricted within only the local markets; thus it could not compete with the imported goods.<sup>87</sup> In the 1830s in Tokat prints began to be made on English fabric. Similarly, Quataert informs us that Tokat was specialized in the production of

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<sup>85</sup> C N L O LU, T. H. (1973) "1836-76", *Osmanlılar Zamanında Tokat Dördüncü Kısım*, p.3

<sup>86</sup> GENÇ, M. (1987) "17-19. Yüzyıllarda Sanayi ve Ticaret Merkezi Olarak Tokat" *Türk Tarihinde ve Türk Kültüründe Tokat Sempozyumu (2-6 Temmuz 1986)*, (ed. S.H. Bolay, M. Yazıcıo lu, B. Yediyıldız, M.Özdemir), Ankara: Gelişim Matbaası, p.167

<sup>87</sup> Ibid. p.161

local scarves (*yemeni*), indicating that the colorful prints were made on white Manchester textiles and that it was an important part of the production activity.<sup>88</sup> Also the production of leather went through a constriction in the nineteenth century.<sup>89</sup>

A model that included both internal and foreign trade was then embraced.<sup>90</sup> While trade was in a rapid growth, production of local goods lessened. The changes of trade activity actually started from the beginning of the eighteenth century as evident in the engraving by Tournefort (Fig.22), which Aktüre identifies. *Meydan*, surrounded by Voyvoda Hanı on the west, Horozlu on the south, and Hatuniye Mosque and madrasa began to function as a loading area for goods, and also as an accommodation place for caravans.<sup>91</sup> The secondary trade center developed an increasing number of shops in Tokat; thus small trade and craft shops were situated between houses or on the ground floor of house façades facing streets.<sup>92</sup>

Later in the nineteenth century the contribution of *Meydan* to daily lives was the establishment of trade fairs here. The fair was a supplementary of the relationship between urban areas.<sup>93</sup> Also numerous trade fairs formed the opportunity of an interaction with Europe in ways other than economic.<sup>94</sup> In 1828 a trade fair in Tokat *Meydan* took place for 15 days, aiming at exhilarating the placid economy.<sup>95</sup>

Nevertheless the initial point of Tokat city to lose efficiency as a trade center is when Samsun port gained importance as an easier route to carry goods. The first indication of this disfavor was the cancellation of interior customs in Tokat (1846). Until then means of production had already changed and there were more imported goods from Europe with only a demand for raw materials as export goods. Aktüre indicates that

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<sup>88</sup> QUARTAERT, D. (1999) *Sanayi Devrimi Çağında Osmanlı İmalat Sektörü*, İstanbul, p.201

<sup>89</sup> BE RL , M. (2005) p.150

<sup>90</sup> CERAS , M.M. (1999) p.51

<sup>91</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1978) p.146

<sup>92</sup> BE RL , M. (2005) p.300

<sup>93</sup> CERAS , M. M. (1999) p.197

<sup>94</sup> Ibid. p.51

<sup>95</sup> C NL O LU, T.H. (1951) p.147



1881 records of the issued goods copper works did not take place, thus the industry of copper declined by the time.

The guilds had possessed an important authority until the import of European goods started. Unemployment rose as a result of the entrance of these imported goods and the lack of raw materials, and the authority of artisans lessened, leading to a crisis in the main institutional level of the Ottoman cities.<sup>96</sup> As a result of trade pacts, while the local production descended, European goods filled markets of provincial cities.<sup>97</sup> Aktüre indicates that, in 1885 Tokat, there were 4426 houses, 1300 workshops and 26 khan structures, whereas before in 1827 there had been 1478 workshops.<sup>98</sup> The cancellation of interior customs in Tokat (1846) also affected the setback in trade activity.

The changes in trade activity on the whole were due to the weakening power of the Empire. Within the built environment the most important activity of this period in Tokat started with the construction of the Samsun-Ba dat road (1862-69). The part of this road passing through Tokat city center as the Ba dat Street created an axis in the north-south direction. Before the construction of the Ba dat Street, it is known that the Sulu Street, situated below the citadel, was drawing an axis in the east-west direction, forming the trade center with *Bedesten* at its heart. The khans, the Friday mosques, and the public square just in front of the Hatuniye Complex formed the city center here. The Ali Pa a Mosque stood at the intersection of this old trade center and the new road – where a new administrative center was developing with the construction of the governor s office, the court house, the municipality building and other buildings to serve governmental activities. At this intersection point a new square was formed, given the name *Yaşmeydan* or *Mahkemeönü* (the front of the

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<sup>96</sup> CERAS , M.M. (1999) p.64

<sup>97</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1985) “ Osmanlı Devletinde Ta ra Kentlerindeki De i imler” *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi, Kentler ve Kentleşme*, stanbul: leti im Yayınları, p. 892

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

court house) (Fig.23-25). This new square almost became the heart of the city and marked the beginning of the Ba dat Street that run a kilometer long within the city.<sup>99</sup>

The formation of the new administrative center eventually shifted the urban activities. Both the trade activity and habitation spread towards this new focal point of the city. Thus the new administration activities became the core effort of the last period of the Empire that reflects its existence in the built structures of the era.

## **3.2. ADMINISTRATIVE CENTER**

### **3.2.1 TRADITIONAL SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION**

In the specified area of the study, the Ottoman rule began in the late fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>100</sup> During the gradual change of the Empire, or what is called the rise of the Empire, the management of land had been the first and the most important task. There were conquered lands that had to be included into the system of the ruled areas, and as Cerasi indicated, the wealth of the Ottoman community depended upon agricultural production within these grounds.<sup>101</sup> The taxation from the conquered areas that had been cultivated provided for the large state budget and for the expenditures of the ruling class.

As a result of the need to impose Ottoman rule in the conquered lands, it is thought that the state had supported urbanization. Cities were administrative centers as well as places of trade between the state and the rural areas. Also they were centers of production for the state and especially for the army. In time when the conquests had come to a halt, one of the important formations due to the restriction of land assets and the pressure of taxation had been the establishment of land tenure called

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<sup>99</sup> C N L O LU, T.H. (1973) p.38

<sup>100</sup> In the first century of the Ottoman rule, the Anatolian land was called *Rum* but in particular it signified the regions including Amasya, Tokat and Sivas. (BE RL , M., 2005, p.22)

<sup>101</sup> CERAS , M.M. (1999) p.47

*iltizam*.<sup>102</sup> Although the system of *iltizam* had also existed in the early stages of the Empire, it became prevalent in the seventeenth century and took the place of the *tumar* system, which had been the fief held under condition of military service.

In 1520 Sivas was made the center of the regional county and the *Rum* authority (*Beyleybeyi*, ruler of the regional county) now accommodated in Sivas. Tokat was then a center of the body of the county.<sup>103</sup> In 1659 Tokat, with its surrounding areas that was affiliated with the Sivas county, was transformed to become a *voyvodalık* (governorship of the body of county), and was administered as a fiscal and administrative unit. Before this governorship, of which the sister of Selim the third *Sultan Beyhan* had a share, was established; and the *Rum* treasury had been running its finances.<sup>104</sup> Besides the administrative and fiscal duties, there were also military engagements.

Having similar notions with the Roman and the Byzantine Empires, the state control was prevalent in the Ottoman cities. In this type of administration, the person primarily commissioned as the civil servant was *kadı*, who was the Islamic judge authorized in real property, municipal and judiciary matters.<sup>105</sup> In the beginning, *Kadı* had been at the top of the hierarchy of the body of county. His deputies were the *voyvoda*, the artisan class, Janissary commanders, *ayan* (the notables), and governor of the body of county (*nakibüleşraf kaymakamı*), mufti and tutors (*müderriş*).<sup>106</sup> Other than the *mufti*, who was an interpreter or expounder of Islamic law, there were also representatives of non-Muslim groups. In Tokat the Armenian group, which formed the majority of the non-Muslim community, was attached to the Tokat representatives (Tokat *Murahhasalığı*). Also a *Şehir Kethüdası*<sup>107</sup> was elected by the notables of the city who was responsible for the organization and the

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<sup>102</sup> CERAS , M.M. (1999) p.47-48. Itizam is the transformation in return of payment of the state income to people and its collection back from them.

<sup>103</sup> BE RL , M. (2005) p.22

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> CERAS , M.M. (1999) p.68

<sup>106</sup> BE RL , M. (2005) p.392

<sup>107</sup> The authorized person to assist the works necessary for the city

relationship between townspeople and the state. Thus within the Ottoman state judgment, management and security issues had been held together before the nineteenth century.

In the early nineteenth century, before the administrative reforms of 1839 known as *Tanzimat*, the execution of judgment and management issues had been separated.<sup>108</sup> Still, the two main components that the Ottoman state rule depended upon were the military and judicial authorities.<sup>109</sup>

On the other hand, since the seventeenth century the land rule had been drawn out from the control of the state and been ruled by local power bearer families.<sup>110</sup> These included the *ayan* and other local leading people who have been subject of many studies. In most of these studies there is indication of their power in the Ottoman state and in most of them they have been reflected with the misuse of their power. Crime is presented as a part of daily life in these studies. İbaloğlu Ahmet Ağa (Elbaloğlu in other sources) is one of these *ayan* to have conducted the administration of Tokat in the early nineteenth century.<sup>111</sup> In his detailed work about İbaloğlu Ahmet Ağa, Beirli indicates that he was charged under the employment of Cebbarzade Süleyman Bey<sup>112</sup>, who was ruling the regional county of Bozok.<sup>113</sup>

In Ottoman cities many of the public buildings were owned by waqf institutions.<sup>114</sup> The mentioned wealthy local leaders donated for many of the built structures in the cities. The so-called waqf of *müessesat-ı hayriyye* were the ones that were used for communal benefit. These included mosques, madrasa, zawiye, alms houses, hospital,

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<sup>108</sup> ÇADIRCI, M. (1991) p.80

<sup>109</sup> Ibid. p.86

<sup>110</sup> ÇADIRCI, M. (1991) p.12

<sup>111</sup> İbaloğlu Ahmet Ağa had been the *voyvoda* of Tokat between the years 1803-1804 and 1807. He had been in charge of attending the given military, civil and fiscal orders. BEİRLİ, M.(2004) *Zile Ayanı İlbaşoğlu Küçük Ahmed Ağa, XIX Yüzyılın Başlarında Bir Ayanın Yaşamından Kesitler*, GOP Üniversitesi Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları No.14 Araştırma Serisi No.05, Tokat, p.30

<sup>112</sup> The Cebbarzade family is also known under the name of Çapanoğlu. BEİRLİ, M. (2004) p.22

<sup>113</sup> Bozok county includes the cities of Yozgat, Çorum, Ankara, Kayseri, Sivas, Amasya, Tokat

<sup>114</sup> A Waqf is an inalienable religious endowment in Islam, typically denoting a building or plot of land for Muslim religious or charitable purposes. It is conceptually similar to the common law trust.

and library structures.<sup>115</sup> And the *asl-ı vakf*, which were to financially support these public buildings, were houses, land lots or cash money. A list of what Ahmet A had donated in the city center of Tokat shows his wealth and power within the city.<sup>116</sup>

Another part of the administrative structure in cities was the military formation. Similar to other Ottoman cities, there was a Janissary garrison commanded by a garrison commander (*Yeniçeri Serdarı*) in Tokat.<sup>117</sup> The Janissaries were also effective in the social life of the city. It is indicated that most of the coffee houses in the city had been Janissary coffee houses until the abolishment of the system in 1826.<sup>118</sup> Because policing service was also given by them, when the janissary system was abolished, these services were given to the responsibility of the county governors.<sup>119</sup>

Until the late nineteenth century Tokat had been administrated as a part of the Sivas County where it had been an important city with a high rate of tax payers and a city known for its lively trade, manufacture industry and culture.<sup>120</sup> Within the city s hierarchy there was the *naip*, the *voyvoda (ayan)*, mufti, and the Garrison commander. On top of these local leaders, who formed the city s upper class, was the governor of Sivas, by whom the state orders had been passed to Tokat. Each district of the city of Tokat, on the other hand, had been an administrative unit of the city organization that included local notables. *Şehir Kethüdası* was responsible for the coordination of townsmen with the central and local authorities and impersonated the public body against the state. *Ayan* or *eşraf*, who were the notables of the place, also had power of governance in the body of the county.<sup>121</sup> *Vücut-i memleket* were the notables of the state, *hanedan* and *kişizade* who were of the ruling family (of the

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<sup>115</sup> BE RL , M. (2004) p.45

<sup>116</sup> List by BE RL , M. (2004) pp.48-51

<sup>117</sup> The 36th and the 45 th division of the garrison.

<sup>118</sup> ÇADIRCI, M. (1991) p.14

<sup>119</sup> Ç NL O LU, T. H.(1951) *Osmanlılar Zamanında Tokat Üçüncü Kısım*,Tokat, p.131

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> BE RL , M. (2004) p.6, footnote: 19

Ottoman Empire members), *şeyh* who was the leader of a group of religious order, and *kethüda* who was charged under *Şehir Kethüdası* were responsible of certain districts. These notables were all effective in the city's communal life.<sup>122</sup>

As of the physical state of the administrative structures it is not until the second half of the nineteenth century that the state governance was represented in an official building. The records of Cinlio lu mention the *Voyvoda* mansion to exist still in 1822 (Elba o lu Kona ı), and the record dated 1828 mentions the court building in the place given the name *Mahkemeönü*, which is around the Ali Pa a Mosque, i.e. where the *kadı*, and the *naib* conducted their works.<sup>123</sup> Thus, these are mansions of the notables of the city who were charged in governance.

### **3.2.2. CHANGES IN ADMINISTRATION AND ITS SPACES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY**

During the reforms that took place in the last quarter of the nineteenth century with the aim of organizing a more centralized ruling, as in other Anatolian cities, Tokat city center also changed. Parallel to the new charged officers, new buildings with public functions became a central part of city life. While the economic conditions of Tokat weakened at the time, the effort to attach it to the centralised authority gained importance. The spatial reflection of this is at most present in the formation of the administrative center.

The new structures of the nineteenth century were outcomes of the new regulatory laws, issued as part of *Vilayet Nizamnamesi* during the second half of the century. Subsequently, in the Ottoman cities in Anatolia and the other parts of the Empire, new structures for the governance of the state and the cities were constructed. In the second half of the nineteenth century, an administrative center was formed in Tokat by the construction of four government structures together with the municipality building, eventually changing the physical surrounding of the city.

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<sup>122</sup> BE RL , M. (2004) p.6

<sup>123</sup> C NL O LU, T.H. (1951) p.45

In 1879 Tokat was made a *Liva*, changing from a body of a county to a sub-unit of the province, and becoming a regional county attached to Sivas; thus a new administrative organization and a new class of officers were formed, including a *mutasarrıf* who was the head of the regional county.<sup>124</sup> This change of status for Tokat during the last quarter of the nineteenth century is explained in the transcription of the firman dated 1880.<sup>125</sup> It is noted that with this firman Tokat became *mutasarrıflık*, which was an administrative unit in-between a province and a body of county, whereby Tokat was still attached to Sivas. Mehmet Rauf Bey was the first *mutasarrıf*, and Hüsnü Efendi was the last governor of the body of the county. Also two other bodies of the county, Niksar and Zile, were bounded to the *mutasarrıflık* of Tokat with this firman. Eventually in the nineteenth century, the wide range of responsibilities of *kadı* was restricted, who hence lost his power and was only given judicial responsibilities. A public defender known as *naip*, who would have a mansion in the city center and have servants and officers, took the place of *kadı*.<sup>126</sup>

The record dated 1879 related to the change in governance informs that it was due to security reasons as well as Tokat s being seen as a place that was open to public works and changes, from which the local governance would benefit.<sup>127</sup> Initially in 1879, Tokat was announced to be a *Liva*, due to the increasing number of population in the city, mostly as a result of migration from the Balkans and the Caucasia and as a result of the reforms of 1864, according to which a number of paid provincial officers were appointed from the home office in the capital city of İstanbul to other cities.<sup>128</sup>

The governance structures of a regional county briefly included governor s office, municipality, a building for *Düyun-u Umumiye* and *Reji İdaresi*, the organisations

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<sup>124</sup> C NL O LU, T.H. (1951) p.296

<sup>125</sup> Translated by MERCAN, M. (2002) “Tokat in Mutasarrıflık Olu una Dair Bir Belge”, *Tokat Kültür Araştırma Dergisi*, December, Year,10, Number 17, pp.5-14

<sup>126</sup> C NL O LU; T.H. (1951) p.87, p.279

<sup>127</sup> MERCAN,M. (2002) p.6

<sup>128</sup> KIRMIZI, A. (2007) p.24

formed for the payment of internal and external debts, court house, buildings for security forces and post and telegraph offices. In the case of Tokat, four buildings placed side by side on the southeast part of the city formed the core of the administrative center. These buildings were the Governor's Office, the Court House, the building of the county constabulary as the local security force, and the Prison House that included a hospital. The Municipality building on the western side of the Behzat Stream was the last building to complete the important structures of the administrative center.

In 1880 when Tokat was now announced to be a *Liva*, it is known from the related records that a governor's office was not present in the city. The officials affiliated to the capital as well as the *Mutasarrıf* was to work in a rented building.<sup>129</sup> During the presence of Halil Rifat Pa a as the governor of Sivas in 1883, an office for the governance of Tokat was built. This was a timber framed building, two-storey in height with four halls, three corridors and a total of 50 rooms.<sup>130</sup>

Besides, the departments within the coordination of the Governor from the capital included units like judiciary, land composition offices, sanitary, quarantine and education offices. Some other departments and officers that were responsible to the capital were the budget officer, police, gendarmerie and also the county engineer who executed the social works (*umur-ı nafia*).<sup>131</sup> In Tokat, subsidiary to the Governor's Office, the Court House, the county constabulary and the prison and hospital were built together within a complex formed by a row of attached buildings.

It is understood that additions were made in time to the main structure of these buildings, and that in 1887 the total of the complex was still unfinished and money was needed for the construction of the prison house and the cellar for the

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<sup>129</sup> AKTA , E. (2009) *XIX. Yüzyılın Son Çeyreğinde Tokat Sancağı*, (Master Thesis, Supervisor: Mehmet Be ırlı), GaziOsmanPa a Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Tokat,p.63

<sup>130</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1978) p. 162

<sup>131</sup> KIRMIZI, A. (2007) p. 99



documents.<sup>132</sup> The *layiha* dated 1880 informs that, within the *liva* of Tokat, the internal affairs and the treasury units were accomplished, whereas there was need for the formation of gendarmarie and judiciary organizations in the *mutasarrıflık* degree.<sup>133</sup> Parallel to the formation of these organisations in time, extentions were made to the Governor s building and these extentions were finished as late as 1892. The final complex included courts; and by the time the administrative and legal roles were decomposed, these courts of the county were above courts working on appeal cases.<sup>134</sup> Finally, Cinlio lu informs that the buildings for the county constabulary were added to the Governors complex in 1902. On the whole, the complex of the administrative and the court buildings housed about 200 civil service officers.<sup>135</sup> (Fig.26-29)

Another arrangement included in the 1871 *Vilayet Nizamnamesi* was related to the formation of municipality offices, and 1877 County Municipality Law was important in that it had almost incorporated the municipalities.<sup>136</sup> As there was a Municipal Council in Tokat in 1880-81, the municipality building was to be the fifth structure of the administrative center that was initially occupied as the Tokat Spiritual Leaders building (*Tokat Ruhani Önderlik Binası*).<sup>137</sup> Having a large garden and a pool within it, this building was very close to the Ali Pa a Mosque, which marked the beginning of the new Ba dat Street, and had a spacious surrounding, giving opportunity for a central gathering area to take place at the heart of the new administration center. (Fig.30-31)

Housed in one of the main offices in the Governor s complex, the Public Depts Authority had been established during the reign of Abdülhamid II. It was for the payment of foreign debts, which had started in 1854. The accumulative debts of the

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<sup>132</sup> AKTA , E. (2009) p.64

<sup>133</sup> Ibid. p.54

<sup>134</sup> KIRMIZI, A. (2007) p.33

<sup>135</sup> C NL O LU, T.H. (1973) pp.47-48

<sup>136</sup> AKTA , E. (2009) p. 62

<sup>137</sup> NATANYAN, B. (2008) *Sivas 1877 Sivas Marhasalığı ve Sivas Vilayetine Bağlı Birkaç Önemli Şehir Hakkında Rapor (Sivas, Tokat, Amasya, Merzifon)*, stanbul, p.318

following years came to a point when in 1879 the Ottoman state could not make any payment, and as a result some of the tax payments such as stamp, alcoholic drinks, fishing, salt and tobacco taxes were given to the demanders, and *Düyun-ı Umumiye* was responsible to collect these taxes and pay the debt back to the demanders.

The initial mention of the branch of the Public Debts Authority in Tokat was in the Sivas *Salname* dated 1884-85 (1302).<sup>138</sup> Given the name *Tuz Gümrüğü* (salt customs) by the locals, the large stone building is said to have been situated near the Pervane Bath close to the old city center.<sup>139</sup> (Fig.42) As for Tokat, salt and tobacco were the two important taxes to be given to the Debts Authority.

*Reji İdaresi*, on the other hand, is a corporation formed with the oppression of the Public Debts Authority. A tobacco trading office (*tütün rejisi*) was present in Tokat in 1886-87.<sup>140</sup> (Fig.32) The plantation of tobacco had started with the support of the government in 1874, and quite a number of tobacco production was present in Tokat, which became a sector in its own right in the years to follow. The tax from *Reji İdaresi* was also one of the incomes of the municipality where available.<sup>141</sup> Similar to the Public Debt Authority branch in Tokat, all of the employees of these organisations were non-Muslims at the time being.<sup>142</sup>

In the *layiha* dated 1880 there were also many requests related to the need of transportation facilities in Tokat.<sup>143</sup> The road building activities started as early as 1862, and the Samsun-Ba dat Road reached Tokat through Turhal, then to Çamlıbel and Sivas. The aim is explained by Aktüre as to transport the agricultural products of the region to European markets to improve the land route network.<sup>144</sup> The then Governor of Sivas, of which Tokat was still a part during 1881-1886 period, Halil

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<sup>138</sup> AKTA , E. (2009) p.50

<sup>139</sup> C N L O LU , T.H. (1973) p.39

<sup>140</sup> AKTA , E. (2009) p.51

<sup>141</sup> YOLALICI, M.E. (2002) p.748

<sup>142</sup> AKTA , E. (2009) p.51

<sup>143</sup> Ibid. p. 143

<sup>144</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1978) p.162

Rıfat Pa a gave great importance for the improvement of roads. During the construction of these roads he cleared some buildings in Tokat city center to build the Ba dat Street. It was a part of this road construction activity and it was where at its intersection with the Behzat Stream that the four buildings of the administrative center were built.<sup>145</sup> Thus the road construction was very influential in the spatial formation of the administrative center.(Fig.33)

Also during the years of 1883 and 1891 there were attempts to build a railway route passing through Tokat. The first route planned in 1883 was through Samsun-Amasya-Tokat to Sivas; and the route of 1891 was through Samsun-Sivas-Tokat to Kastamonu. However, the railroad could not be constructed. In some cases the telegraph stations were established on these railway routes that were convenient for the post implantation.<sup>146</sup> From the records it is known that in Tokat there had already been a post and telegraph office in 1871, and the first ministerial officer was assigned to it in 1880-81.<sup>147</sup>

Before *Tanzimat* the official communication of the state had been run by organizations of messengers, *ulak* and *menzilhane*.<sup>148</sup> Tokat had been on the Ba dat-Basra route of messengers. In 1834 the postal administration was established.<sup>149</sup> In provinces and city centers rooms were to be used as postal offices, and signboards as “post offices” were to be put on them.<sup>150</sup> The largest progress in the communication area was using the telegraph. The telegraph had provided for the state to communicate with the provinces in shorter durations and give necessary rules of action immediately. Thus, as indicated by Ortaylı, the technology of telegraph was

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<sup>145</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1978) p.162

<sup>146</sup> KIRMIZI, A. (2007) p. 99

<sup>147</sup> AKTA , E. (2009) p.44

<sup>148</sup> ÇADIRCI, M. (1991) p.294

<sup>149</sup> ALTUNAN, S. (2002) “Osmanlı Devleti nde Haberle me A ı: Menzilhaneler” *Türkler*, Vol.10, p.917

<sup>150</sup> ÇADIRCI, M. (1991) p.295

very helpful to the centralist policy of the nineteenth century.<sup>151</sup> This was also effective in the transformation of the city of Tokat eventually.

On the other hand when the state started loosing land, immigration started from the lost lands, and settlement became an important issue for the immigrants. The land law dated 1858 had legislative provisions related to the distribution of land to these immigrants. This law is also thought to have started a change in rural areas eventually breaking the large family.<sup>152</sup> These in turn are thought to have started incursions to cities.

Thus on the whole in the nineteenth century, the functions of cities enriched and city dwellers in their social hierarchy became more complex as divided into segments. The state now depended on the court rule as well as the wealthy social groups that were assigned in the management. The notables of the city or the so-called *ayan*, i.e. either officers in charge or landowners, who were a source of wealth for the regional county centers, directed the flow of goods to the cities. Also due to the taxation system, in the long run, an economic function was created in the regional county centers (*eyalet* or *sancak*), which had only been in charge of administration before.<sup>153</sup>

### **3.3. RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS**

The vast number of religious structures in Tokat was also an important part of the daily life routines. The Friday prayer mosque, the small mosques within living quarters, baths and madrasa structures as a part of large mosque or other religious complexes, dervish lodges and zawiye structures and other religious sanctuaries of non-Muslim members of the society briefly constituted these structures.

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<sup>151</sup> KIRMIZI, A. (2007) p.99 as quoted from Ortaylı

<sup>152</sup> ORTAYLI, . (2008) “Osmanlı Toplumunda Aile” *Osmanlı'da Değişim va Anayasal Rejim Sorunu*, İstanbul: Türkiye Bankası Kültür Yayınları, p. 70

<sup>153</sup> CERAS , M.M. (1999) p.48-49

It is known that a number of 102 mosques and small mosques were present in the city center of Tokat towards the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>154</sup> The Armenian Gorgonians had seven churches, namely Surp Yerrortutyun, Surp Asdvadzadzin, Surp Lusavoriç, Surp Iste Pannos, Karasun Manuk, Surp Minas and the oldest Surp Kevork, of which none is left today. The protestant Armenians had a small shrine.<sup>155</sup> The Greek (*Rum*) orthodox population had a church, Aya Nikola, and a small monastery. The Jewish had a synagogue within their own district.<sup>156</sup>

After the Ottoman conquest, the Christian and Orthodox monasteries were centers far from the city. The “Monte Athos”, named by Cerasi as *the celestial hill*, a busy center in itself with its school, hospital and monastery, is where these monasteries were.<sup>157</sup> The monasteries in Tokat were also located on the hills outside the city, such as the Surp Hovagim Anna Monastery on the hills of the Mount Haç, which was two hours away from the city.

The development of religion based cultural heritage of the Ottoman rule had started during the Seljuk period. As mentioned before, Tokat also has a number of religious structures dated to this period. The zawiya structures built in Tokat in the late thirteenth and the early fourteenth centuries are regarded as prototypes that represent the formation process of this building type. The khankah of Abu Shams (1288) and the zawiya of Abd Allah Muhyi (1317) are accepted as the archaic prototypes of the Ottoman multi-functional buildings. It is explained by Sedat Emir in his detailed work related to zawiye structures that, as stated in their waqfiyas, “these zawiya were dwellings for visitors whether high ranking or poor. The need for the ritual prayer was met in the same buildings since they were erected in non-settled areas distant from the city centers. Therefore, praying can be regarded as a secondary

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<sup>154</sup> Information from the webpage [www.alevilerbirliigi.com.tr](http://www.alevilerbirliigi.com.tr)

<sup>155</sup> NATANYAN, B. (2008) p.318

<sup>156</sup> BE RL , M. (2005) p.327

<sup>157</sup> CERAS , M.M. (1999) p.61

function. It is also certain that these zawiyas were the focal buildings of the early Ottoman complexes (*külliye*), which comprised at least a madrasa and a bath”.<sup>158</sup>

After the Mogul invasions in the thirteenth century in the Islamic geographies, the Sufis had spread to broaden their areas and gained authority in Anatolia.<sup>159</sup> Thus, during the reign of Murad II, Mevlevi dervish houses were opened in various Ottoman cities. The waqfiyes in effort to organize and educate people included such dervish lodges and zawiyas. The Mevlevi Dervish House in Tokat was one of these.<sup>160</sup> The so called *Mevlevihane* was built by the Janissaries Chief Muslu A a around 1638, and was repaired and expanded in 1703. For the running of the *Mevlevihane*, other waqfs were established, including a garden, a communal bath, four shops, two mills, land, other buildings, a copper smelter, and a khan with 43 rooms. Similarly there were also other local personalities known to be members of such religious communities, among whom was a member of the Yesevi community who had given his name to the west side hills of Tokat, i.e. Gıj Gıj Baba.<sup>161</sup> On the other hand, there were communities of the non-Muslim groups. The non-Muslim communities were not only religious groups but they were cultural and at times political constitutions. The Armenian community in Tokat was the branch of Hınçak community, for example.<sup>162</sup>

One of the two large complexes of mosques within the Tokat city was the Hatuniye complex (*külliye*) in the Meydan district, known to be built in the second half of the fifteenth century. It was built in the name of the mother of Bayezid II, Gülbahar Hatun. Çelebi indicates this as a Sultan Mosque. A madrasa and an alms house were

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<sup>158</sup>EM R, S. (1994) *Erken Osmanlı Mimarlığında Çok-İşlevli Yapılar: Kentsel Kolonizasyon Yapıları Olarak Zaviyeler, Cilt I, Öncül Yapılar: Tokat Zaviyeleri*, zmir, p.15

<sup>159</sup>BE RL, M. (2005) p. 329

<sup>160</sup> Ibid. p.330

<sup>161</sup> ULU, E. (2003) “Alperenler Kenti Tokat” *Tokat Kültür Araştırmaları Dergisi*, December, Year:11, No.18, p.16

<sup>162</sup> MERCAN, M. (2003) “ Tokat ve Çevresi Ermeni Olayları” *Tokat Kültür Araştırmaları Dergisi*, December, Year:11, No.18, p.1

also included in the complex.<sup>163</sup> The other one was the Ali Pa a Mosque, to the north of which was the enshrine, and to the east was the bath. It is thought to be built around the third quarter of the sixteenth century.

The Melik Gazi Mosque, which is the oldest mosque in Tokat, is thought to have been converted from a Christian building. The latest of religious constructions include Genç Mehmet Pa a, Huruç, Hacı Ahmed A a, Akde irmen and Mehmed Pa a mosques. These are part of the new districts formed in the nineteenth century.

The majority of Ottoman period mosques between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are found to be classical structures, representing the characteristics of their period. Only the Ulu Mosque, which is located on the hill side of the citadel, is found different in its plan type. Known to have been dated from the Seljuk period, it was protected as unchanged in plan.<sup>164</sup> With reference to its location between the citadel and the city space, Baykara interprets that the Ulu Mosque was the first mosque to be built to replace the church of the city, known as *mescid'ül-Cuma*, or Fethiye Mosque. The Ulu Mosque was repaired in 1678. (Fig.34)

Praying together was important in Islam and Friday prayers were an opportunity for such religious and social gatherings. The larger mosques situated near the trade and administrative center were such Friday mosques. The Takyeciler Mosque was one of these Friday mosques to be used by a group of artisans since it was located in the Sulu Street. The Behzad Mosque (Fig.35), which is near the Behzat *Çarşı*, market place, was similarly used. The smaller mosques located within housing districts served as callers for prayer in the daily routine, and were in constant use. Having a dense distribution within the city, they formed the core of the districts.

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<sup>163</sup> UYSAL , A.O. (1987) “ Tokat taki Osmanlı Camileri” *Türk Tarihinde ve Türk Kültüründe Tokat Sempozyumu (2-6 Temmuz 1986)*, (ed. S.H. Bolay, M. Yazıcıo lu, B. Yedi yıldız, M.Özdemir), Ankara: Geli im Matbaası, pp. 343-346

<sup>164</sup>BAYKARA, T. (1987) “Tokat Ulu-Camii üzerine Bazı Dü ünceler” *Türk Tarihinde ve Türk Kültüründe Tokat Sempozyumu (2-6 Temmuz 1986)*, (ed. S.H. Bolay, M. Yazıcıo lu, B. Yedi yıldız, M.Özdemir), Ankara: Geli im Matbaası, p.294

As the study by Hazma Gündo du informs us, the building activity of nineteenth century religious buildings included the enlargement of the Behzat Mosque in 1891-92, the addition of engravings to the Ali Pa a Mosque, the renewal of Takyeciler mosque fountain in 1894-95, the repair of Dabaklar Mescid in 1856, and the construction of the Gaybi, Hoca Ahmet and Ahmet A a mosques built in Tokat.<sup>165</sup> Of the newly built mosques all were small mosques to serve within districts. Thus it can be concluded that there was not a great number of construction of such religious buildings and rather the existing stock of structures were in use during the nineteenth century.

### 3.4. SCHOOLS, HOSPITALS AND OTHER PUBLIC BUILDINGS

A record by Cinlio lu gives a short biography about a famous person called Abdülkadir (Suveren) who worked as a tutor in the modern Behzat, Kaptan and the Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki*) schools as well as at the *Rüşdiye*. Abdülkadir Bey, who was born in 1860, was himself brought up and educated in the madrasa of Ya ıbasan, Ay e Hanım and Alaca Mescit,<sup>166</sup> exemplifying the changing education system of the times.

Before the *Tanzimat* period, modernization of education had not been reflected in the Anatolian cities. As explained in Chapter 2, it was after the declaration of *Tanzimat* that education became widespread in Ottoman lands.<sup>167</sup> The known madrasa structure of the earlier periods in Tokat include Çukur Medrese and Gök Medrese, both in vicinity to the then city center. Gök Medrese is known to be used as a *Darüşşifa* but there is no information of students being educated in the medical field. Also the document studied by Ümit Ekin related to the seventeenth century informs about the Hisariye Medrese, which was repaired at this time with the request of its tutor

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<sup>165</sup> GÜNDO DU, H. (2006) *Tarihi Yaşatan İl Tokat*, Ankara, pp. 33-135

<sup>166</sup> C N L O LU, T.H. (1949) *Tokat Vilayeti Meşhurları*, Aksiseda Matbaası, Samsun

<sup>167</sup> ÇADIRCI, M. (1991) p.95



Ahmed Efendi.<sup>168</sup> Mosques and *zawiye* structures were other places for education of Muslim children and the education then was given at mosques within the districts. Non-Muslim children, on the other hand, were educated in religious buildings but also school buildings existed for non-Muslim children.

The so called “Asr-ı Hamidi” (1876-1909) is generally recognized as a period of transition to law and bureaucracy as a result of contemporary centralization attempts of the state.<sup>169</sup> Such an effort necessitated changes and developments in various fields, among which was the preference for a modern type of education different from the Madrasa education. As a result of the policies of Abdülhamid II, many school buildings were built to educate and impose the idea of Ottomanism in this era. In the *layiha* dated 1880, there is a request for the building of Rû diye and Sıbyan schools for boys and girls in Tokat. A *Rüşdiye*, which is a secondary school to continue after three years of primary education, had been present in Tokat since 1870. It was on the Sivas Road, which was later demolished and the school moved to another structure belonging to Rû dü Bey (Sivaslı) and was combined with a two year *İdadi* school in 1902.<sup>170</sup> (Fig.36)

The records of the *Sivas Salnamesi* of 1884-85 inform that in Tokat there were 13 *Sıbyan Mektebi* (primary school) with a total of 316 boys and 259 girls, 15 madrasa and 16 *Sıbyan* schools for the non-Muslims, and 3 *Rüşdiye* and 2 *İdadi* schools (includes the total number of higher schools in the *Liva* of Tokat).<sup>171</sup> Another record shows the existence of a total number of 18 primary schools dating from 1892-93 to 1897-98 in Tokat city.<sup>172</sup> The record dated 1903 given by Cinlio lu, on the other hand, includes 2 foreign schools, 17 christian schools, 156 primary schools, 1 Rû diye, 1 *İdadi* School in the city of Tokat. Thus the increase in the number of primary schools is a vast amount to take place in about 5 years of time from 1897-

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<sup>168</sup> EK N,Ü. (2010) *Kadı Buyurdu Katip Yazdı Tokat'a Dair Bir Sakk Mecmuası*, Bilge Kültür Sanat, İstanbul, p.40

<sup>169</sup> KIRMIZI, A. (2007) p.1

<sup>170</sup> C N L O LU, T.H. (1973) p.34

<sup>171</sup> AKTA , E. (2009) p.106, p.113

<sup>172</sup> Ibid. p.106

98.<sup>173</sup> The dadi school was also opened in 1902 by adding two years of education to the Rû diye with the branches of agriculture and trade.<sup>174</sup>

On the other hand the high school called “*Cemaran*” that was for the non-Muslim Armenian children had a number of 400 students at the time.<sup>175</sup> At the end of the century, when the number of the non-Muslim schools decreased, there happened an increase in the number of Muslim schools.<sup>176</sup> Although this is due to the fact that now non-Muslim children also attended these state schools, it is a fact that schools for non-Muslim children had always been greater in number in the previous periods. It can be concluded that the efforts to raise education levels provided opportunity for Muslim children to reach a similar education level to that of non-Muslim children.

Similar to the reforms in education in the last period of the Empire, public health was also one of the important issues. Abdülhamid II put great effort in the spread of the health care services, trying to serve the whole Empire. Thus modern municipalities were made responsible for public health and to open hospitals for the poor (*Gureba Hastanesi*).<sup>177</sup> Like in other Anatolian cities, the health care was mostly given by the Armenian doctors, and a type of public physics was applied in Tokat prior to the last decade of the century. Earlier, the only health structure in the city had been the *Darüşşifa*. Rather than being a hospital, it was a curing place. The *Darüşşifa* building in Gök Medrese is a structure built in the thirteenth century, and it is known to be efficient as late as 1839.<sup>178</sup>

In a record dated 1891 a doctor s office is mentioned to be subsidiary to the municipality and there are records of payments made to the municipality doctor.<sup>179</sup> Although we do not have clear information about a hospital in Tokat, the final

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<sup>173</sup> C N L O LU, T.H. (1973) p.48

<sup>174</sup> Ibid. p.47

<sup>175</sup> NATANYAN, B. (2008) p.318

<sup>176</sup> AKTA , E. (2009) p.149

<sup>177</sup> YOLALCI, M.E. (2002) p.745

<sup>178</sup> C N L O LU, T.H. (1973) p.7

<sup>179</sup> AKTA , E. (2009) p.127

structure added to the Governor s complex is named in some sources as both hospital and a prison house. (Fig.29)

The non-Muslim communities had already received these services of health and education. As explained before, the rural monastary complexes had education and health compounds which also existed in the Tokat examples.

Other communal structures, either existing or newly added to the city in the nineteenth century, including public baths, coffee houses, fountains and other unique structures were few in number. The public baths, similar to mosques, were either part of communal centers or of living quarters. They were areas where people would come together. There were traditional rituals performed in these baths like the bride s bath or the new mother s bath. The local resources indicate that special meals for the communal bath activity were prepared.<sup>180</sup> These baths were also used traditionally by the non-Muslims. It is known that there were a total of 16 baths within the city of Tokat in 1883.<sup>181</sup> No new bath structure is mentioned to be built in the nineteenth century in the study of Gündo du but we are informed that the Mevlevihane Bath in the So ukpınar District and the Sultan Bath in the Kazancılar Street were repaired in this period.<sup>182</sup>(Fig.37)

Coffee houses were other gathering places, which were owned by the Jannisseries. Cinlio lu informs from a record dated 1827 that 27 Jannissaries were sentenced to death due to their behaviors of domination over the citizens. As a part of this sentence, 40 of the coffee houses in Tokat were demolished. Coffee houses had always been significant public places in Ottoman cities and this continued to be so in the nineteenth century. Such a late example was the *Yüksek Kahve* coffee shop that

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<sup>180</sup> ÖZGEN, M. (2002) "Tokat ta geleneksel Türk Hamamı" *Tokat Kültür Araştırmaları Dergisi*, December, Year:10, No.17, pp.27-31; ARSLANYAN, A. (2005) *Adım Agop Memleketim Tokat*, stanbul: Aras Yayıncılık

<sup>181</sup> C N L O LU, T.H. (1973) p.40

<sup>182</sup> GÜNDÖ DU, H. (2006) p. 252, p. 257

was one of the important structures to take place in the new administrative center. (Fig.38)

Of the unique structures to take place in the city scape was the library and the clock tower. The library was opened in 1884 in the courtyard of the Ali Pa a Mosque by the personal effort of Hacı Hüseyin Efendi, who was the Tokat tax director. The clock tower was another important structure of the late Ottoman period, built in 1902 for the celebration of the 25th year of reign of the Sultan and his accession to the throne.<sup>183</sup>

Although the Islamic culture had been familiar with clocks and even had contributions in their development, the so-called clock towers were adopted from the western world.<sup>184</sup> Their first existence in the Ottoman Empire is dated to the last period of the sixteenth century and they became widespread only after the eighteenth century.<sup>185</sup> The call for prayer from mosques had been the main time setter for the Muslim community of the Empire and this time was calibrated in the *muvaqqithane*<sup>186</sup>. The clock towers, on the other hand, were not easy to calibrate according to the Islamic time periods set in relation to the movement of the sun, so it was not practical for the Ottomans to use clock towers at the time.<sup>187</sup> During the celebration of the reign of Abdülhamid II in his twentyfifth year a, firman was sent to the governors ordering the building of clock towers. This preparation for the ceremony of Abdülhamid II was the main reason of the spread of the building of clock towers in the nineteenth century.<sup>188</sup>

The clock tower of Tokat (Fig.39) was built in the newly formed administrative center around the Behzat Street. In such occasions of celebration, all public and

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<sup>183</sup> ERKMEN, A. (2011) "Jübile" *Geç Osmanlı Dünyasında Mimarlık ve Hafıza. Arşiv, Jübile, Abide*, Akın Nağa Kitapları, pp.119-238.

<sup>184</sup> ACUN, H. (2002) "Anadolu Saat Kuleleri", *Türkler, Yeni Türkiye* Vol. 15 , Ankara, p.382

<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>186</sup> Time setting astronomical rooms realised for religious reasons also places to produce and mend clocks.

<sup>187</sup> ACUN, H. (2002) p.382

<sup>188</sup> Ibid. p.382

military officers, artisans, religious leaders, the consulars and students would be present in the Governor's Office to celebrate. The clock towers were parts of these ceremonies in provinces. They were constructed as programmed by the state together with other small projects such as building schools and fountains.<sup>189</sup>

Finally fountains of the nineteenth century were important urban structures to have transformed in style and decoration. Although not many fountains were necessary for the city of Tokat as most houses had a fountain of their own, a few fountains in the new style were built in Tokat. An example is the fountain of Voyvoda Khan (Ta Khan) (Fig.40), which is dated to the nineteenth century due to its decorations, and the fountain in the Münir Bey Street.<sup>190</sup>

### 3.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

As explained by Aktüre, the nineteenth century changes of Tokat city urban space could be examined in three developments:<sup>191</sup>

- 1- The changing trade activity;
- 2- The opening of a new axis as the Ba dat Street; and
- 3- The formation of a secondary city center and an administrative center.

After the change in governance at the end of 1879, the urban context of the city went through a number of changes by the construction of various public buildings. The two well known Sivas governors of the time were İsmail Hakkı Pa a and Halil Rıfat Pa a, both of whom gave much importance to the appearance of the city of Tokat.<sup>192</sup> Important facilities of the following years were the telegraph line that was put into service, the constitution of *Düyun-u Ummumiye* (The Public Debts Authority), and

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<sup>189</sup> KIRMIZI, A. (2007) p.160

<sup>190</sup> GÜNDOĞDU, H. (2006) pp.305-307

<sup>191</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1978) pp.143-187

<sup>192</sup> ANON (2007) *Osmanlılar Döneminde Sivas Sempozyumu Bildiriler 21-25 Mayıs 2007*, Sivas Valiliği Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü, Vol.1, p.241

the formation of the Tokat library.<sup>193</sup> In 1886, with the request of Halil Rifat Pa a, some of the old structures were demolished in the Ba dat Street, opening space for the new governance buildings.<sup>194</sup> At the point where the Ba dat Street reaches the Behzat Stream, the four new structures were built, and on the western side of the stream, the municipality building existed that completed the new administrative center.<sup>195</sup>

During the second half of the nineteenth century population changes were frequent with rises when migration from the lost lands occurred, or with slight falls in 1872 and 1886 as a result of droughts. Aktüre partly relates the increase of the population in this period to the new coming government officers, army officers and the military men as a result of the reorganization of the Tokat *Liva*. Aktüre remarks that the increase in the amount of residential structures was not significant enough in order to add momentum to the spatial structure of the city. Besides the traditional artisans market, a new center with different functions then appeared, and as daily life shaped around this new focal point, the shops around the Behzat Street and the districts surrounding this area like the Bey Street and the So ukpınar district became new lively points of the city.

As seen in the engraving of Tournefort (Fig.22) from the early eighteenth century, the old city center had been in the east-west direction surrounded by the Voyvoda Hanı on the south and the Hatuniye Mosque, the Madrasa on the east, and the Horozlu Hanı on the south.<sup>196</sup> To the north and south direction there was a caravan stopover where loads were embarked. The administrative center by the Behzat Stream eventually created new districts of trade and housing around by moving the city center towards the south. (Fig.41-42)

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<sup>193</sup> C N L O LU, T.H. ( 1973) p.38

<sup>194</sup> KUNTAY, O. (1982) p.8

<sup>195</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1978) p. 163

<sup>196</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1978) p.146

With all changes in economy where certain branches of production lost their importance in trade, the decrease in the number of shops is interpreted as the related regression of urban production.<sup>197</sup> The newcomers to the city at the time were either with low income or were actually working for the government, not much affecting the development of trade. Still, Aktüre indicates that there was a development in this period in the trade capital ownership due to the increase in the number of khan structures.<sup>198</sup>

As a result, the new focus of attraction of the late Ottoman period in Tokat was the new administrative center and the road structure that bonded it to the newly developed areas. Thus, the new market place around the Behzat Street was distinct with the housing districts like the Bey Street. In this area between the Behzat Mosque and the Ali Pa a Mosque, goods from overseas market were sold as a reality of the period.<sup>199</sup>

Tokat was one of the cities to be directly affected by the economic outcomes of changes in commercial activity during the nineteenth century. In the realm of urban space, the construction of new public buildings with new functions provided a new context also for daily life of people. The socio-economic situation was also effective on residential architecture, which will be examined in the following part of the study with a closer analysis of the houses of Tokat.

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<sup>197</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1978) p.162

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.

<sup>199</sup> KUNTAY, O. (1982) p.8

## CHAPTER 4

### RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE

In Anatolia the form of habitation went through constant if not rapid changes for centuries and finally in the late period of the Empire the houses which we now call traditional took form. Cerasi names these houses as “Ottoman”, indicating that the type had always been open to change because it was the composite product of many cultures: “After all it was born and changed gradually, through almost imperceptible transitions from a model wholly non-European even non- Mediterranean to a final product which could easily fit into a westernized or modern Levant context”.<sup>200</sup>

The physical structure of the traditional house in Anatolia was shaped by factors such as sanctions imposed by religion or economics, and security reasons, as well as differences in status, availability of materials or construction negotiations.<sup>201</sup> Other views related to the shaping factors of the house structure include various historical and regional factors, which are in fact a web thickly woven, and all come to the point to describe the historical realities of the time being.

Tokat was one of the cities directly affected by the economic outcomes of changes in commercial activity especially in the nineteenth century. In the realm of urban space, the addition of new structures with new functions exemplified the change in the architectural space formation of public buildings. The socio-economic situation seems to have also affected the residential architecture. In this part of the study a closer analysis of the Ottoman houses, and especially the houses in Tokat will be undertaken in order to evaluate their characteristics in the context of the nineteenth century in terms of the social as well as the urban environment. Overall this study focuses on the city center of Tokat in order to understand the regional context of

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<sup>200</sup> CERAS , M.M. (1998) p.13

<sup>201</sup> SAKAO LU, N. (1993) “Anadolu Gelene inde Ev ve nsan” *Türk Evi ve Biz* , Türkiye Tarihi Evleri Koruma Derne i: stanbul, p.27



space formation. In this part of the study that examines the general characteristics of Ottoman housing in Anatolia, and its transformation in the nineteenth century, housing in Tokat will be the core of analysis and the So ukpinar district will be examined in detail in order to evaluate the climatic, topographic and economic conditions in relation to the formation of housing areas.

#### 4.1. HABITATION IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The traditional Ottoman city had an organic and unconstrained texture within a rhymed order.<sup>202</sup> Prior to modernization, an unconscious stock of public memories of habitation formed through centuries, the topographical and climatic conditions were the most important identifier for the formation of housing groups, their positioning and their typologies. Within the traditional cityscape the main factor to differentiate among housing districts was the ethnic differences rather than social statuses.<sup>203</sup>

Before the eighteenth century, when transformations began to be witnessed in all fields of life, there had not been a dense structuring of the built environment in Ottoman cities, and the single storey house with either a courtyard or a garden had been the typical type of dwelling for the most part of the empire. The basic character of typical Ottoman cities is defined by the close settlement pattern of houses, their gardens and other attachments.<sup>204</sup> The traditional house on the other hand needs to be evaluated within the context of the living quarters. As it has been revealed in detail in Chapter 2, the living quarters had great importance in the communal life of the Ottoman society. Neighboring necessitated many of the daily activities to be done together. The rituals related to family such as weddings, birth of a child, the bath for the new mother, the prayer for the child when he/she started going to school (*amin alayı*), and funerals were all shared with neighbors.<sup>205</sup> Living quarters of Anatolian

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<sup>202</sup> ARU, K. A. (1999) "Osmanlı-Türk Kentlerinin Genel Karakteristikleri Üzerine Görümler" *Tarihten Günümüze Anadolu'da Konut ve Yerleşme*, İstanbul: Tepe Mimarlık Kültürü Merkezi, p.329

<sup>203</sup> ÇADIRCI, M. (1999) p.257

<sup>204</sup> SÖZEN, M. (2001) *Türklerde Ev Kültürü*, İstanbul:Doğan Kitapçılık,p.218

<sup>205</sup> ORTAYLI, . (2008) "Osmanlı Toplumunda Aile" *Osmanlı'da Değişim ve Anayasal Rejim Sorunu*, İstanbul: Türkiye Bankası Kültür Yayınları, pp.61-75

cities are described as spaces where people who knew each other and took responsibility of others behavior, having public spirit among them, lived in houses with undefined borders to separate them.<sup>206</sup>

One of the most significant characteristics of the traditional Ottoman housing districts was that they had a mixed appearance where the social structure of each district used to reflect the multiple social standards of the population by means of wealth and social statuses.<sup>207</sup> This made it possible for a pasha mansion to take place next to the house of a worker.

The components of these socially heterogeneous quarters were houses, their gardens, narrow streets (in order to match the scale of pedestrians) and dead-end streets (*cul de sac*), and religious buildings at the very heart of settlements. Within this communal and very close type of relation among neighbors, privacy and secrecy of the house was still to be provided. Thus projections were never constructed over a neighbor s space, and if two neighbors had a shared wall, the view from bay windows incorporated into upper rooms would always be directed away from the neighboring house.<sup>208</sup>

The *cul de sac*, i.e. the dead end street, also served to provide privacy and secrecy for family life. To many of the scholars the *cul de sac*, which was mainly an important part of the Islamic urban practice, was shaped by geography and climate, as well as the free arrangement of structure. Transportation provided by human or animal force was another factor in shaping streets. There were three types of roads in traditional Ottoman cities: Roads coming from citadel gates were reaching the city center, and

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<sup>206</sup>ÇADIRCI, M. (1999) “ Anadolu Kentlerinde Mahalle (Osmanlı Dönemi)” *Tarihten Günümüze Anadolu’da Konut ve Yerleşme*, stanbul: Tepe Mimarlık Kültürü Merkezi, p.257

<sup>207</sup> TANYEL , U. (1999 b) “Anadolu da Bizans Osmanlı Öncesi ve Osmanlı Dönemlerinde Yerleşme ve Barınma Düzeni” *Tarihten Günümüze Anadolu’da Konut ve Yerleşme*, stanbul: Tepe Mimarlık Kültürü Merkezi, p.439

<sup>208</sup> YALÇIN, K. A. (1998) ”House Construction in the old Town of Amasya” *The Ottoman House:; papers from the Amasya Symposium, 24-27 September 1996*,(ed. S. Ireland, W. Bechhoefer), London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara and the University of Warwick, pp.91

roads linking these roads were reaching housing districts. The third type was the dead end streets that were only reaching houses within districts.

The borders of the Anatolian city expanded with the formation of new districts in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, and the borders reached at the beginning of the seventeenth century was protected until the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>209</sup> Due to the rapid growth of population, new quarters were formed during these later centuries of the empire. The material evidence for the overgrowth of Ottoman cities are the quarters that were called *Şehre-Küstü*. Such quarters could be found in most of the Ottoman cities and this name indicates that these districts were far from the original central spaces of the city. These new areas of settlement mostly had a water bed such as a stream, a river or a rocky cliff between the plot and the city's central space. Once such a district was formed, the city would grow onwards. At first the town people occupied these districts, later though, the new groups, i.e. the immigrants, coming to the city would settle there.<sup>210</sup>

In accordance with external factors such districts of immigrants were mostly formed at the end of the nineteenth century. In firmans (imperial edicts), the rules for setting up these immigrant quarters were established, where houses had to be in unity and on the same lineage, and streets needed to be at the same width and perpendicular to one another. With these new grid planned housing districts, the organic housing character of Anatolian cities began to change.<sup>211</sup>

Most of the studies indicate that the sources and information concerning the Ottoman/traditional house structure go back until the seventeenth century and most of the buildings that have reached today are dated to the nineteenth century. Thus from the seventeenth century onwards the Ottoman culture of sheltering went

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<sup>209</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1985) p.891

<sup>210</sup> BAYKARA, T. (1996) "Türk ün Ya adı ı Çevre" *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları*, Vol:100, February, p.87

<sup>211</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1978) p. 100

through a rapid change.<sup>212</sup> Although this study aims to analyze the nineteenth century, a historical perspective of the Ottoman house of earlier centuries is necessary to help explain its transformation as well as its cultural and religious background and the interaction with every day life.

The Turkish tribes settling in Anatolian land at first formed their living quarters at areas within previously built fortifications of cities. In time as cities grew new and larger outer districts were formed. The *cul de sac*, i.e. the dead end street was an integral part of Ottoman districts, separating the public from the private spaces and hence providing for the secrecy of private life, one of the main concerns of Islamic living.

Thus for the Ottoman family, secrecy of private life was very important. Besides climatic factors, the closed family life also necessitated an introvert type of house arrangement. This type of secrecy was actually based on gender differentiations. Women were spending most of their time in houses while men were mostly outside. Different parts of houses were hence formed according to the different roles of male and female members in daily life.

#### **4.1.1 GENERAL FEATURES OF THE OTTOMAN HOUSE**

“The house is cosmos... (It equals the cosmos.)”<sup>213</sup>

The central Anatolian tradition of habitation that had roots in the Neolithic period, became a synthesis of multi-cultural formations that occupied this land and reached its final state of composition in the nineteenth century. The typology that is said to have existed from the sixteenth century onwards, was built with a mixed construction system with stone foundations and timber with sun-dried brick filling.<sup>214</sup> This house typology has generally been called as the traditional Anatolian house, or the Turkish

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<sup>212</sup> TANYEL , U. (1999 b) p.442

<sup>213</sup> “Ev evrendir”, is a Turkish saying, translated from the web page [www.sivaskulturturizm.gov.tr](http://www.sivaskulturturizm.gov.tr)

<sup>214</sup> KUBAN, D. (1995) *The Turkish Hayat House*, stanbul, Eren, p.16

House as Eldem calls it, or as Turkish Hayat House as Kuban names it.<sup>215</sup> Although the general type was also seen in many other regions of the Ottoman domains,<sup>216</sup> such as in the Balkans, it was also the common type of dwelling in Anatolia. Nineteenth century houses of Tokat are exemplary of this category of houses, which have become to be known as traditional in Anatolia. These traditional houses of Anatolia had some common features, which are thought to have derived from the common life styles adopted with religious beliefs and regional traditions.

In the traditional realm the house was the world of the woman and the outside world was for the man.<sup>217</sup> Of the gender defined spaces of the Ottoman period the house is generally matched with women as the place where they spent most of their time while husbands were away at work. The secrecy of the family necessitated the secrecy of the women in the society. The women would be engaged with daily activities of the house, with seasonal activities of food storage and in some cases with artistic activity of weaving. Thus men built houses and women turned these houses into homes in the private domain.

Although the Ottoman people were living in quarters, sharing a communal type of life, the secrecy of the house was always important and the customs and traditions conditioned the design of the house to be in accordance with the conservation of privacy. As a result the house of the Ottoman period emerged as an introvert type of structure. To understand how this was created, a structural analysis of the Ottoman house needs to be undertaken.

Ottoman terms for domestic architecture included *beyt*, *dar ev*, *hane*, and *menzil* for “house”, *kasr*, *konak*, and *köşk* for “mansion”, *sahilhane* and *yalı* for “seaside villa”, and *gurfe*, *hücre* and *oda* for chambers of various types.<sup>218</sup> The term *oda* referred

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<sup>215</sup> ELDEM, S. H. (1968) *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri*, stanbul

<sup>216</sup> KUBAN, D. (1995) p.16

<sup>217</sup> KUBAN, D. (1995) p.20

<sup>218</sup> GÖYÜNÇ, N. (1999) “Osmanlı Belgelerinde Konut Terminolojisi” *Tarihten Günümüze Anadolu’da Konut ve Yerleşme*, stanbul: Tepe Mimarlık Kültürü Merkezi, p.264

both to a living quarter within the house and to a chamber of living all by itself. The *sofa*, which was the main space where most of the daily activities took place, was also a space that defined the plan formation of the house structure.

The regional variations of the house typology are numerous and fascinating, reflecting the multiplicity of cultures, climates and ecosystems to be found in Anatolia and the rest of the Empire. The division of house interiors into spatial units varies from region to region, and so does the terminology. An example is that the term *örtme* meant a protruding cover (*sundurma*) in the provinces of Konya, Kır ehir, Ni de and Ankara, a Vineyard, hut (*bağevi*) in Kayseri and Tokat; or a kitchen in Konya, Kır ehir, Erzincan and Giresun.<sup>219</sup>

Despite such regional differences, a generalized description of a typical traditional house could also be made: A typical Ottoman house facing a street had a central courtyard to be reached through the entrance. The garden was substituted for the court as the center of family life and had functional elements.<sup>220</sup> This small courtyard generally not paved would have a water element and some trees.<sup>221</sup> Thus the ground floor linked the garden entrance and this court to the living spaces that took place in the upper floors. Generally the houses opening to the courtyard were bounded by outer walls and the privacy of family life was provided by these walls.<sup>222</sup>

The main floor was reached from the courtyard with semi-open stairs mostly having an open gallery towards the courtyard.<sup>223</sup> The outside world was open to the women on this main floor with a great number of windows and with bold projections.<sup>224</sup> On the contrary the ground floors had been closed to the outside world with its integration with the courtyard or the garden.<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> GÖYÜNÇ, N. (1999) p.264

<sup>220</sup> CERAS , M. M. (1998) p.11

<sup>221</sup> KUBAN, D. (1995) p.20

<sup>222</sup> CERAS , M. M. (1998) p.11

<sup>223</sup> KUBAN, D. (1995) p.20

<sup>224</sup> Ibid.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid. p.21

Around the ground floor there were grouped rooms such as the stable, store room, toilet, and in one of the corners there was usually a fireplace with a chimney-breast and an oven (*tandır*).<sup>226</sup> The ground floor had not been used as a living space, but had rather been a transitional space that opened to the communal life outside, being either used as an animal stall, as a space for utilities or for small manufacturing activities. On the ground floor there were spaces with special functions such as toilet, bath, and kitchen.<sup>227</sup> From the entrance the house was directed towards a pattern of increment. Each floor was found to be in a compulsion to be better than the previous one, reaching the perfection of the third floor. This is believed to be a part of the cosmic world view, in which the ground at home that was thought to be dirt was covered by beautiful carpets, and ceilings were decorated.<sup>228</sup>

Most of these houses were one or two storey high. Houses incorporated an *eyvan*, which is a room-like space enclosed on three sides but open on one, and often the side facing the courtyard was used as a balcony. On the first floor around the rectangular shaped *sofa* were rooms arranged on two sides. There were generally two rooms; one was the guest room the other the coffee room. The guest room was only for guests but the coffee room was actually a living room where the family lived in winter and prepared coffee for the guests at the fire place.<sup>229</sup> The upper floor that was a combination of square or rectangular rooms were unmarked by functional specialization.<sup>230</sup>

As explained the main floor had been quite different from the ground floor: here windows were reduced in number and size of rooms decreased in rooms facing a street at lower levels, whereas on upper floors windows were more numerous and of

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<sup>226</sup> BEK R, D. (1998) "The Old Houses of Balaban" *The Ottoman House: papers from the Amasya Symposium, 24-27 September 1996*, (ed. S. Ireland, W. Bechhoefer), London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara and the University of Warwick, p.37

<sup>227</sup> CERAS , M.M. (1998) p.11

<sup>228</sup> B RKALAN, H. (1998) "Personality and Meaning of Gendered Places: The case of Safranbolu" *The Ottoman House: papers from the Amasya Symposium, 24-27 September 1996*, (ed. S. Ireland, W. Bechhoefer), London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara and the University of Warwick, p.24

<sup>229</sup> DEN Z, B. (1998) p.39

<sup>230</sup> CERAS , M.M. (1998) p.11

larger dimensions. It could be guessed that the windows on the ground floor were placed high enough to preserve privacy.

The main floor rooms, on the other hand, provided the living spaces that were constituted with strongly typified elements such as wide single or double layer fenestration, niches and wall cupboards, a conical small fire place, symmetrical ceiling decoration and with a central focal point and a perimeter seating called *sedir*.<sup>231</sup> During the Ottoman period, the form of houses was generated within the plot, and the independent form-logic of upper floors made its spaces to protrude out towards the street.<sup>232</sup>

The first floor of the Ottoman house that included the main living spaces has been the subject of many studies. One of the marker spaces of the traditional house of the Ottoman period is found here: The *sofa* is an architectural element that connected rooms and at times functioned as a bridge for informal male and female gatherings within the household. *Sofas* were common places for daily activities as well as gathering activities of families where the household came together for daily events or for celebrations such as weddings and feasts.<sup>233</sup> At the beginning *sofas* had been open spaces, virtually verandas with wooden columns, but later they were enclosed to become a part within the house itself between two rows of rooms.<sup>234</sup> Typologies and categorizations of houses have been made according to the position of *sofas*. But as a whole a *sofa*, which is a multi-purpose and flexible area, was a gathering space that defined the plan of a house, its façade, and eventually the vista of the Ottoman street.

Besides the *sofa*, rooms opening to the *sofa* were each used for multiple purposes such as sleeping, dining, producing, resting, bathing, and cleaning. In the traditional house of this period the furniture such as bedding was put away into cupboards every

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<sup>231</sup> CERAS , M.M. (1998) p.11

<sup>232</sup> Ibid.

<sup>233</sup> ELDEM, S.H. (1968) p.21

<sup>234</sup> Ibid.



morning. Other items such as carpets, *kilims*, felt carpets, and small wooden items were all equally portable and multi-purpose. This makes it hard to determine how many families or people lived in these houses by referring to the number of rooms. In dealing with one of the main subjects of such traditional houses, i.e. whether a large or a nuclear type of family lived here, the differentiation between the rural and the urban type of city life has to be remembered. In the rural area the agricultural producers from the same family lived together to share their outcomes. Although an Ottoman's assurance was the group he belonged to by blood relationship, and thus people were living for their families, this differed in the urban type of living where a house would not hold a large number of family members as their income sources varied from that of the rural.<sup>235</sup>

Another component of the traditional house in the Ottoman period was *hayat*, which is explained as a threshold where nature and culture met. The *hayat* functioned similar as a room where loggias of sitting areas like the *eyvan* opened to the garden or courtyard.<sup>236</sup> This was a place where guests were hosted, or where children played and even where people slept in hot summer days. With the fire places they were also open kitchen areas. Thus all sorts of daily activity took place here.

The *başoda*, on the other hand, was the main room that served as the guest room and hence was always decorated with much care as to represent the wealth and social status of the family.<sup>237</sup> The room that had been preferably rectangular in shape was divided in two functional parts: the entrance and service area called *seki-altı*, which would usually have a lower ceiling; and the sitting area called *seki-üstü* where the windows were accompanied with *sedir*, and this part had a higher ceiling.<sup>238</sup> There was a projecting bay at the entrance of the room called a *pabuçluk*, which is a place by the door where shoes were left on entering. This area was separated from it with

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<sup>235</sup> ORTAYLI, . (1992) "Osmanlı Aile Hukukunda Gelenek, Eriyat ve Örf" *Sosyo- Kültürel Değişme Sürecinde Türk Ailesi, VI. Hukuk ve Aile*, II. Cilt, (ed. Erverdi, Ezel,) Ankara: T.C. Babakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu, pp.456-467.

<sup>236</sup> KUBAN, D. (1995) p.144.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid. p.113.

<sup>238</sup> KUBAN, D. (1995) p.106

two or three arches supported by posts forming an arcade. The distribution of the decoration in the *başoda* is closely related to its spatial organization, which remained unchanged over the centuries from the simplest dwellings to the larger town houses or even royal residences.<sup>239</sup>

A popular description concerning the special features of the traditional house is that there was a gender defined separation of spaces. The various units of the house included in some cases women s quarters (*harem*), and men s quarters (*selamlık*),<sup>240</sup> *Selamlık* refers to reception chambers or large halls for male guests - *divanhane* and *meydan evi* are also names given to such spaces. This had been an old tradition in the Muslim culture especially in palaces and large houses.<sup>241</sup> Thus we are to believe that life of ordinary people were different in this sense from that of the Palace, and such gender based separation of spaces was only seen in the wealthier mansions of rulers of cities.

Structural elements became important decorative elements only in the later Ottoman period. Thus the vertical wood beams at the corners of houses (*köşe dikmesi*) and the projecting wooden string courses that separated floor levels (*kat silmesi*, locally called as *yaşmak*) were used as aesthetic elements on façades.<sup>242</sup> The subject matter depicted in such woodwork includes floral patterns such as roses, clover, poppies, dahlias and a variety of leaves and stems as well as geometrical patterns such as triangles, circles, semicircles stars and diamonds. There are also examples decorated with calligraphy and animal figures.<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> RENDA, G. (1998) “Westernism in Ottoman Art: Wall Paintings in the 19th Century Houses” *The Ottoman House: papers from the Amasya Symposium, 24-27 September 1996*, (ed. S. Ireland, W. Bechhoefer), London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara and the University of Warwick, p.103

<sup>240</sup> GÖYÜNÇ, N. (1999) p.265

<sup>241</sup> KUBAN, D. (1995) p.150

<sup>242</sup> YALÇIN, K.A. (1998) p.92

<sup>243</sup> BARI TA, Ö. (1998) “Wood Decoration on the Frontage of Late Ottoman Houses in Central and South Central Anatolia” *The Ottoman House: papers from the Amasya Symposium, 24-27 September 1996*, (ed. S. Ireland, W. Bechhoefer), London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara and the University of Warwick, p.112

The house interiors on the other hand have decorated ceilings. The main division of the ceiling corresponded to the division of the room of *sekialtı* and *sekiüstü*, even when there were no divisions.<sup>244</sup> Also door panels of cupboards have a carved decoration. The provincial type of decoration was essentially based on geometrical motifs, floral motifs and motifs with baroque and rococo origin were introduced later in the nineteenth century.<sup>245</sup>

#### 4.1.2 TOKAT HOUSES

In the light of the previous section some of the key concepts of Anatolian houses will be discussed by giving examples from Tokat. Similar to other Anatolian cities, due to natural disasters, rebellions and migration, the population growth and relatedly the number of houses of Tokat changed through the centuries. The housing stock from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, when a growth in historical residential building construction occurred, is summarized in Table 1 by using the data provided by various researchers. The found number of living quarters is also used to provide numerical evidence for the number of houses during the period. Table 1 shows a larger rate of construction in housing in the nineteenth century when compared to the eighteenth century. The traditional residential building stock of today's Tokat is dated to this period, mostly to the second half of the nineteenth century, and the oldest known house among these is Latifolu Mansion, which is identified to have been constructed in the beginning of the century with reference to its façade characteristics and decorations.<sup>246</sup>

In the Ottoman Tokat, the market place was centrally settled on the plains and housing areas were placed on hillsides. The first settlement is thought to be situated at the slopes of the citadel. The so called Cami-i Kebir district is one of these early districts where housing settlements appear. The buildings here were situated in relation to the conditions of sun, rain and wind. Moreover, as Tokat is in the

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<sup>244</sup> Ibid. p.119

<sup>245</sup> Ibid. p.133

<sup>246</sup> ÇAL, H. (1987) p.380

earthquake zone, the rocky slopes are thought to have been used to strengthen foundations of houses.

When the famous Turkish traveler Evliya Çelebi visited the city in the mid-seventeenth century he also mentioned how in Tokat housing areas were set on the edges of the hills and that this provided the most of the sun as well as a safe ground for the building site. This he explained as follows: “There were many thousands of stone built houses leaned to the hills, each high upon one another, well ventilated with tiled roofs, their windows mostly facing east and north”.<sup>247</sup> (Fig.43-44)

Considering the general planning, traditional Tokat houses, similar to the typology of the Ottoman Houses explained in the previous part, are at most two or three storeys in height. Their entrance is through a stone paved area called as *taşlık*, which is known to be the space used in hot weather for daily activities. Cellar and storage are situated here; also spaces with different sized stoves and burners, which are explained to serve as the kitchen, are placed on the ground floor. In most of the houses a mezzanine floor between the ground floor and the first floor exists, which is low in height for better heating in winter.<sup>248</sup> At most two rooms are set on the mezzanine floor; and in some houses toilets are either on this floor or on the ground floor. Also a small bath might be situated either on the mezzanine or on the first floor. The first floor was where daily life took place and where the house opened to the outside world through large windows. A room on this floor that is differentiated from other spaces by having larger space, and more light and being carefully worked and built, was the *başoda*, the principle room.<sup>249</sup>

Nearly in all northern Anatolian structures living spaces were built above a ground floor. The ground floor was used as an animal stall due to climatic reasons in relation to the fact that in central Anatolia and eastern Anatolia the habitation of people have

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<sup>247</sup> KOPRAMAN, K.Y. (1987) p.663

<sup>248</sup> ÇAL , H. (1987) p.366

<sup>249</sup> Ibid.

always been in relation with animals sheltering.<sup>250</sup> If not an animal stall, the ground floor was a utilities space which eventually left no need for a basement floor. The houses are of timber so they are quite light weight leaving little need for complicated foundations. In the widely used system a foundation wall from stone is built up to the ground floor level and from this level raises a stone or mud brick wall system connected to the ground floor. If the walls are built with a timber framed system the foundation is left just above the ground floor. The most frequently used system is stone construction in which the ground floor walls are bound with wooden beams and over them timber frame system is constructed. This provides a better bound of the lower floor with the upper floor, which also forms larger spaces on ground floor to be used according to specified needs.

This type of a building technique, called as *hımış* construction, was also used in housing architecture around the city of Sivas. *Hımış* technique can be simply explained as the use of a wooden frame infilled with mud bricks, which composes the bearing system. As a building technique, due to the availability of local materials as well as climatic and regional outputs, *hımış* was also used in Tokat houses as in many parts of Anatolia. In Tokat houses, the main filling material between wood framing is mud brick and stone. In the research done by Çal, it is indicated that, with exceptions, houses of Tokat have mud brick filling between wooden frames as for outer walls, and *bağdadi*, the ribbed lath partitions type of construction, in the inner partition walls and in projections.<sup>251</sup> Mud brick used in Tokat as a filling material was produced by sun drying a mixture of hardpan and hay. Mud brick was a cheap material easily provided and it was also a good isolation material for heating.

Besides this filling material timber was also used in most of the other parts of housing construction, and the most widely used types of tree provided in construction in central Anatolia included willow, poplar and pine in the northwest and in northern Anatolia chestnut, yellow pine and ash tree, walnut, apple, ebony, oak trees. These

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<sup>250</sup> TANYEL , U. (1999b) p.446

<sup>251</sup> ÇAL , H. (1987) p.376

were used for door and window openings and for furniture. Timber constructions of Tokat houses were given special importance. As in many parts having similar characteristics of housing in Anatolia the artistic qualities of the carpentry in interiors are noteworthy. These include ceiling cladding cupboard, and wardrobe making.<sup>252</sup>

Another common material easily provided was the metal work which was an important branch of industry in Tokat. Local artisans made door details for these houses from metal work, and large hoops called *çekecek* were used as door handles, locks and springs. Plaster work ornamentation of fireplaces, and window crests were also applied frequently. (Fig.45-46)

View was an important issue in houses and this was why most houses had projected parts towards the streets.<sup>253</sup> Çal interprets that, although the projections in many cities had almost been standardized in type, Tokat houses had many different types of projections.<sup>254</sup> Çal detects up to ten different types of projections of these. Three or four projections seen on a façade belonged to houses which were arranged dually separating women in one part of the house.

Çal also detects three common types of plan for Tokat houses. The two sides enclosed *sofa* type was the most preferred type. (Fig.47) This type of houses mostly has two rooms on each side, which provide the *sofa* to be cool in summer time. The three sided outer sofa type houses, which has more number of rooms, at least five of these surrounding the *sofa*, is different from the first type as its *sofa* was not for daily usage but was rather used as a transitional space. (Fig.48) This plan type is thought to be the oldest type as it is interpreted to have been used in the earlier periods when the *hayat-taşlık* part was open. Later its front part was closed and included to the interior.<sup>255</sup> The outer corner *sofa* type houses are smaller, having rooms lined around

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<sup>252</sup> AKOK, M. (1957) "Tokat şehrinin Eski Evleri" *İlahiyat Fakültesi Yıllık Araştırmalar Dergisi*, Vol. 2, p.131

<sup>253</sup> Ibid. p.129.

<sup>254</sup> ÇAL, H. (1987) p. 368

<sup>255</sup> ÇAL, H. (1987) p.228

the *sofa*, which is situated on an outer corner with at most four rooms. (Fig.49) Nonetheless, it should also be added that some of the larger mansions do not fit to any of these plan types.

By using these plan schemes, a general view about daily lives and space uses can be interpreted for Tokat houses. With reference to the information that women's daily activities mainly included cleaning, cooking, and storing food, their daily routine would take place within the inner courtyard in the part called *taşlık*. The cooking activity took place on the ground floor where bread was baked and food was cooked, and the upper floor kitchen was a service kitchen where no cooking activity took place. In winter evenings, the family would spend their time on the mezzanine, and if it was summer, the *sofa* would be cool thus they would perform daily activities here.

Knowing that rooms were used multi-purposedly, it is not possible to assess the number of occupants of a house. As mentioned before in the urban context the common situation was different from a mansion, in these traditional houses, it can be guessed that only the immediate family members were living. Also as for gender defined spaces, most houses did not have differentiated spaces, and it is only in some houses that such features were seen.

Thus houses of wealthy citizens or houses of a member of the ruling class were different: They were larger due to the number of people living in these mansions, which included servants and officers. The houses analysed by Mahmut Akok such as Yağızade Abdullah House and Latifolu Mansion have elaborate decorations of the period and with the more number of rooms and annexes they are examples of such larger houses.

In Anatolia, houses were appropriated to changes according to seasons. As it is evident in Tokat houses, changing topography of cities also affected daily life and people would migrate seasonally to orchards or summer meadows. The distance of such summer houses in Tokat were in reach of a day's travel for the working men to

leave in the morning and turn back in the evening. Gardens and orchard houses were to the south in the districts of Darçay, Gençay and Topçuba 1 that were situated in the south plains of the city.

Finally, in Tokat there were districts where Muslim and non-Muslim citizens were living together. Despite religious differences, certain features of daily life did not show differences between Muslim and non-Muslim houses in Tokat. The similar cooking habits included the storage of certain food seasonally and the cooking of others during certain times of the year.

#### **4.2. THE EVOLUTION OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY HOUSES**

It is the eighteenth century that is known to be the period when westernized styles were began to be assimilated by the Ottoman Palace and other public institutions. This period was a forerunner in terms of the entrance of a westernized lifestyle initially to the Ottoman court to be followed by daily lives of ordinary people. Westernization, which manifested itself mostly in the in decoration of buildings during the eighteenth century, also led the way in the nineteenth century to a radical transformation of the traditional layout of buildings.<sup>256</sup> The changes in residential buildings are still seen as partial rather than total reshaping.<sup>257</sup> In this regard, during the second half of nineteenth century, many great residential buildings, mansions were reconstructed.

The definition of modernity by U ur Tanyeli is that it is the condition of the individual and society to willingly and consciously change his/her/its conditions of existence.<sup>258</sup> As explained, the effects of changing economic situations and the

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<sup>256</sup> ÇAL, H. (1987) p.380

<sup>257</sup> KU CU, O. and KU CU, H. (1998) "The Kurto lu Mansion, Amasya" *The Ottoman House: papers from the Amasya Symposium, 24-27 September 1996*, (ed. S. Ireland, W. Bechhoefer), London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara and the University of Warwick, p.95

<sup>258</sup> TANYEL , U. (1999 a) "Osmanlı Barınma Kültüründe Batılılaşma-Modernleşme: Yeni bir Simge Dizgesinin Oluşumu" *Tarihten Günümüze Anadolu'da Konut ve Yerleşme*, İstanbul: Tepe Mimarlık Kültürü Merkezi, p.284



industrial revolution now had a more rapid impact over the Ottoman society which had become more open. This process, starting from the beginning of the nineteenth century and continuing the following 150 years, is interpreted as modernization in all fields including housing.<sup>259</sup> During this time, just as the Ottomans left their floor trays to start dining on tables, most of the rituals of daily life and living habits in houses transformed, especially in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.<sup>260</sup>

Similar to other areas of change the Anatolian house or the provincial houses changed with features transferred and/or borrowed from the capital. Tanyeli associates this situation with the breaking of the closed economic conditions and the increase of communication facilities with the appearance of the local wealthy people. Some of these provinces in contact with the capital included Ankara with its trading activity of *sof*, Karabük (Safranbolu) with saffron, and Tokat with copper.<sup>261</sup> It is also explained by Aktüre that, as a result of the transformation process in the nineteenth century, the old trading cities of Anatolia, which had earlier produced processed goods, now began to produce half processed goods and sent them to foreign countries. Eventually they lost their property of being the principle industrial center and turned into market places. Aktüre explains two groups of social layering to appear in these cities, i.e. the artisans and small traders versus the Greek (*Rum*) trademen who were selling local products to external markets with low taxation facilities, and the Armenian tradesmen who collected these products from peasants and dealt with small scaled wholesale and retail.<sup>262</sup> Production thus gave way to rapid trade activity replacing local traditions of Anatolian cities in the second half of the nineteenth century.

As a result of these changes in production patterns, the end of the nineteenth century is accepted as the beginning of a changing process also in spatial organization.<sup>263</sup>

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<sup>259</sup> Ibid.

<sup>260</sup> TANYEL , U. (1999a) p.287

<sup>261</sup> A semi-processed woolen cloth

<sup>262</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1985) p.893

<sup>263</sup> Ibid.

Hence, economic changes together with westernized life styles changed the spatial structure of houses. Considering the spatial organization of the housing structure, the most observable change was in the usage of ground floors. The canon of nearly blind ground floor façades, with upper floor windows that provided openings to many sides, the fittings of rooms such as the stove, cupboard, bath, shelves, seating, started to change from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards. The ground floor now opened to the outside, thus façades became more coherent with the established relationship of upper floors and the stronger relationship with streets.

The transformation of the ground floor is accepted as an outcome of the socio economic change. The first floor had been the living space while the ground floor was for services and the mezzanine floor was used in winter time to benefit from the warmth of the kitchen stove and the stable; but in the nineteenth century living spaces appeared also on the ground floor. The ground floor was transformed in the nineteenth century to a similar living space as the first floor, and it was associated with the street, providing more extrovert living spaces. Another feature to emphasize the entrance was the addition of an attic room above the main floor, which is dated to the last quarter of the century.<sup>264</sup> As exemplified in houses of Kastamonu, when the production of family members no longer existed and economy began to be based more on trade activities, houses began to have two storeys at the most, where less number of family members were living.<sup>265</sup> The ground floor, which had earlier been used as a utilities floor, was totally eliminated and the mezzanine floor, which had served as a winter space, was now lowered and spread to the ground floor. In large family houses with three storeys where patriarchal family structure still existed, the mezzanine initially was spread to the whole floor, and their plans, elevations and windows were arranged, leaving the ground floor with its utility spaces. Then later in the last quarter of the century, the ground floor was included into the main areas.<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>264</sup> KUBAN, D. (1995) p.194

<sup>265</sup> AVCI, F. (2004) *Ondukuzuncu Yüzyıl Kastamonu Konutları Değişim Süreci* (Master Thesis , Advisor: Sedat Emir) Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, Mimarlık Bölümü, Restorasyon Anabilim Dalı, p.99

<sup>266</sup> Ibid.

Moreover, the outcome of trading activities and the entrance of mobile furniture such as a table or a bedstead to the country, eventually also changed the multi functional rooms of the house. These spaces changed to be set as functionally defined spaces in this period. Rooms that had once been multi-functional were now designated by their furnishings for specific purposes. Such an example is about the evening *soirées* that included piano playing of higher classes mostly seen in the capital city.<sup>267</sup> The replacement of the Ottoman tray culture with the imported eating table also utilized the room to become unique in function.

The interpretation of Cerasi is that the difference between the non-Muslim and Muslim houses lessened once the Western influences started to change the Ottoman lifestyle. The Western influences brought about standardization of typology through a richer home organization distinction between living and functional spaces.<sup>268</sup> This is evident in the changed usage of ground floors or the addition of a bathroom in Muslim houses.

Other changes included façades, doorways and roof structures. Most houses are identified to be without glass windows because the *revzen*, which is the type of opening where pieces of glass are held together with plaster, was an expensive construction; instead openings were closed with a rubber cloth.<sup>269</sup> Until the eighteenth century only a single room of a wealthy house would have *revzen* type window but in the second half of the century glass became more available. Still, as indicated by Tanyeli, it was only after the first quarter of the nineteenth century that glass started to be used in the Ottoman provinces. Instead of shutters, thick curtains on the inside were being used, and so a more unobstructed inside-outside visual connection was made available. The plastered windows and the tiled roofs became

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<sup>267</sup> BERTRAM, C. (1998) "After the Ottomans are Gone: Imagining the Turkish Ottoman House" *The Ottoman House: papers from the Amasya Symposium, 24-27 September 1996*, ed. S. Ireland, W. Bechhoefer, London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara and the University of Warwick, p.3

<sup>268</sup> CERAS , M.M. (1998) p.11

<sup>269</sup> TANYEL , U. (1999) p.459

common in Anatolia in the first half of the nineteenth century. The appearances of cities like Ankara and Amasya that had been described as flat earth roofed cities in the sixteenth century now began to change.<sup>270</sup>

The housing stock in this period raised due to the rapid growth of population as a result of the immigration from the lands recently lost. This eventually led to the formation of new housing districts. As the housing stock increased in number, a denser fabric developed in cities.

In the nineteenth century it was seen that, instead of blind stone ground floor walls with timber frameworks raising above, houses began to be built with simple entrance doors and balustrades, timber fenestrated windows and ruffled roofs with some having top windows, higher storey houses with large glass windows, carefully and stressed entrance doors and ornate roofs with added decorations and symmetrically designed façades.<sup>271</sup> This had been partly related to the new regulations.

The first development plan for the capital is dated to 1836-37 which had pioneered to the issue of the first development of the public act which had been the 1848 dated *Ebniye Nizamnamesi*, the building code included the codes related to expropriation, the authorization of building, the control of building sites, the regularisation of road widths, regularization of building heights.<sup>272</sup> Later the 1864 dated code had been rather more in depth to be administered in the total of the Empire. Finally the 1882 dated code provided that the construction activity to be conducted by the provincial municipalities be grounded to plans.

The new type of houses are described as having two storeys at most with wide façades facing the street, doorways made available for horse carts (without a threshold), and courtyards that would in some cases have a special shed for carriages. Daily life activities were taking place behind high garden walls or behind housing

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<sup>270</sup> TANYEL , U. (1999) p.465

<sup>271</sup> AVCI, F. (2004) p.42

<sup>272</sup> TEKEL , . (1985) p.885

blocks in front, or in courtyards. Rich and variable housing fabric was one of the most distinct properties of the period. Within courtyards there were now open and closed spaces for storage, for living or for planting, and each house would have its own adjustment with all these variables at hand.<sup>273</sup>

With the increasing number of housing units, between 1848 and 1882, six codes of rules that completed one another were issued. The 1848 code set the street width. In the 1858 code, land laws and some of the western notions such as border, ownership and land registry entered the related Ottoman literature.<sup>274</sup> Thus the alterations resulted from such codes transformed the Ottoman cityscape by introducing the grid plan.

One of the new structures with new functions was the housing of the bureaucratic higher class members. These were not just private houses but were more semi public-private space. Families of bureaucrats and officers lived in the same complexes together with other servants.<sup>275</sup> The office space in such a mansion was called as *kalem*, which included the *pabuçluk* part, where shoes were left while entering, the raised floor called *seki üstü* and the three-sided seating (*sedir*) surrounding it. This was where officers would work.<sup>276</sup> Similar to this type of usage, the private house of the *Kadı* in the city had functioned as the court, the municipality and the governor's office. In the last period of the nineteenth century, many governor mansions were built in the Anatolian provinces.<sup>277</sup>

On the whole the effects of westernization in the physical surrounding were evident in architecture and the urban environment.<sup>278</sup> It had been the practices put in action

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<sup>273</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1985) p.901

<sup>274</sup> DENEL, S. (1982) *Batılılaşma Sürecinde İstanbul'da Tasarım ve Dış Mekanlarda Değişim ve Nedenleri*, Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, p.XXXIV-LXXX

<sup>275</sup> TANYEL, U. (1999b) p.462

<sup>276</sup> Ibid.

<sup>277</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1985) p.896

<sup>278</sup> DENEL, S. (1982) p.55

that had directed the change, although the outcome formed differently in the capital than in the provincial cities.<sup>279</sup>

Known from the applications of the capital city, the new arrangements were initially applied in places destroyed by fires, forming a dual structure in the city by introducing wider streets with the grid plan to form square or rectangular structure islands instead of the old organic narrow streets. The 1875 dated Nizamname had divided the capital into two sections forbidding the building of timber houses in the main sections as a precaution for fire.<sup>280</sup> The aim of the planning regulations was to create square or rectangular plots defined by straight, wide streets with stone or brick structures in the capital.<sup>281</sup> A given example is the first grid plan that had shaped the capital after the fire in Aksaray (1856).<sup>282</sup> After the fire had taken place a systematic map of the area was produced with an alternative urban design project and it was applied.<sup>283</sup>

Subsequently the new face of the city was formed by the divergence from simple housing tradition. The relationship between houses and streets that had been strengthened were supported by law. The door became a part of the house, since the entrance was no longer through a garden. Hence, the relation of the street and the structure changed.<sup>284</sup> Moreover, old houses which had been situated in large land lots, providing life behind walls far from streets in their own secrecy, changed in the nineteenth century with the construction of new houses that had at least one façade facing the street.

With all these new additions and the crowding of cities, new housing areas were also created. The usage of horse carts in cities especially by the bourgeoisie provided the

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<sup>279</sup> Ibid. p.56

<sup>280</sup> ÇELİK, Z. (1998) 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Ba kentleri De i en İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, p.44

<sup>281</sup> Ibid.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid. p.45

<sup>283</sup> Ibid.

<sup>284</sup> AVCI, F. (2004) p.39

opportunity to move to the orchard lands. In these newly formed districts situated in the surroundings of cities, large houses with large gardens were constructed. As a result, wealth and new transportation facilities such as horse carts gave way to the formation of new quarters far from the traditional centers of cities in Anatolian cities.

The notables of the nineteenth century now had the right of inheritance and they became more powerful not only as military leaders but also as local financial authorities. They built and decorated their houses in the new westernizing style prevailing in Istanbul. The number of rich merchants increased in both the capital city and all the provinces as a result of the empire's liberal trade policies. The new lifestyle they led brought European furniture into houses, necessitating a new type of spatial organization in the rooms. Wall paintings now reached ceilings and new and more variable themes were included. These decoration programs, following Istanbul, point to the emergence of a wealthy merchant class in the nineteenth century, resulting in an increase in luxurious private dwellings in the newly developed districts, which represents a period of transition from manuscript illustration to painting in the western sense.<sup>285</sup>

Historians accept that it was mostly the decoration of houses, not their architectural design, which reflected the social and cultural changes of the nineteenth century.<sup>286</sup> The new decorative practice included European elements together with traditional style, where geometric and floral motifs now developed into wall paintings of landscape and still life. "This new type of painted decoration spread rapidly from the capital to the provinces and is found mainly in houses commissioned by the provincial notables, the governors and the wealthy merchants".<sup>287</sup>

It should still not be forgotten that this transformation period of the spatial structure in provincial cities were not simultaneous and in the same intensity with the

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<sup>285</sup> RENDA, G. (1998) p.107

<sup>286</sup> Ibid. p.105

<sup>287</sup> Ibid. p.103

capital city.<sup>288</sup> As a basis for this study the contemporary changes included the mentioned features of housing structures. Nonetheless, such changes can better be expressed on city basis. In order to place all information given to a safer ground, in the following part a search for some of these components and transformations will be made in the examples of Tokat houses.

#### 4.2.1. NINETEENTH CENTURY HOUSES OF TOKAT

In socio-economic terms, the city of Tokat as an important center of trade had developed until mid-seventeenth century and sustained its position during the eighteenth century. When Tournefort visited the city in the beginning of the eighteenth century he depicted Tokat houses by indicating that they were well built houses, mostly two-storey in height, and that the streets were paved to protect houses from flood; moreover, he added that, due to rich water resources, each house had a fountain of its own.<sup>289</sup> This well maintained condition of houses are thought to be an outcome of the economic well being of the time and due to Tokat s lively trade activity.

On the contrary, the statement made by Aktüre concerning the second half of the nineteenth century is that the low rate of house construction was an indication of the stagnant state of the structure of the urban space. By comparing the number of houses constructed in 1851, 1883 and during 1886-87 period, Aktüre identified 14-15 houses to be built each year during 35 years of time. Again the socio-economic circumstances were effective in this stagnant position. Once the trade activity changed its route from Tokat to Samsun, the Greek (*Rum*) and Armenian tradesmen who occupied an important part of trade life in Tokat, migrated to Samsun or Istanbul. At the time, a group of Muslim-Turkish immigrants from Caucasia were also settled in old central districts of Tokat.<sup>290</sup>

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<sup>288</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1985) p.900

<sup>289</sup> TOURNEFORT, J. (2005) “Yirmi Birinci Mektup” *Tournefort Seyahatnamesi*, (ed. S. Yerasimos), (trans: A. Berktaş), Kitap Yayınevi, pp.221-226

<sup>290</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1978) p. 179



Houses of Tokat include older traditional examples as well as exquisite examples dating to the nineteenth century. From maps and other records, it is seen that housing districts in Tokat city in the nineteenth century were intensively located in the city center, with a separate housing area to the south part of the city along the Behzat Stream. The houses of the city center started from the steep slopes, to the castle and to the lower skirts. To the east, northeast and to the south, houses leaned to the heights Hac and Gij Gij, surrounding the city and spreading to the plains to form the valley of the Behzat Stream. Thus the houses were directed mostly in accordance with the topographic properties of the city. The density of houses in the urban area in the nineteenth century, excluding the agricultural land around the city, is identified by Aktüre as 77 %.<sup>291</sup> (Fig.50)

The districts, which formed the housing areas in the historical center, included parts of the open market, as could also be guessed from their names such as *İplikpazarı*, *Keçeciler*, and the districts where the population was mostly non-Muslim were called related names such as *Kâbe-i Mescit*, *Yahudiler* and *Yaşmeydan*.<sup>292</sup> Other districts to the west of the Behzat Stream near to the *Meydan* and to the south of the city center were quarters separated as Muslim and non-Muslim, such as the *Meydan*, *Akdeğirmen* and *Soğukpınar* districts, although the distribution of population in the nineteenth century did not concern whether the districts were mainly Muslim or non-Muslim. Thus housing was dense in the city center and scattered to the south of the city, which was the expansion area of the city.

Similar to other Ottoman cities and districts, in Tokat, one could come across larger houses or mansions in each district. Most of the larger houses were situated within a garden. Aktüre relates the formation of these mansions in larger gardens to a dual constitution in settlement areas that were seen in the last period of the nineteenth century. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the dense settlement areas and the scattered housing within larger gardens were seen to the south part of the city.

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<sup>291</sup> Ibid. p.185

<sup>292</sup> Ibid. p.159

Mahmut Akok examined such larger scale mansions with additional buildings for servants or guests. The first example he gives is the Sezai Bey House located on the west side of the Behzat Stream near the Meydan district, of which only the guest house is left. (Fig.51-52) The Ya cı Zâde Abdullah House is located in the Hoca Ahmet district, and it is made up of three blocks, which Akok calls front, rear, and side, and the *iş evi* (work house) houses. Today only the rear house exists (Fig.53, Fig.54). The rear house is located behind the front house and it is two-storey high, having a two-storey *sofa* that faces the courtyard. The upper floor sofa is depicted as a spacious *hayat*. Its plan is made up of two rooms around a sofa. The larger room is the *başoda*. Finally, the Latifo lu mansion is located on the main boulevard (today called Gazi Osman Pa a Bulvarı), in between the Hocaahmet and So ukpınar districts. The L-shaped plan provides for the stone paved courtyard to have a large fountain in the middle. (Fig.55-56) On this floor rooms facing the sofa and the bath are located. On the upper floor four rooms around a large sofa take place. Again the *başoda* is cited with its interior decorations.<sup>293</sup> (Fig.57-58) In these examples the common feature is the existence of a part for guests, which is designated by having a well decorated *başoda* and also a separation for the women quarters to provide privacy of women from the guests. This shows that these houses were houses with frequent guests and the decorations indicate wealth of the owners of these houses.

Also of the nineteenth century developments, most houses were adjacent and neighbors could chat from one garden to another. In most of the nineteenth century houses of Tokat the entrance is through a door that was directly opened to the *taşlık* part. The door was a part of the house and most houses had direct façades to the street.

The decoration of houses was another aspect of the nineteenth century that experienced the western influence. In his work related to Tokat houses Çal identified engravings in only three of the houses, whose subjects included a city scenery, a

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<sup>293</sup> AKOK, M. (1957) p.144

view, a mosque alone, a sailboat, flowers in a vase and fruits in a bowl. The styles of these decorations have been matched with the known artist of Zile named Emin.<sup>294</sup> In the newly formed district of the nineteenth century called Devegörmez, Sevgi Aktüre interprets the western influences by giving reference to the façade organization and decorations. Aktüre indicates that the polygonal projections and partitioned façades as well as the *çıtakari* decoration on ceilings were an outcome of the new fashion.<sup>295</sup>

Another outcome of wealthier life standards indicated by sources and as a tradition that was alive until the first half of the twentieth century in Tokat were the nearby summer houses (*bağevi*).<sup>296</sup> Wealthier families would leave their houses to go to these quarters in summer time, and they would also perform some agricultural activities and produce animal products there. As mentioned before these houses were not any further than in reach of a day's distance.

The spread area for the city of Tokat was towards the south. When we examine the two maps of the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries drawn by Aktüre, it can clearly be seen that the housing areas spread to the south of the city, following the Behzat Stream, and situated perpendicularly to the heights. (Fig.13, Fig.50) The Soğukpınar district is one of the large districts to have taken form in this last period of the century.

Finally, Aktüre points out that indeed neither the building technique nor the plans of houses changed in this century in Tokat. In the houses of Devegörmez district, the ground floor was still used as a utilities space, including a *taşlık* that is organized in the common plan types.<sup>297</sup> Thus the only transformation or change in the nineteenth century houses of Tokat is found to be in the façade organizations and decorations.<sup>298</sup> Nevertheless, the nineteenth century changes in Tokat houses explained by Halit Çal

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<sup>294</sup> ÇAL, H. (1987) p.378.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid.

<sup>296</sup> YAV, E. (1986) *Tokat*, İstanbul: Tokat Otelcilik Turizm A. Ş., p.99

<sup>297</sup> ÇAL, H. (1987) p.380

<sup>298</sup> Ibid.

include a few houses in which the mezzanine floor was omitted and rooms were added to the ground floor, added in as a living space. He mentions that the *pabuçluk* part was omitted in late housing examples, also the *ocaklık* was seen fewer in the upper floors and the emphasis to the *başoda* lessened.

#### 4.2.2. THE CASE STUDY OF THE SOĞUKPINAR DISTRICT

In the light of the previous sections a closer study related to the So ukpınar district (Fig.59) in Tokat, which is one of the places under conservation in the city, will be analyzed in this part. The So ukpınar district is located to the south of the city center and on the eastern part of the Behzat Stream that cuts the city in the north-south direction. The district received its name from the serenity of the Behzat Stream shadowed by the poplar trees alinged along it.<sup>299</sup> The So ukpınar district is separated into a Muslim and a non-Muslim part. The number of houses in the district in 1851 was set by Cinlio lu, and also interpreted by Aktüre:<sup>300</sup> These studies indicate 221 houses in the so called So ukpınar Muslim district, of which 125 had Muslim, 89 Armenian and 7 Greek (*Rum*) occupants. In the non-Muslim part of the district, on the other hand, they indicate 54 Muslim houses to exist.

The Behzat Mosque and the Behzat Market Place are the important communal areas of the district. The Behzat Mosque is known from its inscription to have been built in 1535-36 by Hoca Behzad, and later in 1891-1892 it was enlarged. The Behzat Market Place was made up of small shops situated below houses. (Fig.60) The small mosque in So ukpınar was built in the first years of the twentieth century; so the Behzat Mosque must have formed the nucleus of the district until then.

Today called as Bey Hamam, Bey Street and Ardala Street, there are three streets that nestled the traditional houses of the So ukpınar district. The district is located close to the secondary city center that was shaped around the (*Meydan*) Hatuniye

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<sup>299</sup> DUTO LU, Y. (2009) "Eski Mahallelerimiz" *Heerilife*, November, No.3, p.56

<sup>300</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1978) pp.309-310, C NL O LU H.T. (1973) pp.23-26

Mosque in the nineteenth century. It is adjacent to the border drawn by the main axis of the Behzat Stream, which was called as the Ba dat Street then. The Behzat Mosque and the clock tower encircle the So ukpınar district.<sup>301</sup> The district is bordered by the Behzat Stream at the point where the Halkalı Bridge existed. (Fig.61) So ukpınar is the neighbor of the outer district of Devegörmez.

The most important structure that identifies this district has been the religious sanctuary for Mevlevi dervishes, the *Mevlevihane*. The founder is known to be Sülün Muslu Pa a, and from Evliya Çelebi s visit to Tokat, we are informed that two times a week there were a religious service of Mevlânâ in this lodge.<sup>302</sup> (Fig.62) Other than housing, the *Semazen* dervishes, a separate mansion, the waqf house of Musluo lu family, and a communal bath are parts of the lodge complex.

As a part of the *Mevlevihane*, the Musluo lu mansion is a distinguished house of the district. The house is two-storey in height. (Fig.63) On the ground floor there is a kitchen and storage areas, and an open staircase leading to an open *sofa*, *hayat*. To the rear of the *hayat* are four rooms, including the *başoda*, and a small bath opening to the sofa. This house is different in plan from most houses. Although quite plain in decoration, similar to the previously explained mansions, the Musluo lu must have been more of a guest house to serve for the *Mevlevihane*. (Fig.64-65) We can see from the seventeenth century map of Aktüre that this area had first been occupied by the structures of the *Mevlevihane*, which must have been in an outer district for the time being.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the administrative center was formed near the So ukpınar district. Yavi informs that, other than the Meydan district, located at the heart of the city, larger mansions and houses of the notables, the ayan,

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<sup>301</sup> UYSAL, A. O. (1987) “Tokat taki Osmanlı Camileri” *Türk Tarihinde ve Türk Kültüründe Tokat Sempozyumu* (2-6 Temmuz 1986), (ed. S.H. Bolay, M. Yazıcıo lu, B. Yediylidiz, M.Özdemir), Ankara: Geli im Matbaası, p.346

<sup>302</sup> KOPRAMAN, Y.K. (1987) p.44

the artisans and merchants were located on the Bey and Behzat Street neighborhoods after the development of the administrative center.<sup>303</sup>

In his study related to the houses of Tokat, Çal identifies eight houses left in the Ardalı Street, 19 in the Bey Street, and 13 in the Bey Hamam Street, making a total of 40 houses.<sup>304</sup> As we find from the inventory made by the Ministry of Culture, 36 houses dating to the nineteenth century have been left today. (Table 2)

Most of these houses are adjoining structures, having double doors that open directly to the street. Most of the houses have a closed type of *taşlık*. The adjoining houses of the street are interrupted by larger gardens, surrounding some of the larger houses, or by the few number of houses whose entrances are through a garden or through the open courtyard.

The Remzi Sö üt house, also located in the Bey Hamam Street, is one of these differentiated houses whose entrance is through a courtyard. It is a two-storey house with an attic room above. (Fig.66-67) The inner courtyard, which was the *taşlık* space, is an open area that also houses a stove, a burner and a fountain. This inner courtyard is surrounded by two rooms that opens to a sofa, a kitchen and a bath on two sides. The entrance courtyard also has a fountain, having another closed space on its left-hand side, most probably used as a cellar or a storage area. The inner courtyard is an open gallery, to which the first floor rooms open from above. To the left side of the inner courtyard is the bath, which has its own burner and ventilation ducts, and next to is the kitchen space - but as one of its walls is identified to have been built recently as a later addition. The sofa that the two rooms open to is an interesting feature to show the living activity to take place on the ground floor. The window openings of the sofa and the rooms though open to the backyard garden, giving privacy to the living areas of this floor. A corridor on the right hand side of the *taşlık* leads to the garden. The inner courtyard is of stone; the rooms and the sofa

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<sup>303</sup> YAV , E. (1986) p.99

<sup>304</sup> ÇAL, H. (1987) pp.383-386 ; List of Tokat Houses

are of timber, the bath is of paving of the cast granolith and the annex room of earth. All walls are of mud brick filling with timber and with either earth coating or lime coated; and the ceilings are of timber as usual.

The staircase leads to the first floor from the entrance courtyard and the façade is recessed inside; thus, it is closed above with a tiled roof and the *sofa* windows are seen above the roof. The *sofa* reached through the staircase was used as much more a transitional space connected to a room on the left and a kitchen that opens to a bath reached also from the second *sofa*. This second *sofa*, which is an enclosed area viewing the *taşlık* gallery from above, faces three rooms, of which the middle room must have also been a *sofa* opening to these two rooms. The two rooms make projections on the rear facade. This plan seems to be useful for a dual usage where men and women or guests and the inhabitants could privately use spaces and yet still use the kitchen together, thus food service could be made to all. All three rooms on this floor had in the traditional style a built in cabinet and a timber divan in front of the window sill. The Remzi sö üt house is of the rare examples to reflect properties of the period.

Most of the houses of So ukpınar lined up facing the street are two-storey in height, including a mezzanine floor above the ground floor. As Çal also indicates, these houses still have blind ground floor façades with small openings to the street on the ground floor level. Only in two of the existing houses larger openings on the ground floor are seen, and also in four houses with entrances from gardens there are large window openings to indicate that living spaces exist on the ground floor. Many different types of projections were made in accordance to the location of the houses on the street, providing openings for these houses to the street. The single polygonal type of projections and the circular type of projections are dated to the nineteenth century.<sup>305</sup>

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<sup>305</sup> ÇAL, H. (1987) p.380

The gardens of different sizes thus are located mostly to the rear part of the houses. These gardens, which were used as small orchards or as small fields for agriculture, can still be seen as a cultural heritage left behind in some elderly Tokat house owners' gardens. A burner and a small fountain are also parts of gardens in some of these houses. As a result of the relationship between the house and the street, houses that come closer or are adjacent are separated by garden walls or the blind walls of neighboring houses to block the view from open courtyards. Thus privacy within these thick woven housing lots could always be provided either with wall or with timber fences.

When compared to the more central housing districts, in the Bey Hamam and Bey Streets, there is not any house which had a shop on its ground floor opening to the street. This type of shops could frequently be seen in houses nearer to the trade center. Likewise, in the Behzat Street there are shops on the ground floors of houses. (Fig.68-71)

Although houses formed a closed type of life style where relation with the street was only provided through upper floor windows, communal areas would create a lively social life within Ottoman districts. Baths and small mosques were the most functional in these terms. In other similar cities where Muslim population formed the majority, fountains within or nearby districts would be parts of this gathering. There are many of such fountains mentioned by Çelebi, among which was the one in So ukpınar and the fountain of the Mevlevihane dated to 1646 is also thought to be in communal use.<sup>306</sup> Yet, most of the houses in Tokat had fountains of their own within their courtyards as a result of rich water sources in the region.

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<sup>306</sup> KOPRAMAN, Y.K. (1987) p.46



### 4.3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The outcomes of the change in the nineteenth century on the residential architecture and the housing districts in Tokat city were different from those on public buildings. Due to the fact that housing is more about personal choices, it could rather follow a certain fashion adopted from the capital. It was in the few number of wealthier mansions in the city that this fashion was seen in both the general splendor of the house and especially in its decoration.

The more functional usage of the ground floor, which was also a nineteenth century outcome, was not widely seen in the general context of housing. Thus, developments in the capital were followed in provinces, as in Tokat, but in a slower and gradual pace. Nevertheless, in larger plots in farther parts of the city, new houses developed with large gardens as different from the city houses. These houses did not actually follow a fashion but they were rather an outcome of the topography and the use of land. Thus what changed for residential architecture was mostly resulted from the new transportation facilities with the construction of the new road axis, and the new city center developed as a busy focus of the city around the administrative center.

The houses that have been analyzed in one of those newly formed districts, i.e. the So ukpınar district, clearly differ from the ones in between the narrow streets of the old city center, not in their plan layouts but mostly in the way they fit into the urban environment. The way they face the street, their orderly alignment across the street with no interruptions of a shop, etc. are their defining features. This is mainly due to their occupants being mostly state officers or of high ranking citizens of the city, who chose to live near their work places at the administrative center, and partly due to the regulations set by the municipal authority of the central control that became more and more effective in the nineteenth century.<sup>307</sup>

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<sup>307</sup> This was especially effective in the case of row houses in the capital. The building codes related to restrictions of construction including building heights, and street widths had resulted in the building of rowhouses especially in the capital. The rowhouses are defined to be built after the second half of the nineteenth century. These houses of the capital belonged to the middle or lower classes, either Muslim

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

Ottoman cities in Anatolia formed through centuries in terms of the social realm, structural context and spatial characteristics. Like other cities, Tokat had developed a tradition of living until the late period of the Ottoman Empire. Starting from the second half of the nineteenth century, contemporary political circumstances engendered the transformation of the built environment in the city. Eventually, the change in social and institutional fields transformed the public as well as the private scene of the Tokat city.

This study is initially aimed to understand the urban life in places other than the capital city, namely the provincial life, in the last period of the Ottoman Empire. Imperial edicts and other executions set by the state are known to have been applied firstly in the capital and later, if they were succeeded, they became regularized or accepted also in the provinces. Thus the study of Tokat provided the opportunity to understand the changing context of the Ottoman built environment in the nineteenth century and relatedly the degree of the contemporary centralization efforts of the state. The two main parts of the study about the urban built environment, including the public buildings and the residential architecture of Tokat, have materialised the outcomes of the study.

The mosques, courtyards, coffee houses and even communal baths were the public spaces of the Ottoman cities due to their visual and audible characteristics.<sup>308</sup> Town

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or non-Muslim their occupants were artisans and small traders and middle class bureaucrats. The assembly of the street, the building plot and the structure were different from the previous urban structure in these rowhouse districts. The garden that had been the component to effect the street structure did not exist in these rowhouses which was an important formal change. See DENEL, S. (1982) pp.58-59; BATUR, A. [et al] (1979) “ stanbul da Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıl Sıra Evleri, <Koruma ve Yeniden Kullanım için Bir Monografik Ara tırma > *O.D.T.Ü. Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi* , Vol:5, No: 2, p.189-193.

<sup>308</sup> Gurallar argues for the existence of public space as opposed to the general idea about its lack in Ottoman cities. See, GURALLAR, N. (2009) pp.52-55

squares, as formed in the nineteenth century, provided such a public function and exemplified that, when public space is associated with architectural space, we observe not only political acts but also daily routines of citizens there. In the nineteenth century, the number of public buildings increased and their function in social life became significant. The buildings such as governmental/administrative offices, schools and hospitals were spaces where the political power of the state was displayed. Moreover, they were also public spaces that served the Ottoman citizens, and were used by them public in the communal sense.

In Tokat, by the end of the nineteenth century, the economic system changed, the mentality changed, the population changed, the type of occupations changed. And because it is by firman or by the order of the governors, a more rapid change was made possible in the spatial environment of the city center. In the studied urban context of Tokat that (trans)formed by the construction of the governmental structures, the consequently formed center provided a sudden change of the built environment in the city. When a number of buildings, with functions decided and ordered by the central authority, were constructed, and when the main throughfare of the city was changed with the new road system, changes in public life were to follow this spatial changes.

The centralisation efforts of the state, and the consequent construction of buildings with new functions added a momentum to the transformation of the city. As of the nineteenth century changes, the Ottoman subjects were now began to be served by the provision of schools, hospitals, and communication and transportation facilities by the state in return to their taxes and their obedience. With the introduction of such new functions in the urban context, there emerged new public activities in addition to the Friday prayer, the bath sessions, the coffee house gatherings and the picnics. Now, more opportunities were available to meet fellow citizens outside houses in the city center.

The changes in residential architecture in the nineteenth century Tokat on the other hand were experienced more gradually. The formation of residential architecture had followed the tradition if not the genuine structure of Tokat's topography, wealth and urbanization. In this regard, the study tried to evaluate what was genuine for the city but at the same time to understand the changes in residential architecture as a result of the new conditions of the period that began to transform – albeit slowly – during the nineteenth century.

As different from many other Ottoman cities, most of the neighborhoods of Tokat were occupied together with Muslim and non-Muslim subjects – a situation which is known to have been criticised even by *firman*s at time. This had taken place through centuries, which was also evident in the physical state of Tokat houses. There was no differentiation in set terms of Tokat between Muslim and non-Muslim houses as they used the same types of spaces for the very similar types of daily routines. Hence, different religious groups lived in similar houses with common plan types, which brings us to the point that it had rather been the climate, the water sources, the agricultural products and the fashion of the times to have effected the spatial organisation of a family house. From studies of population we know that non-Muslim families were larger in number and wealthier in the branches of occupation chosen. So we may conclude that in residential architecture there were differences in terms of size. Another difference of usage was seen in the wealthier mansions of the Muslim groups where there existed a *harem-selamlık* in accordance with the Islamic rules.

During the nineteenth century, not only a more homogenised type of space came to being where there was an opening to the western type of living, but also a more differentiated type emerged with reference to the acceptance of modern type of living versus the traditional. The non-Muslim groups are known to have been more open to such changes in furnishing or in decoration that changed the daily life in the houses, by introducing a bathroom in the house, using larger windows or including the ground floor into the living space and opening it to the street.

It could thus be concluded that the new bureaucracy and the new laws that had been an outcome of the circumstances in the last period of the nineteenth century shaped the provincial city of Tokat, both its public and private spaces, thus its urban context was changed. This transformation was best seen in the new administrative center that was shaped around the new road structure, and in the new housing districts developed close to this center such as the So ukpınar district that is studied. The new center and its surrounding were regularized in this process with the new road widths and building heights as well as new building structures constructed according to the rules brought about by *Ebniye Nizamnamesi* and the firmans as introduced by the state whereas the transformation in the usage of residential units was to remain much the same as it was formed by the people themselves. In this period Tokat lost its popularity as a city of trade which eventually meant that wealth in the city was reduced. At that time tradesmen were to leave the city and the majority in the social context was now occupied by the officials and state workers. In this context, even the newly constructed houses generally followed traditional rules and remained modest, with the changes only seen in details as a result of the new life style in some families as well as with the related regulations.

Finally, although the transformation processes of the public and the private areas developed differently, the general comment could be made that, in the last period of the Otoman Empire, daily life and the spatial formation of the city of Tokat changed. It could also be concluded that the change was in accordance with the central authority, in line with the contemporary social and political centralization and modernization aims of the state. The city of Tokat is important today with its historical structures that witness the building activities of many centuries. The spatial findings in the built environment of the city related to the nineteenth century, on the other hand, provide important information about a time when traditional life was transforming into the more modernized life style of the turn of the century in both public and private spheres.

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## TABLES

**Table 1: Housing Stock and Population of Tokat City Center**

Years	Houses	Population (Houses x 5) <sup>1</sup>	Explanations
1455	2000 muslim / 1000 non-muslim houses	15000	Data of AKTÜRE <sup>2</sup>
15th century		8000	Data of ÇAL <sup>3</sup>
1590	2754 taxed houses ( <i>avarız hanesi</i> )	2754 taxed houses ( <i>avarız hanesi</i> )	Data of P RL <sup>4</sup>
16th century	3000	15000	Data of ÇAL
16th century	1600	7000-8000	Data of AKTÜRE
17th century	4000	15000-20000	Data of AKTÜRE
1600	924 houses ( <i>hane</i> )	4620	Cerasi identifies due to The Celali rebellions in 1601 and in 1627 <sup>5</sup>
18th century	3300-4800 houses	16500-24000	according to Tournefort 24.400 population <sup>6</sup>
18th century		30000-40000	Aktüre from calculating the possible area to be occupied
18th century	3300	16000	Data of ÇAL
1825	6000 muslim/1500 taxed house	30000/7500	Data of ÇAL
1834		14.090 male citizens	Be irli identifies from a state order <sup>7</sup>
1835	2800-4000 houses	14000-20000	Data of ÇAL
1850		less than 25000	Data of ÇAL
1864	4305 houses - 2501 of them muslim	21500	Data of ÇAL
1870	4378 houses	21900	Data of MERCAN <sup>8</sup>
1881	5960 houses	29800	Data of ÇAL
1881		77986(%8 Armenian)	Data of MERCAN
1883	4155 houses	20775	Data of ÇAL
1885	4426 houses	22130	Data of AKTÜRE
1887-88	7380 houses	36393	Data of ÇAL
1897		29000 (18000 Turk, 8800 Armenian, 1300 Greek)	Data of MERCAN
19th century	4000-6000 houses	20000-30000	Data of ÇAL

<sup>1</sup> Number found by accepting Barkan's average for a family which includes 5 people in each house.

<sup>2</sup> AKTÜRE, S. (1978)

<sup>3</sup> ÇAL, H. (1987)

<sup>4</sup> P RL , M.(1987)

<sup>5</sup> CERAS , M.M. (1998)

<sup>6</sup> TOURNEFORT, J. (2008)

<sup>7</sup> BE RL , M. (2005)

<sup>8</sup> MERCAN, M. (2002) p.10

**Table 2: Evaluation Chart for Soğukpınar Houses**

<b>37 Houses of Soğukpınar District</b>	1 Storey	2 Storey	Non-Existing
Number of Storey	<b>31 houses</b>	<b>6 houses</b>	
Houses having a Mezzanine Floor	28 houses	1 house	8 houses
Houses Within a Garden	4 houses	1 house	
Houses with a door on the Street	27 houses	5 houses	



**Table 3: Forty Important Historical Buildings in Tokat**

<i>Ruling Periods</i>			
<b>Danişmend Period</b>	<b>Seljuk Period</b>	<b>Mogul Period</b>	<b>Ottoman Period</b>
Çukur Madrasa	Vezir Ahmed Pa a Maşjid	Abdülmuttalip Zawiye	Clock Tower
Garipler Mosque	Alaca Maşjid	Sentimur O lu Nurettin Tomb	Behzat Mosque
	Sefer Be e Maşjid		Ali Pa a Bath
	Pervane Bath		Ali Pa a Tomb
	Gök Madrasa		<i>Bedesten</i>
	Halef Süleyman Madrasa		Takyeciler Mosque
	Sünbül Baba Zawiye		Bakırcılar Maşjid
	Meknün Tomb		Sultan Bath
	Bridge		Yörgüç Pa a Bath
			Pa a Khan
			Rüstem Çelebi Mosque
			Hisariye Madrasa
			Mustafa Bath
			Ulu Mosque
			Ta Khan
			Horozo lu Zawiye
			Meydan Mosque
			Hamza Bey Mosque

## FIGURES

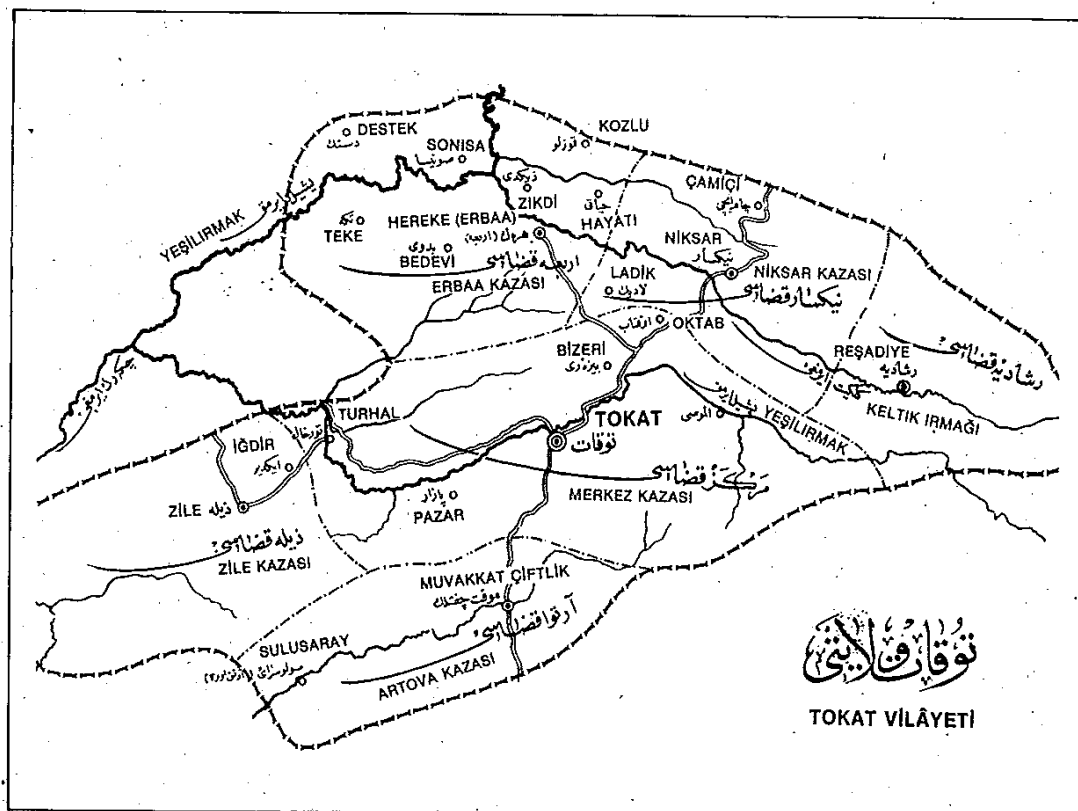
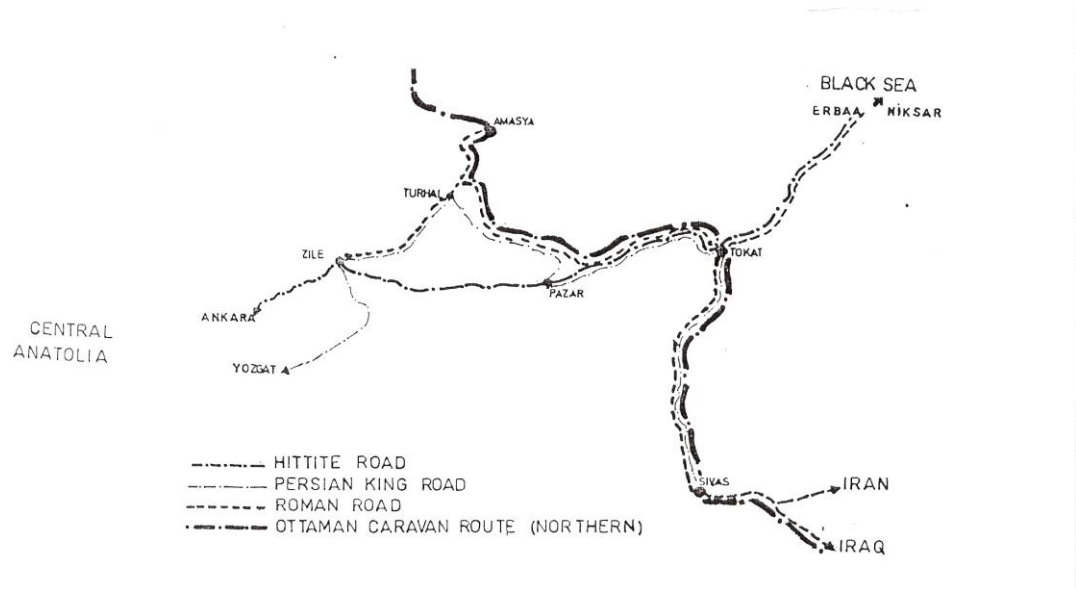
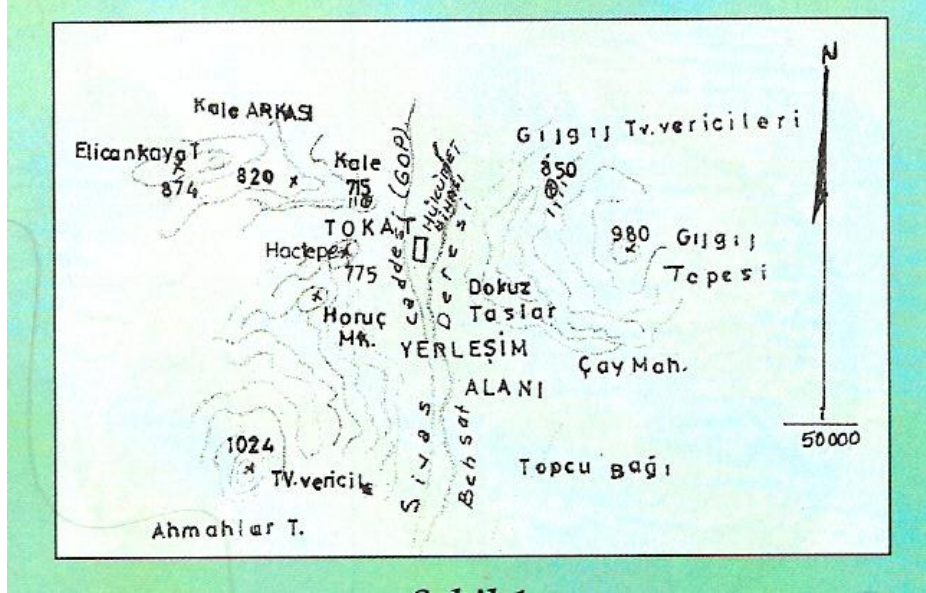


Fig. 1 Map of Tokat County in the Late Ottoman Period



**Fig. 2** Development of Tokat City and Major Historical Roads



**Fig. 3** Heights of Tokat City Center



**Fig. 4** Tokat City Map showing districts



**Fig. 5** Nine domed *Bedesten* with two *Arasta*



**Fig. 6** Sulu Khan seen next to the *Bedesten*



**Fig. 7** Nine domes of the *Bedesten*



**Fig. 8** Takyeciler Mosque attached to the *Bedesten*

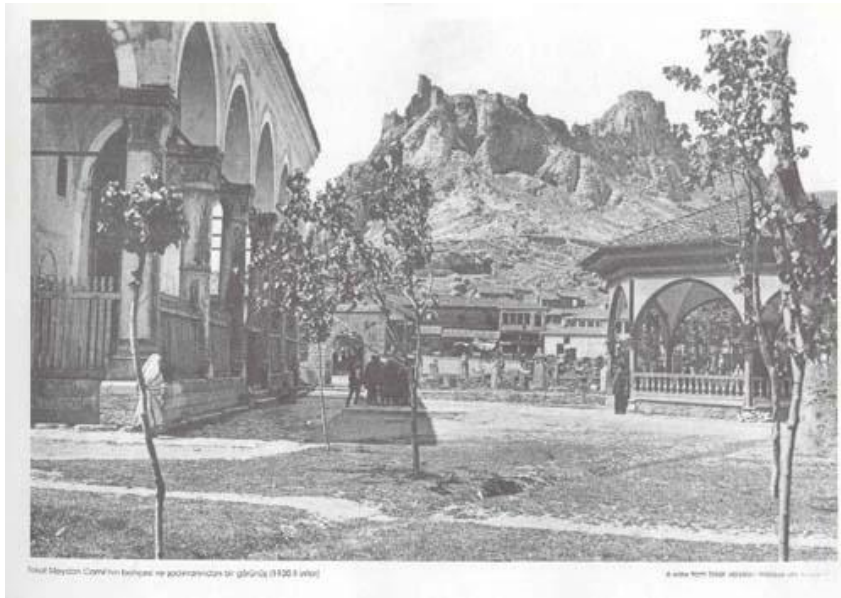


**Fig. 9** Hatuniye Mosque



**Fig. 10** *Meydan* and Hatuniye Mosque (in 1926)

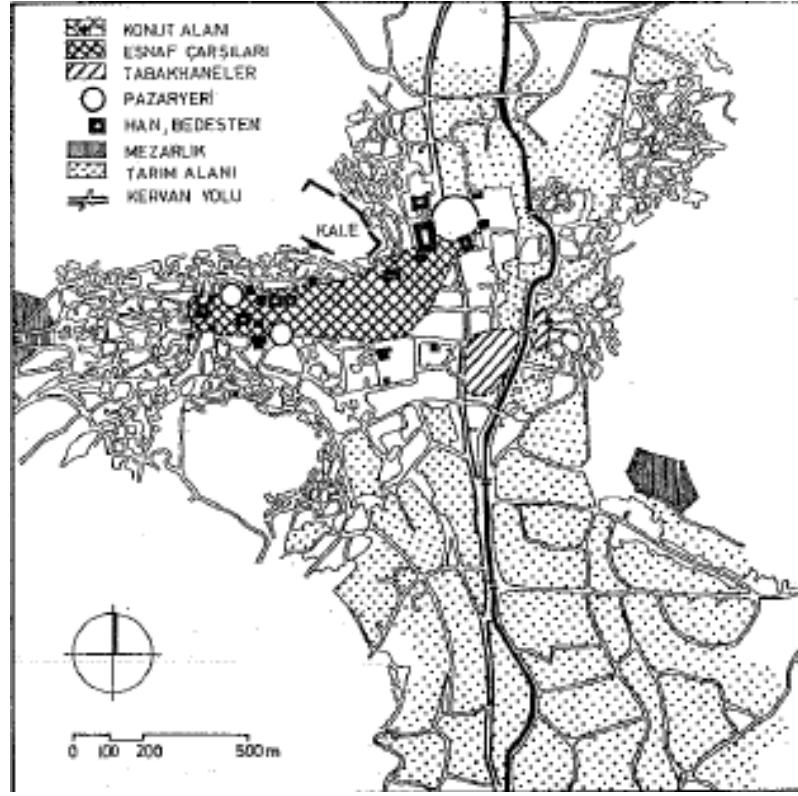




**Fig. 11** Hatuniye Mosque and Ta Khan, below the Hac slopes (1920s)



**Fig. 12** Ta Khan in front and Hatuniye Mosque at the rear



**Fig. 13** Map of Tokat City, 17th-18<sup>th</sup> Century



**Fig. 14** Ta Khan, Arial view



**Fig. 15** Ta Khan in 1930s



**Fig. 16** Ta Khan, Exterior



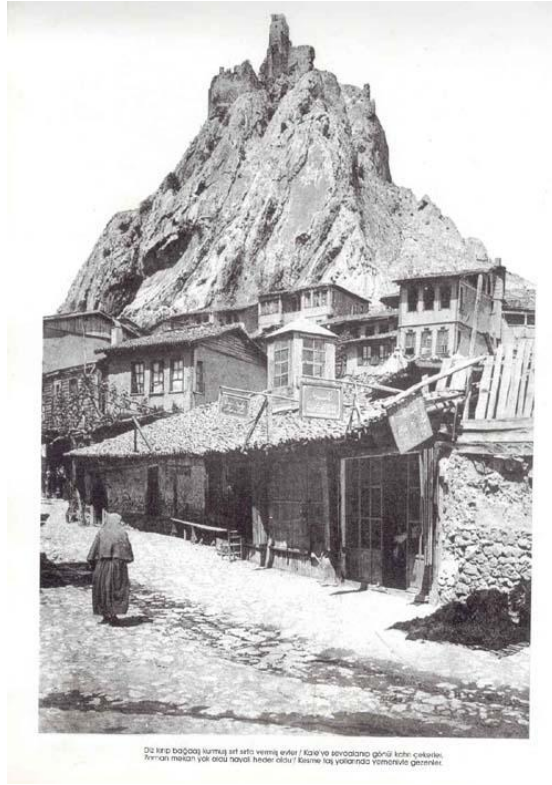
**Fig. 17** Ta Khan, Courtyard



**Fig. 18** Deveci Khan (an inner city caravanserai)



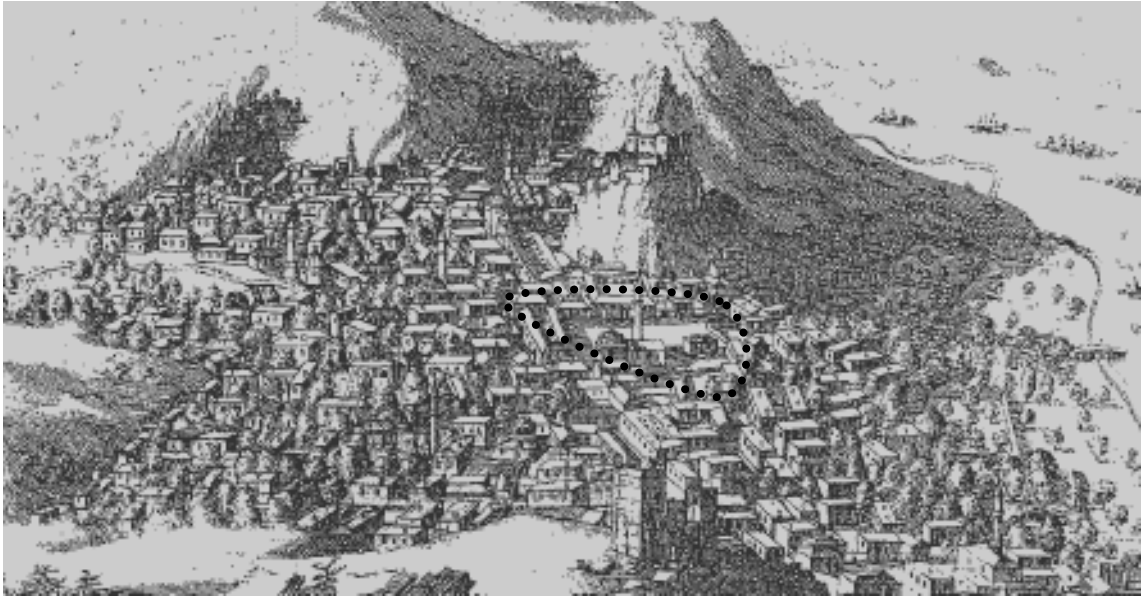
**Fig. 19** Deveci Khan, Courtyard



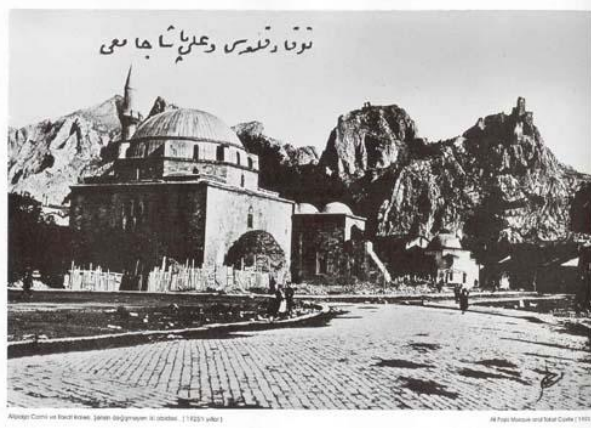
**Fig. 20** Shops below the citidal



**Fig. 21** Old Trade Center in the axis of east-west direction



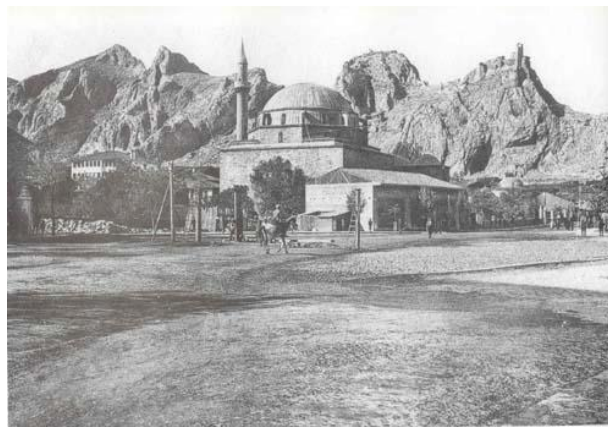
**Fig. 22** Engraving by Tournefort showing 18<sup>th</sup> century Tokat *Meydan*



**Fig. 23** Ali Paşa Mosque

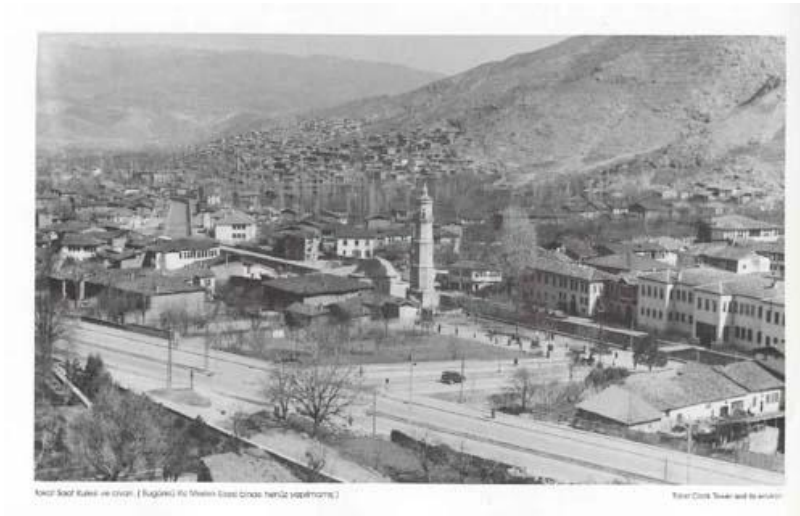


**Fig. 24** Yaşmeydan also named Mahkemeönü



**Fig. 25** Ali Paşa Mosque, Yaşmeydan, Mahkemeönü





**Fig. 26** The Governors Complex across Halkalı Bridge



**Fig. 27** County Constabulary Building (1902)



**Fig. 28** Halkalı Bridge and Governors Building (1934)



**Fig. 29** The Governors Complex (1940s)



**Fig. 30** Municipality Building and the Park



**Fig. 31** Municipality Building next to Ali Pa a Mosque



**Fig. 32** *Reji İdaresi Building* (1930)



**Fig. 33** Sivas road to the south before the municipal construction plan (1930)



**Fig. 34** Ulu Mosque



Fig. 35 Behzat Mosque behind the Clock Tower



Fig. 36 dadi school on Sivas Street (1936)



**Fig. 37** Sultan Bath in Kazancılar Street



**Fig. 38** Yüksek Kahve Coffee Shop in Behzat Street





**Fig. 39** Clock Tower in Behzat Street



**Fig. 40** Ta Khan, Nineteenth century fountain



Taş Khan



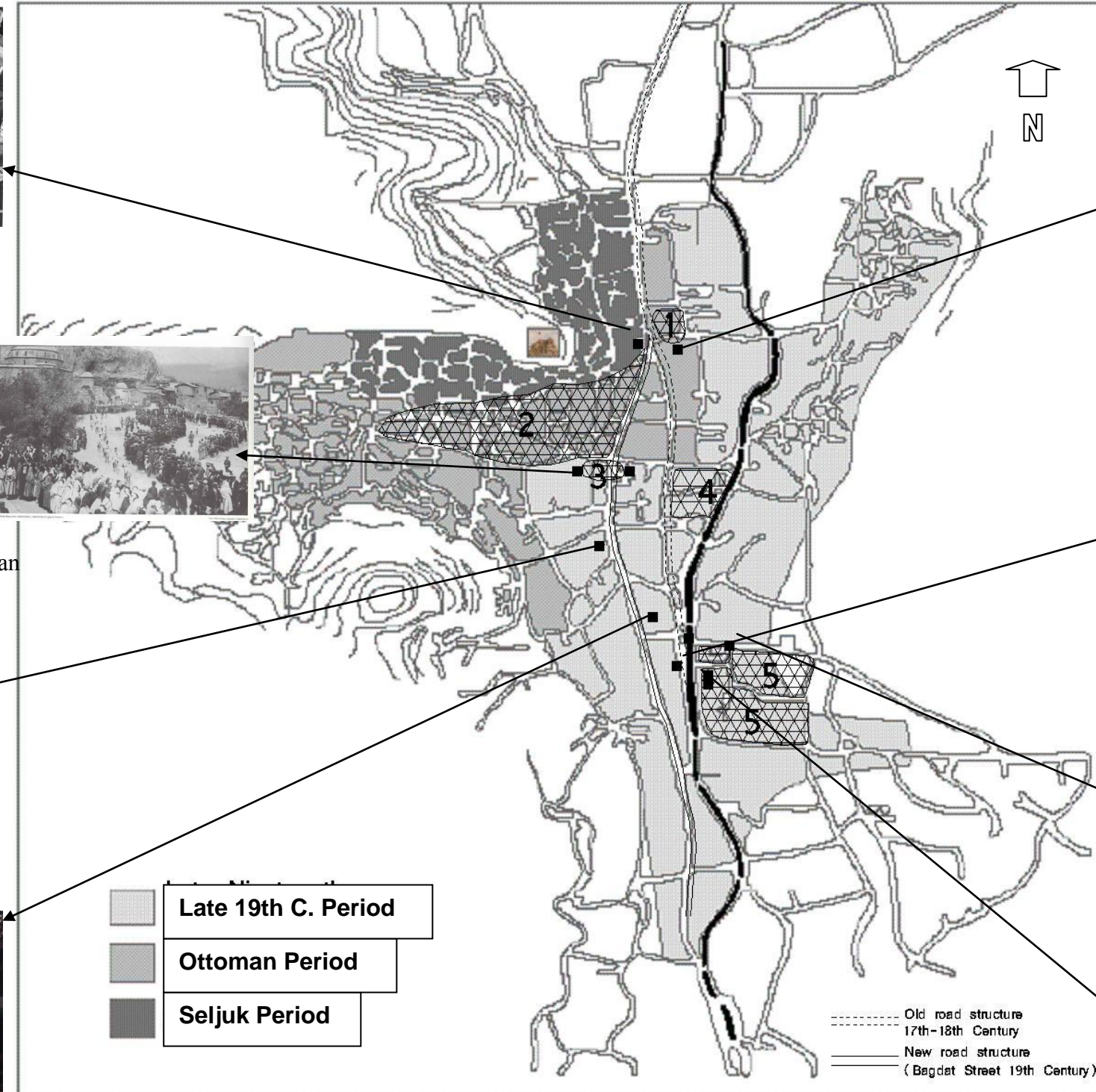
Ali Paşa Mosque and Yaşmeydan



Municipality Building



Latifoğlu Mansion



- 1- Meydan (Hatuniye Mosque)
- 2- Traditional City Center
- 3- Yaşmeydan (Mahkemeönü)
- 4- Tanneries
- 5- Soğukpınar District



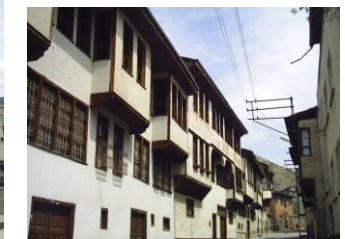
Meydan and Hatuniye Mosque



Clock Tower Behzat Mosque

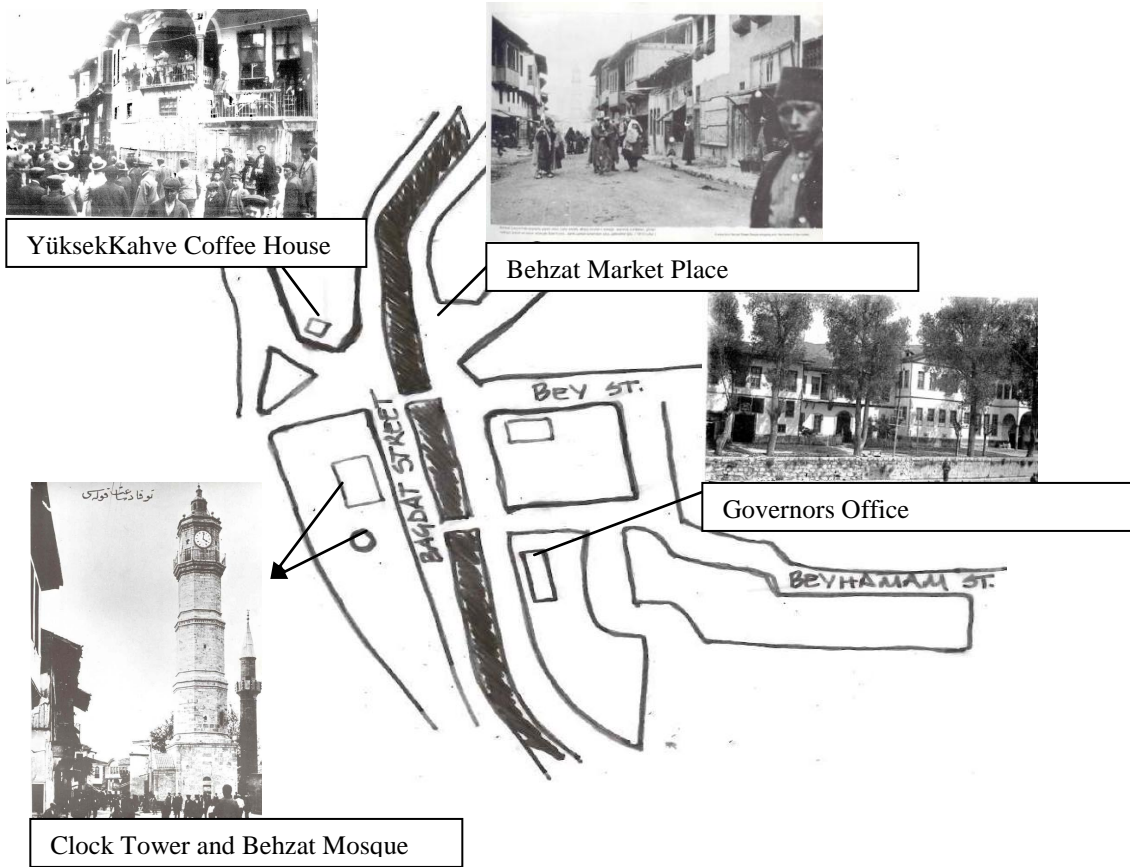


Mevlevihane and Bey Street



Governors Office Building and Halkalı Bridge

Fig. 41 Map showing Public Buildings of Tokat



**Fig. 42** Map of Soğukpınar District and Behzat Market Place



**Fig. 43** Engraving of Houses below Tokat citadel



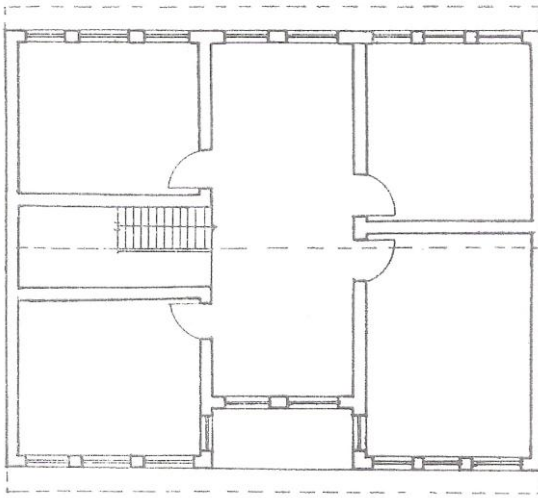
**Fig. 44** Houses below Tokat citadel



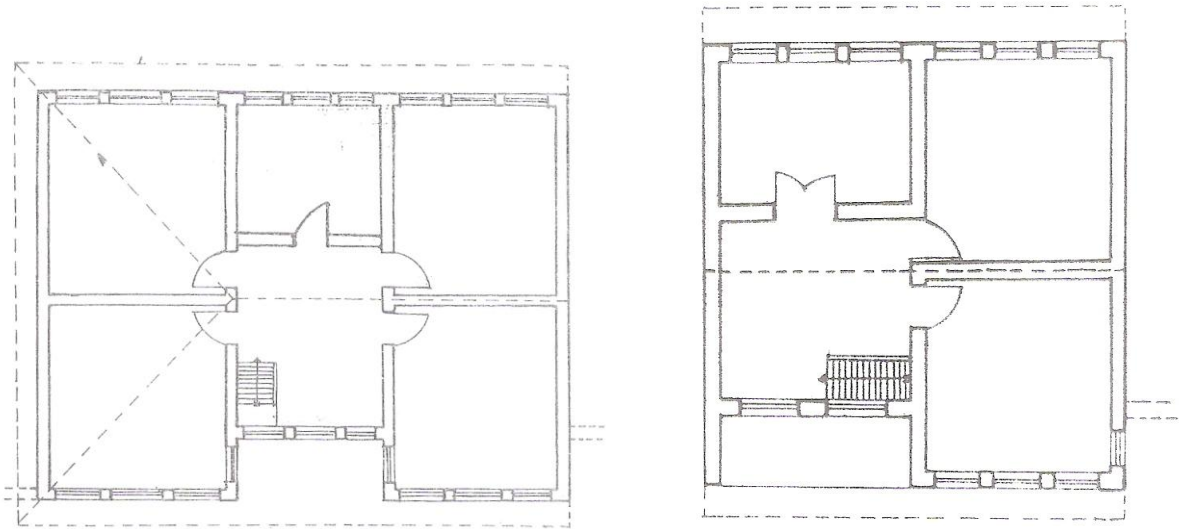
**Fig. 45** Plaster niche detail from the *başoda* of Bahattin pırlı House



**Fig. 46** Door handles from the Tokat Museum

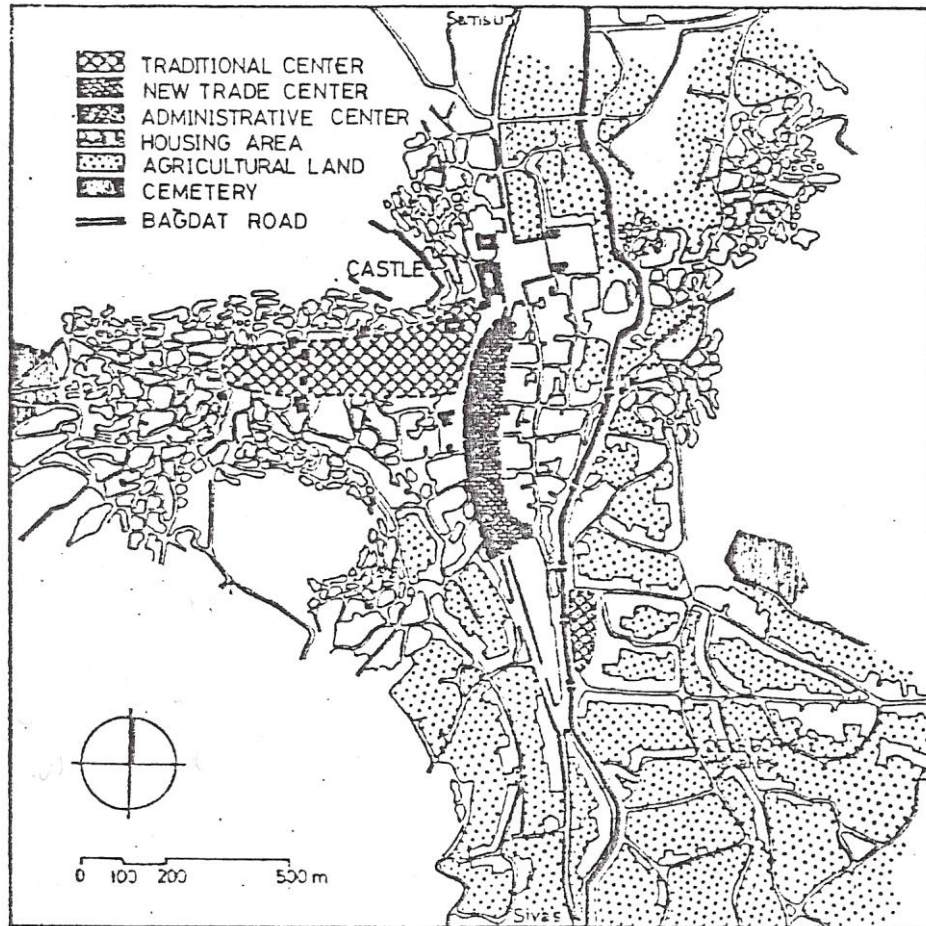


**Fig. 47** Two sides enclosed sofa type house plan

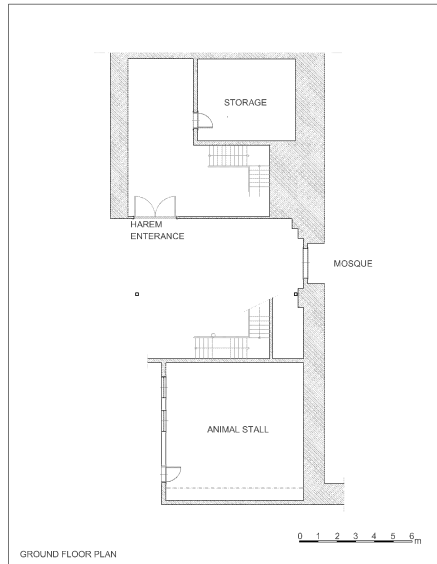


**Fig. 48** Three sided outer sofa type house plan

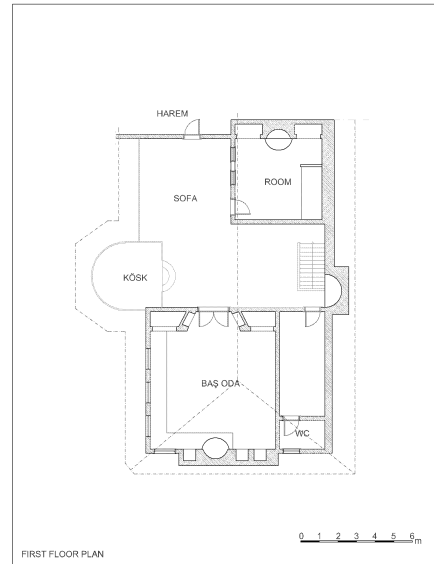
**Fig. 49** The outer corner sofa type house plan



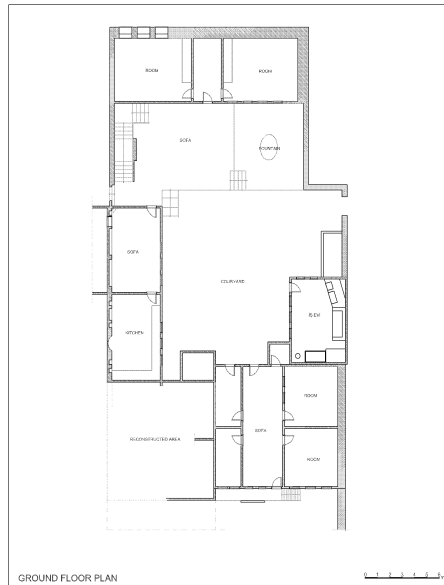
**Fig. 50** Map of Tokat City Center in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century



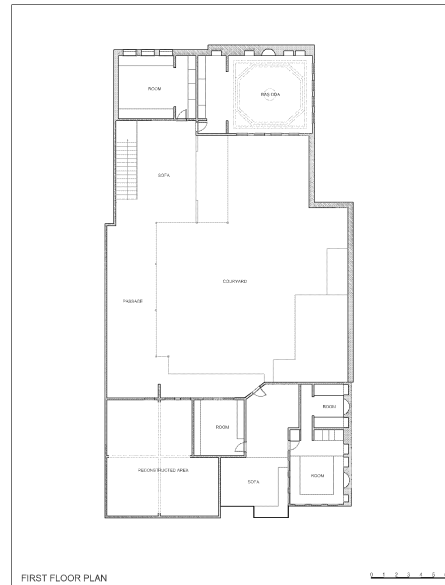
**Fig. 51** Sezai Bey House Ground Floor Plan



**Fig. 52** Sezai Bey House First Floor Plan

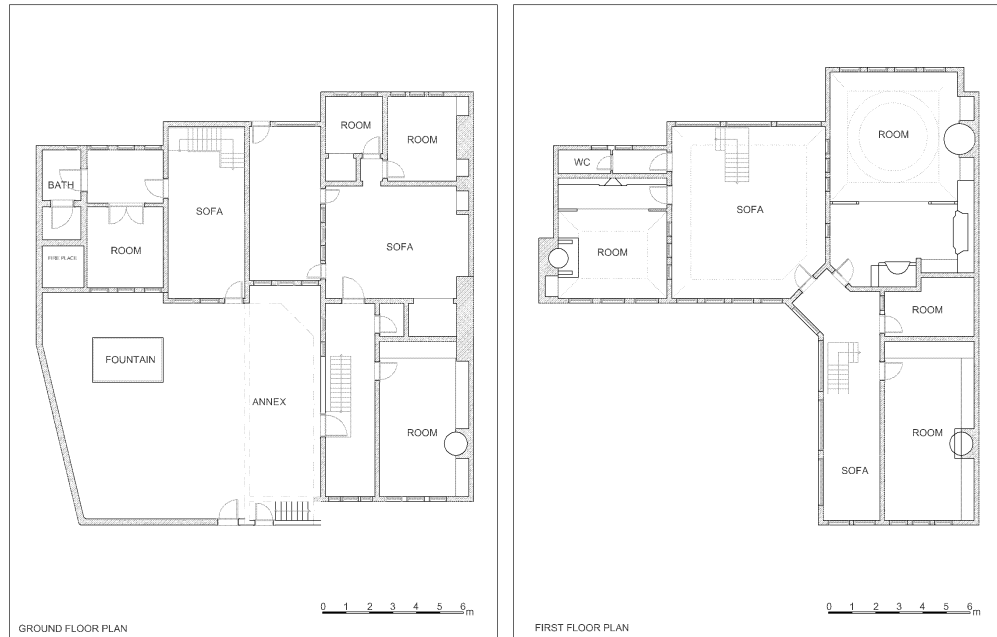


**Fig. 53** Ya cı Zade Abdullah House Ground Floor Plan



**Fig. 54** Ya cı Zade Abdullah House First Floor Plan





**Fig. 55** Latifo lu Mansion Ground Floor Plan

**Fig. 56** Latifo lu Mansion First Floor Plan



**Fig. 57** Latifo lu Mansion



**Fig. 58** Latifo lu Mansion *Başoda* Ceiling





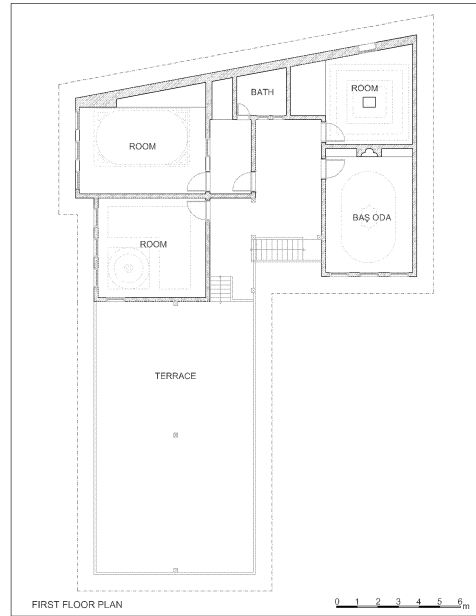
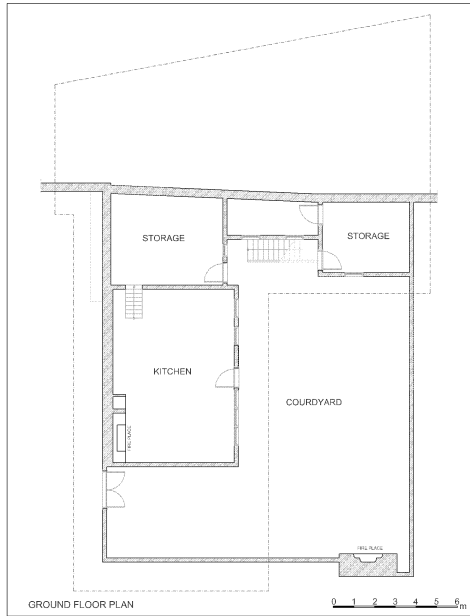
**Fig. 61** Halkalı Bridge over Behzat stream and the Clock Tower.



**Fig. 62** Mevlevihane in Bey Hamam Street

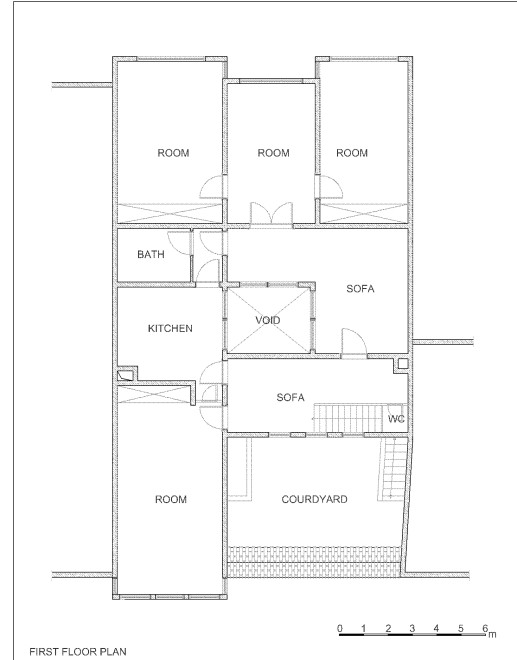
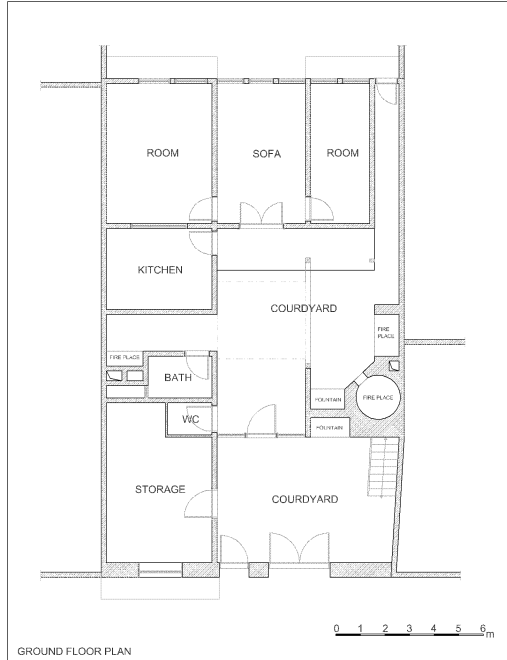


**Fig. 63** Musluolu Mansion



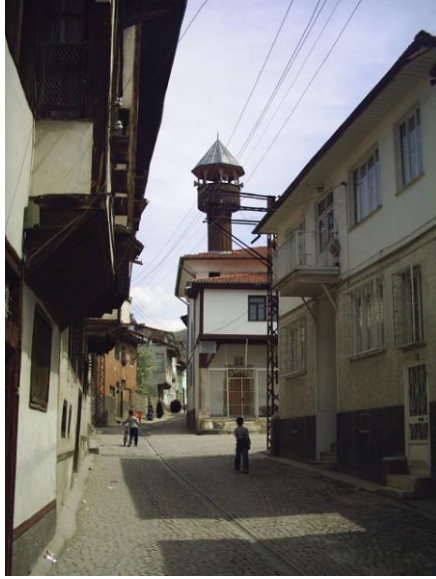
**Fig. 64** Musluo lu Mansion Ground Floor Plan

**Fig. 65** Musluo lu Mansion First Floor Plan



**Fig. 66** Remzi Sö üt House Ground Floor Plan

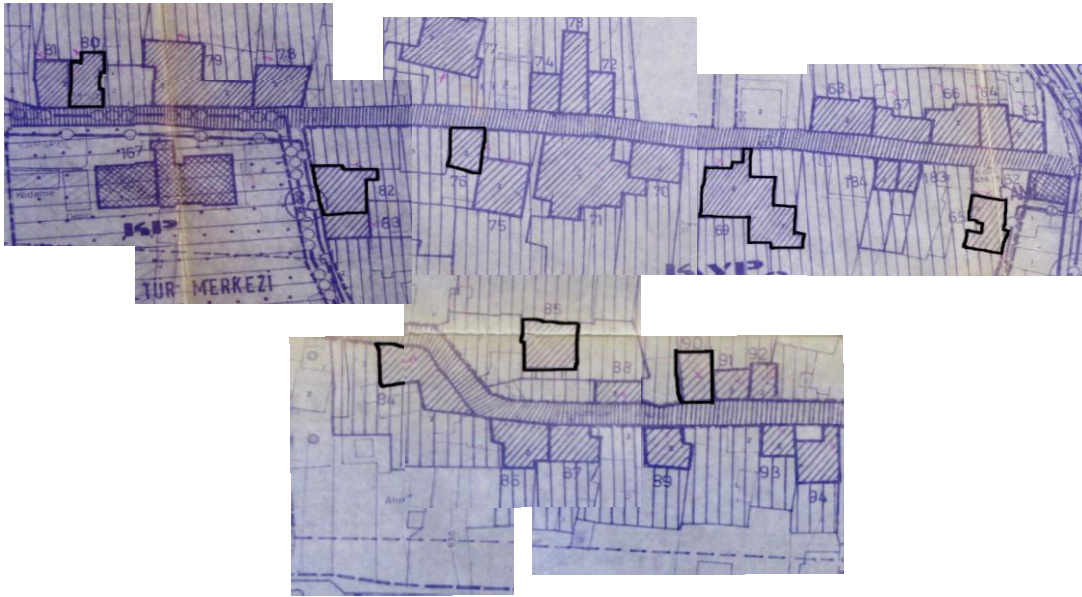
**Fig. 67** Remzi Sö üt House First Floor Plan



**Fig. 68** Bey Street Houses



**Fig. 69** Bey Street Houses (in a row)



**Fig. 70** Soğukpınar District Houses





Houses No.80,76,69,65



Houses No. 82,84,85,90

**Fig. 71** So ukpınar District Houses