

"RECONSTRUCTING" THE OTTOMAN IMPERIAL HAREM OF
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY:
MEMOIRS OF LEYLA SAZ ON THE OLD ÇIRAĞAN PALACE

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ABSTRACT

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THE OLD ÇIRAĞAN PALACE**

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This thesis aims to explore the Ottoman Imperial Harem in the second half of the nineteenth century by focusing on the memoirs of Leyla Saz, a well-known poet and musician (1850-1936). Belonging to an aristocratic family, Leyla Saz was admitted to the Çırağan Palace at the age of four as Fatma Sultane's, (daughter of Abdülmeçid) maid of honour and witnessed closely the daily life in the Harem for more than twenty years. Her memoirs, dating 1920, are the earliest examples written by a court member or, in other words, by an insider. They are particularly important for documenting not only the Imperial Harem as a disappeared socio-cultural institution, but also its architectural setting as part of the Old Çırağan Palace, built in 1841 but demolished in 1857. Accordingly, this thesis seeks to reconstruct the Old Palace and its Harem architecturally and culturally by reading these memoirs in parallel to the

related historical and theoretical literature. In so doing, it discusses whether the memoirs perpetuate or challenge the orientalist discourses.

Keywords: Leya Saz, Memoirs, Imperial Harem, Old ıraęan Palace, Orientalism.

ÖZ

GEÇ ONDOKUZUNCU YÜZYIL OSMANLI SARAY HAREMİNİ
"YENİDEN KURGULAMAK": LEYLA SAZ'IN
ESKİ ÇIRAĞAN SARAYI ANILARI

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Bu yüksek lisans tezi, geç 19. yüzyıl Osmanlı Saray Haremmini, tanınmış şair ve müzisyen Leyla Saz'ın (1850-1936) anılarına odaklanarak araştırmayı amaçlar. Aristokrat bir aileden gelen Leyla Saz, Çırağan Sarayı'na Abdülmecid'in kızı Fatma Sultan'ın nedimesi olarak dört yaşında girmiş, yirmi yıldan fazla bir süre haremdeki günlük yaşama yakından şahit olmuştur. Leyla Hanımefendi'nin 1920 tarihli anıları, bir saray mensubu, diğer bir deyişle, içerden bir kişi tarafından yazılmış en erken örneklerdendir. Saray haremmini, hem yokolmuş sosyo-kültürel bir kurum olarak özelliklerini, hem de 1841'de yapılmış fakat 1857'de yıkılmış Eski Çırağan Sarayı'nın mekansal bir parçası olarak mimari yapısını belgeledikleri için çok önemlidirler. Dolayısıyla, bu tez, Leyla Saz'ın anılarını, ilgili tarihsel ve kavramsal

kaynak metinler eřlięinde, oryantalist söylemin bir eleřtirisi řeklinde okuyarak Eski Saray'ın ve Harem'in mimari ve kùltùrel yapısını yeniden kurgulamaya alıřır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Leyla Saz, Anılar, Saray Haremi, Eski ıraęan Sarayı, Oryantalizm.

To my beloved Family

&

*To the memory of my Grandfather,
Mehtet Mahir Summak*

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. 1 Leyla Saz and her Memoirs: Biographical Notes

Leyla Saz (1850-1936)¹ was an important intellectual figure of the late nineteenth century Ottoman cultural life. She was one of the daughters of Hekim İsmail Pasha,² and it was through her father's close relationship with the Palace that she was admitted to the Imperial Harem in 1854, during the reign of Abdülmecid, and received her education there. Her talent for music was discovered and developed in the Palace.³ After staying seven consecutive years, she left the Harem in 1861 to accompany her father to Crete, who was appointed as the governor, and returned to Istanbul in 1866. After her return, she spent frequent and long periods in the Harem and in the houses of Sultanas. After she got married to a high-rank administrator, Giritli Sırrı Pasha (1844-1895),⁴ in 1869, she continued to have a close relationship

¹ Information about the biography of Leyla Saz is excerpted from these editions of her memoirs: SAZ, L. *The Imperial Harem of the Sultans: Daily Life at the Çırağan Palace during the 19th Century : Memoirs of Leyla (Saz) Hanımefendi*, Beyoğlu, İstanbul: Hil Yayınları, 1999 and SAZ, L. *Harem'in İçyüzü*, İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1974. While Ali Halim Neyzi, grandson of Leyla Saz, dates her birth in 1852 ("Epilogue: About the Authoress Leila Saz Hanımefendi", in SAZ, 1999, p. 284), some web sites, selling the memoirs, cite 1845 but they are not very reliable. As another possibility, Yasemin Lümalı refers to 1850 ("Women Composers in Turkish Classical ('Allaturca') Music," paper presented at the International Congress of Aesthetics (2007)). Considering that Ali Halim Neyzi's assumption is not very reasonable since Leyla Hanım would have been too young (two years old) to remember the Old Çırağan Palace, this study will take 1850 as her birth date.

² Hekim İsmail Paşa was the doctor of Imperial Family and also the counsellor of Abdülmecid. He served as the Minister of Commerce in inconsecutive periods during the reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz and as the Vizier during the reign of Abdülaziz. SAZ, 1999, p. 21.

³ Ibid., p. 286.

with the Harem. Although that relationship weakened after 1876, during the reign of Abdülhamid II, she never lost her contact with the Harem completely.

In addition to her memoirs, her notes about her childhood, found among her belongings after her death by her grandson Nezih Neyzi, also present some valuable information about her biography. To quote these notes at length can be a useful way to introduce Leyla Hanım as well as her memoirs:

I think I was born sometime between sixty and sixty-five [1850-1855]. According to the customs of the period I was brought by nurses, wet-nurses, and servants. My father was the chief physician of the Sultan, and Münire Sultane⁵ [the Sultan's mother] took me to the Palace when I was four years old. This gave me the chance to observe the way of life in the palace and I will write about it in later years. I cannot remember when I started to read and write, but at the time of the latest revolt in Bosnia-Herzegovina, ... my father's assistants used to give me private lessons.

When my father was appointed as the governor of Izmir, he took me along. ... We returned to Istanbul at the time of the conquest of Sebastopol [1854-1855]. When I was introduced to Sultan Mecid, I was dressed as a *zeybek* in the traditional costume of the Aegean region. He made me recite some special poetry.

In those years I had already started composing some music and had learnt to play the piano. I also began taking painting lessons from Dellasuda Faik Pasha, a very famous artist. ... but my grandmother, my aunt and my father soon forbade me to go further in painting. I continued to take piano lessons from Theresa Roma ... My sister and I used to play "in four hands".

⁴ Leyla Hanım accompanied her husband as he was appointed to posts in the Balkans, Trabzon and Kastamonu. Neyzi, A.H. in SAZ, 1999, p. 286.

⁵ The word "Sultane" is in French and is used for a wife or a daughter of a Sultan. This French word is also used in the 1999 English edition of the memoirs, probably because it is translated from the 1925 French edition. Apart from quotations, the English word "Sultana" will be used in this study. Both the French and the English words correspond to "Sultan" in Turkish and only the mother or a daughter of a Sultan can receive the title of "Sultan." For more information, see ULUÇAY, Ç. *Harem II*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2001, p. 61.

As there were no players of European music among Muslim families during the reign of Sultan Mehdî, Princes Aziz and Mural, and İlhamî Paşa were very fond of listening to our music.

I would spend approximately nine months of the year in the palace; I gave lessons to the sultanes Refia, Münire, and Behice and helped them with their dictation. I spent most of my time with Murad Efendi [the Sultan's son] and his wives. They would ask me to play the piano or make some paintings.

... In the mean time, my father was appointed the Governor of the Island Crete. Again I was going along with my father. I went to Münire Sultane to pay her a farewell visit -at that time she was the wife of Ibrahim Pasha. Sultan Mehdî died that night. I experienced the calamity in the palace.⁶

As these notes reveal, Leyla Hanım was in close relation with the Imperial Family and this relation provided her with the opportunities to improve her talents. The musical and literary education that she received at the Harem formed the ground of Leyla Hanım's intellectual life. She composed more than two hundred songs in the form of classical Ottoman/Turkish music and wrote poems in the style of classical Ottoman poetry. One of her songs, "Akdeniz" ("the Mediterranean"), also known by its "Yaslı Gittim, Şen Geldim" ("I went away mournfully, came back joyfully") verses, that she composed after the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey, in 1923, reportedly became the favourite march of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Republic.⁷

⁶ Quoted in Dr. NeziH H. Neyzi, "Leyla Saz", in SAZ, 1999, pp. 278-81.

⁷ LEWIS, R. & MICKEKWRIGHT, N., *Gender, Modernity and Liberty: Middle Eastern and Western Women's Writings: a Critical Sourcebook*. London; New York : I. B. Tauris. 2006, p. 176.

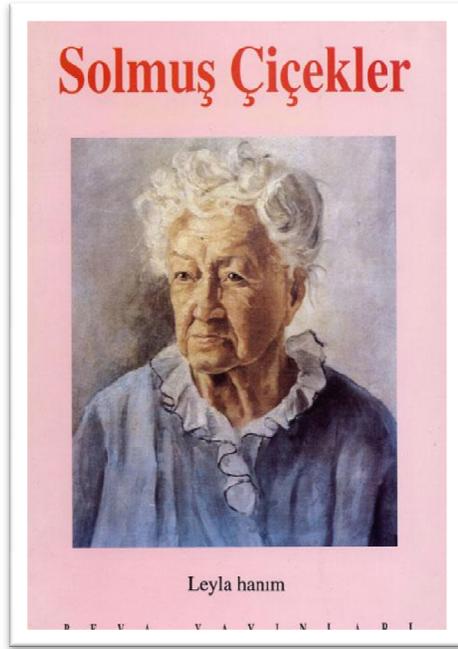


Figure 1.1 Cover of Leyla Hanım's poetry book, 1996 publication. (accessed 12.02.2011)
Source:<http://www.nadirkitap.com/solmus-cicekler-leyla-saz-kitap69888.html>.

Most of her works, including the earliest version of her memoirs, were destroyed in the fire that burned down her villa in Bostancı, but fortunately, some part of her writings and compositions could be saved to today. Her poems were edited and published as a book, under the title of *Solmuş Çiçekler (Withered Flowers)* by her grandson Nezih Neyzi and his Peva Publications in 1928 (Figure 1.1)

Besides works of music and poems, Leyla Hanım partook in some publications related to the Ottoman women movement and directed towards expressing the needs of women.⁸ Her participation in these publications began with *Mürüvvet Dergisi (Generosity Magazine)* which was first published in 1887 with the aim of

⁸ ÇAKIR. S. *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketleri*, İstanbul: Metiş Yayınları, 2011, pp. 59-60.

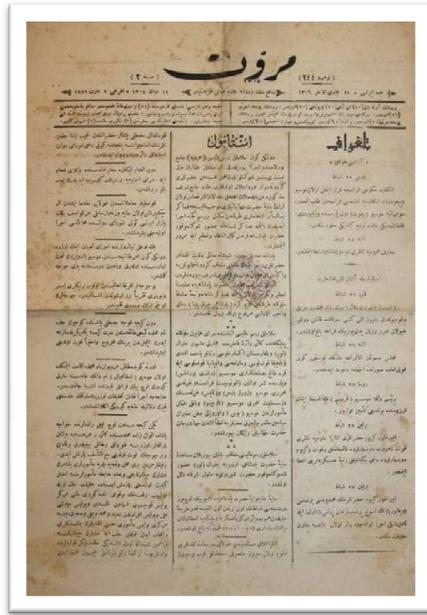


Figure 1.3. A page from *Kadınlara Mahsus Gazete*, 3 April 1313 (1897).
 (accessed 12.02.2011)
 Source: <http://www.sanakitabevi.com.tr/mezat/detaylar.php?lot=405>.

educating women culturally.⁹ The contents of the magazine were grouped under the titles of weekly politic news, domestic news, foreign news, literature, cultivation and puzzles.¹⁰ (Figure 1.2) The other publication to which Leyla Hanım contributed with her poems, prose and puzzles was *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete (Ladies' Own Gazette)*, which was first published in 1895.¹¹ The aim of this periodical was also directed towards the education of women since it would affect the manner of children they would raise.¹² In a letter Leyla Hanım sent to the periodical, she

⁹ Ibid., pp. 65-6.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 65.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 73. *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, published for 13 years until 1908 and in 600 issues, was the longest running women's journal. See also LEWIS R., *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem*, London : I.B. Tauris, 2004, p. 87.



Figure 1.2. A page from *Mürüvvet* dating 18 February 1304 [1886]. (accessed 7.11.2011)
Source: <http://urun.gittigidiyor.com/kitap-dergiler/muruvvet-18-subat-1304-osmanlica-gazete-1889-45563884?pnv=1>.

expressed her willingness to contribute to the periodical: “I too want to serve our newspaper by writing things from which our young ladies will benefit. The fifth issue has been published, yet I am deprived of accomplishing this holy mission.”¹³

The staff of this periodical consisted of important literary figures of the time, belonging to prominent families, and in addition to Leila Hanım, Fatma Aliye Hanım, Fatma Fahrünnisa Hanım Makbule Lemhan Hanım, Münire Hanım, Hamide Hanım and Nigar Hanım were all assembled in this periodical.¹⁴ (Figure 1.3) Leyla Hanım had four children, Yusuf Razi ,Vedat Tek, Nezihe Neyzi and Feride Ayni, all well educated, (Figures 1.4- 1.5)

¹² ÇİÇEKLER, M. & ANDI, F. (eds), *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi, 2009, p. 19. It was also announced that the five percent of the profit of the magazine would be given to the orphan girls who were at the age of marriage. ÇAKIR, 2011, pp.72-73.

¹³ ÇİÇEKER & ANDI, 2009, p. 283.

¹⁴ ÇAKIR, 2011, p.72.



Figure 1.4. Leyla Saz and her children.
Source: SAZ , 1999, p. 193.



Figure 1.5. Leyla Hanım's Children (left to right: Vedat, Feride, Yusuf, Nezihe).
Source: SAZ, 1999, p. 130.

and the family members descending from her children were intellectual figures as well. (Table 1.1) Her elder son Yusuf Razi (1870–1947) was an engineer and a photographer who published two books, *Hendese-i Tersimi* (*Geometry of Design*) (1933) and *Meditarranee* (*The Mediterranean*), a voyage book, showing his photographs as well (1938). (Figures 1.6- 1.7)

Her younger son was Vedat Tek (1873–1942), an important figure in the early twentieth century architecture in Turkey, known as the first formally educated Turkish architect. He designed important buildings of the early Republican era, such as the Old Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Ankara Palas and East/Nemlizade tobacco depot.¹⁵

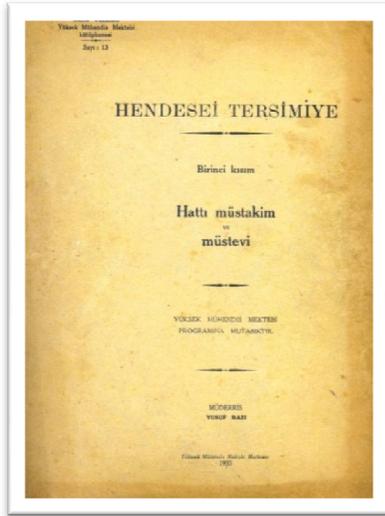


Figure 1.6. Cover of Yusuf Razi's engineering book
Source:http://urun.gittigidiyor.com/HENDESEI-TERSIMIYE-YUSUF-RAZI-1933BASIMI_W0QQidZZ9131820.
(accessed 14.02. 2011)

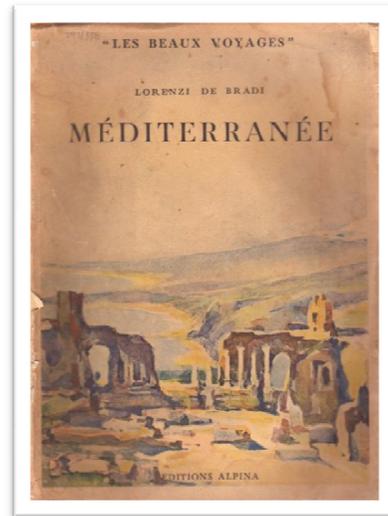


Figure 1.7. Cover of the voyage book published with Yusuf Razi's photographs
Source:http://www.stampcircuit.com/Stamp_Auction_Prices_Realized&class=Stamp&sale_id=1825&start_print=2100.
(accessed 14.02. 2011)

¹⁵ For Vedat Tek's architecture, see: CEPHANECİGİL, G. "Tüm Çalışmaları" in BATUR, A. (eds), *M. Vedat Tek; Kimliğinin İzinde Bir Mimar*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayınlar, 2003, pp. 323-382.

Among architectural historians, Bülent Tanju points out Leyla Hanım's role in Tek's professional choice.¹⁶ He also explains that in contrast to her husband, who objected to their son's choice for the reason that architecture was not a proper profession for their social status, she supported and enabled their son to go to Paris for receiving architectural education.¹⁷ Considering that being an architect was not regarded as a professional career at that time,¹⁸ Leyla Hanım's foresightedness is noteworthy. What should also be noted here is that it was Tek who designed his mother's villa in Bostancı, İstanbul,¹⁹ and her tomb.²⁰ He was the painter of one of the last portraits of her, too. (Figures 1.8- 1.9)

Another member of the family, her granddaughter Leyla Neyzi edited and published the letters of her daughter Nezihe Neyzi to her grandson, Nezihe Neyzi, as a book, *Küçük Hanım'dan Rubu Asırlık Adam'a / Nezihe Neyzi'den Oğlu Nezihe Neyzi'ye Mektuplar 1947-1948* (1999) (*Letters from the Damsel to a Quarter-Century Old Man/ Letters from Nezihe Neyzi to Her Son Nezihe Neyzi 1947-1948*). The writers of the family are not limited to the names mentioned above; Nezihe Neyzi, (a grandson) also published his memoirs,²¹ and Ali Neyzi, her great grandson

¹⁶ TANJU, B. "Bir Osmanlı'nın Mimar Olarak Portresi: Vedat Tek," in BATUR, 2003, p. 244.

¹⁷ Ibid., p 244.

¹⁸ BATUR, A. (ed) "Eğitim: Paris-İstanbul hattı" in BATUR, 2003, p. 56.

¹⁹ Although Leyla Hanım's villa is generally credited to Vedat Tek, Gül Cephaneçigil indicates that this information is not certain. ("Tüm Çalışmaları," in BATUR, 2003, p. 340.)

²⁰ Cephaneçigil gives this information by referring to Nezihe Neyzi's memoirs. Ibid., p. 364.

²¹ NEYZİ, N. *Kızıltoprak Hatıraları*, İstanbul: İletişim yayınları, 1993. In his memoirs, Neyzi also mentions Leyla Saz.

who, as we will see later in this study, has contributed to the publication of her memoirs, is a writer too besides his career as a businessman.



Figure 1.8. Tomb of Leyla Saz
Source: <http://yazarmezar.com/mezar-sayfa-21.html> (accessed 10.04. 2011)

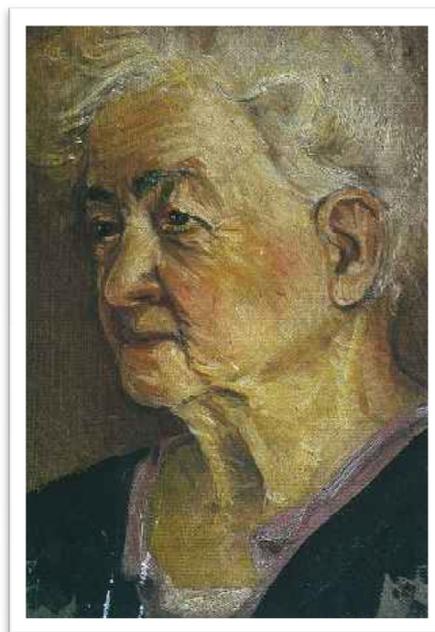


Figure 1.9. Portrait of Leyla Saz,
painted by Vedat Tek, 1930
Source: BATUR, A. (ed) . *M. Vedat Tek; Kimliğinin İzinde Bir Mimar* 2003. p. 51.

1.2 Aim and Scope of the Study

This study focuses on the memoirs of Leyla Saz. She wrote her memoirs around the 1890's but, as already mentioned, she lost them in the fire. She rewrote them in the 1920s and let them published first in the newspapers of the time. Later, her memoirs were, published as books, in different languages, different dates, edited by different people, under different titles, with different contents, different introduction notes and different covers, as we will see in detail later in this study. There are six Turkish, four English, three French, two German, two Czech, and one Spanish

editions, published between 1925 and 2011. Although these editions differ in themselves, they are all based on Leyla Hanım's memoirs.

As its main source this study uses the 1999 English edition, translated from the 1925 French edition. In this English edition the chapters, without following a chronological order, are presented under these topics: "The Old Palace of Çırağan"; "Music and Dance at the Serail"; "The Slaves"; "Eunuchs"; "Life at the Serail"; "Ramazan and Bayram Festival at the Serail"; "The Tragic Celebration of Fatma Sultana's Confinement"; "Sultan Aziz Returns from Europe"; and "The Weddings of Imperial Princesses." (Table 1.2)

Accordingly, this study aims to explore the Ottoman Imperial Harem in the second half of the nineteenth century through the memoirs of Leyla Saz on the Çırağan Palace. Her memoirs are the earliest examples written by a court member or, in other words, by an insider. They are particularly important for documenting not only the Imperial Harem as a disappeared socio-cultural institution, but also its architectural setting as part of the Old Çırağan Palace, built in 1841 but demolished in 1857. So, this study seeks to reconstruct the Old Palace and its Harem architecturally and culturally by reading these memoirs in parallel to the related historical and theoretical literature.

TABLE 1.2 CHRONOLOGY OF THE EVENTS RELATED TO THE MEMOIRS OF LEYLA SAZ

Year	Event	Year	Event	Year	Event
1841	Construction of the Old Çırağan completed	1844	Construction of Dolmabahçe began	1845	Old Çırağan demolished and construction of new palace was ordered
1850	Birth of Leyla Hanım	1854	Attendance of Leyla Hanım to the Harem	1855	Abdülmesid moved to Dolmabahçe
1857		1858	Wedding of Fatma Sultana	1859	Construction of the Çırağan stepped
1861		1861-1866	Wedding of Leyla Hanım	1863	Construction re-started
1867		1867	Wedding of Münire Sultana	1871	New Çırağan completed
1869		1869	Wedding of Cemila Sultana	1876	Abdülhamit moved to Yıldız Palace
1876		1876	Wedding of Camila Sultana	1895	Leyla Hanım still spent frequent and long periods in the Harem
1895		1895	Wedding of Leyla Hanım	1895	Leyla Hanım returned from Europe
1895		1895	Wedding of Leyla Hanım	1895	Leyla Hanım wrote the first version of memoirs
1895		1895	Wedding of Leyla Hanım	1895	Leyla Hanım got married

Different aspects of Leyla Hanım's life and works are examined in different fields of study but only partially. Her personality and background, for example, are discussed in relation to her son Vedat Tek in a book, *M. Vedat Tek: Kimliğinin İzinde Bir Mimar (M.Vedat Tek: An Architect Tracing his Identity)* (2003), edited by Afife Batur. Her career as a musician is analyzed by Yasemin Lümali in a paper, "Women Composers in Turkish Classical ('Allaturca') Music," presented at the International Congress of Aesthetics (2007).

Apart from her works in literature and music, her memoirs are studied in various sources and from various points of view. Among them, we can cite a M.A. thesis, *Osmanlı Kadının Giyim Kuşamı (Tanzimattan Meşrutiyete) (Clothes of Ottoman Women (From Tanzimat to Meşrutiyet))* (2010) by Füsün Bayel, which uses Leyla Hanım's detailed descriptions of the clothes of the women of the Imperial Harem as documents on the topic. Her memoirs are also referred to as a source about the lives of the princesses of her time, as in *Mümin ve Müsrif bir Padişah Kızı Refia Sultan (Faithful and Wasteful Daughter of the Sultan; Refia Sultan)* (1998) by Ali Altınyıldız and about the Imperial Harem as a social and cultural institution, as in an anthology, *Gender, Modernity and Liberty: Middle Eastern and Western Women's Writings* (2006), edited by Reina Lewis and Nancy Mickelwright. Regarding the field of architectural history, the memoirs are used as documents in a M.A. Thesis, *Belgelerle Çırağan Sarayı (Çırağan Sarayı on [sic] Documents)* (1997) by Selman Can.

What differentiates this study from the related literature, some examples of which are given above, is that it is exclusively about the memoirs of Leyla Hanım. By taking into consideration the long history of the memoirs themselves, it focuses on their architectural analysis of the Old Çırağan Palace, as a unique characteristic in comparison to the other memoirs, and juxtaposes this analysis with her description of the daily life in the Palace and in its Harem.

Accordingly, this study aims to place the memoirs of Leyla Hanım within the context of her biography or, in other words, within the context of her time. While doing this, it discusses her ambivalent position stemming from being both an insider and an outsider of the Imperial Harem; and from being both an Ottoman and a Republican woman who witnessed the striking transformations that the Ottoman/Republican society went through. Furthermore, it tries to relate the memoirs to the historical context of orientalism and the response and/or the reaction of the Ottoman women's movement to/against orientalism.

Here it is necessary to explain briefly the historical context of orientalism and in which context it is used in this study: Although the history of orientalism dates back to earlier centuries, as an academic discipline, it developed in the nineteenth century, in relation to Europe's desire to know more about "East" dominated by "Western" economically and politically. Parallel to the reactions against Eurocentrism and colonialism, "Orientalism" became a problematic term after the World War II. Accordingly, "Orientalism", as a discipline that studies "Eastern" culture,

and "Orientalist", as a specialist, gained negative meanings²². In this shift, two things played important roles: firstly, studies became more regionalized and more specific. Secondly, Edward Said's book *Orientalism* (1978) brought new meanings to the term "Orientalism" by reading orientalist knowledge together with colonialism.²³

Today it has been widely accepted that there is not just one orientalism, rather, there are "multiple orientalisms,"²⁴ which take their positions in between the positive and the negative poles. Accordingly, this study examines the ambiguous place of the memoirs of Leyla Hanım among many orientalisms by taking into consideration their publication history. Consisting of different editions and versions in different languages and with different introductions, contents, and covers, this history witnesses "multiple orientalisms," presenting the Harem as an educational institution or as a locus of sexuality,²⁵ and accordingly, oscillating between ethnographic orientalism and popular/clichéd orientalism with varying tones of self-orientalism.

²² MACKENZIE, J. M. *Orientalism: History, Theory and Arts*, Manchester ; New York : Manchester University Press, 1995, pp.2-3.

²³ Ibid., p.3. See also; SAID, E.W. *Orientalism*, London: Penguin, 2003, p. 2.

²⁴ LEWIS, R. " Cultural Exchange and Politics of Pleasure", *The Politics and Poetics of Place; Ottoman İstanbul and British Orientalism*, (eds) Inankur, Z, Lewis, R. & Roberts, M. İstanbul : Pera Müzesi ; Seattle, WA : distributed by University of Washington Press, 2010, p. 49.

²⁵ For a brief but a suggestive criticism of recent discussions on these two seemingly opposite interpretations of the harem, see SHICK, C.I. "Asıl Harem Hangisi?", *Toplumsal Tarih*, vol.24 , no.215, November 2011, pp. 10-12.

So, this study draws its historiographical framework in relation to three intersecting groups of sources. The first group corresponds to the literature on the history of the Harem, including *The Ottoman Lady: A Social History from 1718 to 1918* (1986) by Fanny Davis which provides different accounts of the lives of Ottoman ruling-class and middle-class intellectual women; *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (1993) by Leslie Pierce which examines the Imperial Harem and its internal structure as a royal household within the context of political power by mostly covering the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and *The Private World of Ottoman Women* (1999) by Godfrey Goodwin which discusses different positions of women in the Ottoman society by contrasting elite and rural women's practices of marriage, divorce, motherhood, etc.

The second group covers the studies on orientalism, such as *Orientalism* (1979) by Edward Said which redefines orientalism in relation to imperialism and colonialism; *The Erotic Margin: Sexuality and Spatiality in Alteritist Discourse* (1999) by Irvin Cemil Schick, which combines the vast literature on gender and sexuality and of course harem along with the argument of how "West" constructs a space for itself through its sexualized and gendered attitudes, *Orientalizmin Eleştirel Kısa Tarihi (Short Critical History of Orientalism)* (2002) by Yücel Bulut which presents different definitions of orientalism beside its historical evolution; *Orientalism and Visual Culture: Imagining Mesopotamia in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (2003) by Frederick N. Bohrer, which analyzes historical exoticism in the nineteenth century; and *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and Ottoman Harem* (2004) by Reina Lewis which gathers writings of women of the early

twentieth century by focusing on the question of identity in their harem representations.

The third group is formed by works on orientalism, gender and visual studies, such as *Orientalism: History, Theory, and the Arts* (1995) by John M. MacKenzie which carries the debate on orientalism to different fields from the perspective of a historian of imperialism; *Intimate Outsiders: The Harem in Ottoman and Orientalist Art and Travel Literature* (2007) by Mary Roberts which presents different sources including paintings, photographs, and travelogues by artists and writers who were regarded as authorities, though had limited access to harems; *Oryantalistlerin İstanbulu (Orientalists' Istanbul)* (2008) by Semra Germaner and Zeynep İnankur, which traces the architectural history of Istanbul in the works of painters/writers/travellers; and *Harem Histories: Envisioning Places and Living Space* (2010) by Marilyn Booth, which explores how harem was imagined, represented and experienced through different sources.

In addition to these groups of studies, there are some examples of memoirs on the Imperial Harem, such as *Bir Çerkes Prensesinin Harem Hatıraları (Memoirs of a Circussian Princess)* (2004) by Leyla Açıba; *The Concubine, the Princess, and the Teacher: Voices from the Ottoman Harem* (2008) edited by Douglas Brookes; *Babam Abdülhamit: Saray ve Sürgün Yılları (Abdülhamit, my Father: Years of Sultanate and Exile)* (2009) by Ayşe Osmanoğlu; *Harem Hatıralarım (My Memoirs of Harem)* (2009) by Safiye Ünüvar; and also on the upper class harem, such as *A Child of The Orient* (1914) by Demetra Vaka Brown; and *An Englishwomen in a Turkish Harem* (1915/2007) by Grace Ellison.

1.3 Structure of the Study

Within this general framework, this study discusses its topic of “Reconstructing the Ottoman Imperial Harem of the Nineteenth Century: Memoirs of Leyla Saz on the Old Çırağan Palace” in two main parts.

The first part corresponds to the Chapter Two. This chapter examines the history of the memoirs themselves by focusing on their different editions and versions, in different languages and with different covers.

The second part corresponds to the Chapter Three. This chapter discusses mainly the Old Çırağan Palace but in relation to the New Çırağan Palace, and also to the other Palaces built before and after. Accordingly, it examines this topic under three subsections: the first one is about the architecture and history of the Old Çırağan Palace; the second one is about the Old Çırağan Palace as narrated by Leyla Hanım in her memoirs; and the third is about the daily life in the Harem of the Old Çırağan Palace in relation to its architectural setting and again as narrated by Leyla Hanım in her memoirs.

The conclusion of this study aims to contextualize the memoirs of Leyla Hanım by examining her ambivalent position of being both an insider and an outsider of the Imperial Harem, and moreover, of being both an Ottoman and a Republican woman. While doing this, it discusses how this biographical context intersects with the historical one of Orientalism.

CHAPTER 2

DIFFERENT EDITIONS AND VERSIONS OF THE MEMOIRS OF LEYLA SAZ

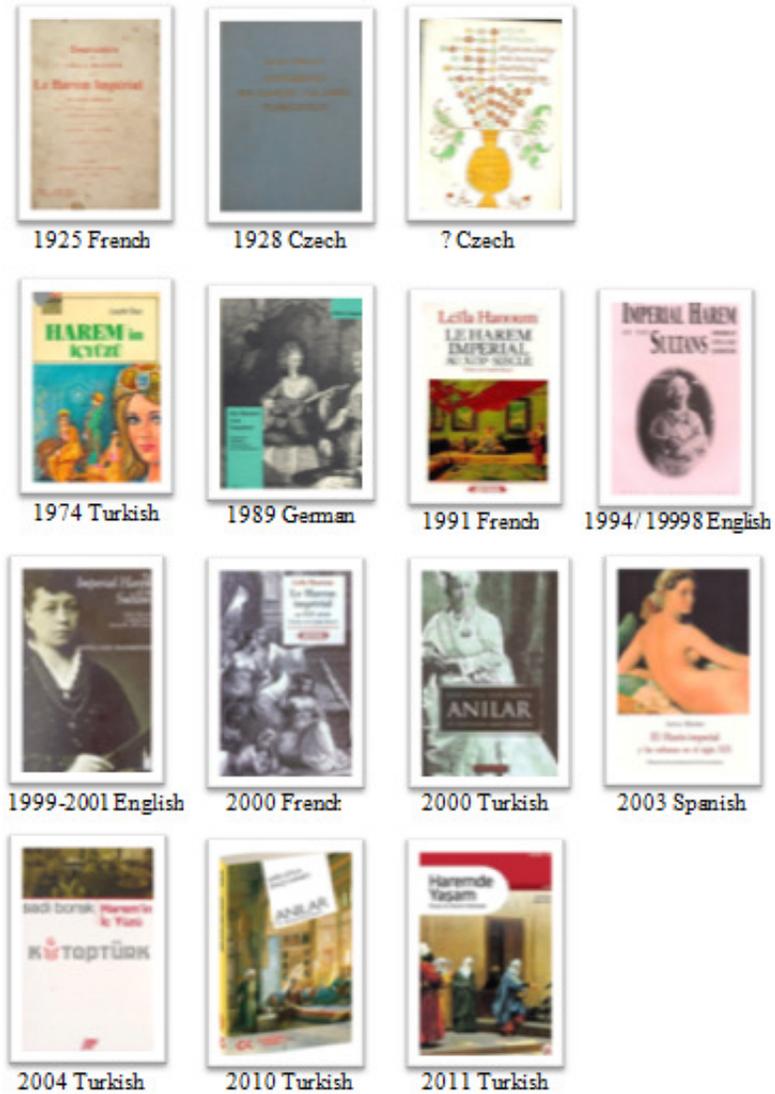


Figure 2.1 Covers of different editions of Leyla Hanım's memoirs

2.1 Memoirs of Leyla Saz

Leyla Saz wrote the earliest version of her memoirs of the Çırağan Palace and its Harem in 1895, during the late period of the Ottoman Empire. As she was keeping them private and hoping for their publication one day, she lost them in a fire that burned down her villa in Bostancı during the occupation of Istanbul by the Allied Forces at the end of the World War I.²⁶ She wrote them once again in 1920, this time with a different perspective that witnessed the radical changes in the political, social and cultural life of Turkey within a period of twenty-three years; and this time, she let the memoirs be published.

The time that passed between Leyla Hanım's actual experience of the harem life and publication of her memoirs seems rather unusual; she waited more than thirty years to write them, and twenty-three years to rewrite them. But as she explains, "[f]or Ottoman women familiar with the institution, whether as residents or visitors, not one would have considered writing of her life as long as a sultan occupied the Ottoman throne."²⁷ This might be the reason why Leyla Hanım waited so long to publish her memoirs, and why its publication coincided with the period when the political system changed. Furthermore, this might be also the reason why the Ottomans remained rather silent when too many imaginary descriptions and incorrect interpretations were made about by outsiders about the Ottoman Imperial Harem. Thus, the memoirs of Leyla Hanım were the first account of the Harem, written by an insider who, in a sense, broke this silence.

²⁶ Ali Halim Neyzi, "Epilogue" in SAZ, 1999, p. 286.

²⁷ BROOKS, D. *The Concubine, the Princess, and the Teacher: Voices from the Ottoman Harem*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008, p. 2.

In this category of memoirs on the Ottoman Imperial Harem written by insiders, there are also other examples such as the ones by Filizten ? (Murad V), a concubine,²⁸ Ayşe Osmanoğlu (Abdülhamid), a princess,²⁹ Safiye Ünüvar (Mehmet Reşat V),³⁰ a teacher and Leyla Açba (Mehmet VI), a maid.³¹ The memoirs of Leyla Hanım are significantly different from these examples. In addition to being the earliest memoirs, they narrate a longer period of time by including earlier periods as well. Moreover, a very typical characteristic of the memoirs of Leyla Hanım is the role played by architecture in the narration. It is also a very important distinction that the memoirs of Leyla Hanım are the first and the only ones that have been translated into different languages and published in different countries, meaning that have audience around the world.

Leyla Hanım narrates the story of her memoirs in the introduction of her book which she wrote in December 1920. In this introduction, she tries to remove any doubts about the accuracy of her memoirs that can rise due to the long period of time between when those things, narrated in the memoirs, happened and when her book was published. Leyla Hanım seems to be fully aware of this issue of time and its effects on her writing:

²⁸ Filizten, "The Concubine Filizten" in Brookes, D. (ed) *The Concubine, the Princess, and the Teacher: Voices from the Ottoman Harem*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2008, pp. 12-122.

²⁹ Osmanoğlu, Ayşe. *Babam Abdülhamit: Saray ve Sürgün Yılları*, İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2009.

³⁰ Ünüvar, Safiye, *Harem Hatıralarım*. İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2009.

³¹ Açba, Leyla. *Bir Çerkes Prensesinin Harem Hatıraları*. İstanbul: Leyla ile Mecnun Yayıncılık, 2004.

This loss [i.e. loss of memoirs in fire] has been very painful for me for in every age or period of life one has a different way of seeing and feeling things. The inspiration is never the same twenty or thirty years later. If I should try today to write once again these morsels of prose or poetry which, in previous days were jotted down on paper in moments of joy or sadness, it would result in something similar to an altered image which one sees in a mirror dim with dust or damp. I cannot do this.³²

She then explains why she decided to write her memoirs again by taking such a risk:

Nevertheless, I would like to try to write down once again my memoirs concerning our old custom of the *harem*, particularly of the life one lived in the Serail and publish them without delay because I fear that they would otherwise disappear with me.³³

Remarkably, this explanation reveals the intention that lies at the basis of Leyla Hanım's endeavour of writing her memoirs. She wrote her memoirs not because there was something odd with the harem life, but because the Imperial Harem was exceptionally superclass which had a culture, different from the harems of the middle and upper class.³⁴ Furthermore, since it was about to

³² SAZ, 1999, p. 24.

³³ Ibid., pp. 24-25.

³⁴ Here, it can be suggestive to refer to a passage from Leyla Aba's memoirs to indicate the importance of being an insider and to understand the exceptional qualities of the Imperial Harem:

Ottoman Serail was a quite perfect place, in so much that sometimes I was astonished with that perfection. ... Yet when I became a servant in the Serail, I could only understand that this perfection originated from the cultivation and education which was peculiar to the Serail. Before that since I was visiting the Serail as a guest, I was not acquainted with the life in the Serail. Now since I am inside it I comprehend everything different from before. ("Osmanlı Sarayı pek mükemmel bir yerdi, hatta bu kadar mükemmel olmasına bazen hayret ettiğim bile olmuştu.Fakat bu mükemmeliğin sarayın kendisine has terbiye ve tahsilden geldiğini ancak Sarayda müstahdem olduğum vakit anlayabilmiştim. Ondan evvel saraylara ancak misafir olarak gidip geldiğim için Saraydaki hayatı tamamiyle bilmiyordum. Şimdi içinde bulunduğum için herşeyi daha farklı idrak ediyorum."

disappear, she wanted to share her experiences about that institution with her audience, and accordingly, to make its existence figuratively longer.

After presenting her intention, Leyla Hanım tries to assure her audience about the accuracy of her memoirs, for they were of her early childhood:

There is nobody else that could verify the things that I forgot. I have just seen these things that I narrated. Since these seeings were frequent, I was not forgetting them. When I started to write the old customs of harem twenty-three years ago, I have questioned the ones alive, who knew and saw [the harem]. I implemented the things they have said with what I saw and remember and I assured myself before I wrote them.

Otherwise, it is not possible that a child around ten or eleven could remember such diverse visions. Beside this, with my thoughts and researches I have pulled the half century old, thick curtain apart that time has hauled in front of what I have seen and they become evident. Now I see it so clearly that I have no question to ask if I found somebody who knew. To my surprise, the lights of my memoirs are just covered with dust but not deflated.³⁵

To resolve any further doubts about the authenticity of her work, she refers to her privileged position in the Serail:

... my sister and I were probably the first and only the young ladies of the city who were able to enter and particularly to live in the Serail under the reign of Abdülmecid (1839-1861). Later Sultan Abdülaziz (1861- 1876) opened the door of the Imperial Harem to a number of privileged people, wives or daughter of the great dignitaries of the Empire or close relations of husbands of the *sultanes* but these privileged people were only invited on certain days of great ceremony and festivities and were received only in a most formal way.³⁶

(translated by the author) (AÇBA, L. *Bir Çerkes Prensesinin Harem Hatıraları*. İstanbul: Leyla ile Mecnun Yayıncılık. 2004. p. 324)

³⁵ SAZ, 1999, p 269

³⁶ Ibid., p 24

Her repeated efforts to establish her status, which she apologizes for, but at the same time, which she thinks is necessary, indicates “her awareness of other, less accurate or fabricated accounts of harem life in the Ottoman Empire.”³⁷

The memoirs of Leyla Hanım were first published in the form of a series in the newspapers of *İleri* and *Vakit* ³⁸ and under the title “Harem ve Saray Adat-ı kadîmesi” (Old customs of the Harem and Palace), in the Ottoman Turkish, during the Independence War (1919-1922), between 1921 and 1922. However, it seems that they did not receive much attention most probably due to the realities of that turbulent period, as Sadi Borak, the editor the 1974 Turkish edition of her memoirs, notes.³⁹

The first publication of Leyla Hanım's memoirs as a book was in French and in 1925. Interestingly enough, their first publication as a book in Turkish, titled *Haremin İçyüzü (Inside Story of the Harem)*, was as late as 1974.⁴⁰ The French version was edited by Yusuf Razi, the son of Leyla Hanım, whereas the Turkish

³⁷ LEWIS, R. and MICKLEWRIGHT, N. (eds). *Gender, Modernity and Liberty: Middle Eastern and Western Women's Writings: A Critical Sourcebook*. London; New York : I. B. Tauris, 2006, p. 117.

³⁸ *İleri* was established in 1919. Known by its criticism of the Ottoman government, it published Mustafa Kemal's articles as well. *Vakit* was established in 1917, and Halide Edib who played an important role in Ottoman women's movement was one of its writers.

³⁹SAZ, L. 1974. p.12. Borak's supports his point by referring to Norman Mosley Penzer who in the introduction of his book, *The Harem: An Account of the Institution as it Existed in the Palace of the Turkish Sultans with a History of the Grand Seraglio from its Foundation to Modern Times*, dating 1937, clearly says that he could not reach any written information concerning the institution.

⁴⁰ Ali Neyzi (SAZ, 1999, p.288.) mentions that the first Turkish edition dates the 1960s, but since the 1974 edition is commonly known as the first edition, and since it is the earliest edition that is accessible, I would refer to it as the first edition in Turkish.

version was edited by Sadi Borak with the permission of İsmail Arar,⁴¹ great grandson of Leyla Saz. They constitute the two main versions from which other editions have been descended.

Although the 1925 French and the 1974 Turkish editions derive from the original memoirs, they differ significantly in content, in terms of the introductions as well as the organization and the length of the chapters. Although some chapters are the same in both editions, the 1974 Turkish edition includes some others, published originally in the newspapers, but excluded in the 1925 French edition. However, it is not clear to what extent these added chapters were identical with the original newspaper versions. Beyond these differences, their introductions set opposing tones for the memoirs. These different introductions to the same memoirs suggest that these editions use Leyla Hanım's memoirs in two different ways: on the one hand, for praising the republican ideology that has brought a broader spectrum of rights for women, and in consequence, even unintentionally, for orientalising the self, and on the other hand, for challenging the orientalist discourses and expressing the self.

Moreover, all these publications of the memoirs, newspaper series and different editions of their book versions, together with the introductions written by Leyla Hanım and rewritten by the editors, indicate that she and the other "rewriters" were

⁴¹ İsmail Hakkı Arar (1921-1993) was a minister and one of the vice presidents of the Grand National Assembly.

well aware of the orientalist discourses that the Harem, as an institution, had always been subjected to.⁴²

2.2 1925 French Edition

The first publication of the memoirs of Leyla Saz as a book was in French, under the title of *Le harem impérial et les sultanes au XIXe siècle*. It was published just a few years after the publication of the memoirs in the newspapers in 1925. The publisher was Calmann-Lévy, in Paris, and the editor and translator was Yusuf Razi (Bel), son of Leyla Hanım. In his foreword, Yusuf Razi informs the reader that the book is not a literal translation of the memoirs which Leyla Hanım published in the newspapers, but consists of only a part of them. As he continues to explain:

... in accordance with Leyla Hanım's advice I took some passages, which offer little interest to French (foreign) reader to which this book is addressed. On the other hand, I expanded on other subjects, on her own suggestion, to make the contents more comprehensible and to complete the documentation of certain facts. Basically, the memoirs remain intact. Finally, the translation and adaptation were done in 1922. I don't think I need to make any changes or modify it today since this is not a book dealing with the present but a work of retrospective documentation.⁴³

As these notes clearly point out, these alterations in the 1925 French edition were made in accordance with the expectations of an audience who was unfamiliar with the Ottoman culture but quite familiar with the popular orientalist harem depictions. Thus, the parts that would be redundant for someone who was curious about the Imperial culture rather than the personal details of a lady were shortened in this edition.

⁴³ SAZ, 1999, p. 17.



Figure 2.2 Claude Farrère with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (İzmir- 1922) .
Source:<http://jbrasseul.wordpress.com/2011/01/04/claude-farrere-et-ataturk/>.
(accessed 14.02. 2011)

The introduction of the 1925 French edition was written by Claude Farrère (1876-1957), a French author and novelist who depicted the Turks and Turkish customs in a favourable way in his novel *La Bataille* (1909). Farrère was also one of the supporters of the Turkish National Movement and visited Atatürk in İzmir in 1922. (Figure 2.2) In his introduction, Farrère touches upon some important and controversial topics. Firstly, he presents critically the popular image of the "Turk" that the French had:

There was a time not too long ago when the Turks, as we westerners saw them, made an impression of being people prodigiously different, hardly human, but certainly idolatrist and who were difficult to understand and perhaps could never be understood.⁴⁴

Then he continues by emphasizing the importance of Leyla Hanım's memoirs as documents that shed light on Ottoman cultural life:

⁴⁴SAZ, 1999, p.19.

... the French of today do not know much more about Turks than those who lived three hundred years ago ... I would say, therefore, that the Memoires of Leyla Hanım, which I have the honour to present the public, can be far more useful for everyone including our scholars, our diplomats, and our professors at the Sorbonne. I would even recommend that the dragomen of our Embassy in Constantinople read them as well. Particularly if these dragomen of today still share, on the subject of Turkish customs, the disdain which was fashionable twenty years ago among their predecessors.⁴⁵

Another point to which Farrère draws attention is related to the quality and reliability of Leyla Hanım's memoirs:

The Memoires of Leyla Hanım are, in effect, the most picturesque and most photographic vision of Ottoman customs in the time of absolute monarchy. This Serail of the Padishahs, we have only seen up to now through the glittering, but false, pomposities of a Victor Hugo; this Imperial Harem which was never entered except by a few travellers who were only able to relate the little that they had seen; here all of a sudden the veil has been thrown off without the slightest intention of creating a scandal, with no pretension, in brief without falsification of any sort. The name of the author herself of these memoirs is sufficient to prove her competency and the truth of her writings.⁴⁶

So, Farrère believes that the harem life narrated in the memoirs of Leyla Hanım will surprise the ones having preconceptions about it: "This Turkey, patriarchal in its naive and smiling simplicity, would amaze our benighted romantics; it would astonish many among us who have lost their Christian faith but preserved their anti-Muslim prejudices."⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 20.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 20-21.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 22.

Thus Farrère's introduction conforms to and, in a sense, supplements what Leyla Hanım says about her memoirs in the preface of the 1925 French edition. This is a very important difference from Borak's introduction of the 1974 Turkish edition, as we will see below.

2.3 Editions Originating from the 1925 French Edition

2.3.1 French Editions of 1991 and 2000

The French editions of 1991 and 2000 present consistency in themselves in terms of their titles and contents (Figure 2.3). Both editions were published in Brussels by "Editions Complexe"⁴⁸ under the same title with the 1925 edition.

The introductions of these editions are written by Sophie Basch, Professor at the University of Mulhouse, and a specialist of representation in East Mediterranean literature. In this introduction, different from the 1925 edition, Basch gives information about the historical context of the time and adds brief information about Topkapı Palace, the New Çırağan Palace and the Palaces of Dolmabahçe, Yıldız and Beylerbeyi. But, before doing this, she claims mistakenly that the memoirs of Leyla Hanım are about the New Çırağan Place, and the Palaces of Dolmabahçe and Yıldız.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ The publisher supports new trends in the historiography of the French language, particularly in the context of collections of "Contemporary History", in partnership with the Institute of Contemporary History (IHTP), and of "Cultural History", in partnership with the Centre for Cultural History of contemporary Societies (CHCSC). "Les Edition Complexe", Wikipedia. http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%89ditions_Complexe, (accessed 12, 12. 2011).

⁴⁹ SAZ, *Le Harem Imperial Au XIXe Siecle*" by *Leila Hanoum*. Bruxelles : Editions Complexe. 2000, p. XIX. "Ces informations ne nous concernent pas directement, puisque les Souvenirs de Leila Hanoum se déroulent dans les nouveaux palais de Tchéragan de Dolmabatché et de Yildiz. situés le long du Bosphore." (translated by professional translation agency)

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Figure 2.3. Content pages of the 2000 French edition.

Source: SAZ, 1991, pp. 3-4.

Despite this mistake, however, throughout the introduction, Basch makes very important evaluations about the qualities of Leyla Hanım's memoirs. She indicates that the memoirs disappoint general expectations of the orientalists with their simplicity, extreme courtesy and refinement, and then adds that due to these qualities, the memoirs "produce a sharp contrast with the vulgarity that has often been attached to the imaginary descriptions of the Imperial Harem."⁵⁰ Regarding Leyla Hanım's approach in her memoirs, Basch points out:

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. XXXIII. "Les Souvenirs de Leïla Hanoum auraient déçu les figurants de cet Orient salonnard, bouffon et prétentieux. La simplicité, l'extrême courtoisie, le raffinement tamisé qui s'en dégageant, produisent un violent contraste avec la vulgarité qui s'est souvent attachée aux descriptions imaginaires du Harem impérial." (translated by professional translation agency)

If she is not an objective witness, rare is the one who lags behind her relationship, Leyla Hanım does not judge or criticise, nor that she lets the melancholy to invade. Modest, unobtrusive yet very alive, Leyla resurrects an engulfed world with photographic efficiency as Farrère had seen.⁵¹

Referring to this photographic efficiency, Basch depicts the impressive visual construction of architecture in the memoirs of Leyla Hanım:

Throughout the pages, one goes after her in the suite and rooms of Çırağan, of Dolmabahçe and Yıldız, with the impression of entering one of these views of cartoon that children used to dream of. Some episodes of this book as fresh and alert as it is available, suggest that it was the Countess of Segur, as the story of the little girl who spent the night in the garden, or that of the dress stuck. The difference is it is not a story about Beau-Minon or the garden, but the Sultan.⁵²

So, although Basch misunderstands which Palace Leyla Hanım narrates, she presents the visuality of this narration perceptively.

2.3.2 English Editions of 1994, 1998, 1999 and 2001

The English edition of Leyla Hanım's memoirs was first published in 1994 under the title of *The Imperial Harem of the Sultans; Memoirs of Leyla (Saz) Hanımefendi* and translated by Landon Thomas. It was later followed by the 1998, 1999, and 2001 editions. The 1999 English edition constitutes the basis of this study as well.

⁵¹ Ibid., p XXXIII. "Jamais Leïla Hanoum ne juge ou ne critique, pas plus qu'elle ne laisse la mélancolie l'envahir. S'il n'est pas de témoin objectif, rare est celui qui reste en retrait de sa relation. Modeste, discrète tout en étant très vivante, Leïla ressuscite un monde englouti avec, comme l'avait bien vu Farrère une efficacité photographique." (translated by professional translation agency)

⁵² Ibid., p. XXXIII. "Au fil des pages, on s'enfonce à sa suite dans l'enfilade des salles de Tchéragan, de Dolmabatché et de Yıldız, avec l'impression de pénétrer dans un de ces panoramas de carton qui faisaient autrefois rêver les enfants. Certains épisodes de ce livre aussi frais et alerte qu'il est réservé font penser à la Comtesse de Ségur, comme l'épisode de la petite fille qui passa la nuit dans le jardin, ou celui de la robe collée. À cette différence qu'il ne s'agit pas ici d'un conte et que le jardin n'appartient pas à Beau-Minon mais au Sultan." (translated by professional translation agency)

The titles of the 1999 and 2001 editions differ from the earlier two editions, and instead of referring directly to Leyla Hanım’s memoirs, they highlight what they are about: *The Imperial Harem of the Sultans; Daily Life at the Çırağan Palace during 19th century*. Apart from this difference, all English editions have the same contents and follow closely the contents of the 1925 French edition,⁵³ as can be seen in the 1999 edition. (Figure 2.4) In addition to the introduction by Claude Farrère, they all have an epilogue, consisting of the notes of the grandsons of Leyla Hanım, Ahmet Neyzi, Nezih H. Neyzi, and Ali Halim Neyzi. Another significant characteristic of these editions is that they include the photographs of Leyla Hanım, her family members, and also of the New Çırağan Palace and her residence in

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Figure 2.4 Content pages of the 1999 English edition.
Source: SAZ, 1999, pp. 17-18.

⁵³ The additions made by Yusuf Razi to introduce the memoirs to the French audience are removed in guidance of the original account.

Beşiktaş. What should also be noted here is that in these editions there is not any commentary written by Landon Thomas, the translator, except for a brief “Translator’s Note.” All editions were published in Istanbul, the 1994 edition was printed by Peva Publication and the 1998, 1999 and 2001 editions were printed by Hil Press. As Ali Halim Neyzi tells the story of the publication of the memoirs in English:

... a member of the Board of Trustees of the Robert College, Mr. Landon Thomas has come to İstanbul. When Şen Sahir Silan's (Turkish) translation of the memoirs was mentioned, he wanted to read them. His daughter Stephanie who had come to İstanbul to study Ottoman calligraphy encouraged her father. As a result, departing from the Turkish text of Şen Hanım, Landon (who learned Turkish well and also was able to refer to original text in French) prepared the English edition of the book ...⁵⁴

Ali Neyzi continues with this publication story and while doing that, he gives important information about the market of the book. According to this story, he met with Mr. and Mrs. Capouya, the owners of New Amsterdam publishing house, in New York, which had published Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu's letters about her visit to Istanbul and the days she spent there. Ali Neyzi told them his project of publishing the memoirs; they were interested in the project and proposed to enrich the book with engravings and pictures as they had done in Lady Montagu’s book. But this first attempt failed due to some unfortunate developments. After one more failed attempt, the project was discussed with Oğlak Press and they hesitated if a

⁵⁴ NEYZI A. "Sunuş" in SAZ, L. *Anılar: 19 yüzyılda Saray Haremi*. İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Yayınları, 2010, p. 10.

publication with pictures, as recommended, would pay for itself. At the end, Ali Neyzi's older brother Nezih Neyzi published a low-cost print of the English text, assuming that it would find market in touristic hotels. Ali Neyzi indicates that his brother's opinion proves to be right and each year more than a thousand book finds audience in touristic market.⁵⁵

2.3.3 Turkish Editions of 2000 and 2010

Different from the French and the English editions, in the Turkish editions of 2000 and 2010, Claude Farrère's introduction was replaced with Ali Neyzi's and Yusuf Razi's foreword was removed. The translation into Turkish was by Şen Sahir Silan, an author. Both of the editions were published by Cumhuriyet Press, in İstanbul, as part the series of memoirs, and under the same title of *Anılar: 19. yüzyılda Saray Haremi (Memoirs: The Imperial Harem in the 19th century)*.

As Ali Neyzi tells the story of the Turkish edition of the memoirs in the introduction, a copy of the 1925 French edition was in their family library as long as he knew himself. Since his French was not good, it was Şen Hanım's idea to translate the memoirs into Turkish and publish them. The process of their translation and publication turned out to be an adventure which took almost six years.

In the following part of the story, Ali Neyzi points out the role of Yusuf Razi as the editor of his mother's memoirs:

⁵⁵ NEYZI A. "Sunuş" in SAZ, 2000, p. 11.

First Şen Hanım started to translate it, relying on her good French, but soon it became clear that when ... Yusuf Razi Bey had edited the text to be able to reach the French reader, for example to explain how Turkish coffee was made he had explained the coffee pot in three or four lines. It took us a long time to understand that the thing explained was the pot. So we decided to make a research. My late cousin İsmail Arar gave me the copies of the newspaper cuts of the interviews with Leyla Hanım that had been published in *İleri*. At first we were happy. But they brought to us with a new problem. It was getting clear that Yusuf Razi Bey had not translated them faithfully. Rather he had collected his mother's memoirs of the Palace and composed a book. Leyla Hanım's statements, such as 'climbing up the stairs in the garden, we passed through the bridge that crossed the road' had been extended by his engineer son with details, such as '12 m. in width, and each stair, 18 cm in height.'⁵⁶

This complication was solved by a coincidence when Ali Neyzi met with Ömer Koç who had Yusuf Razi's original handwriting notebook in his collection. After the translation of this text into Turkish, it was time to find a publisher that would invest in this project, finally Cumhuriyet Press interested in publishing the book.⁵⁷

2.3.4 Editions in Czech (1928), German (1989), and Spanish (2003)

The memoirs of Leyla Hanım were also published in languages other than the French and English such as the Czech, German and Spanish. Interestingly enough, the closest edition by date to the 1925 French was the one published in 1928, in Prague and in Czech Republic. It was translated by the author J. V. Šmejkal under the title of *Lejlā hānum: Vzpominky na Harem Sultanů Tureckých (Leyla Hanım: Reminiscences of the Harem of Turkish Sultans)*. In a study conducted by Petr Kučera, *Translations from Turkish in Czech Republic, 1990-2010*,⁵⁸ Leyla Hanım's

⁵⁶ SAZ, 2000, p. 9.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

book is described as “highly popular in Europe” but “far from being a representation of what was new, original and of higher aesthetic quality in Turkish literature of the period.”⁵⁹ Since there are two different covers of the Czech edition there should be another and later edition.

The German edition was published in 1989, in Hamburg and under the title of *Im Harem von Istanbul; Osmanisch-Türkische Frauenkultur im 19. Jahrhundert (In the Harem of Istanbul: Ottoman-Turkish Culture of Women in the 19th century)*. Its introduction was written by its translator and editor the Turkologist Börte Sagaster, a Professor at the University of Cyprus. The contents of the book indicate that it differs from the rest with its omissions. (Figure 2.5) Therefore, it almost becomes a book that presents fragments of the cultural life of the Imperial Palace. Curiously, Sagaster not only removes the chapter on the Old Çırağan completely, but, perhaps more importantly, ignores the very existence of the Old Çırağan Palace:

It must be mentioned that the harem of the Sultan of the time ‘Abdülmeçid I’ was not found in the Topkapı Palace. In 1856 ‘Abdülmeçid I’ moved his court to the newly built, comfortable Dolmabahçe Palace permanently.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ This study belongs to Next Page Foundation series of studies on translation flows in partnership with "Translating in the Mediterranean" project of Transeuropeennes and the Anna Lindh Foundation, 2010 November. www.npage.org/IMG/pdf/Turkish_-_Czech-corr.pdf. (accessed 30.05.2011)

⁵⁹ KÜËERA P. "Translations from Turkish in Czech Republic, 1990-2010", www.npage.org/IMG/pdf/Turkish_-_Czech-corr.pdf. (accessed 30.05.2011)

⁶⁰ SAZ, L. *Im Harem von Istanbul; Osmanisch-Türkische Frauenkultur im 19. Jahrhundert*. Hamburg : E.B.-Verlag Rissen 1989, p. 10. “Es muß erwähnt werden, daß sich der sultansharem zur zeit von ‘Abdülmeçid I’ nicht mehr im Topkapı Sarayı befand. ‘Abdulmeçid I’ zog mit seinem Hofstaat 1856 endgültig in das neu errichtete, komfortable Dolmabahçe Sarayı um.” (translated by S. Günsoy)

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Figure 2.5 Content pages of the 1989 German edition.
Source: SAZ, 1989, pp. 5-6.

Moreover, the chapters, titled *Daily Life in the Serail* and *Slaves* are shortened and unified in a new chapter, titled *The Structure of the Harem*. Furthermore, the chapter about Abdülaziz's return from Europe is removed. As the omitted sections, the emphasis placed on Abdülmeçid in the contents and the introduction indicate, this German edition frames the memoirs of Leyla Hanım in the context of cultural history and focuses on Abdülmeçid's reign and westernization. But still, as Sadi Borak does in the introduction of 1974 Turkish edition, Sagaster criticizes the

writers who have books on harem for not referring to the “detailed” and “trustworthy” memoirs of Leyla Hanım.⁶¹

In addition to this 1989 edition, there should be another and earlier German edition published before 1974, since Sadi Borak refers to such a version of the memoirs in the introduction of the 1974 Turkish edition.

There is also a Spanish edition of the memoirs, published in 2003, in Palma de Mallorca by José J. de Olañeta Press, in the category of biographies. The title of the edition is *El Harén Imperial y las Sultanas en el Siglo XIX: Memorias de una Dama de la Corte Otomana (The Imperial Harem and the Sultanas in the Nineteenth Century: Memories of a Lady in the Ottoman Court)*. It was translated into Spanish by Manuel Serrat Crespo, a translator with five hundred books to his credit.

2.4 Turkish Edition of 1974

The first Turkish edition was published by Milliyet Press in 1974, under the title of *Haremin İçyüzü (Inside Story of the harem)*, in İstanbul. Under the supervision of İsmail Arar, the book was edited by Sadi Borak (1911-?), an author whose works generally focus on Atatürk and his revolutions. As different from the 1925 French edition, the contents of the 1974 Turkish edition are more like a combination of two sections, *Harem* and *Geçen Yüzyılda Kadın Hayatı (The Lives of Women in the Last Century)* published in the newspapers. (Figure 2.6)

⁶¹ SAZ, 1989, p. 11.

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Figure 2.6 Content pages 1974 the Turkish Edition.

Source: SAZ, 1974, pp. 7-10.

In the introduction, Borak presents the book with diverse information in several sections added one after another in a rather haphazard way. Starting with the memoirs and their importance, he continues with a brief biography of Leyla Hanım and gives some examples of her artistic products, but then jumps into the slavery of women in world history and also in Ottoman history, slave markets in Istanbul, inventories prepared about the salaries of the members of the Harem during the reigns of different Sultans, and finishes with the place of Leyla Hanım's memories in Atatürk's revolutions. What is remarkable in this introduction is that Borak constructs a quite naïve frame in which he contrasts the place of women in social life during the Ottoman period versus during the Republican period.

Apart from the title, he repeats the expression “haremin içyüzü” (“the inside story of the Harem”), with its negative connotations, many times in the introduction. By doing this, Borak implicitly outlines an image of the harem reminiscent of the one drawn by popular orientalist discourse.

In this image the harem was like a mysterious prison where women were detained and left to suffer in darkness. Moreover in the section, titled “Haremde Kadın,” (“Woman in the Harem”), he underlines that women were imprisoned in this “separate world.”⁶² Some other examples of his use of orientalist discourse are the

⁶² The phrase, “separate world,” Borak uses, sounds like an extension of the western notion of “separate spheres” indicating the distinction between the public, the sphere for men, and the private, the sphere of women. See FRIEDAN. B. *The Feminine Mystique*, New York: Norton, 1963.

expressions such as “forbidden territory,” “the lives of women behind lattices” and “secrecy curtains of the dark world.”⁶³

Furthermore, he falls short of evaluating the memoirs of Leyla Hanım within the context of other memoirs, written by court members or attendants⁶⁴ and declares that the memoirs of Leyla Hanım are the only written source on the Imperial Harem. In fact, what is special about the memoirs of Leyla Hanım within this context is their earliest date, other than their uniqueness.

However, the most important insufficiency of Borak's introduction is the inconsistency between his and Leyla Hanım's explanations about the Harem. Even sarcastically, the passages in the memoirs to which Borak refers in some sections of his introduction deny what he claims in other sections. In other words, Borak's “forbidden,” “dark,” and/or “prison” image of the harem totally contradicts with what Leyla Hanım recalls:

While I was writing, I still suppose, I was in those times, in those happy days; not supposition, I found myself in that environment. That naive, caring looks are on me, and my looks are on beautiful, genial faces that are like the bright spring mornings, those kind voices and beautiful words are in my ears

⁶³ Here, it is important to note that such an image does not conform to Lady Montegu's and Vaka Brown's depictions of the Harem in their memoirs. As Marilyn Booth indicates: "travelling and writing ladies such as Lady Montagu and Vaka Brown referenced the harem as a silent criticism of constraining of European and American women by spatial segregation of industrial economy as home and work which proclaims the home as proper space for women." (*Harem Histories: Envisioning Places and Living Spaces*. Durham NC: Duke University Press Books. 2010 , p. 8.)

⁶⁴ Among them, we can cite Aba, Leyla (1898-1931), (*Bir erkes Prensesinin Harem Hatıraları*. İstanbul: Leyla ile Mecnun Yayıncılık, 2004); Osmanođlu, Ayşe (1877-1931), (*Babam Abdülhamit: Saray ve Sürgün Yılları*, İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2009); Ünüvar, Safiye. (?-?) (*Harem Hatıralarım*, İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2009.) Each book may have earlier editions.

that make me happy in this moment. Yes, even remembering those moments makes me elated. If my children and grandchildren were not in front of my eyes, I would deny my half-century long life, so the half of my life that would fall into the cracks of soil, opened by the earthquake of time.⁶⁵

So, in contrast to what Borak says, Leyla Hanım clearly explains that she was so glad to live in there and that she even wants to ignore her later life, excluding her harem days. Again, both in the introduction of Borak and in introduction of the 1999 English edition, Leyla Hanım says:

I may say that it was there I spent the happiest years of my infancy and my early youth. ... It is this environment of refinement, of elegance, of incomparable richness ... which I will recount to you.⁶⁶

The adjectives that Leyla Hanım uses for describing the ambience of her memoirs connote nobility and quality but definitely not captivity. Moreover, Borak's description of the spatial qualities of the harem, such as "... dark, secluded courtyards, apartments with low ceilings [which] cause boredom in one's spirit,"⁶⁷ utterly contradicts with the splendour spaces in the Harem as Leyla Hanım describes in her memoirs, and as we will see later in this study.

⁶⁵ SAZ, L. *Haremin İçyüzü*, İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1974. p. 14. "Yazarken yine o zamanların, o mutlu günlerin içindeyim sanıyorum; sanmak da değil, kendimi o çevrede buluyorum. O saf, şefekli bakışlar üzerimde, benim nazarlarım o nurlu bahar sabahları gibi güzel ve güleç yüzlerde, o nazik seslerle güzel sözler kulaklarımda, bu anda beni mutlu kılıyor. Evet, o demleri anmak bile beni bahtiyar ediyor. Eğer evlat ve torumlarım gözlerimin önünde olmasalar zamanın depreminden açılan toprak oyuklarına düşüp kaybolan yarım asırlık hayatımı, yani ömrümün son elli senesini inkar edeceğim." (translated by the author)

⁶⁶ SAZ, 1994, p. 27.

⁶⁷ SAZ, 1974, p. 12. "... izbe avlular, alçak tavanlı daireler, insana sıkıntı verir. harem dairelerine, padişahların valideleriyl, hanımları ve cariyesi girer." (translated by the author)

Despite all these shortcomings, Borak gives due value to Leyla Hanım's memoirs and highlights their documentary importance:

In these memoirs, Leyla Hanım tells the promenades of old Istanbul and how women utilized the recreational spots which were erased from our memories and which will not be heard by today's young generation from their grandparents: They shed light on the customs, the men-women relations of that time by bringing them out of the darkness of history. Through the memoirs, we inform ourselves about the women's clothes of that era, the interesting story of the customs concerning engagement, marriage and wedding ... and the rich folklore materials concerning that era in minute details.⁶⁸

Furthermore, he emphasizes the uniqueness of the memoirs in their architectural description of the Imperial residences:

Leyla Saz gives detailed information about palaces, kiosks, waterside mansions and houses. We do not have any other source, dating back a century ago, that presents information such a comprehensive and detailed way about the furnishing, decoration and fashion of residences; all the equipments and supplies related to the daily life. With these characteristics, the memoirs of Leyla Saz are in the value of an 'opus museum'.⁶⁹

In terms of its introduction, since this 1974 edition is based on the memoirs published in the newspapers which supported the transformation process of the country, it can be interpreted as an example of the discourse of differences between

⁶⁸ Ibid., p 13. "Leyla Saz bu anılarında; bugün artık belleklerimizden silinmiş, hele genç kuşağın ninelerinden bile dinleyemeyeceği eski İstanbul'un gezi yerlerini, bu "mesire"lerden kadınların nasıl yararlandığını, o dönemin gelenek ve göreneklerini, kadın -erkek ilişkilerini, "tarih" in karanlığından aydınlığa çıkarmaktadır. O çağın kadın giyisilerini; kadının kafes arkası yaşantısını ve o döneme ilişkin zengin folklor malzemesini en ince ayrıntılarına kadar yine bu kaynaktan öğreniyoruz." (translated by author)

⁶⁹ Ibid., p.13. "Leyla Saz, saraylar, konaklar, yahılar ve evlerle ilgili olarak ayrıntılı bilgiler vermektedir. Yüzyıl öncesine dayanan bu bilgileri, barınaklarımızın dayam, döşem biçimlerini, modasını; insan yaşamıyla ilgili tüm araç ve gereçlerin neler olduğunu topluca ve ayrıntılarıyla belirten bir başka kaynağa sahip değiliz. Leyla Saz'ın anıları bu nitelikleri nedeniyle bir " müze yapıt" değerindedir." (translated by author)

the lives of women in the old system and in the new system. So, unlike the introduction of the 1925 French edition, it alienates the Harem life and presents it as an object lesson for a lifestyle that should not be appreciated anymore.

2.4.1 Editions Originating from the 1974 Turkish Edition

There is no translation of the 1974 Turkish edition into any foreign languages; later publications of this edition are only in Turkish. These Turkish editions were published in 2001, 2004 and 2011. The latest edition differs from the others only in its title, *Haremde Yaşam (Life in the Harem)*. Apart from this, all these editions are introduced by Sadi Borak and published in İstanbul by different publishing houses; the 2001 edition by Kendi Press, the 2004 edition by Kırmızı-Beyaz and the 2011 edition by DBY Press.

2.5 Covers

The different editions of the memoirs of Leyla Hanım show a great variety under two main groups but their covers create more complex combinations since they display different approaches regardless of the contents. So to have a more comprehensive idea about these editions, they can be grouped into three in relation to their cover designs, and in particular, their cover images.

2.5.1 Covers without Images: French (1925) and Czech (1928) Editions

The early editions are quite plain with single colour backgrounds, beige in the French edition and blue in the Czech edition. The Czech edition has only the title while the French edition has extra bibliographic notes as presenting the introduction

by Claude Farrère, and the foreword by Yusuf Razi. Apart from these notes, there is a crescent with a star as the only image giving directly symbolic message about the content the book. (Figures 2.7- 2.8)

What can be also added here is that in contrast to this cover of the French edition, the cover of the other Czech edition whose publication date is not known has an image like embroidery with oriental motifs (Figure 2.9). This rather naïve presentation of the book gives the impression that the book is not willing to engage itself with the burden of the representation of such a title: *Leyla Hanım: Reminiscences of the Harem of Turkish Sultans*.

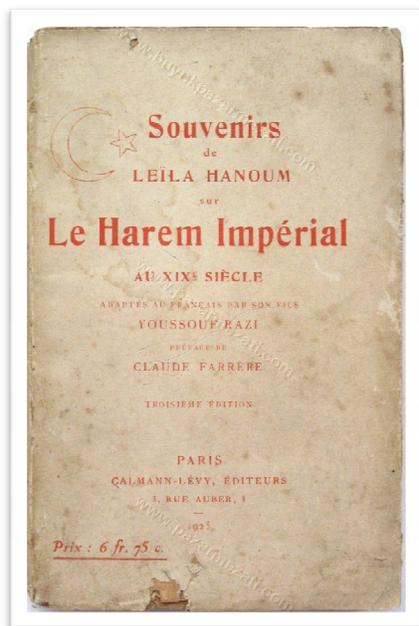


Figure 2.7 Cover of the 1925 French edition
Source: http://p2.la-img.com/1210/23083/8128016_1_1.jpg
(accessed 07.02. 2011)

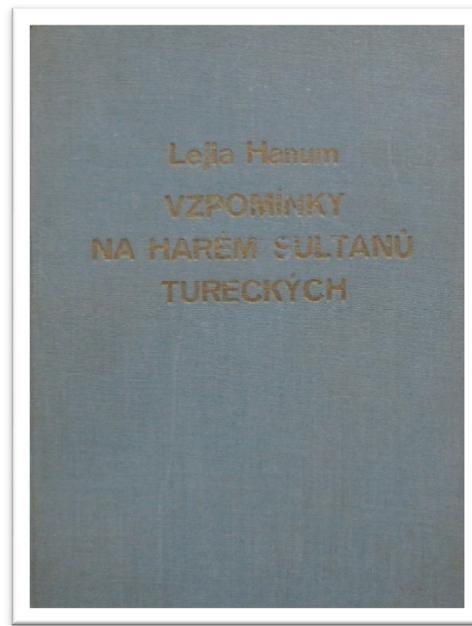


Figure 2.8 Cover of the 1928 Czech edition.
Source: <http://antikvariat-knihy.cz/kniha/hanum-lejla-vzpominky-na-harem-sultanu-tureckych>
(accessed 07.02. 2011)

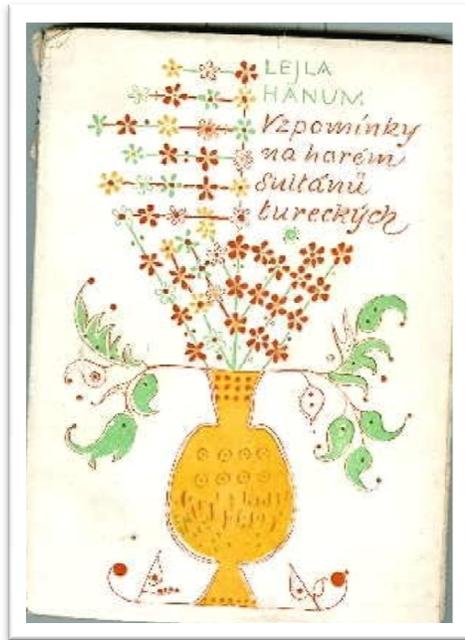


Figure 2.9 Cover of the late Czech edition.
Source: <http://antikvariát-knihy.cz/kniha/hanum-lejla-vzpomínky-na-harem-sultanu-tureckých> (accessed 07.02. 2011)

2.5.2 Covers with Orientalist Images

2.5.2.1 Turkish Editions of 1974, 2004, 2010 and 2011

As in the case of its introduction by Sadi Borak, the 1974 Turkish manifests its self-orientalising attitude in its cover as well. (Figure 2.10) It is an amateurish painting that brings together some pieces selected from an original painting with the addition of some others produced probably by the illustrator himself.⁷⁰ The most recognizable piece in this composition is the one which reproduces partially the scene in Osman Hamdi Bey's *The Harem* (1880). (Figure 2. 11)

⁷⁰ The name of the illustrator is Etem Çalışkan as noted in the book.

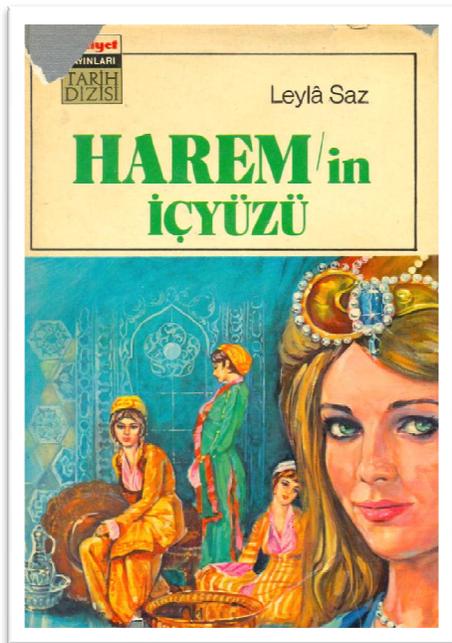


Figure 2.10 Cover of the 1974 Turkish edition.
Source:http://urun.gittigidiyor.com/Harem-039-in-Icyuzu-Leyla-Saz_W0QQidZZ25767642 (accessed 21.02. 2011)

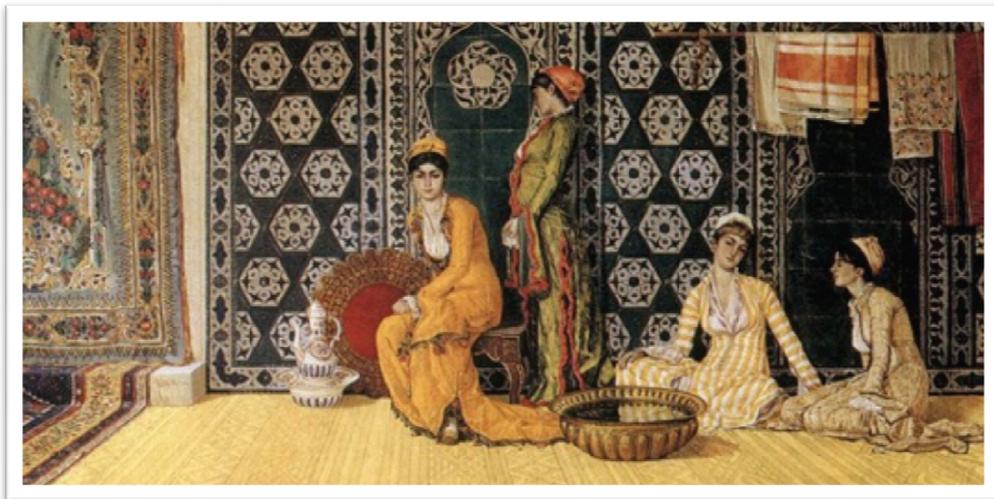


Figure 2.11 Osman Hamdi Bey's painting, *From the Harem* (1880).
Source:<http://www.arthistoryarchive.com/arthistory/arabic/Turkish-Artists.html>
(accessed 21.02. 2011)

One of the four female figures placed at the right most in the original is removed in the cover and instead of this figure a new one is inserted showing the face of a blond woman with a jewelled topknot on her head. With the addition of this figure and with the new bright blue colouring of the background the whole composition turns into a scene in a popular illustrated book. (Figure 2.10) In the story told by this scene, the figures in Osman Hamdi Bey's painting become the *kalfas* of the beautiful blond favourite who conquers the harem. In this regard, Osman Hamdi Bey's painting in this cover and Leyla Hanım's memoirs in the introduction of this edition share a common a fate in the sense that their depictions of the Harem are misinterpreted and misused in a self-orientalising attitude.

Conforming to its orientalist introduction by Sadi Borak, the cover of 2004 Turkish edition depicts lounging ladies on sofas in an arbour. (Figure 2.12) A townscape appears in the background. Some of the figures are sitting on the sofa and talking to each other while others are reclining on pillows and daydreaming. All the women are wearing dresses like those of belly dancers, silky shalwar and bustier, imagined as the costumes of the women of the Harem. As expected, the narghiles are the integral parts of the painting, completing this cliché representation of the Harem.⁷¹

⁷¹ For representation of women in orientalist painting, see: THORNTON, L. *Women As Portrayed in Orientalist Painting*, Art Creation Realisation, 1996.



Figure 2.12 Cover of the 2004 Turkish edition.
Source: <http://www.kitapokuyoruz.com/kitap/70889/Haremin-Ic-Yuzu/>
(accessed 21.02.20110)

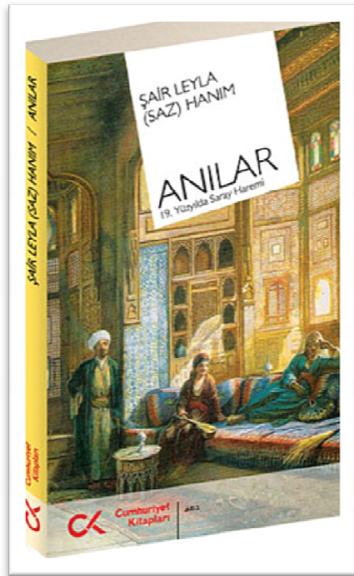


Figure 2.14 Cover of the 2011 Turkish edition.
Source: <http://www.dunyakitap.com/kitap/haremde-yasam-saray-ve-harem-hatiralari-p503329.html>. (accessed 21.02.2011)

The cover image of the 2010 edition (Figure 2.13) resembles the paintings of John Frederick Lewis, a well-known British orientalist painter (1805-1876) who visited Istanbul in 1837, in terms of the organization of the scene. Especially the interior depicted in the painting, recalls the interior in Lewis' *The Harem* (1851) with the view of a woman reclining on sofa in a latticed corner in a similar room, but actually it belongs to a less-known British orientalist painter, Frank Dillon (1823-1909) and it is the *Apartment in the Harem of the Sheikh Sadat in Cairo* (1873). Considering that the memoirs of Leyla Hanım are about the Imperial Harem in Istanbul, presenting it with a depiction of a sheikh's harem in Cairo is a defective approach that ignores diversities between the harems.

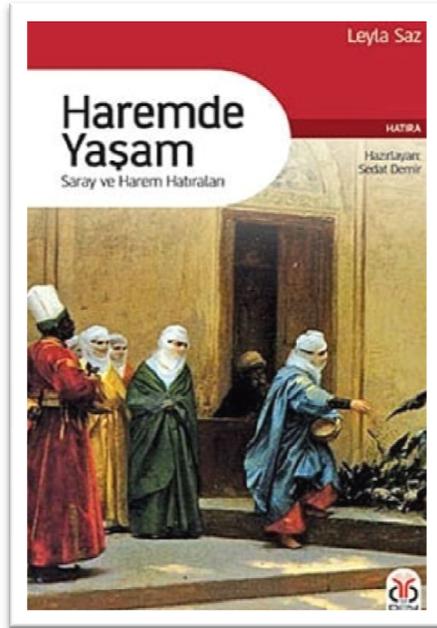


Figure 2.13 Cover of the 2010 Turkish edition
Source: <http://www.idefix.com/kitap/anilarleylasaz/tanim.asp?sid=QAJPD310179NUVQ00IN>. (accessed 21.02. 2011)

The 2011 Turkish edition presents itself by the painting *The Harem Ladies Feeding Pigeons in a Courtyard* (1894) by Jean Leon Gérôme (1824-1904),⁷² who is generally known by his orientalist paintings depicting nude women in the Harem. In this painting, he portrays a group of Ottoman ladies in an exterior space, one of them feeding pigeons, under the surveillance of a black eunuch.⁷³ Interestingly, this painting reminds one of Leyla Hanım's narrations of the excursions of the Harem women in her memoirs.⁷⁴

2.5.2.2 German Edition of 1989

The cover of the 1989 German edition is an engraving of Thomas Allom (1804-1872), an English architect and painter who had been in İstanbul during the reign of Mahmud II and by with his paintings of Istanbul, the *Circassian Slave* (1834- 38).⁷⁵ (Figure 2.15) The composition centres around a harem lady playing oud and sitting on a sofa. Right beside her a man sitting on the ground on his knees, looking like a merchant rather than a sultan, listening to the oud, played by the lady, fascination. Beside them, there sits a harem lady on the sofa and a black eunuch

⁷² On 25 May 1875, it was reported in *Levant Herald*, one of Istanbul's local English- and French-language newspaper, that Sultan Abdülaziz I commissioned Gérôme to execute some paintings for the Çırağan and Dolmabahçe Palaces during his visit to the Ottoman Empire in 1875. ROBERTS, M. "Gérôme in İstanbul" in ALLAN, S. & MORTON, M. (eds.) *Reconsidering Gérôme*, Getty Publications, 2010. p 120.

⁷³ THORONTON, L. "Pleasures of Daily Life", in *Women As Portrayed in Orientalist Painting*, Paris: Art Creation Realisation, 1996, pp. 22-61. On Jean Leon Gérôme, see CARS, L, FONT-RELAUX, D. & PAPET, E. *Jean Leon Gérôme*, Shkira, 2010.

⁷⁴ See SAZ, 1999, pp. 145-148.

⁷⁵ On Thomas Allom's engravings, see ALLOM, T. *Geçmişten Günümüze İstanbul Gravürleri* İstanbul: Keskin Color Kartpostalılık, 1995.

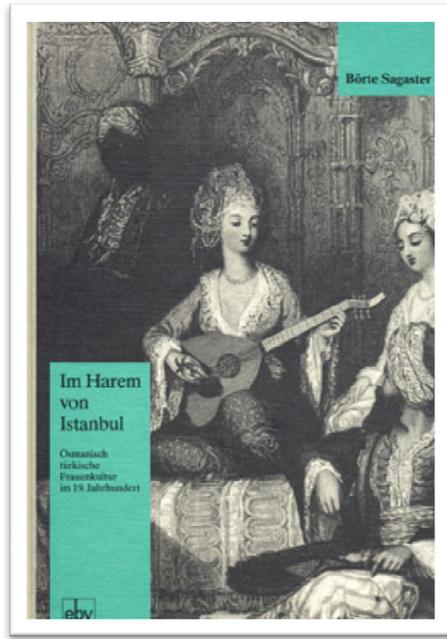


Figure 2.15 Cover of the 1989 German edition.

Source: <http://www.ebv-hamburg.de/Im-Harem-von-Istanbul>. (accessed 21.02.2011)

appears in the background. The decorative setting behind the figures looks ostentatious.

2.5.2.3 French Editions of 1991 and 2000

In the 1991 French edition, the cover image is the *The Greek Favourite in the Harem* (1740s) (Figure 2.16), a well known painting of Giovanni Antonio Guardi (1699-1760) who was a Venetian specialized in "Turkish look."⁷⁶ In the painting, there are two women figures one is sitting, legs crossed, on pillows in an oriental corner and the other, probably her servant, standing near her. The cover of the 2000 French edition is an engraving (1860) by Gibert Lechard after Reverchen. (Figure 2.17) It displays a cliché orientalist scene crowded by half naked women placed in front of an architectural décor.

⁷⁶ LEMARIE, G.G. *The Orient in Western Art*, Konemann: Verlagsgesellschaft, 2001, p. 60.

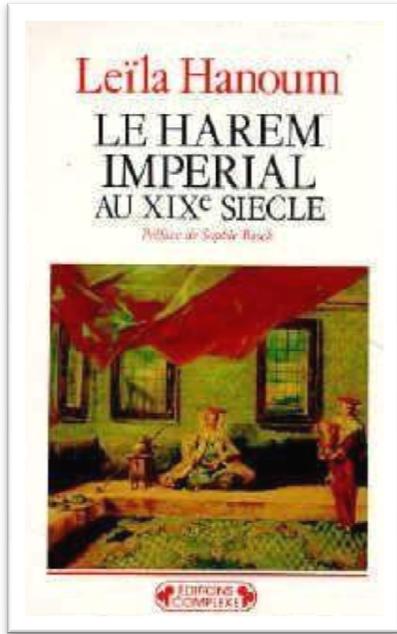


Figure 2.16 Cover of the 1991 French edition.
 Source: <http://www.chapitre.com/CHAPITRE/fir/t/empire-ottoman,4545.aspx>
 (accessed 21.02. 2011)

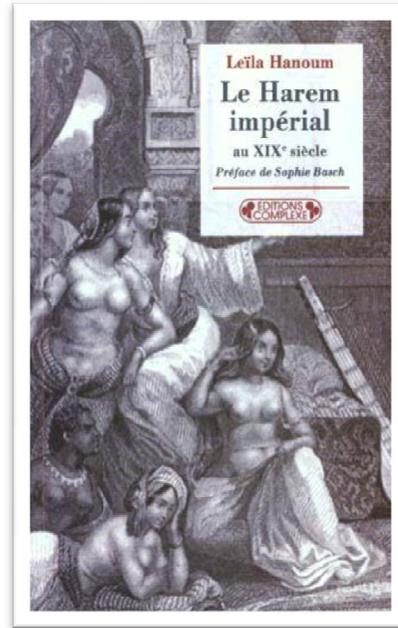


Figure 2.17 Cover of the 2000 French edition.
 Source: <http://www.wook.pt/ficha/harem-imperial-au-xx-siecle/a/id/7948735>
 (accessed 21.02.2011)

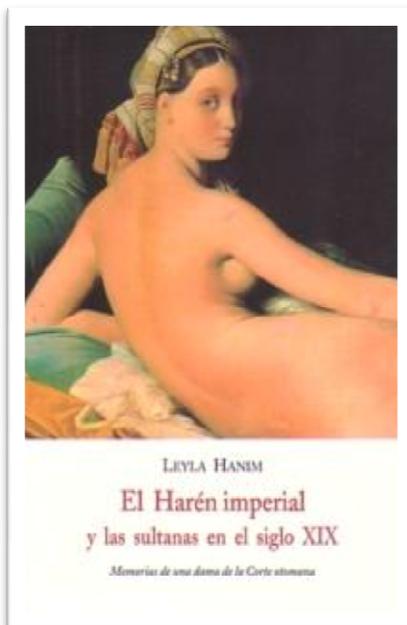


Figure 2.18 Cover of the 2003 Spanish edition.
 Source: <http://www.google.com/search?hl=en&q=El+hare%CC%81n+imperial+y+las+sultanas+en+el+siglo+XIX+%3A+memorias+de+una+dama+de+la+corte+otomana>
 (accessed 21.02. 2011)

2.5.2.4 Spanish Edition of 2003

The cover of this Spanish edition touches on a part of the well-known painting of Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres (1780-1867), who had never been in the Ottoman Empire but inspired by Lady Montagu's account, *La Grande Odalisque* (1814).⁷⁷ In the painting, the odalisque is lying naked on a sofa and turning her back and looking at the viewer over her shoulder. (Figure 2.18) This painting proposes an imagined "East"⁷⁸ and is generally regarded as a typical representation of the "otherness" of the "East" in the literature on the criticism of orientalist art.⁷⁹

2.5.3 Covers with the Photographs of Leyla Saz

The covers of the 1994, 1998, 1999 and 2000 English editions display the photographs of Leyla Hanım, indicating that she was a cultivated and an aristocrat lady.

2.5.3.1 English Editions of 1994 and 1998

The covers of the 1994 and 1998 editions are the same with a pink background framing a photograph of Leyla Hanım, sitting. (Figure 2.19) She is wearing a taffeta

⁷⁷ Bohrer, Frederick N., *Orientalism and Visual culture: Imagining Mesopotamia in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 12. In an odd coincidence, Alev Croutier's book, *Harem: The World Behind the Veil* (New York : Abbeville Press, 1989) uses the same painting as cover image. Croutier claims herself as an insider through her grandmother who lived in the Harem. However, her book completely contrasts with Leyla Hanım's memoirs. Beyond orientalizing the Harem, Croutier disdains it.

⁷⁸ BENJAMIN, R. *Orientalism: from Delacroix to Klee*, Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 1997, p. 68.

⁷⁹ LEWIS, R. *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity and Representation*, London; New York : Routledge, 1996, p. 220. LEMAIRE G.G., *The Orient in the Western Art*. Konemann Verlagsgesellschaft. 2001. p. 8

like white court dress and a head accessory. This photograph is almost the same as the photograph of Leyla Hanım which was taken by her son Yusuf Razi, at his house (Figure 2.20); but in this photograph she is in a different pose and in the background a piece of a frame is seen. It is not known whether these pictures were taken at the same time and in the same place. In any case, what is remarkable is that Leyla Hanım wore her court dress while posing, though she was not in the court anymore. So through the photograph she reconstructed herself with an Imperial image.

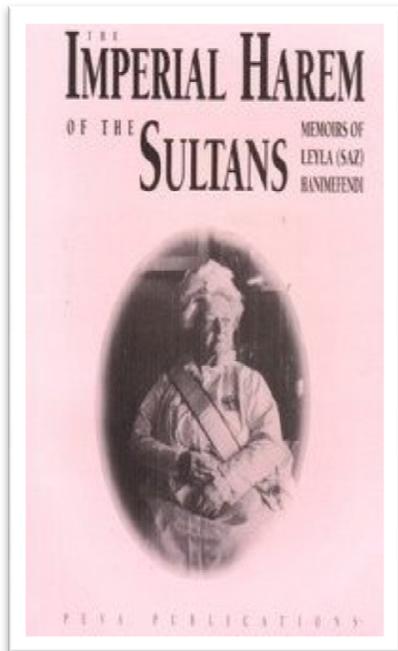


Figure 2.19 Cover of the 1994 and 1998 English editions
Source: <http://www.amazon.com/Imperial-Harem-Sultans-Ciragan-Hanimefendi/dp/9757239003>.
(accessed 18.02. 2011)



Figure 2.20 Photograph of Leyla Saz by Yusuf Razi at Yusuf Razi's house (1928).
Source: <http://www.tombak.com.tr/sayi27/muzik.htm> (accessed 18.02. 2011)

2.5.3.2 English Editions of 1999 and 2001

The covers of the 1999 and 2001 editions display the same photograph of Leyla Hanım in which she is much younger, probably in her 30s. (Figure 2.21) It was Palace should be the later one. (Figure 2.22) In the photograph, Leyla Hanım wears a dark dress with white cutworks on borders, similar to the dresses of the late Victorian period, and a necklace made of beads, and holds a fan in her hand. Even though it is not shown in the cover, in the original photograph, she stands behind a wingback chair. This is a common pose of the time whose examples can be seen in the Ottoman and British history of photography.



Figure 2.21 Photograph of Leyla Hanım at Çırağan Palace
Source: SAZ,1999. p. 37

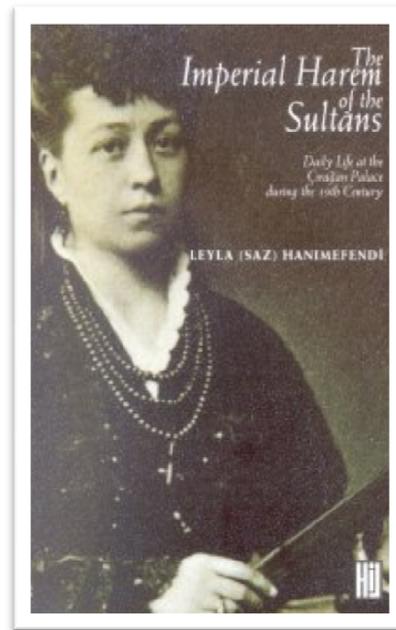


Figure 2.22 Cover of the 1999 and 2001 English editions
Source: SAZ. 1999.

CHAPTER 3

MEMOIRS OF LEYLA SAZ ON THE OLD ÇIRAĞAN PALACE

3.1 Çırağan Palaces

3.1.1 Before the Old Çırağan Palace

The site on which the Old Çırağan Palace was built was an Imperial property and it had already been a favourite place for the Imperial buildings. In the seventeenth century it was known as Kazancıoğlu Garden and the first structure on this site was a “yalı” from the sixteenth century that belonged to High Admiral Kılıç Ali Pasha. In 1648, Murat IV gave this site to his daughter Kaya Sultana and her husband Melek Ali Pasha. The couple built a wooden mansion there and used it as a summer house. About the “yalı,” Evliya Çelebi, a relative of Melek Ali Pasha’s, says:

It is a necessarily contemplative *yalı*, in it there is a marvellous fountain whose artful squirt is unprecedented in the world.⁷⁹

In the next century, Ahmed III gave the grounds to his daughter Fatma Sultana and his son in law Grand Vizier İbrahim Pasha of Nevşehir as a wedding gift. İbrahim Pasha had a new *yalı* built on the ground.⁸⁰ This “yalı” was called “Ferahabad.”⁸¹ During the Tulip Era, the torchlight fetes, “Çırağan Şenlikleri,” that the couple

⁷⁹ Quoted in, GÜLERSOY, Ç. "Çırağan Sarayı", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*. İstanbul : Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1993, Vol.3, p. 503. "Vacibü's seyr bir yalıdır. Bunda fevkani bir şadırvan vardır ki dünyada öyle bir sanatlı fevvere görülmemiştir."

⁸⁰ Ibid., p, 503.

⁸¹BATUR, A., "Çırağan Sarayı", *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: NTV Yayınları, 2010. p. 315.

arranged, gave the “yalı” a new name, “Çerağan.” Describing one of the fetes that İbrahim Pasha organized in honour of the Sultan, Abraham Constantin Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Swedish historian and diplomat who made researches on Oriental history, said that the spacious garden was decorated with hundreds of crystal cressets and the night was called “tulip çırağan.” After giving the information that those fetes were also customary for the Serail, he added that the “yalı” of Ibrahim Pasha was called “çırağan yalısı.”⁸² These fetes not only influenced classic Ottoman poetry but also led to new architectural settings specially arranged for them.⁸³ In addition to Çırağan “yalısı,” “yalı”s such as Emnabad, Neşatabad, Kandilli, Bayıldım, Kars-ı Süreyya, Nevabad, Yusuf Ağa, Sa'dabad, Karaağaç, İmrahor, Tersane, Eyüp-Bahriye hosted these fetes as well.⁸⁴

Although the Çerağan of Fatma Sultana dated more than a century earlier than the Old Çırağan Palace, there are more witnesses who wrote about it. Its splendour should have affected Lady Montagu so that she described the Çırağan of that earlier date admiringly in her letters, dating May 19, 1718:

It is situated on one of the most delightful parts of the canal, with a fine wood on the side of a hill behind it. The extent of it is prodigious; the guardian assured me there were eight hundred rooms in it, I will not however, answer for that number since I did not count them; but 'tis certain the number is very large, and the whole adorned with a profusion of marble, gilding and the most exquisite painting of fruit and flowers. The windows are all sashed with the finest crystalline glass brought from

⁸²SAKAOĞLU, N. "Çırağan Eğlenceleri", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1993, (Vol.3), p. 501.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 501.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 501.

England; and here is all the expensive magnificence that you can suppose in a palace founded by a vain luxurious young man, with the wealth of a vast Empire at his command.⁸⁵

Albeit the structure mentioned as "yalı" in the imperial edicts of Ahmed III,⁸⁶ as Montagu informed us, the structure standing in the eighteenth century was not like the wooden summer mansion of Kaya Sultana anymore. It was a more developed, complex structure which is eligible to call a "palace." Thus the first building in the qualification of a palace on the ground was Fatma Sultana's wooden yalı.

Information about the palace of Fatma Sultana comes from Gudenus, a military officer of Austrian Embassy who had the chance of seeing it during the feast on September 14, 1740, organized in honour of the Austrian ambassador. Gudenus not only described the "yalı" but also drew a plan of it. We do not have the original plan of Gudenus but have a restitution plan and a frontal view, made in accordance with his sketches (Figures 3.1 - 3.2), and also his description of the interior:

The multi-colours which were inlaid with gold and silver may seem odd to us but they are not disturbing. In the middle of the floor paved with white marble, there is a water trough with the four corners, made of white marble again. Here, mosque-like objects (fountain stone) that water spouts upwards from brass nozzles. The water emptied out of through the brass flowers in a gracious way which was made at the edge of the water-basin. The excessive water of the basin flows to the gutter by means of brass gargoyles which were surrounds the basin. The gutter reaches forth to the big

⁸⁵ MONTAGU, M. W. *Letters from the Levant during the Embassy to Constantinople, 1716-18*. New York; Arno Press, 1971, pp. 235-236. Like the Old Çırağan Palace, the palace of Fatma Sultana must have been different from the other palaces of the time, as can be deduced from the following part of Lady Montagu's description: "I should go on and let you into some of the other apartments (all worthy to your curiosity;) but it is yet harder to describe a Turkish palace than any other, being built entirely irregular. There is nothing that can be properly called front or wings; and, though such a confusion is, I think, pleasing to the sight and yet it would be very unintelligible in a letter."

⁸⁶ GÜLERSOY, Ç. "Çırağan Sarayı", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 1993. (Vol.3), p. 503.

pool in the garden. This gutter which was carved in the form of herringbone, decorated with relief depictions of fish.⁸⁷

The “yalı” of Fatma Sultana and İbrahim Pasha was also registered in the bequest book, arranged after İbrahim Pasha's death in Patrona Halil Riot. According to this register dating July 1, 1731, the “yalı” was in the quality of a minor palace which had most of the spatial units of the Topkapı Palace.⁸⁸ This developed organization of the Çırağan of Fatma Sultana was related to the Sultan's existence in the “yalı” most of the time.⁸⁹

After her husband's death, Fatma Sultana resided in the “yalı” till the end of her life (1732). Then the wooden palace changed hands till the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Grand Viziers Hacı Ahmet Pasha and Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha used this Palace for meetings with French and Austrian Ambassadors.⁹⁰

In 1767, Abdülhamid I gave the Çırağan to Şeyhülislam İbrahim Efendi.⁹¹ It seems that he did not own the “yalı” for a long time because in 1774, Selim III, gave this “yalı” to his sister Beyhan Sultan. According to James Dallaway, physician to the

⁸⁷ "Çırağan Sarayı". *Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Paşanın Çırağan Yalısı*. www.kultur.gov.tr > ... > Çırağan Sarayı > İlk Çırağan Sarayları (accessed 2 August 2011).

⁸⁸ "Çırağan Sarayı". *Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Paşanın Çırağan Yalısı*. www.kultur.gov.tr > ... > Çırağan Sarayı > İlk Çırağan Sarayları (accessed 2 August. 2011).

⁸⁹ "Çırağan Sarayı". *Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Paşanın Çırağan Yalısı*. www.kultur.gov.tr > ... > Çırağan Sarayı > İlk Çırağan Sarayları (accessed 2 August. 2011).

⁹⁰ GÜLERSOY, Ç. "Çırağan Sarayı", 1993. p.503. CAN, S. *Belgelerle Çırağan Sarayı (Çırağan Place on Documents)*. MA Thesis, Istanbul Technical University, Istanbul: 1997, p. 6.

⁹¹ CAN, 1997, p. 6.

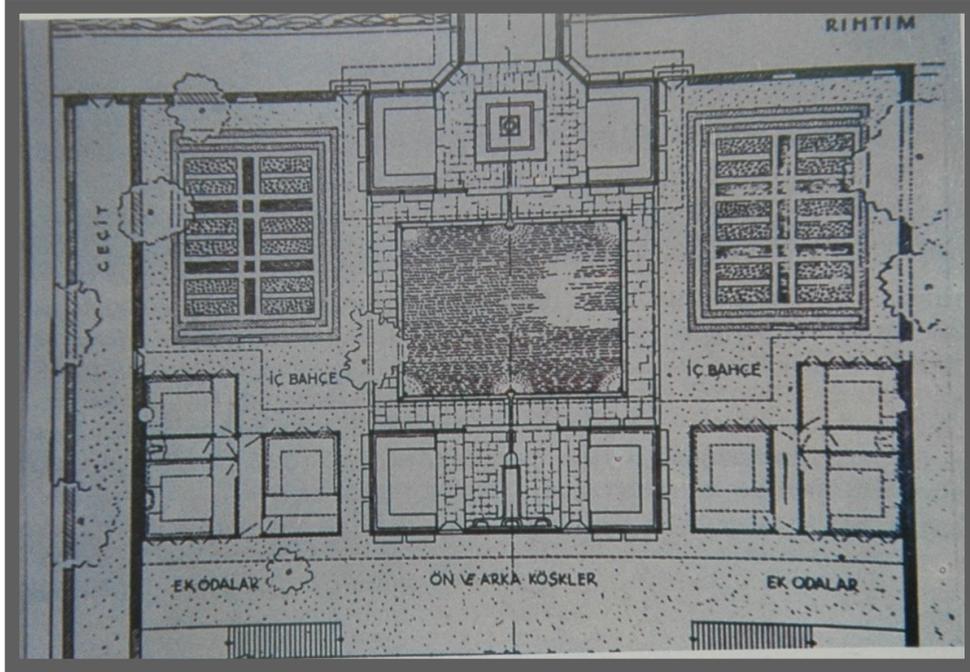


Figure 3.1. Reconstructed plan of "yalı" of İbrahim Pasha according to sketch of Gudenus.

Source: ELDEM, S. H. *Köşkler ve Kasırlar II*, Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Yayını, p.217

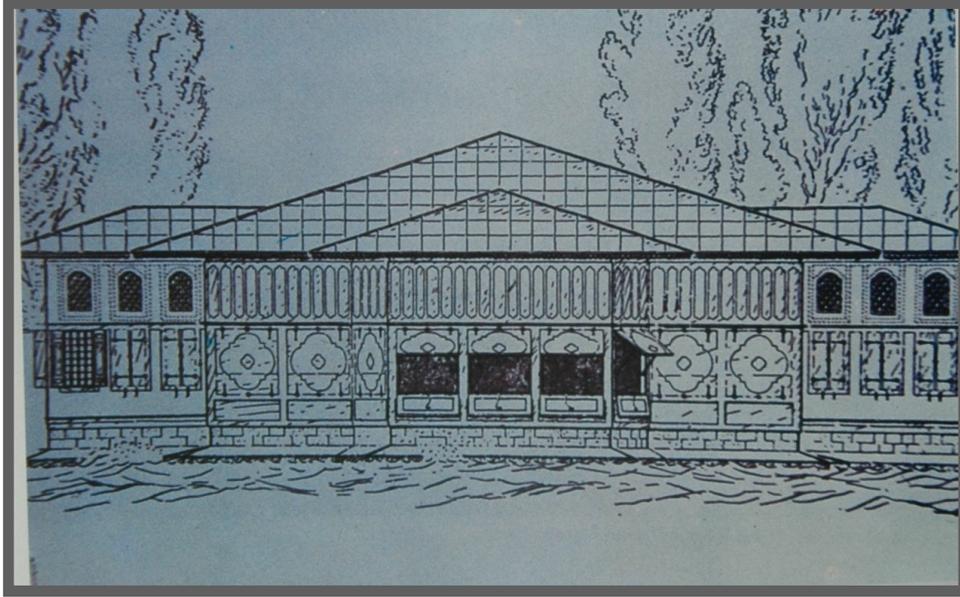


Figure 3.2 . Reconstructed waterfront of the "yalı" of İbrahim Pasha.

Source: ELDEM, S. H. *Köşkler ve Kasırlar II*, Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Yayını, p.220.

British embassy in Istanbul, the palace of Beyhan Sultan was a “yalı” which included a fish house. It had a façade of 100 meters long, along the seaside and a large sofa. Its walls were "decorated with rich colours and gild." At the rear of the building, there was a garden which had pools and fountains.⁹²

After a while Beyhan Sultana gifted her palace to Selim III since he liked it so much, but the palace was still kept to be called Beyhan Sultana Palace.⁹³ In the period that the palace owned by Selim III, Antonio Ignace Melling who worked in Hatice Sultana's “yalı,” also worked in the interior design and gardening of the Beyhan Sultana palace.⁹⁴ Sadrazam Yusuf Pasha suggested Selim III the construction of a new palace in the place of Beyhan Sultana palace but Selim III had only a “Mabeyin” Chamber built. Until the reign of Mahmud II, the old structures remained with partial renovations and additions of kiosks and pavilions.⁹⁵

3.1.2 Old Çırağan Palace

As the former section indicates, the Imperial interest in the Bosphorus increased in the eighteenth century,⁹⁶ and it took a new form with Mahmud II's decision to move out Topkapı Palace and reside in the Çırağan Palace especially due to bloody riots.⁹⁷

⁹² Quoted in, BATUR, 2010. p. 315.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 316.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 316.

⁹⁵ GÜLERSOY, 1993, p.503.

⁹⁶BATUR, 2010, p. 316.

⁹⁷ He was deeply affected especially by the murder of his uncle Selim III during the riot of Kabakçı Mustafa (1807), GÜLERSOY, 1993, p. 503.

This decision played a considerable role in the transformation of the built environment of the city which changed its traditional silhouette.⁹⁸

In addition to the former summer “Mabeyin” Chamber in Selim III's Palace, Mahmud II had a new one built on the hill at the rear for the winter.⁹⁹ When he decided to stay in Çırağan permanently, he envisioned the construction of a larger, multi-functional structure and was involved in the construction personally. Mahmud II was known to be the last Sultan who was interested in the Çırağan fetes.¹⁰⁰ Probably that was why his Palace was called again "Çırağan."

Since Mahmud II wanted to enlarge the area of the building, old pavilions and kiosks around it were demolished. So the construction of his Çırağan Palace began after the destruction of all the previously existing structures in 1834.¹⁰¹ This change in the building scale was also related to a change in the urban scale in terms of the development of the city from the inside to out, towards its shores.¹⁰²

In her book, *The Beauties of Bosphorus*,¹⁰³ Julia Pardoe narrates an anecdote, concerning the construction of the Old Çırağan Palace. When Mahmud II was undecided about whom he would trust to tell his project of building a new palace, he

⁹⁸ GERMANER, S. & İNANKUR, Z. *Oryantalistlerin İstanbulu*. İstanbul: İş Bankası, 2008, p. 208.

⁹⁹ BATUR, 2010. p. 316.

¹⁰⁰ SAKAOĞLU, 1993 p. 501.

¹⁰¹ CAN, 1999, p. 7.

¹⁰² GERMANER & İNANKUR, 2008, p. 207.

¹⁰³ Miss Pardoe's travel books on Turkey are some of the earliest works by a woman on this area. The book, *The Beauties of Bosphorus*, is illustrated in a series of views of Istanbul and its environs with Henry Bartlett's original engravings, one of them belongs to the Old Çırağan palace (Figure 3.7).

met with an architect, upon the suggestion of one of his relatives, in the place where the Palace would be constructed. He pointed at the Topkapı Palace and asked the architect's opinion about it. The architect replied that since he had not examined the building, he could not form any judgement about it. Upon this reply, Mahmud II let him have the opportunity to visit the Palace. When the two got together again, the architect told the Sultan: "I have visited many cities of the west; and I have seen nothing from the rising of the sun." In other words he meant that he never saw a palace as beautiful as the Topkapı Palace. The Sultan showed the architect a bunch of papers which presented different views of the Imperial Palaces of Europe and said: "Then the Franks lie when they send me things like these and tell me that they represent the Palaces of their Padishahs." The Sultan, then, asked the architect if he really saw one of those palaces and if so, whether they were really looking like those representations. The architect replied that he had seen many of them and added: "They do, may it please your highness." Then the Sultan said:

You are unsuited to undertaking [sic] which I contemplate; for none save a rogue or a fool, could class that palace?, (again pointing at the Serai Bournou (Topkapı)) fitted only for deeds of bloody and mystery, that palace hidden beneath the high walls and amid darks trees as though it could not brave the light of day; with these light, laughing palaces, open to free air and the pure sunshine of heaven. Such I would have my own; and such it shall be: -we have therefore met for the last time.¹⁰⁴

The important point about this anecdote is that it gives us a clue about Mahmud II's ideas about the architecture of palaces in the west in comparison to the architecture of Topkapı Palace and also about his architectural choices in the Old Çırağan Palace.

¹⁰⁴ PARDOE, J. & BARTTLET, W.H. "The Palace of Beshik-Tash", *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*. London: Whitehead Press, 2010, pp. 18-19. For a better, rephrased version of the anecdote See GERMANER & İNANKUR, 2008. p. 208.

Parallel to this anecdote, Çelik Gülersoy suggests that Mahmud II's desire of a new space and a fresh atmosphere played an important role in the form of the Old Çırağan Palace.¹⁰⁵

The Palace of Mahmud II presented a new palace model on the Bosphorus in terms of its relation with the seaside.¹⁰⁶ It also represented a different understanding in terms of its form.¹⁰⁷ But the difference was only in the mass and on the façade; the plan followed the conventional schemes since the functions were basically the same,¹⁰⁸ and the use of timber was a characteristic of Ottoman residential architecture.¹⁰⁹

To understand the position of the Old Palace in the context of early nineteenth century, it can be suggestive to read closely Ahmet Ersoy's dissertation, *On the Sources of the "Ottoman Renaissance:" Architectural Revival and its Discourse during the Abdulaziz Era (1861--1876)*. Ersoy defines the architecture of early Tanzimat era (1840s-1850s) as "part and parcel of an articulate and syncretic tradition of accommodating and appropriating forms of European origins with distinctively local design framework."¹¹⁰ Especially for the reign of Mahmud II, he says that "contacts with western architecture gained intensity"¹¹¹ and adds that

¹⁰⁵ GÜLERSOY, 1993, p. 504.

¹⁰⁶ BATUR, 2010. p. 316.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 316.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 316.

¹⁰⁹ CAN, 1997, p. 9.

¹¹⁰ ERSOY, A, *On the Sources of the "Ottoman Renaissance:" Architectural Revival and its Discourse During the Abdülaziz Era (1861-76)*, Phd. Thesis, Harvard University, 2000 p. 324.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p.327.

"traditional forms like waterside palaces were clad with facades that were adorned with symmetrically arranged pediments and Classical colonnades."¹¹² As a striking example of this tendency, Ersoy points out the Old Çırağan Palace. A German marshal, Helmut Von Moltke who had been in Turkey between 1836 and 1839 mentioned the Old Palace in his memoirs,¹¹³ supporting in a way the information above:

The Sultan, who shows a great interest to [sic] architecture, built a palace in Çırağan, in a really beautiful neighbourhood. In this palace, which is stylistically neither European nor Asian, a row of columns supports the upper story and a wide flight of marble steps reaches down to the Bosphorus's water. Rest of the building is made of timber, only the flat roof which has a beautiful view, is paved with marble, this should be a heavy loan to the building.¹¹⁴

In his further explanations, Moltke talked about a "hall" that received the daylight from above. Afife Batur evaluates this statement as an indication of the existence of a cast iron and glass roof structure in the building.¹¹⁵ But this evaluation contradicts Leyla Hanım's description of the Old Çırağan as a completely wooden Palace.¹¹⁶

¹¹²Ibid., p. 327.

¹¹³ This information is cited in Pattu Mimarlık Araştırma Tasarım (eds). *Hayal-et Yapılar (Ghost Buildings)*. Exhibition Catalogue, 29 September-23 December 2010. p.120. For the memoirs themselves, see Helmut von Moltke, Carl, Bernard. *Briefe aus der Türkei*, Hamburg: Deutsche Dichter-Gedächtnis-Stiftung, 1928. The first publication of Moltke's letters date 1941; *Briefe über die Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei 1835-39*, Berlin, Posen und Bromberg, 1841.

¹¹⁴ Quoted in *Hayal-et Yapılar (Ghost Buildings)*, 2010. p.120.

¹¹⁵BATUR, 2010, p. 316.

¹¹⁶ See, p. 95.

The Çırağan of Mahmud II was completed in 1841,¹¹⁷ after his death in 1839. In the first fifteen years of his reign, Abdülmecid II used the Old Çırağan extensively; his official receptions took place in there.¹¹⁸ The births of Abdülmecid's children and the wedding ceremony of Fatma Sultana (1854) who received Leyla Hanım as her maid of honour, took place in the Old Çırağan Palace.¹¹⁹ The first orchestrate modelled on western music, "Muzika-i Hümayun", was also founded in that Palace of Abdülmecid and later moved to Dolmabahçe Palace.¹²⁰ As an addition to the Old Palace, Abdülmecid had a kiosk built for his mother Bezmialem Valide Sultana on the hill of the grove at the rear of the Palace. (Figure 3.3) This kiosk was called "Yıldız" for it was visible from all around the city.¹²¹

The Old Çırağan Palace consisted of three main blocks, a central building and two long wings which were connected to each other by recessed passages, so from a frontal view, each block was perceived as independent masses. The central block which housed the Imperial Hall was distinguished with its pediment. The use of classical elements, Corinthian columns, porticos, and moreover, the elevation of the masses were the common characteristics of all three blocks. (Figures 3.3-3.11) In terms of style, it was the first example of the Ottoman Imperial Palaces in which

¹¹⁷ Different from the dates indicated in Can's thesis (1997), in Ersoy's dissertation (2000, p. 327 n. 22) the construction and demolition dates of the Old Çırağan are given as 1835 and 1843, respectively.

¹¹⁸ ERSOY, 2000, p. 316.

¹¹⁹ CAN, 1997. p.13.

¹²⁰ GÜLERSOY, 1993, p. 503.

¹²¹ SAZ, 1999, p. 45.

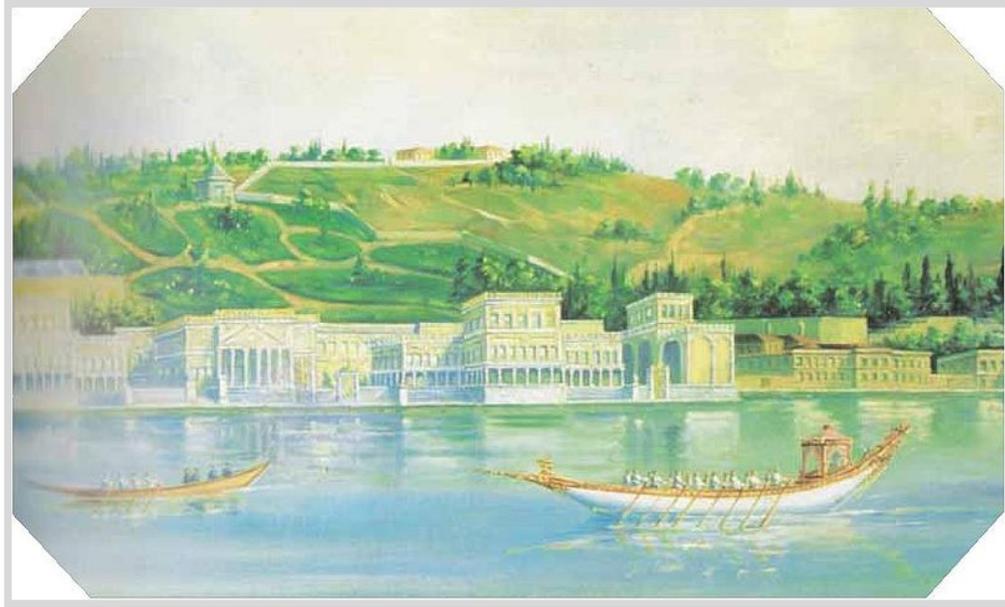


Figure 3.3 Illustration of the Old Çırağan Palace with its garden behind and the Yıldız kiosk of the Bezmialem Valide Sultan (unknown artist, unknown date)
Source: <http://antonytodd.blogspot.com/2011/06/palace-is-burning.html> (accessed 24.03 2011)

"cladded" neo-classical style was introduced. Moreover, as Ersoy indicates, its façade of white colour contrasted with the ornate and richly coloured facades of the earlier waterside palaces.¹²²

In some sources Amira Garabed Balyan was credited as its architect,¹²³ while some others mention Es-Seyyid Abdülhalim Bey, the supervisor of Imperial Buildings, as the architect.¹²⁴ This obscurity may be originating from the incident of Mahmud II's

¹²² ERSOY, 2000, p 327, n. 22.

¹²³ Garabed Balyan (1800-1860) was the imperial architect during the reigns of Mahmud II, Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz. He was also the architect of the palaces of Münire and Cemile Sultans which Leyla Hanım mentions in her memoirs.

¹²⁴ In most of the electronically accessible sources, touristic web pages or web pages discussing the "Istanbul's Armenian Architects", Amira Garabed Balyan is credited, as the architect in his master thesis on the history of the Çırağan, Selman Can presents the architect as Abdülhalim Bey and gives reference to: Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta Batliya Açılış Doneminde Mimarlar*, 9. Milletlerarası Türk Sanatlar Kongresi, Ankara, 1995, p. 23.



Figure 3.4 Thomas Allom, engraving of the Old Çırağan Palace (1838)
Source: http://www.hayal-et.org/i.php/site/building/eski_craan_saray (accessed 26.02. 2011)



Figure 3.5 Adolphe and Emile Rouargue Brothers (unknown date)
Source: http://www.hayal-et.org/i.php/site/building/eski_craan_saray (accessed 26.02. 2011)

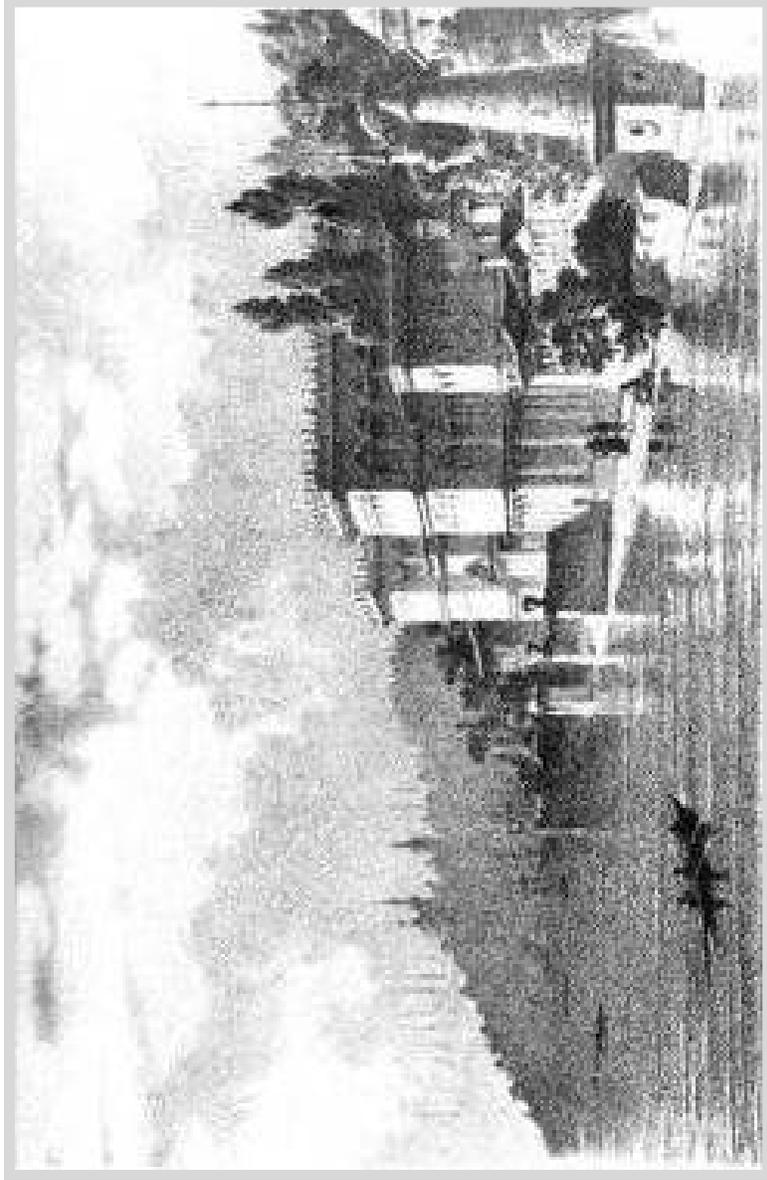


Figure 3.6 Eugene Flandin , *L'Orient*, Paris , (1853)
Source: http://www.hayal-et.org/i.php/site/building/eski_craan_saray (accessed 26.02. 2011)

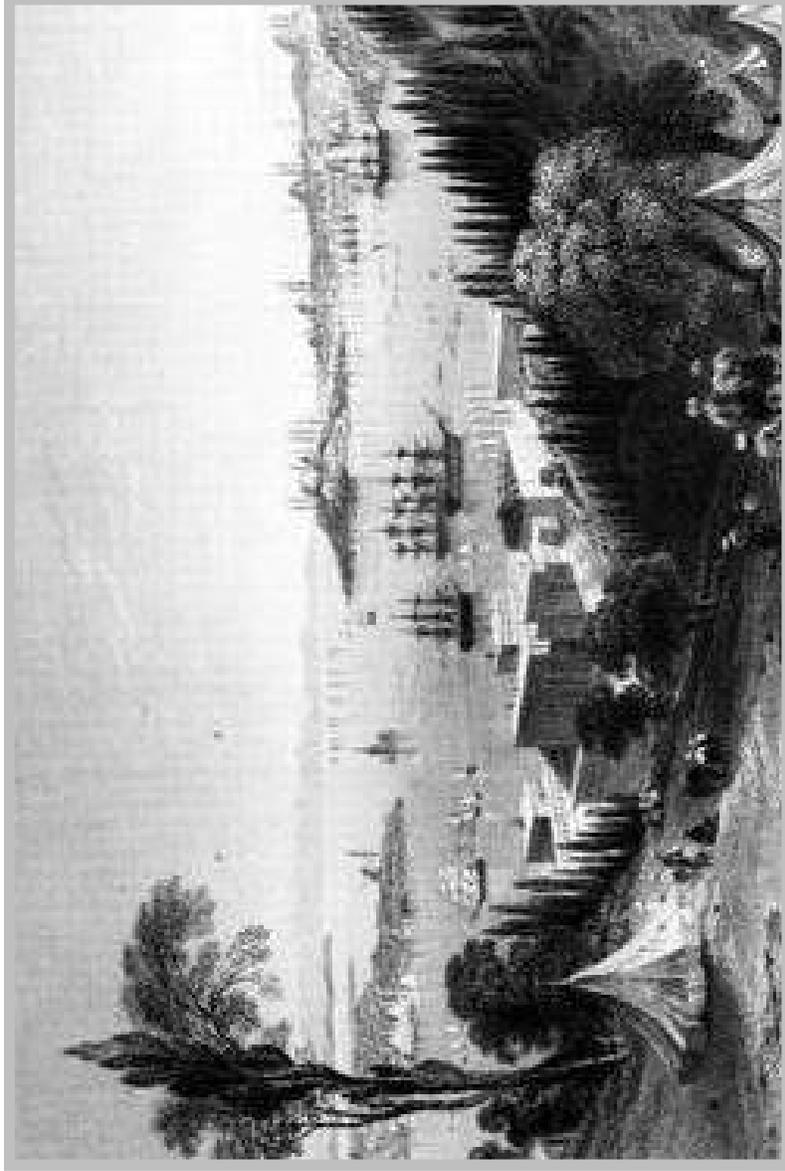


Figure 3.7 William Henry Bartlett, in Miss Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, Londra, 1838.
Source: http://www.hayal-et.org/i.php/site/building/eski_craan_saray (accessed 26.02. 2011)

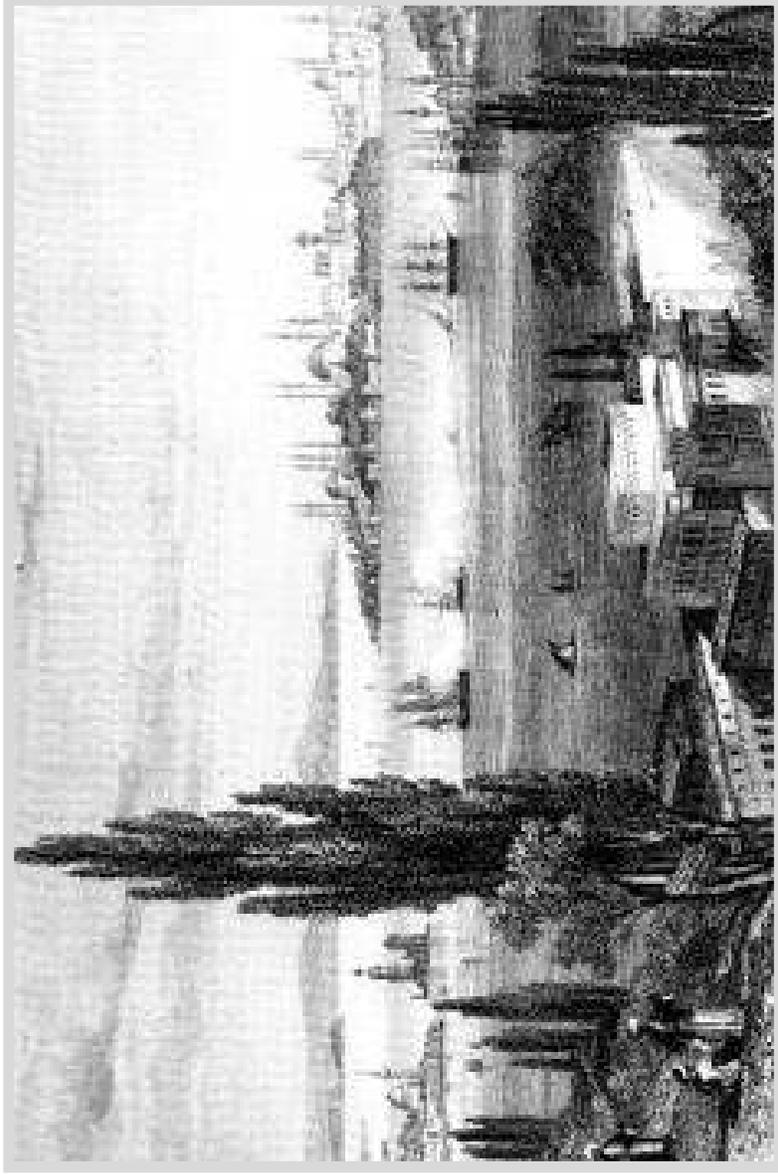


Figure 3.8 Adophe and Emilie Rouargue Brothers, Paris, (1850)
Source: http://www.hayal-et.org/i.php/site/building/eski_craan_saray (accessed 26.02. 2011)

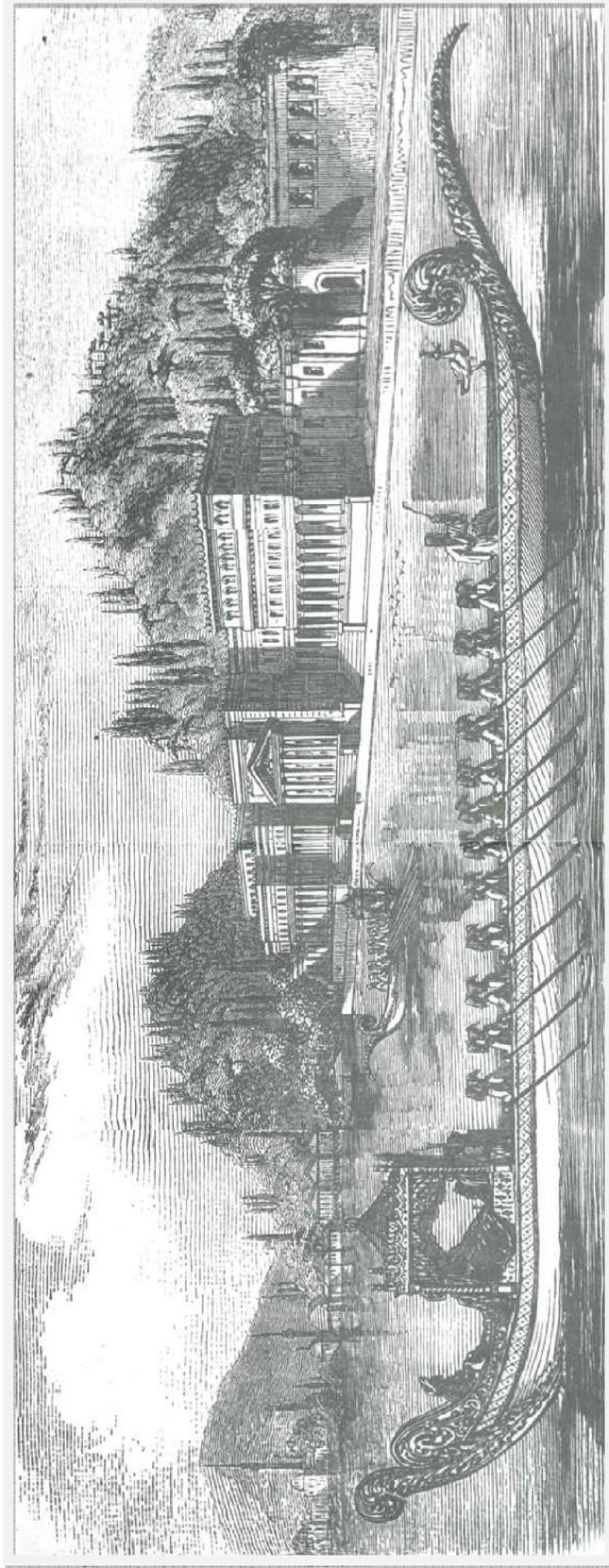


Figure 3.9 Mr. L. Joubert & Félix Mornand, *Tableau historique politique et pittoresque de la Turquie*, Paris, (1854)
Source: GÜLERSOY, Ç. *Çerağan Palaces*, İstanbul Kitaplığı 1992, p.39. (accessed 08.12.2011)

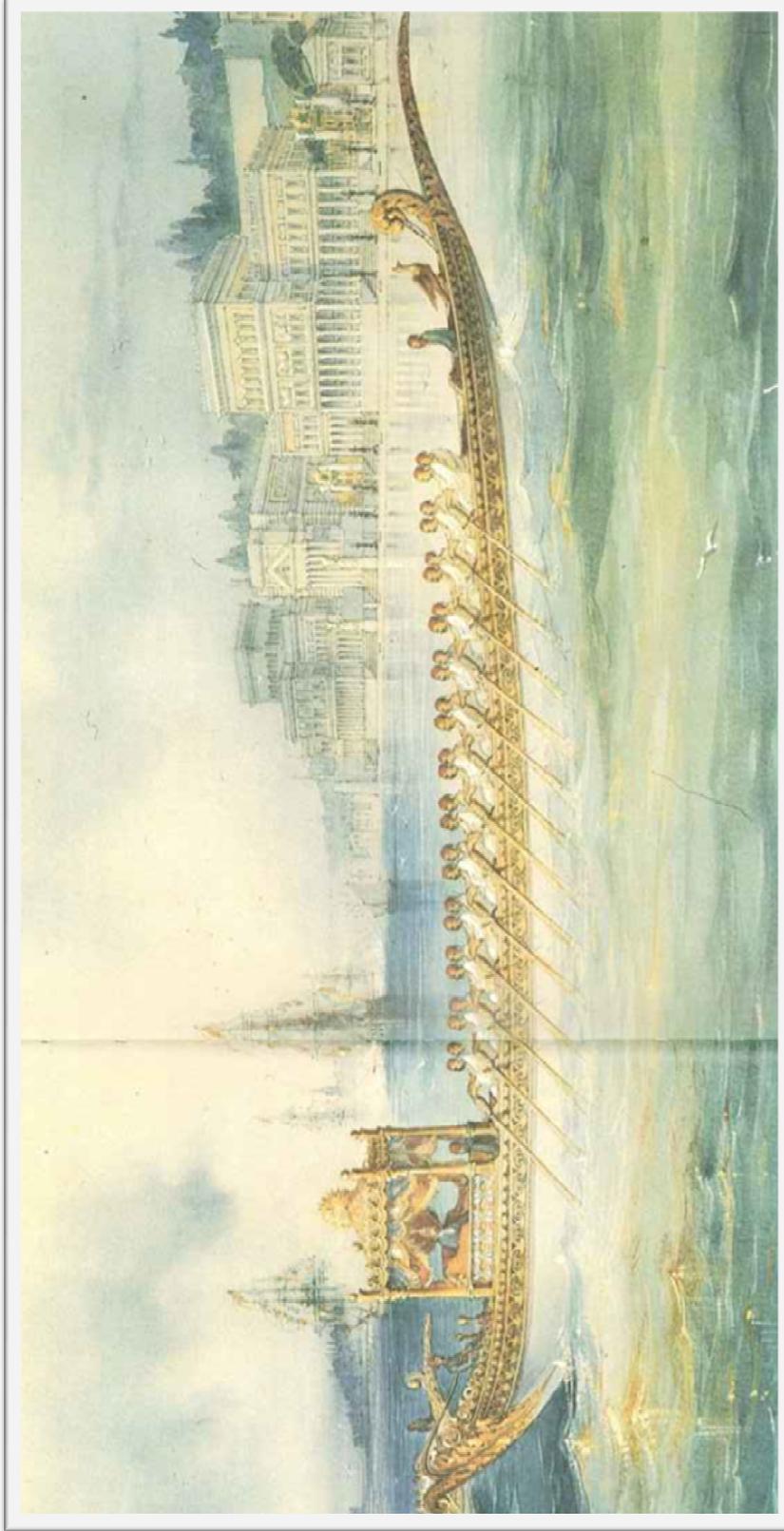


Figure 3.10 The Sultan at his Caique in front of the Old Çırağan Palace (unknown date)
Source: GÜLERSOY, Ç. *Çırağan Palaces*, İstanbul Kitaplığı 1992, p.36.



Figure 3.11 The Old Çırağan Palace signed by contractor Mıgırdıç (unknown date) at the Collection of Navy Museum
Source: GÜLERSOY, Ç. *Çırağan Palaces*, İstanbul Kitaplığı 1992, p. 47.

discharge of an architect, narrated by Pardoe¹²⁵ who also claimed that the replaced architect was an Armenian.¹²⁶

The Old Çırağan Palace had a rather unfortunate history as will be explained below. Although it was one of the earliest signifiers of the wide range reforms of Mahmud II in the urban scene of Istanbul,¹²⁷ its life was quite short as an important building.

While Abdülmecid was still residing in the just finished Çırağan Palace, between 1842 and 1843, he ordered the destruction of the kiosks of Beşiktaş water-side Palace and the construction of a new palace, Dolmabahçe, in its place. The construction was completed in 1856 and Abdülmecid moved his household to Dolmabahçe in the same year. Right after his relocation, in 1857 Abdülmecid had the Old Çırağan demolished to have a new palace built.

In the related literature, the reasons for the demolition of the Old Çırağan and the construction of a new Çırağan Palace are explained as Abdülmecid's intention of building a Palace in western style¹²⁸ and the influence of the British Ambassador, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe Canning, over Abdülmecid about replacing the old building with a completely stone construction.¹²⁹ Lord Stratford's role in building a new palace becomes more intelligible when we take into account the fact that most

¹²⁶ Quoted in, GÜLERSOY, 1993, p. 503.

¹²⁷ "Hayal-et Yapılar (Ghost [sic] Buildings)", *Hayal-et Yapılar /Gost Buidings* .http://www.hayal-et.org/i.php/site/building/eski_craan_saray (accessed 24 March. 2011).

¹²⁸ "Çırağan Sarayı" *Çırağan Tarihçe/ Boğaziçi Programı*.
<http://www.ciraganpalace.net/ciragansarayi.aspx> (accessed 24 March 2011)

¹²⁹ CAN, 1997. p. 13.

of the iron elements used in the construction and also some items used in the decoration of the Palace were imported from Britain.¹³⁰

In general, the facade of the Old Palace was already in accordance with the prevailing European architectural movements of its time, with its Neo-Classical Thus Abdülmecid's intention to build a palace in the western style might have meant to build it in stone especially when considering the common practice of replacing timber with stone during the Tanzimat era as a precaution for very harmful fires. However, replacing the Old Palace with the New made completely of stone could not save it from burning. (Figure 3.16) Although it is not mention as a reason for the demolition of the Palace in former studies, it can be suggestive to take the critics of foreigners about the Old Palace into consideration since they indicate a disappointment with the appearance of the Palace beside the beauty of the shore. Miss Pardoe who informs us about the architect of the Palace and who was in İstanbul in 1935, also describes the palace in its site;

The New Palace of Beshik-Tash, erected by the present Sultan, commands a noble view of the Propontis; sweeps the Bosphorus through nearly its whole length; looks towards Scutari, (the Asian jewel seated at the foot of the dark mountain- chain of Burgulhu Dagi;) affords a glimpse of the ancient Chalcedon; and includes within the range of its magnificent prospect the snow-crowned summit of Mountain Olympus, flashing out in the distance through the clear blue of the horizon like a huge pearl set in sapphires; the Serai-Bournou whose imperial walls enclose what was once a city; and the "Seven Hills" of glorious Stamboul. The world can probably produce no similar panorama; and as the traveller stands on the height above the palace gardens and looks down upon the heavy inelegant wooden edifice, protected on the seaward side by a stately colonnade of white marble, he may well be pardoned should

¹³⁰ CAN, 1997. p. 21.

he indulge a regret that this imperial residence should be so unworthy of its admirable and unequal site.¹³¹

Another highly possible reason for the demolition of the Palace might have been the Sultan's desire to realize his vision of architectural transformation which took shape with the "Ottoman Renaissance." As Ersoy defines, the "Ottoman Renaissance" was "an attempt to fabricate a consistent national dynastic style ... [which] was not a mere imitation of European orientalist vocabulary that was vogue but an interpretation of it with a vocabulary which was traced back to Ottoman tradition."¹³²

Accordingly, evaluating the existing information about the expenses made for the construction of the palace,¹³³ it seems that visuality was a more important concern than the necessity of the demolition of the Old Palace. Therefore, it can be suggested that the visual image of the New Palace was an "expression of belonging and difference vis-a-vis the modern west."¹³⁴

¹³¹ PARDOE & BARTTLET, 2010. p.17, It is crucial to point out that the Palace she calls "Palace of Beshik-Tash" is actually the Old Çırağan Palace.

¹³² ERSOY, 2000, p. 351.

¹³³ CAN, S.:1997. pp. 20-23.

¹³⁴ ERSOY, 2000, p. 307. To provide a better understanding of the intellectual and political context of artistic production in the late Ottoman realm, Ersoy talks about the official building program, as the Late Tanzimat state's novel expressions of "belonging and difference vis-a-vis the modern west." In his M.A thesis, Can says that the western influence was more evident in the planning of the garden of the Old Palace following the recent trends in the western palaces and presents that Abdülmecid had a green house brought from London for the New Palace's garden, (although the former palace already had one). This new green house was called as "Crystal Pavilion" because of the quality of its glasses. A Russian author who was in Istanbul in those days gives the information that "In Çırağan Palace, greenery was built from glass just as the Crystal Palace, previously built in London" Quoted in (CAN, 1997, p.29, n. 107.)

In the light of information obtained from Ersoy's comprehensive work, it can be suggested that the Old Çırağan, New Çırağan and Dolmabahçe Palaces did not deviate from traditional guidelines, in terms of their architectural layouts and spatial organizations. But among the Imperial Palaces, starting with Topkapı and ending with Yıldız, the Old Çırağan represented an important change in terms of location and external appearance. After the Topkapı Palace with its secluded and elevated location and on the historical peninsula with its layout, consisting of separate spatial units, the Old Çırağan was a breakthrough with its place on the shore of the Bosphorus and its massive block. With these characteristics, the Old Çırağan formed a new pattern and was followed by the New Çırağan and Dolmabahçe Palaces. (Table 3.1) This pattern was broken by the Yıldız Palace which was, in a sense, a return to the model of the Topkapı Palace with its secluded and elevated location in the city and its plan composed of separate buildings.

Although it is not mentioned in the studies about the history of the Old Palace, we know from the memoirs of Leyla Saz that the Old Çırağan Palace was transformed through the re-divisions of its interior spaces, but unlike Topkapı, its transformation did not did not take the form of separate buildings. As Leyla Hanım explains:

The Old Çırağan which I knew had certainly undergone many interior transformations. The earliest palace must have been built for more restricted purposes, but as other needs made themselves felt, primarily the increase in the number of its occupants, modifications had been made to the interior, additions in effect, which were clearly meant to satisfy the new demands placed on the palace complex.¹³⁵

¹³⁵ SAZ, 1999, p. 35.

TABLE 3.1 COMPARISON AMONG THE OLD ÇIRAĞAN, DOLMABAĖE AND NEW ÇIRAĞAN PALACES

OLD ÇIRAĞAN PALACE

Constuction period: 1834-1841

Life Time : 1841- 1857

Style: neo-classic

Colonnaded facade

Stucture: wooden

Plan Type: Traditional/ Hallwith iwans

Floors: three/ five with mezzanine

Harem section: connected with the other sections



DOLMABAĖE PALACE

Constuction period: 1843-1855

Life Time : 1855 - present

Style: neo-classical/baroque

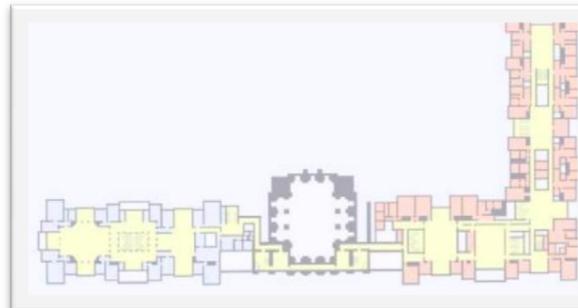
Partially colonnaded facade

Stucture: stone

Plan Type: Traditional/ Hallwith iwans

Floors: three

Harem section: connected with the other sections



ÇIRAĞAN PALACE

Construction period: 1857-1861 & 1863- 1867

Life Time : 1867- 1909 & 1989- present

Style:neo-classical/oriental

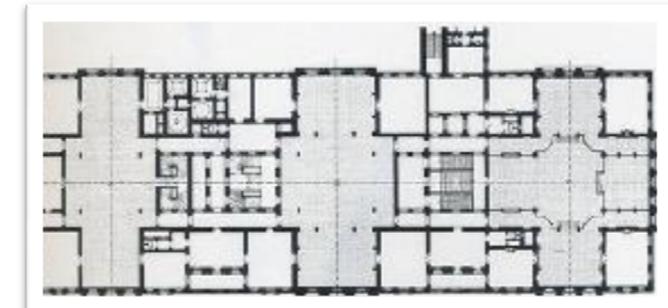
Pilasters

Stucture: stone

Plan Type: Traditional/ Hallwith iwans

Floors: three / including basement

Harem section: Separated from the other sections



In contrast to the fact that the Old Çırağan Palace was widely used during the reigns of different Sultans, it is not mentioned or remembered as much as Topkapı, Dolmabahçe or Yıldız Palaces. Thus the disappearance of the Old Palace resulted in its erasure not only in the urban scene of Istanbul but also in the public memory and/or discourse until the project of *Hayal-et Yapılar (Ghost Buildings)* in 2010. (Figure 3.12) In this project the Old Çırağan Palace is reconstructed as one of the non-existing historical buildings of Istanbul and under the theme of how these buildings would serve today if they were still standing.⁷⁹

In this project, the memoirs of Leyla Hanım form a group of sources give information about the main spaces of the Palace.⁸⁰ Leyla Hanım must have realized that someday there would be nothing left, tangible or intangible, from the Old Palace. It was perhaps for this reason that although her memoirs about the Dolmabahçe Palace were fresher than those of the Old Çırağan, she wrote about the disappeared Palace. Then today, what we have about the Old Çırağan Palace is piecemeal information mostly revealed in the memoirs of Leyla Hanım and in a few engravings and paintings.

⁷⁹ In this project, only the front facade of the Old Çırağan could be reconstructed by referring to the existing materials, in a solid modelling program by Cem Kozar. As one of the owners of the project, Kozar explains that the rear facade of the structure in the engraving of Bartlett's differs from the front facade with its bay windows and eastern style. Therefore, they could not reconcile the two facades. (Oral interview with Cem Kozar)

⁸⁰ Unfortunately, the project uses the 1974 edition in which the section concerning the Old Palace was shortened.



Figure 3.12 Reconstructed model of the Old Çırağan Palace
Source: "Hayal-et Yapılar (Ghost Buildings)", *Hayal-et Yapılar /Gost Buildings* .http://www.hayal-et.org/i.php/site/building/eski_craan_saray (accessed 24 March. 2011).

3.1.3 (New) Çırağan Palace

The New Çırağan Palace was designed by Nikağos Balyan. Before the construction the New Çırağan, Abdülmecid appointed him to build a European style library at the Old Palace, and then, appointed him as an Imperial architect.⁸¹

The construction that Abdülmecid envisioned was interrupted by financial problems caused by his extensive architectural projects, such as the construction of Dolmabahçe Palace, Ihlamur Kiosks, Göksu Pavilion, the Palaces of Fatma and Adile Sultanas and the restoration of Hagia Sophia.⁸² Those projects affected the financial regularity negatively; therefore in 1859 the Sultan stopped the construction of the Palace. After the death of Abdülmecid in 1861, Abdülaziz ascended to the throne and the construction restarted with changes in 1863.⁸³

Further information about the construction of the Palace was published in 1866 in the newspaper *La Turquie*:

In these days people passing by Bosphorus see a big construction between Beşiktaş and Ortaköy. This is the Çırağan Palace that will be the new residence of the Sultan. ... Ten years ago, a project was initiated by Nikağos Balyan to replace the old wooden Palace with another of stone but when it was just about to begin, it was suspended. With Abdülaziz's ascendance to the throne, the project was handled again and the construction began in March. ... The new project carries

⁸¹ " Nigoğos Bey Balian (1826 – 1858)". *Turkish Cultural Foundation*. <http://www.turkishculture.org/architecture/architects/balian-family/nigogos-bey-877.htm>.(acssed 9 September. 2011)

⁸² CAN, 1997, p. 15.

⁸³ Ibid., pp. 13-14.

the signatures of Sarkis Bey and Agop Efendi. The artistic side of the job is on the shoulders of Agop Efendi.⁸⁴

Combining this excerpt from the newspaper with the information presented in Ersoy's study, it is possible to offer an explanation for some stylistically vague points in Nikağos Balyan's project and also for the role of his successors, Sarkis and Agop Balyan, in the construction of the Palace after his death at the time of suspension of the construction.

Since the project of the Palace had the signatures of Sarkis and Agop Balyan,⁸⁵ as mentioned above, it can be suggested that the project of Nikağos Balyan for the New Çırağan was not fully carried out and that Sarkis and Agop Balyan contributed to the design process if/when Abdülaziz asked a revision of the former project or a proposal for a completely new project.

Afife Batur defines Sarkis and Agop Balyans' project as "the last sparkle of a collapsing Empire and at the same time a performance which points out the refined taste, exclusiveness and proficiency in crafts reached in architecture."⁸⁶ She indicates the prominent properties of the project as the simplicity and lucidity of the plan in contrast to the rich stylistic demonstration of the facades.⁸⁷ To this description it can also be added that the architect/architects combined traditional

⁸⁴ Quoted in BATUR, 2010, pp. 316- 317.

⁸⁵ In contrast with this information, Can (1997, p.14, n.46) indicates Sarkis Balyan and Agop Balyan's involvement in the construction as the master builders.

⁸⁶ BATUR, 2010, p. 316.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 317. See also GÜLERSOY, 1993, p.505.

plan units, halls with iwan, in a rectangular form.⁸⁸ Similarly, Ersoy emphasizing that in *Usul-i Mi'mar-i 'Osmani (The Fundamentals of Ottoman Architecture)* (1873)⁸⁹ the Çırağan Palace was promoted as the crowning achievement of the “Ottoman Renaissance,” and adds that it was “indeed the best representation of a unique stylistic synthesis explored in major Abdülaziz era monuments.”⁹⁰

In terms of its plan, Sedat Hakkı Eldem evaluates the Çırağan Palace as the most mature example of the traditional plan type of Ottoman residential architecture with three halls, aligned in the same direction, which evolved in time.⁹¹ (Figure 3.13) Eldem also indicates the characteristic of the Palace as the rooms between the halls, receding on the facade line and emphasizes the regular axis of the Palace and the centralization of all three halls despite having different forms.

As generally pointed out in the studies on the Çırağan Palace, there were earlier Imperial examples that were influential on the Sultan's decision for the style of the Palace,⁹² such as the Beylerbeyi Palace.⁹³ (Figure 3.15) Moreover, Batur also

⁸⁸ GÜLERSOY, 1993, p. 505.

⁸⁹ The first comprehensive study on the history and theory of Ottoman architecture which was authored by a group of Ottoman intellectuals, artists and architects and published by the Ottoman government on the occasion of the 1873 World Exposition in Vienna. (ERSOY, 2000, p.iii)

⁹⁰ Ibid., p.308.

⁹¹ For more information about plan types, see ELDEM, S. H. *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri*, İstanbul: İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Baskı Atölyesi. 1968.

⁹² GÜLERSOY, 1993, p. 506, see also BATUR, 2010. p. 317.

⁹³ BATUR, A. "Çırağan Sarayı", 2010, p 317.

indicates that during his trip to Egypt, the Sultan an orientalist building in El Jaazera, designed for the Khedive by the architect, Carl W. V.von Diebitsch.⁹⁴

Batur evaluates the architectural concept of the Çırağan in two components as traditional and “Istanbulish” and as classist and European.⁹⁵ She also emphasizes that there exists not only a tension but also a correspondence between the traditional plan of the Palace and the order of its classist façade.⁹⁶ (Figures 3.13 and 3.14) Such a tension is also valid for the Old Çırağan Palace.

The New Palace was completed in 1871. It was first used as Abdülaziz’s residence, but for some reason the Sultan believed that the palace was ominous.⁹⁷ He moved in Dolmabahçe in 1876 but part of his harem kept staying in Çırağan.⁹⁸ On May 29, 1876 Abdülaziz was dethroned by his soldiers who raided the Palace. He was sent back to Topkapı from Dolmabahçe, and on his request from Murad V, he was transferred to the Çırağan Palace. After Abdülaziz, Murad V ascended to the throne and resided in Yıldız Palace between May 30 and August 29, 1876. After Murad V's dethronement in a short time, Abdülhamid inherited the throne. He resided in

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 317.

⁹⁵ BATUR, A. "Çırağan Sarayı", 2010, p. 317.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p.317.

⁹⁷ The generally accepted reason is that Abdülhamid belived the rumours among the people that the destruction of Beşiktaş mevlevi lodge to widen the land of the construction would bring bad luck. Another reason is the heating problem of the Palace. See CAN, 1997, p. 31.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 31.

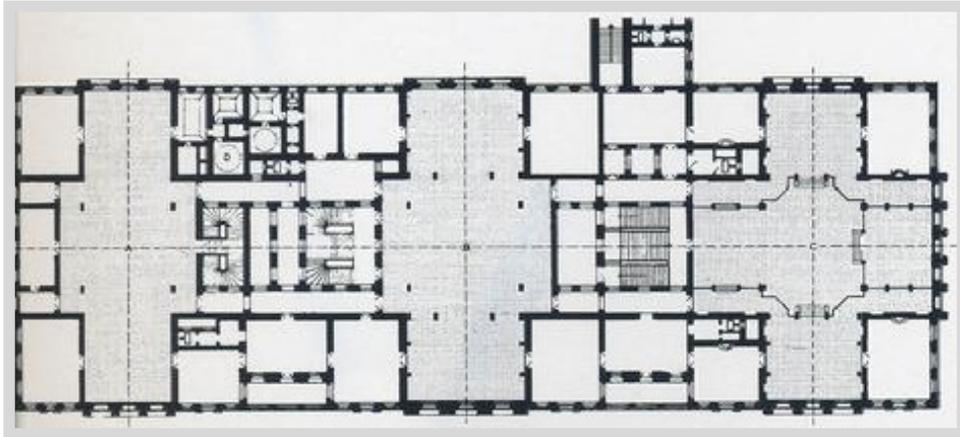


Figure 3.13 First floor Plan of the Çırağan Palace

Source: HAKKI, E.S. *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri*, İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Baskı Atölyesi. 1968. p. 210.



Figure 3.14 Front facade of the Çırağan Palace

Source: <http://www.google.com.tr/imgres?q=panoramic-images-facade-of-a-palace-at-the-waterfront-ciragan-palace-hotel-kempinski-bosphorus-istanbul-> (accessed 12.12. 2011)



Figure 3.15 Front facade of Beylerbeyi Palace

Source: <http://tarihvedenedeniyet.org/2009/09/yasayan-mekanlar-beylerbeyi-sarayi-belgeseli/> (accessed 12.12. 2011)

Dolmabahçe for a brief period in which some furnishing is moved from the Çırağan Palace to Dolmabahçe.⁹⁹ But in the long term, Abdülhamid preferred residing in Yıldız Palace, for it would be a safer place away from the sea. Thus the New Çırağan Palace gained a new function as the "Imperial prison" where Murad V was kept closed with his family until he died in 1904.

Murad V first lived in the main section of the Palace until the "Çırağan Vak'ası" ("Çırağan incident") in 1878 which Ali Suavi and his supporters made an attempt to dethrone Abdülhamid and re-throne Murad V. After this failed attempt, Murad V was kept in the Harem of the Palace which is today Beşiktaş High School for Girls.¹⁰⁰

In her memoirs, Leyla Hanım mentions the imprisonment of Murad V in the Çırağan and her visit to the Palace after his death in 1904:

At some other time, I will write of the episodes in the long and sorrowful captivity of this unfortunate prince which were later related to me by his ladies and by his son, the Prince Selahaddin, whom I went to see after the Revolution of 1908 opened the doors of this imperial prison which had been closed for 32 years.¹⁰¹

Different sections of the Palace also gained new functions in time. In 1880 the Pasha Chamber of the Palace was used as Gümüssuyu Hospital for a while¹⁰² and its "kuşhane", the section that the Sultan's meals are cooked, was used as a police

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁰⁰GÜLERSOY, 1993 p. 503.

¹⁰¹ SAZ, 1999, p. 34.

¹⁰² CAN, 1997, p. 35.



Figure 3.16 The Çırağan Palace is burning, 1909

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ciragan_Palace_fire_1909.JPG
(accessed 08.03. 2011)

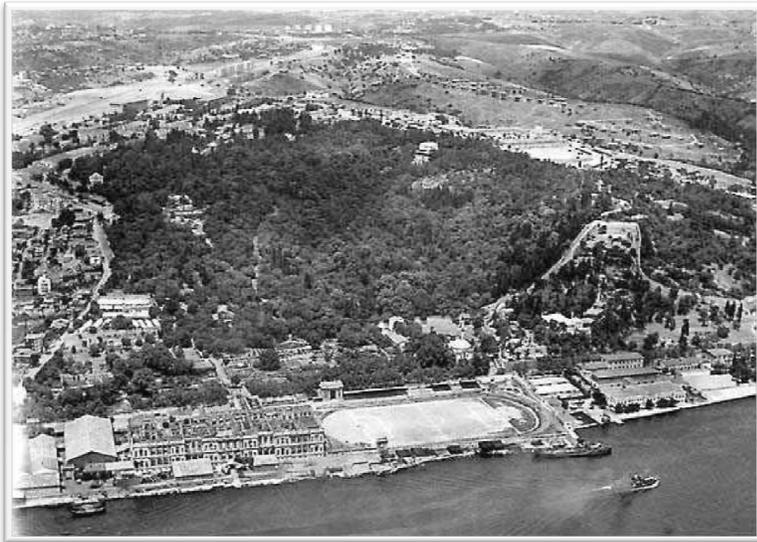


Figure 3.17 The Çırağan Palace and Şeref Bey Stadium

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ciragan_Palace_fire_1909.JPG
(accessed 28.12. 2011)

station.¹⁰³ In 1905, with the order of Abdülhamid, the architect of the Istanbul French Embassy, Antonio Perpiqnani,¹⁰⁴ prepared a report and a restitution plan for the Çırağan Palace (Figure 3.19) As proposed by Perpiqnani in his report, the

¹⁰³ Ibid., p.36.

¹⁰⁴ CAN, 1997, p.37.

Palace, which had been neglected for some time, required had an urgent renovation.¹⁰⁵After the constitutional reforms of 1908, it served as the parliament but only for a few months, between 1909 and 1910. It was burned down in 1910 in a great fire from which only its outer shell remained. (Figure 3.16) At the end of the World War I, while İstanbul was under the siege of the Allied Forces, the ruins of the Çırağan was used as "Caserne Bizot" ("Military Barrack") by the French engineer troops between 1918 and 1923.¹⁰⁶ Around the 1930s the garden of the Palace was transformed into Şeref (Bey) Stadium by Beşiktaş Sports Club in the place of the sublime trees.¹⁰⁷(Figure 3.17)



Figure 3.18 The Çırağan Palace Hotel Kempinski
Source:<http://www.google.com.tr/imgres?q=%C3%A7%C4%B1ra%C4%9Fan+palace+hotel+kempinski> (accessed 19.01. 2012)

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p.37.

¹⁰⁶ SAZ, 1999. p.33. This information can also be reached from governmental webpage: <http://www.kultur.gov.tr/TR/belge/1-881/sarayin-yanisindan-sonraki-gelismeler.html> (accessed 03.04.2011)

¹⁰⁷ *Hayal-et Yapılar (Ghost Buildings)*, 2010, p.120. This information can also be reached from governmental webpage: <http://www.kultur.gov.tr/TR/belge/1-881/sarayin-yanisindan-sonraki-gelismeler.html>. (accessed 03.04.2011)

During the World War II, Paul Bonatz and Sedat Hakkı Eldem examined the Palace to develop a project for transforming it first into hotel and then into a Marine Museum, but these projects were not realized.¹⁰⁸ So the Palace was left abandoned until it was reborn almost literally from its ashes in 1989. It was restored by a Japanese construction company, Kumagai Gumi, and transformed into a luxurious hotel, the “Çırağan-Kempinski.” (Figure 3.18)

¹⁰⁸ *Hayal-et Yapılar (Ghost Buildings)*, 2010., p. 120.

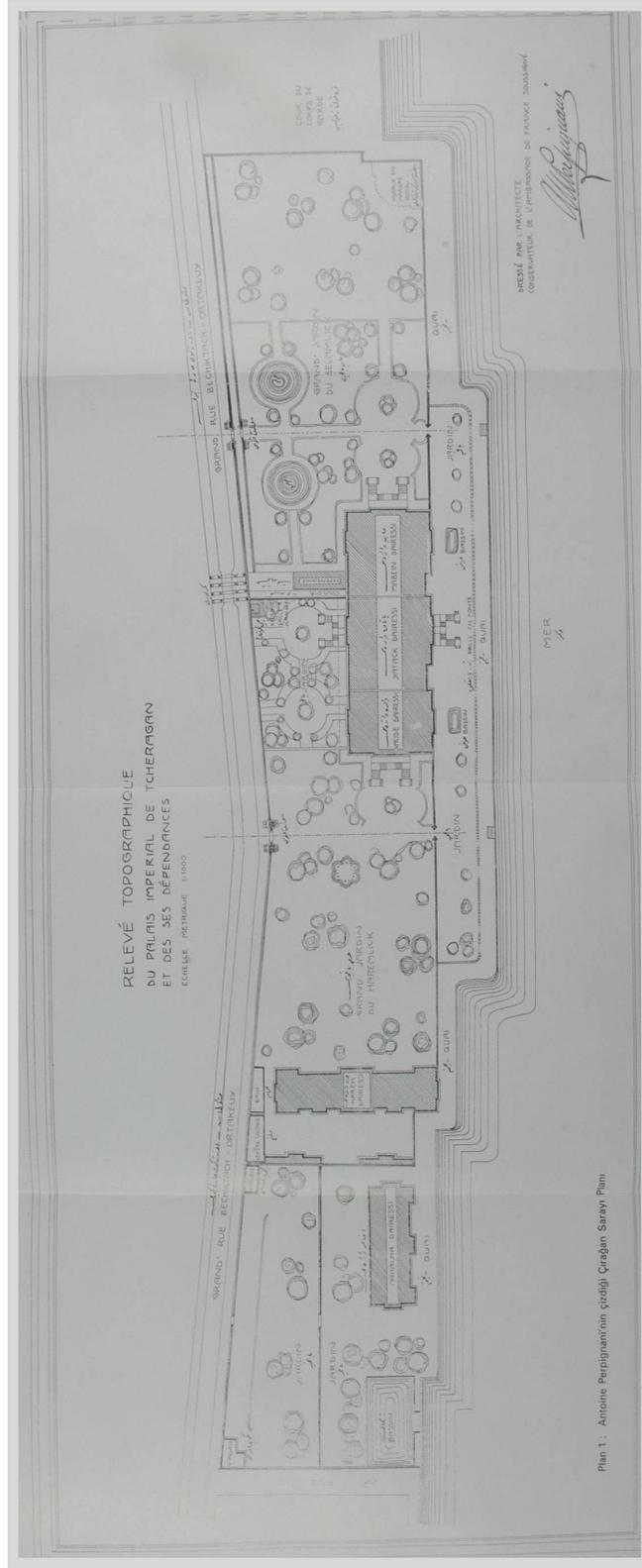


Figure 3.19 Antonio Perpiçani's restitution plan for the Çırağan Palace
Source: CAN, S. *Belgelerle Çırağan*, Ankara : Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınlar Dairesi Bşk., 1999.

3.2 Architecture of the Old Çırağan Palace in the Memoirs of Leyla Saz

Concerning the architecture of the Old Çırağan Palace, the visual documents are just a few engravings by William Henry Bartlett, Adolphe and Emile Rouargue Brothers, Eugene Fladin and Thomas Allom. (Figures 3. 3 -3.11) The engravings of the Palace present its frontal view except for Barlett's and Rouargues's which show the rear façade. But still, there is not sufficient visual information about the whole layout of the Palace. Furthermore, written sources are mainly limited to some governmental records about the construction of the Palace. In this regard, the memoirs of Leyla Hanım are of crucial importance as the only detailed accounts of the architecture and interior setting of the Old Çırağan Palace. Although in her memoirs she focuses on the Harem and its apartments, she devotes a chapter to describe architecturally the Palace as a whole, including its garden, interior decoration and furniture.

Considering the dates when Leyla Hanım was born (1850) and was accepted to the Harem (1854), she must have been around seven years old when the Old Çırağan was demolished (1857). So Leyla Hanım's memoirs of the Palace were based on what she remembered from her childhood, between the ages of four and seven.¹⁰⁹ Thus in the related chapter, Leyla Hanım herself indicates the haziness of her memory about the Palace and explains how she is able to describe it:

I must admit that my memories of this palace are no longer very precise. I was very small when I went there for the first time and I had recourse- 25 years ago when I first wrote my memoirs- to the assistance of my sister who was older than I was and to some

¹⁰⁹ As mentioned in some sources, if Leyla Hanım's birth date was 1852, she must have lived in the Harem of the Old Çırağan Palace between the ages of two and five.

elderly *Kalfas* who lived in the old Çırağan Palace, to clear up the points which remained obscure in my memory.¹¹⁰

As if Leyla Hanım foresaw the speculations which could be made about the reliability of her accounts because of her young age, she inserted such explanations into her memoirs. But still, her memoirs are open to speculations because of the haziness of the twenty five years interval that had passed until she wrote her memoirs once again. As an important remark which discards the assumptions that her memoirs are about the New Çırağan Palace rather than the Old one, Leyla Hanım reveals at the very beginning of the related chapter:

Now I would like to describe the very old palace built completely in wood which existed in the days before the construction of the marble palace of Sultan Abdül Aziz and which was demolished in order to make a place for its successor.¹¹¹

As can be seen in this passage, Leyla Hanım does not indicate a prominent reason for the demolition of the Old Palace, and moreover, it is remarkable that she distinguishes the Palaces with respect to their materials rather than their styles.

It should also be noted here that what Leyla Hanım tells about the Palace is from her point of view, in other words, from the eyes of a late nineteenth century and/or an early twentieth century elite class woman.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ SAZ, 1999, p. 34.

¹¹¹ Ibid., pp. 33-24.

¹¹² I get this idea from ALLEN, Isabel. "Creating space out of text: perspectives on domestic Regency architecture or three essays on the picturesque" in Madge, James & Peckham, Andrew (eds). *Narrating Architecture: A Retrospective Anthology*. London; New York: Routledge, 2006. p. 204.

The chapter that Leyla Hanım narrates the Palace is composed of three main sections; and they are the disposition of the Palace, interiors of the rooms, including the furniture and the garden.

In the first section under the title of "The Rooms or Apartments of the Imperial Harem", Leyla Hanım describes the layout of the Palace which mostly focuses on the grand hall. Rooms have secondary roles in this description and recessed salons (probably iwans) which are later converted into rooms and galleries follow them in order. Remarkably, Leyla Hanım is almost silent about the openings of the Palace; she rarely mentions the entrances and does not say even a word about the windows. In other words, what is left almost completely out of her description is the connection between the interior and exterior of the Palace.

Leyla Hanım begins this section with the location of the Palace on the shore. While doing that, she gives exact directions: "The Old Çırağan Palace and its appendages, like the later one, covered with its dependencies almost the whole shore of the Bosphorus between the suburbs of Beşiktaş to the southwest, and Ortaköy to the northeast."¹¹³ Then she divides the Palace into five sections and "from north to south" they were:

1. The apartments for official receptions and the "Mabeyin" where the offices of chamberlains, secretaries and other dignitaries of the Court were situated.
2. The private apartment of the Sultan.
3. The apartments of the Imperial Harem.

¹¹³ SAZ, 1999, p. 34.

4. A small building of about a dozen rooms, the purpose of which I can no longer remember.

5. Finally the residence of the Crown Prince.¹¹⁴

After describing the sections roughly, she verbally draws a sketch of the Harem section beginning not from the ground floor but from the grand/great hall of the first floor:

The principle room of the harem was the great hall on the first story situated on the axis of the building parallel to the Bosphorus. Here the great ceremonies and official receptions took place. The room had a width of around 20 meters and a length of about 50 meters, not including the space taken up by two large staircases which were to be found at the two extremities.¹¹⁵

Placing the grand/great hall at the centre, Leyla Hanım depicts the other spaces accordingly:

All of the rooms of the Palace were placed on two sides of this hall and either gave on to the sea or on to the garden and open directly to the large room or vestibule itself. ... The central part of the great hall was intersected at the centre by a sort of second hall which formed two recessed salons opposite one another on either side of the room, one giving on to the sea, the other to the garden; these two salons were separated from the great hall only by some columns reaching halfway to the ceiling supporting an entablature running along the edge of the rooms. ... before the upper rooms there was a sort of small corridor along the gallery supported by the columns...¹¹⁶

In this spatial narrative, she roughly locates the space of Valide Sultan, the senior of the household and she only mentions it once: “The apartment of Valide Sultan ... was

¹¹⁴ SAZ, 1999, p. 34.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 34-35.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 35.

situated at end of this building next to the pavilion of the Sultan, that is to say on the north side; it consist of four rooms, ... and a bath with all its dependant rooms.”¹¹⁷

While describing the Palace, Leyla Hanım sometimes turns back to a reference point and describes the same place from different points of view which give the reader the chance of relating the parts to each other, besides providing a more comprehensible sketch. The reference point she uses frequently is the grand/great hall.

In her narrative, Leyla Hanım presents three dimensional descriptions more often than sectional ones and/or the ones about plans. Yet three times she gives information about the sections that include all floors together. In the first one, she describes the places of the staircases:

Each of the staircases placed at the ends of the hall were supported by numerous columns forming a very decorative motif and came down to meet a central staircase which then subdivided into two parts, turning in on themselves and opening to the mezzanine by means of a great landing which extended right across the width of that part of this building directly under the main hall. From this landing descended the central staircase, roughly twelve meters wide and flanked by four columns, which led or descended to the ground floor which was in the form of a *taşlık*, that is to say, a hall paved in marble.¹¹⁸

By connecting all the floors through the stairs Leyla Hanım goes down to the ground floor and beginning from the ground floor she gives a cross section of the Palace:

The ground floor, paved with marble offered on a central part of longitudinal dimensions of the Palace a sort of hall below the grand hall of honour of upper floor. The galleries, which made a tour within the

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 35. In relation to this disposition, Leyla Hanım says that it was seen in many old “konak”s and “yalı”s in Istanbul and adds that in the Old Çırağan Palace it was further modified to form rooms. These salons she was mentioning should be eyvans of the tradition Turkish architecture. For more information see, HAKKI, 1968.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 36.

walls of this grand building and gave access to the rooms of the mezzanine, were supported by small columns; in the same way columns rose above these galleries supporting the ceiling and serving as a base for the floor of the upper hall. At the rez-de-chaussee and all around it there were rooms with low ceilings, the purpose of which no longer I remember.¹¹⁹

Meanwhile she talks about the mezzanine by describing the rooms on that floor again and how they were used by the household of the Harem:

The rooms of the mezzanine floor opening on to the circular gallery were occupied by the senior *kalfas* each living immediately underneath the room of her particular mistress. For the most part these rooms themselves had been subdivided into two superimposed rooms themselves by a ceiling constructed at a later date. The rooms placed on gardens communicated with the rooms of *kadins* and *ikbals* by means of ... small staircases hidden in the cupboards and arranged in such a way as to allow *kalfas* to go and perform their duties for their mistress without having to use the grand staircase and hall of honour. These superimposed rooms were joined by small private staircases and thus formed little apartments juxtaposed on themselves but isolated from one another in height. However, each *kadın* and each *ikbal*, having a room on the front, which served as a salon and a room on the garden which served as a sleeping chamber, were nevertheless obliged to cross the grand hall in order to go from one room to the other.¹²⁰

In the third sectional description she focuses on the mezzanine floor again:

Between the grand ceremonial hall of the upper floor and the hall paved with marble of the ground floor, the central part of the edifice remained open, but a gallery with balustrades and columns at the same level as the grand landing made a sort of a tour of the building in order to connect the rooms of mezzanine. However, this gallery was cut in the middle of each of the two façades, on the side of Bosphorus and on the side of garden side, exactly at the level of the little recessed salons of the upper floor which were described earlier. Underneath the small salons there were no

¹¹⁹ SAZ, 1999, p. 38.

¹²⁰ Ibid., pp. 37-38.

rooms in order that ceiling could be higher and so accommodate the two main entrances of the Palace.¹²¹

Turning back to the ground floor Leyla Hanım ends her description with that of a garden, and probably this is the garden which she called "the garden of the Harem" since it is related to the Harem section. Also in the following section concerning the gardens, she mentions the entrance of the garden of "Mabeyin" from the garden of the Harem.¹²² So in the passage quoted below, it should be the garden of the Harem:

A big lake surrounded by layers of the flowers and fruit trees had a little island in the middle and was shaded by ancient plane-trees. This was the main ornament of the garden. The island was connected to the garden by four turning bridges covered with lawns and which could be opened or swung to the side in such a way as to completely free the lake for rowboats.¹²³

Interestingly enough, Leyla Hanım never mentions the baths of the Harem, in contrast to the popular orientalist discourses. Regarding the reason for this omission, she explains:

All these apartments were obviously supported, some in common, others separately, by accessory rooms of an indispensable nature such as bathrooms, dressing rooms, etc. But I hardly can remember these details which are of little interest in any event and I will restrict myself to the description of the main dispositions of the Palace.¹²⁴

In addition to her explanation, this omission can be interpreted as a reaction to the role played by baths in the popular Orientalist discourse.

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 37.

¹²² Ibid., 1999, p. 46.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 39.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p.38.

Leaving such omissions aside, Leyla Hanım's narrative of the Harem can be transformed into a diagram by following its movement.(Table 3.2) The diagram indicates the cycle of spaces in her narrative as well as how frequently they are mentioned. Remarkably, her narration moves from upstairs to downstairs. Here, it is possible to raise the question whether this movement can be related to the workings of her memories.

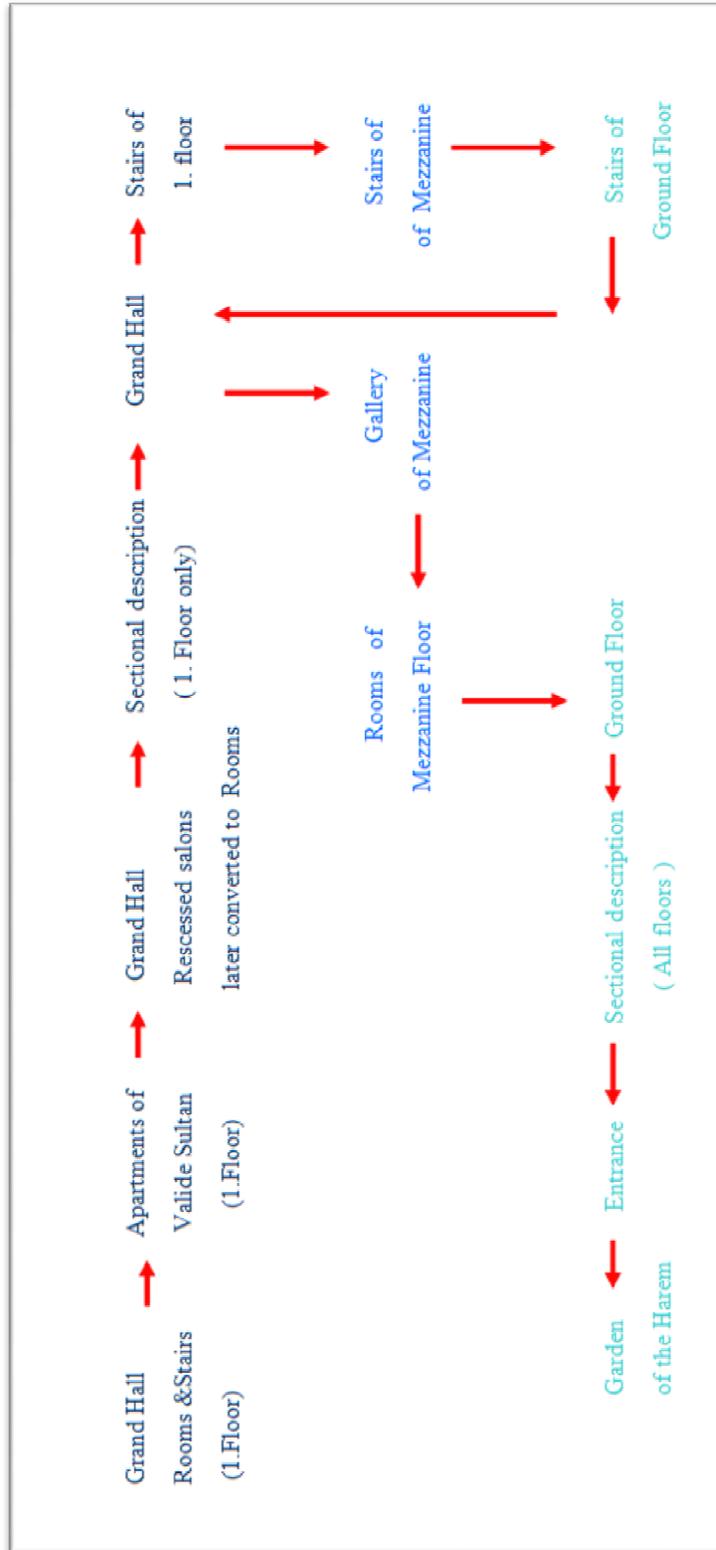
In the second section "The Furniture of the Imperial Harem", the rooms gain importance while the grand hall is mentioned in a few words, since "The grand hall of the Çırağan was usually not lived in, there was no furniture nor any kind of seat."¹²⁵

In this section, Leyla Hanım mainly tells the rooms of *kadıns* and *ikbals*. This part of her narrative presents the Imperial interiors belonging to the daily life, and more specifically, the spaces of favourites who were the most "orientalised" subjects in Orientalist paintings.¹²⁶ In this sense, some spatial details serve as a revision of the cliché Orientalist image of women. For instance, undermining the stereotyped perception of the Harem as a place where time was unimportant and/or education was out of consideration, Leyla Hanım indicates clocks and writing tables in the rooms.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 40.

¹²⁶ Here I use the term "orientalised" as Reina Lewis uses it to explain something "that is racialized in the specific terms of an Orientalist discourse, which is also, of course, gendered" ("Harems and Hotels: Segregated City Spaces and Narratives of Identity in the Work of Oriental Women Writers," in Louise Durning and Richard Wrigley (eds.) *Gender&Architecture*, Chichester: Wiley, 2000, p. 171.)

TABLE 3.2 DIAGRAM of SPATIAL NARRATIVE IN THE MEMOIRS OF IEYLA SAZ



Furthermore, she talks about pianos but not ouds in contrast to many Orientalist illustrations of the Harem.¹²⁷ As another example of how her depiction of these spaces undermine populist Orientalist discourses, she mentions prayer rugs by implying that worshipping was part of the daily lives of the Harem women.

What is further received in this section as important information is the transitional state of the Old Çırağan Palace in terms of its interior setting. Although the use of western type dining furniture is indicated in some sources,¹²⁸ Leyla Hanım highlights the traditional Turkish/Ottoman style of these rooms:

In each room there were at least one low divan and also a large bed ending at one of its ends or both ends in a sort of table cabinet with flat top which rose to the height of anyone sitting on the *divan* and against which one propped cushions. These divans had mattresses covered with silk, very soft, which one sat during the day in the Turkish fashion, legs crossed or folded underneath one; in the evening one added a second light mattress which transformed this piece of furniture into a bed. Real beds, or fixed beds, were rarely employed in those days.¹²⁹

This two-way formation can be read as early steps of westernization in Imperial interiors which later fully presents itself in the interiors of Dolmabahçe Palace by the importation of furniture from abroad.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ SAZ, 1999, p.53. Regarding upper-class Harems, Grace Ellison mentions similar activities: “Although Turkish women are now good pianists and fond of music, they generally like to play oute at least once a day.” (quoted in LEWIS, Reina. “Harems and Hotels: Segregated City Spaces and Narratives of Identity in the Work of Oriental Women Writers.” 2000.p.188)

¹²⁸ CAN, 1997, p. 9.

¹²⁹ SAZ, 1999, p. 40.

¹³⁰ CAN, 1997, p. 26.

Regarding the objects used for heating, Leyla Hanım explains in detail:

Heating stoves were not yet in use in this period in the Palace nor in the private houses in Istanbul. A *mangal* which was a sort of brazier was used in the winter. It was generally made of copper, sometimes in silver,... . In the winter when a *mangal* is placed in a room, hangings cover the walls. These hangings, always of cloth, with the borders highly coloured, both on top and on bottom, were sometimes made from velvet material or silk, and embroidered in gold and silver. They were suspended by rings from wooden poles which ran along the wall where it met the ceiling. At the right of door and windows, slits were cut in the hangings; in this way, whenever needed, they could be lifted back or let fall whenever needed¹³¹

About this practice, Leyla Hanım gives some further information which can be interpreted as an indication of change either in daily life customs or in structuring of Palaces :

In the old Çırağan Palace, double hangings were used either because its big rooms were difficult to heat, in spite of their double windows, or simply because it was the custom. In the palace of Dolmabahçe this kind of hangings was never used.¹³²

In this section while describing the rooms of the Harem through the objects found there, Leyla Hanım seems to be interested in the materials rather than the forms of those objects. However, considering her young age when she lived in the Harem, it is also possible to suggest that she might have been received this kind of detailed information from her elders.

In the last section "The Gardens of the Serail", Leyla Hanım tells her anecdotes about the gardens rather than their spatial organization . When her description of

¹³¹ SAZ, 1999, pp. 42-43.

¹³²Ibid., p. 43.

interiors is compared to that of the gardens, it can be seen that the latter is rather poor in terms of detail and orientation.

As she explains, there were three gardens, those of the “Mabeyin,” Harem and the Old Çırağan Palace:

The Yıldız Park, or rather the gardens of the Mabeyin, were connected to the garden of the Old Çırağan Palace by a bridge enclosed with grills. ... When the sultan authorised a promenade in the gardens of the Mabeyin, the gardeners and the watchmen withdrew and soldiers were placed outside at intervals along the walls ... the gates of the bridge with grills were simultaneously opened along with the gates of a corridor which led from the Serail to the garden of the Harem. Then everyone entered the park.¹³³

In her description, it is not clear how the garden of the Harem was connected to the garden of the Old Çırağan Palace, but it is certain that the garden of the “Mabeyin” was segregated from the rest and connected to the garden of the Old Palace by a bridge.

Remarkably, neither in this section nor in any other, Leyla Hanım talks about the appearance of the Palace from the outside. Only in the chapter "Music and Dance at the Serail", while describing the concert and dance hall she mentions their extension in the facades on sea side.¹³⁴ This lack of information the outer shell cannot be related to her limited excursions in the gardens since the garden of the harem was always open. The frequency of her goings out and her very young age might have played a role in her silence about these exterior characteristics of the Palace.

¹³³ SAZ, 1999. p. 46.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 67 "The concert and dance hall were quite distinct from the grand hall of honour and was situated among the personal apartments of the Sultan; it extended to the façade of the palace giving on to the sea and opened on to the grand hall by a central doorway."

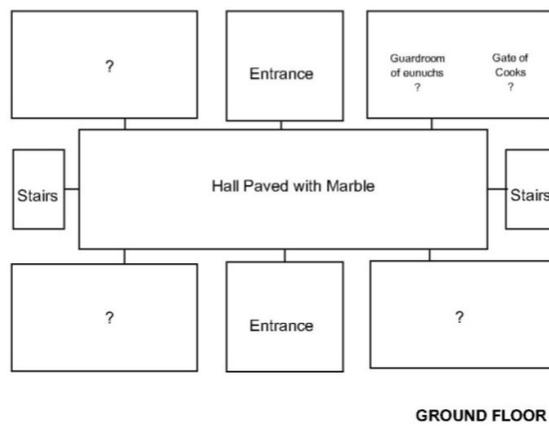
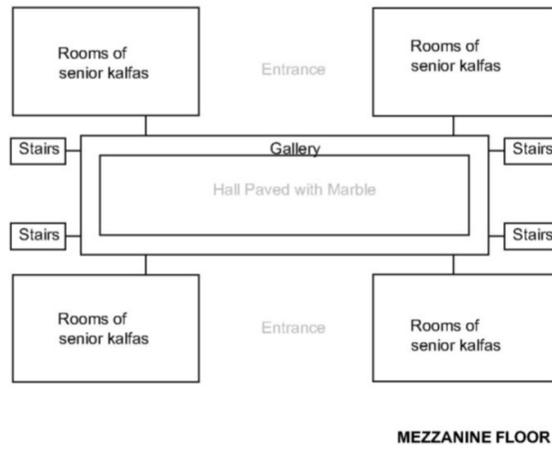
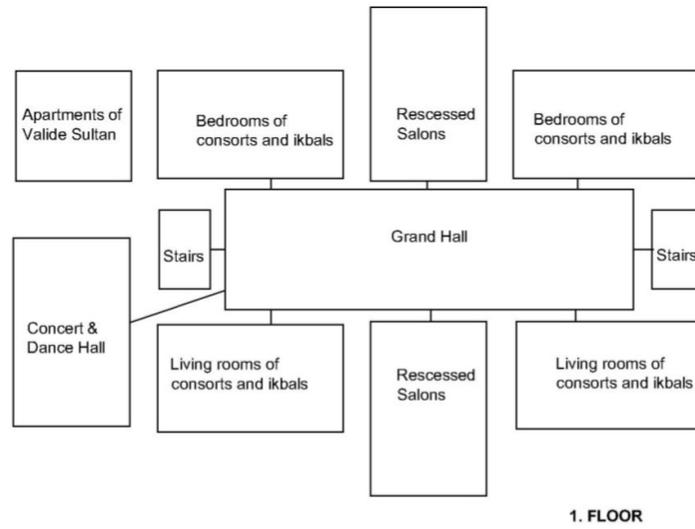


Figure 3.20 Function scheme of the Old Çırağan Palace as narrated in the memoirs of Leyla Saz

On the basis of Leyla Hanım's description, in general of the chapters "The Old Palace of Çırağan", "Music and Dance at the Serail", "Ramazan and the Bayram Festivals at the Serail" and in particular, of the section "Rooms or Apartments of the Imperial Harem", some part of the function scheme of the Palace can be generated. (Figure 3.20)

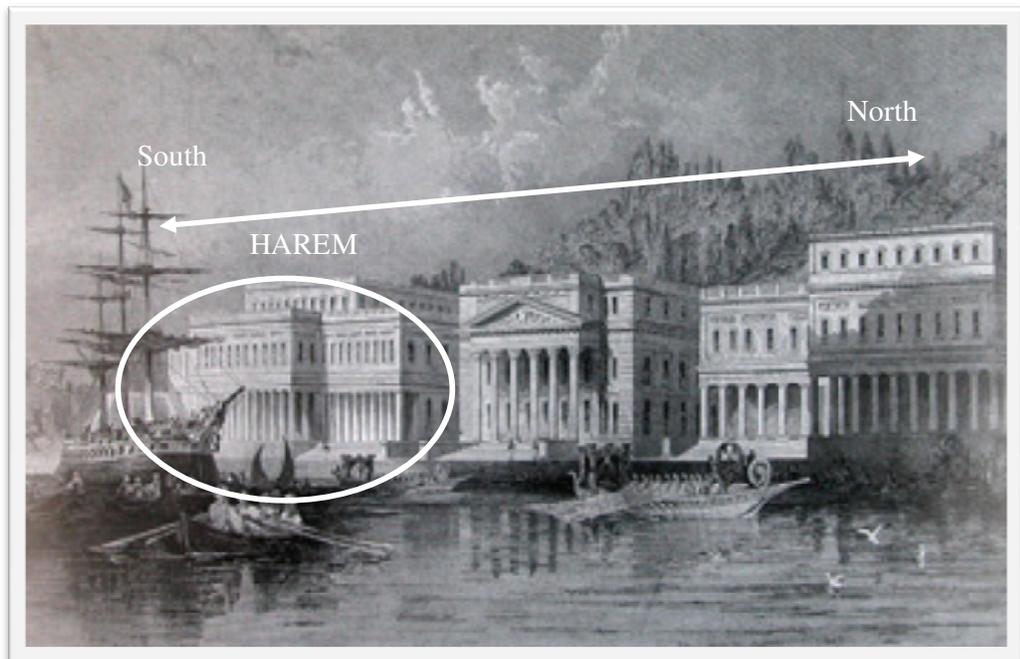


Figure 3.21 Diagram showing the place of the Harem on Thomas Allom's engraving of the Old Çırağan Palace
Source: http://www.hayal-et.org/i.php/site/building/eski_craan_saray.(accessed 08.03. 2011)

Furhermore looking at the engravings of the Palace and taking into account the places of sections in Leyla Hanım's narrative, the leftmost mass in the engraving and the third mass from north to south in the narrative, should be the Harem section. (Figure 3.21) Leyla Hanım's description of the grand hall with its elevated

ceiling,¹³⁵ also supports this positioning. At this point, it is necessary to indicate that in some of the engravings which have broader perspective of the shore, there are other masses in the northern part of the Palace (Figures 3.10-11). The existence of masses confirms Leyla Hanım's statement that the Palace consists of five separate sections.¹³⁶ But still it is perceived in the engravings that there are four different masses not five. Leyla Hanım's description of the Harem section with grand hall's elevated ceiling with windows on all four sides renders the other engravings (Figures 3.4-9) more compatible with her narrative of the Old Çırağan Palace.

So, according to the narrative of Leyla Hanım, the Palace had three main floors; the ground, mezzanine and first floors. In addition to them, there were one hidden floor on the mezzanine; and one mezzanine on the first floor, which had their own galleries. The central area for the first floor was the grand hall; and for the mezzanine and the ground floor, it was the hall paved with marble. The upper rooms on the mezzanine of the first floor were opened to its gallery and the lower rooms were directly to the grand hall. The rooms of the actual mezzanine floor had two floors inside, but from the outside they were only open to the gallery of the mezzanine as if they were single floor rooms. Central parts of ground floor accommodated entrances both from the quai and the garden. There was no room over the entrances and the gallery of the mezzanine ended up at these points. Thus there was no other ceiling over the entrances up till the ground of the grand hall.

¹³⁵ " The great hall of the old Çırağan was very light it received the daylight from above through windows placed all around on all four sides of an elevated central ceiling which dominated the whole length of the hall." (SAZ, 1999, p. 36.)

¹³⁶ Ibid., p.34.

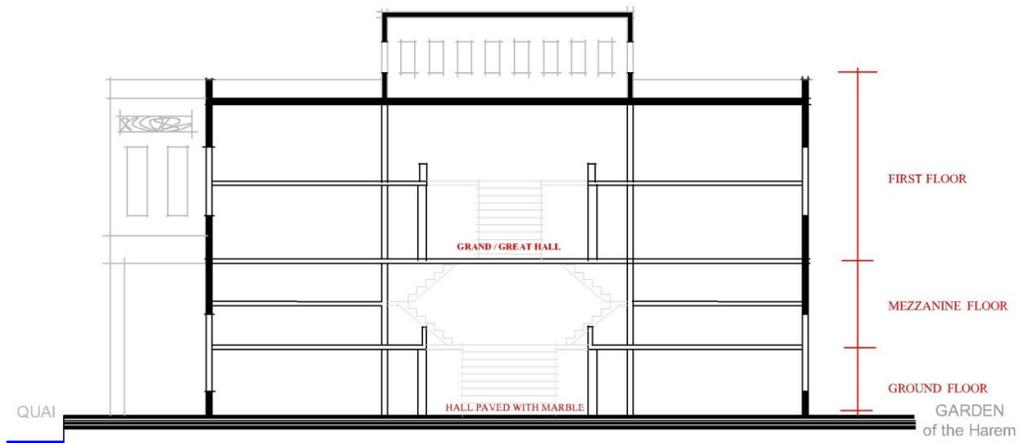


Figure 3.22 Hypothetical cross section of the Harem of the Old Çırağan Palace, based on the descriptions of Leyla Saz



Figure 3.23 Interior of a part of the harem of the great lord (Interieur d'une partie du harem du grand Seigneur) by Melling. Probably it is the Palace of Neşatabad.
Source: MELLING A.I, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore*, Paris, 1867, p.16

Combining this information with the features of the mass and following Leyla Hanım's description of the Harem section, a schematic and hypothetical, not scaled, cross section of the Harem can be drawn. (Figure 3.22) Here an engraving of Melling that shows the interior of a harem can be suggestive to imagine the interior of the Harem of the Old Çırağan Palace. (Figure 3.23)

Evaluating the functions of spaces on each floor as Leyla Hanım mentions, it seems that the disposition in the Palace presents a hierarchy among the residents, which gradually descends while going down from the first floor to the ground floor. The rooms on the first floor belonged to *ikbals* and consorts while the rooms of mezzanine floor to the senior *kalfas*. Considering the information Leyla Hanım gives about the existence of the gate of cooks and the guard room of eunuchs on ground floor,¹³⁷ again it seems that the ground floor was mostly used by the personnel. Possibly as a result of this, Leyla Hanım mentions very little about the function of the spaces on the ground floor since she was not one of them.

It is harder to locate the longitudinal setting of the spaces and their functions in relation to the memoirs of Leyla Hanım. Although (in her memoirs) she mentions some spaces namely, where they are located exactly and how they are connected to definite spaces is not clear. This lack of information prevents drawing a complete plan of the harem and only gives chance for assumptions. Moreover, the descriptions of the Palace in first chapter of the 1999 English edition and in the second chapter of the 1974 Turkish edition do not support each other at some points. Especially in terms of the dimensions of the grand hall, the data in the two

¹³⁷ SAZ,1999, p.139.

editions contradict each other. According to the 1974 Turkish edition the grand hall is about 6 *arşın* in width and 20 *arşın* in length¹³⁸ which makes around 4.5 meters in width and 15 meters in length when converted. In the 1999 English edition, on the other hand, it is indicated as 20 meters in width and 50 meters in length.¹³⁹ Moreover, the width of the stairs descending to the ground floor is given as 12 meters in the English edition while such information is never mentioned in the Turkish edition. In addition to these differences, the location of the Valide Sultan's apartment is never specified as "in the north." Beyond these, when the two versions of the chapter are compared, it becomes clear that the one in the 1974 Turkish edition is shorter and less detailed. These differences raise the question of whether there is any addition made by his son(s) to the description of Leyla Hanım. In the epilogue of the 1999 English edition, Ali Neyzi clearly states that Leyla Hanım's son, Yusuf Razi revised his mother's notes. In the introduction of the 2000/2010 Turkish editions, he also explains that Yusuf Razi added some architectural/technical details to his mother's description of the Palace. It is rather strange that in these epilogues and introductions, the name of her younger son of Leyla Hanım, Vedat Tek, is never mentioned when the topic is the architecture of the Palace. Considering the detailed and precise architectural analysis of the Palace, we can suggest that perhaps it was not only Leyla Hanım's engineer son Yusuf

¹³⁸ SAZ, 1974, p.76. *Arşın* is an old measurement unit which was used before 1931. 1 architectural *arşın* = 75.8 cm. For more information, see HASOL, D. *Ansiklopedik Mimarlık Sözlüğü*. İstanbul: YEM Yayın, 2002, p. 51.

¹³⁹ SAZ, 1999, pp. 34-35.

Razi, but also her architect son Vedat Tek who might have revised the related chapter, and in a sense, re-written it.

Other than Leyla Hanım, it is a German marshal, Helmut Von Moltke who mentions the Old Palace in his memoirs.¹⁴⁰ He saw the Palace when it was still under construction.¹⁴¹ Although Moltke's description is not detailed, it provides us the opportunity to make a comparison with Leyla Hanım's detailed account. As a military officer, Moltke is expected to be well informed in architectural terms, so his description can be read in parallel to Leyla Hanım's to see whether they intersect or not. It is remarkable that they do, as in the case of their descriptions of the grand hall. As Moltke explains:

The monumental hall in the harem's wing which rises along two stories and gets its light from above is very beautiful. The women's rooms are located on either side of the hall.¹⁴²

This similarity between Moltke's and Leyla Hanım's depictions not only confirms the accuracy of Leyla Hanım but also gives the idea about the quality of her narrative. Considering that Leyla Hanım's depiction is compatible with Moltke's, it seems that she is quite knowledgeable about architectural terms and competent in narrating architecture, a point which also supports our suggestion above about the editorial role of Vedat Tek.

¹⁴⁰ This information is Quoted in *Hayal-et Yapılar (Ghost Buildings)*. Exhibition Catalogue, 29 September-23 December 2010. p.120. But the information about the actual memoirs of Moltke is presented in Helmut von Moltke, 1928.

¹⁴¹ Moltke saw the palace in 1836 when he was invited by Mahmud II to receive his opinion about building a tower in the Palace (CAN, 1997. p. 8.)

¹⁴² Quoted in *Hayal-et Yapılar (Ghost Buildings)*, 2010, p.120.

Moreover, Leyla Hanım’s narration of architecture is quite pictorial. Throughout her memoirs, she uses architecture as a background in her narrative. She describes an architectural setting and while doing that she prepares her readers to be in the scene as witnesses by making them imagine the space and see it in their minds’ eyes. In this respect, Leyla Hanım seems to be quite aware of what she is doing. Her words before she starts describing the space, clearly prove this: “I will only describe the apartments of the Imperial Harem where those festivities which I will be describing later on took place.”¹⁴³

This visualization of space is a characteristic of her narrative and in addition to the Old Çırağan Palace, she depicts some other palaces of the time as well, such as the Neşatabat Palace of Hatice Sultana and the Baltalimanı Palace of Fatma Sultana, when she changes the scenes.

3.2.1 Other Palaces in the Memoirs of Leyla Saz

In her memoirs, in different parts of her narrative Leyla Hanım mentions different Palaces and kiosks, such as the Palaces of Dolmabahçe, Yıldız, Neşatabad and Baltalimanı and the pavilions of Sweet Waters (Göksu) and Kağıthane. But among them, she narrates the Palaces of Neşatabad and Baltalimanı in more detail as the settings of some events.

¹⁴³ SAZ, 1999, p. 34.

Leyla Hanım mentions the Palace of Neşatabad in the chapters "The Tragic Celebration of Fatma Sultane's Confinement" and "The Imperial Weddings." Looking back to the history of this palace reminds one of that of the Old Çırağan Palace. In the seventeenth century, the first owner of the waterside Palace was Defterdar İbrahim Pasha. In the Tulip Era, during the reign of Ahmed III, Nevşehirli Damat İbrahim Pasha replaced this pavilion with a new palace known as "Neşatabat," and like the Old Çırağan, this palace hosted the festivities of the Era too.

In the nineteenth century, during the reign of Mahmud II, sometime after 1809, Hatice Sultana, the daughter of Mustafa III, had a new palace built over the former one. But unlike the Old Çırağan Palace, this palace of Hatice Sultana was not demolished to be replaced. Upon the request of Hatice Sultana, Antonio Ignace



Figure 3.24 Antonio Ignace Melling Engraving of Palace of Neşatabat)Source:http://www.turkcebilgi.com/be%C5%9Fikta%C5%9F,_istanbul/resimleri/hatice-sultan-saray-melling (accessed 08.03. 2011)

Melling built a waterside kiosk adjacent to the Sultana's Palace¹⁴⁴ (Figure 3.19) So it was this additional kiosk which Leyla Hanım narrates in her memoirs, since she says that Neşatabat was an old wooden palace and built for Hatice Sultana at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the palace was demolished by the order of Abdülhamid to build two small palaces for his daughters Zekiye and Naime Sultanas after their marriages.¹⁴⁵

Leyla Hanım first mentions this demolished Palace of Neşatabad in the chapter on the confinement celebration of Fatma Sultana. In this chapter, she narrates the bridal chamber of Fatma Sultan in detail and she mentions very little about the grand hall where the celebration took place. It is remarkable that in this narration that Leyla Hanım first locates the chamber in the context of the palace before going into details, as she does in her narration of the Old Çırağan Palace: “It was placed in the north part of the Palace, bordering on the apartments reserved for the Sultan, and one of its doors gave on to the hall of His Majesty and the other on to the hall of the Harem.”¹⁴⁶ Leyla Hanım mentions the Palace second time while she is narrating the wedding of Refia Sultana.¹⁴⁷ Here Leyla Hanım begins to describe the layout of the Palace by correlating it to the Old Çırağan Palace and this time she narrates the

¹⁴⁴ KUBAN, D. *Vanished Urban Visions: Wooden Palaces of the Ottomans*. Istanbul: YEM Yayın Yapı-Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları, 2001, p. 84.

¹⁴⁵ SAZ, 1999, p. 195. See also KUBAN, 2001, p.86.

¹⁴⁶ SAZ, L.: 1999. p. 35.

¹⁴⁷ Before Refia Sultana, her elder sister Fatma Sultan resided in the Palace of Neşatabad until the construction of the Palace of Baltalimanı completed. AKYILDIZ, A., *Mümin ve Müsriif Bir Padişah Kızı Refia Sultan*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998, p. 109.

grand hall of Neşatabad, but in a detailed way, possibly because it follows a similar disposition with the hall of the Old Çırağan palace:

Like the old Çırağan which I already described, the palace of Neşatabad had a grand central hall parallel to the banks of Bosphorus, in the middle of which were placed, looking on the sea and to the garden, two recessed salons, ascended into by one steps. These salons were separated from the hall by low screens reaching to the waist. Their end extended to the walls and formed niches by means of a gilded and sculpted column and a gilded grill. Two people could sit in them at same time.¹⁴⁸

It is remarkable that as she does while narrating the Old Çırağan Palace, she narrates the staircases and galleries elaborately:

In the ground floor, under this salon, there was an identical room paved in marble but it was separated from the hall by a partition. The salon on the first floor facing the garden had a door which led directly to the terrace garden which was behind the Palace and you could reach it by using a foot bridge made of iron. ... The stairs of the palace were arranged in a most unusual and original way. On both sides of the central room looking out on the garden there were two great stairways descending from the hall. Each descended in two flights which joined together in common landing, in the middle of which there was a door giving access by a sort of marble walkway to the court between the Palace and the terrace garden. From this great landing which was quite as large as stairway itself, a central flight descended to the hall paved with marble at the ground floor, but there was a landing in the middle which connected the two small galleries arranged to the right and to the left of the lateral flights of stairway itself. They were enclosed by balustrades and looked over the hall of the ground floor like a sort of loggia.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p.226.

With this narration, Leyla Hanım again sets the scene by constructing a verbal image of Neşatabad before she narrates the event that took place there. Her words before describing the Palace not only verify the argument that she is confident about what she is doing, but also supports the claim that she wants to convey information about the disappeared Palaces of the past:

Before describing the marriage of the Sultane, I would like to describe quickly this fine old Palace which had disappeared today. With the exception of perhaps of the palace of Tarlabası in Beşiktaş, there is no longer today any single edifice which can be compared with the one I am going to describe now.¹⁵⁰

Another palace that Leyla Hanım mentions in her memoirs is the Baltalimanı (Reşit Pasha) waterside Palace, dating 1847. (Figure 3.20) It was built on one of the favourite spots of the Bosphorus in the nineteenth century where the “yalı”s, kiosks and palaces of dignitaries were located.¹⁵¹ First it was only a wooden “yalı,” later Mustafa Reşit Pasha had an Italian architect, Gaspare Trajano Fossati, to build a palace of stone near the former wooden “yalı.”¹⁵² Gaspare Fossati and his brother

¹⁴⁹ SAZ, 1999. p. 227.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 226.

¹⁵¹ ÖDEKAN A. " Baltalimanı Sahilsarayı" *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*. İstanbul : Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1993, (Vol.1), p. 34.

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 34. Although in Ödekan’s article the architect is mentioned as Serkis Balyan, in recent publications and electronic sources the architect’s is changed as Gaspare Trajano Fossati. See CAN, S. *Bilinmeyen Aktörleri ve Olayları ile Son Dönem Osmanlı Mimarlığı*, Erzurum İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü. 2010.

built more than fifty buildings during the Tanzimat period during which the wooden structures of Istanbul were reconstructed in stone.¹⁵³

The Baltalimanı Palace that Leyla Hanım narrates was also known as the Palace which initiated the use of stone in the buildings on the shore of the Bosphorus and which represented a significant change in the architecture of Tanzimat period.¹⁵⁴ Thus this Palace might have been particularly important for Leyla Hanım due to its architectural qualities as well as her close relation with Fatma Sultana who married with the son of Mustafa Reşit Pasha. The Palace was bought by the Imperial treasury for the marriage of Fatma Sultana and given to the couple.¹⁵⁵ Later, during the reign of Abdülaziz, with the intention of allocating the palace to the French Emperor Napoleon III and the Empress Eugéine during their visit to Istanbul in 1869, the surrounding of the palace was rearranged and new kiosks and structures were added.¹⁵⁶ After the death of Fatma Sultana in 1883, the palace was given to her sister Mediha Sultana, and it belonged to her till 1922. Her Husband Damat Ferit Pasha had a harem chamber built as an addition to the palace.

¹⁵³ CAN, " Fossati, Gaspare Trajano", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1999, (Vol.3)., pp. 326-327.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 326-327. For more information about Fosatti 's works in Turkey, see CAN. C." Mustafa Reşit Pasha and the Architect Gaspare Fosatti", *Art Turc/ Turkish Art 10. Congr s International d'Art Turc* 17-23 September. 1995. pp. 207-216 .

¹⁵⁵  DEKAN, 1993, p. 34.

¹⁵⁶  DEKAN, 1993, p. 34.



Figure 3.25 Baltalimanı Palace

Source: <http://www.google.com.tr/imgres?q=baltaliman%C4%B1+saray%C4%B1&um=1&hl=tr&biw=1366&bih=683&tbn=isch&tbnid=R5Qgvs0uZsvNzM:&imgrefurl=http://www.yvik>. (accessed 24.05. 2011)

The Palace was also known by its ill-omened history and also called the "Damatkıran" ("Groom-destructive") Palace, because all the grooms who lived there had some unfortunate incidents. The first husband of Fatma Sultana drowned, her second husband was sentenced life imprisonment. The husband of Mediha Sultana died because of typhoid and her second husband Damat Ferit Pasha was obliged to leave the country.¹⁵⁷ Today the Harem building of the palace is an osteoid hospital while the "Selamlık" building is a social centre of Istanbul University.¹⁵⁸

Leyla Hanım mentions this Palace in the chapter *Sultan Abdülaziz Returns from Europe*, as the palace of Fatma Sultana where she went after the receiving ceremony of Abdülaziz. Although the actual ceremony took place in Dolmabahçe Palace,

¹⁵⁷ BARDAKÇI, M. "‘Damatkıran Saray’ Baltalimanı tam dört damat götürmüştü". *Hürriyet Newspaper*. 2003/26/ 10. <http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/ShowNew.aspx?id=179427>. (accessed 14 October 2011).

¹⁵⁸ ÖDEKAN, 1993 p. 34.

remarkably Leyla Hanım prefers to cite her tour in the Bosphorus with caique to see fireworks which beginning from the palace of Fatma Sultana and it is in this context that she narrates the palace. While doing that she first describes the appearance of the structure from the outside:

The Palace of Baltalimanı was built entirely of stone. It had chimneys of coloured marble, floors of wooden mosaics and beautifully painted ceilings. It was by far the most beautiful of all Imperial residences.¹⁵⁹

After this general depiction, like she does in the narration of the other two palaces, she narrates the central hall:

The central hall of the palace had plenty of light because of its pretty glass panelled roof; the hall, which was divided by large column, looked directly on to the Bosphorus through large windows.¹⁶⁰

Again in her description of the Baltalimanı Palace, Leyla Hanım for the first time mentions a view, looking from inside to the outside of the building. In the following part of her narrative, Leyla Hanım mentions some less known structures and their evolution:

A kiosk looked out on the Bosphorus but this no longer exists today. A pavilion was constructed at the end of the garden on the quay which was reserved for the Sultan and was part of the dependencies of the Palace. A very big *yalı* in wood stood by itself at the Palace and it had belonged to Reşit Paşa as well but served now as lodging for the masculine personnel in the service of the Princesses and provided some rooms which were reserved for the music and dance classes. This

¹⁵⁹ SAZ, 1999, p. 214.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 214.

building was connected to the Serail by a long, enclosed and covered corridor.¹⁶¹

Considering that, the buildings that Leyla Hanım narrates the Old Çırağan Palace, the palace of Neşatabad and the structures around Baltalimanı palace are all disappeared. The architectural information that she gives as a part of her memories makes them important in historical studies.

3. 3 Daily Life of the Imperial Harem in the Memoirs of Leyla Saz

Although Leyla Hanım discusses the daily life in the Old Çırağan Palace in a separate chapter, under the title of *Life at the Serail*, actually she deals with this topic in different chapters in varying degrees. To anchor her narrative when she moves back and forth in time she uses architectural details, while narrating different fragments of life in the Palace. Thus she introduces different architectural components of the Palace in different chapters, as well. Although this provides further information about the spaces of the Palace, it is not possible to locate most of these spaces exactly due to the deficiency of a plan of the Palace. But the information which is scattered throughout the book is important in terms of seeing the space and activity relations in the daily life of the Imperial Harem.

The table below (Table 3.2) presents us that, except for the grand hall and the apartments, the spaces mentioned in the other chapters, do not correspond to the spaces at all to which Leyla Hanım frequently refers while describing the Palace in the chapter "Old Çırağan Palace". The stairs and galleries are never mentioned in other chapters while the ground floor appears only one. Still it is remarkable that

¹⁶¹ SAZ, 1999, pp. 214-215.

TABLE 3.3 SPACE AND ACTIVITY RELATION IN
THE MEMOIRS OF LEYLA SAZ

SPACE	ACTIVITY
Study Hall in the building reserved for the Prince	Education of Princes
Imperial Pavilions	Excursions of little Princes
Apartments	Pass time of consorts
Serail (undefined)	Education of Princesses
Building next to the Imperial Harem	Old <i>kalfas</i> live in
Kitchens of the Palace in a separate building	Cooking
Gate of the cooks	Entrance of food to the Serail
Hall paved with Marble	Distribution of meals
Rooms of Consorts	Meals of little princes and princesses
Halls in the lower floor below the apartments of their mistress	Meals of ordinary girls
Sweet Waters or <i>Kağithane</i>	Great excursions of the Harem
Gate of honour	Departure of consorts, <i>ikbals</i> princesses
Side gate	Departure of ordinary girls
Nuruosmaniye Mosque near the Great Bazaar	Shopping of Princesses
Boutiques of Bazaar	Shopping of <i>kalfas</i>
Boutiques of Bazaar	Shopping of Ladies in great <i>konaks</i>
Weekly markets	Shopping of Ladies of small bourgeoisie

TABLE 3.3 SPACE AND ACTIVITY RELATION IN
THE MEMOIRS OF LEYLA SAZ

SPACE	ACTIVITY
Part of rez-de- chausse in men's apartment	Music classes
Special room (undefined)	Dancing lessons
Great/ grand hall (of honour)	Dance and orchestra festivities and their rehearsals
The hall of concert and dance in the personnel apartment of the sultan, (extended to the facade on to the sea)	Performances in the presence of sultan
Apartments in the large building for the staff situated in the courtyard just in front of the Imperial Harem	The eunuchs live in
The court of servants (Court in front of the Imperial Harem)	used for accessing to the Harem
Gate of the Harem	used for accessing to the Harem
The hall reserved for eunuchs	Guarding
Rooms adjoining the Harem (where <i>kadins</i> and sultanes could listen behind screens and grills)	Sermons given during Razaman
Grilled lodges reserved for Imperial Family in the Great Mosques	Sultanes and girls' worshipping
Courtyard of the Serail	Festivals for Bayram
Throne room (mass in the middle)	Official receptions for Bayram
Great/ grand hall (of honour)	Festivities of Imperia Harem

with the exception of the chapter "Slaves", more or less, in each chapter Leyla Hanım narrates architecture¹⁶² and it is noteworthy that the architectural descriptions she makes while narrating the daily life are additions to her narrative of the Palace in the chapter "Old Çırağan Palace". Except the spatial additions to the architecture of the Old Palace, in the chapter *Life at the Serail* Leyla Hanım recites important information about some spatial perceptions of the Harem Ladies:

For the inhabitants of the Serail everything that was not the Serail was the "City". It was said that the girl had "gone out to the City".¹⁶³

Beside this sharp definition of the outside, the existence of an "Imperial domain"¹⁶⁴ which is coded convenient for the princesses is also indicated through the daily life. Combining the architectural information as discussed previously in this study, with the table above, we can see that the "Imperial Harem was not a space but rather a complex sequence of spaces, whereby spatial arrangements themselves might have disciplinary effect upon the inhabitants."¹⁶⁵ To see this effect more clearly, the examination of the chapter on daily life in the memoirs is important, since in that chapter she gives versatile information which can be used in correcting popular orientalist discourse and in understanding customs of everyday life, intertwined with and buried in her narrative.

¹⁶² Leyla Hanım narrates either about the architecture of the Old Çırağan or the palaces of Neşatabad and Baltalimanı.

¹⁶³ SAZ, 1999. p.156.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p.156.

¹⁶⁵ BOOTH, M, *Harem Histories: Envisioning Places and Living Spaces*. Durham NC: Duke University Press Books .2010 . p 12.

The fifth chapter *Life at Serail* of Leyla Hanım's memoirs consists of five sections in which she recites different aspects of life in late nineteenth century. These sections are: "The Education of the Little Princes and Pastimes at the Imperial Harem"; "Meals at the Imperial Harem"; "The Great Excursions of the Imperial Harem"; "Purchases of the Imperial Harem"; and "A Doctor Visits the Imperial Harem."

In the first section, as can be understood from the title, Leyla Hanım tells the education of princes and how they spent time in the Harem in detail. Among these details, Leyla Hanım explains how the princes used the spaces of the Harem:

When the Imperial princes reached manhood, they carefully avoided the halls of the Serail. When they were not travelling about the city, they remained in their own apartments where they passed their time reading and talking to their mothers or their consorts. During the evening they paid visits to their sisters and brothers and often played music together. Sometimes musicians of the Serail would be called in to participate at these gatherings. In every case, visits between princes and princesses always arranged in advance and when this is impossible, they took care to have themselves announced.¹⁶⁶

In contrast to Leyla Hanım's account, in the dominant and/or popular orientalist discourse, a prince "spent his whole life locked up in a room in the Palace," and when he "suddenly found himself set free and hailed as the Sultan"¹⁶⁷ he turned into "a vicious old reprobate, spending all his time in the *harem*, surrounded by hundreds of semi-naked women, in an atmosphere of heavy perfume, cool fountains, soft music."¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ SAZ, 1999. p. 133.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

Turning back to what Leyla Hanım says about the life in the Imperial Harem we learn that the consorts of the Imperial Princes lived more secluded than the Princesses did:

she [the consort of the Prince] had only occasionally strolled about the halls and gardens of the Serail. She pretty well kept to her apartments where she read good deal and would keep herself busy with various sort of handicrafts.¹⁶⁹

The consorts of the Princes were chosen from the young girls who were brought up in the Serail.¹⁷⁰ This custom indicates that the Harem was considered as a kind of educational institution which the consorts must have attended. The consorts were responsible for overseeing the education and upbringing of the Imperial offspring very carefully.¹⁷¹ Remarkably, in the education of the children of the Imperial family, gender did not seem to have an important role, except for the education of the inheritor of the throne. Regarding the education of the Princesses, Leyla Hanım points out: "The education of the little Sultanas was in effect always entrusted to extremely capable teachers particularly trained for this duty."¹⁷²

Throughout this section, it is also possible to find information about how the *ikbals* and *kadins* spent their time in the Harem:

Reading Koran, newspapers, literary works, particularly books on history as well as handicrafts and music were principal

¹⁶⁸ PENZER, M. *The Harem: Inside the Grand Seraglio of the Turkish Sultans*, Mineola, N.Y.: Dover, 2005, p.13.

¹⁶⁹ SAZ, 1999. p. 133.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 133. This tradition was broken in later period. For more information, see p. 135, n 2.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., p. 133.

¹⁷² Ibid., 1999. p. 134.

distractions of the *kadins* and *ikbals*. They played little games of skill and other diversions required by society, as well as ancient amusements, today forgotten, which were in favour at the Serail.¹⁷³

In this passage Leyla Hanım revises the sexually oriented Harem life and Harem women as displayed in dominant/popular Orientalist discourse.

In the second section of this chapter, Leyla Hanım informs us not only about various kinds of food consumed in the Harem but about table manners as well as meal times. She narrates how the meal was served from the gate of cook to the rooms of the Harem, how tables were set up at meals according to rank, and also, how those practices changed in time:

Until the accession of Sultan Abdülaziz in 1861 the tables of princes and princesses were set up at meal time in the rooms where they happened to be. A round table cloth ... was placed on the floor on the carpet in the corners of the room. ... A low table with four folding legs made of silver was placed in the centre of this cloth and was covered by a second cloth ... on which was placed a great round silver tray. Small quilted cushions were placed on the floor all around the lower cloth and served as seat.¹⁷⁴

What she reveals here is that the traditional way of dining and its furniture were still in use at that time, though we know that the western type of dining furniture was an issue in the planning of Old Çırağan Palace, as part of its innovative architectural setting.

In her further explanations, we understand that some changes in space organization in upper-class houses predated the ones in the Palace:

¹⁷³ Ibid., p. 134.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 140.

After meal, the hands and the face were carefully washed with soap while having water poured over hands. In certain private houses where there were rooms specifically for dining, fountains of marble were installed along the walls and one could wash before and after meals- this speeded up the process considerably.¹⁷⁵

Again talking about the meals at the Imperial Harem, Leyla Hanım refers to an institution that played an important role in the adaptation of western customs and western type furniture in the daily life:

The use of fork and of separate plates was introduced and began generally to be accepted in middle class families because of the new public schools, the boarding schools in particular, and the military schools. The young people who passed many years at these schools were forced to adopt new habits imposed upon them by regulation and discipline of the schools. They in turn, introduced these habits to their families. In this way, the boarding schools in particular strongly contributed to the changes in the old Turkish customs to the extent that they could be changed at all. It was these young graduates of the boarding schools who little by little, adopted the use of European clothes, bed rising from the floor, chairs, couches, and desks. In some cases, they would be adopted all sorts of makeshift modifications to what they considered to be Western custom. But it was really these schools which were only slightly different from those in the West, which brought about these changes, for example, the introduction of running water for washing rather than using a wash bowl.¹⁷⁶

Interestingly enough, this passage provides us with the information that these changes took place first in the schools then in middle class households before the Imperial Palace.

In the third section, Leyla Hanım recounts the customs and protocols of departing from and arriving in the Harem and gives details about how different members of the Serail acted during these excursions.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 141.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 144.

In the beginning of the fourth section, Leyla Hanım introduces the Grand Bazaar and narrates the way the Imperial harem and Princesses went shopping, and afterwards, she presents different kinds of shopping spaces and indicates how different classes of women used them or did not use them.

Since these two sections are about the activities outside the Harem and includes different behaviour patterns of Ottoman women, they can be discussed together to have a complete view of the lives of women outside the Harem. These sections are important in terms of presenting some notions about social class, and accordingly, about social hierarchy and protocols, which were perceived and practised in the west differently.¹⁷⁷ Evaluating the difference between the social dynamics of the Ottoman and western societies, Leslie Pierce refers to "status" which help us understand the issue of segregation better:

We begin to see that, in the Ottoman case, conventional Western notions of public and private are not congruent with gender. In fact, when we examine the structure of the male society and the interaction of the male and female networks, we see that, at the highest reaches of the society at least, notions of public and private tend to lose meaning all together. In many ways male society in the Ottoman world observed the same criteria of status and propriety as did female society."¹⁷⁸

Following this analysis Pierce indicates the curtains that were stretched along the way that the Sultan would pass through his carriage to indicate that the Sultan himself avoided to be seen in public.

¹⁷⁷ Pierce argues that "the concepts of inner and outer have antonymous metaphoric meanings in Western and Ottoman societies in the sense of political power."

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 1993, p. 8.

Most of the examples Leyla Hanım gives from the daily life concretizes Pierce's discussion. Especially a certain passage should be cited here, for it presents segregation between the Imperial stratum and the rest in a medium or a structure considered as public:

The princesses and the ladies of the Imperial Harem were allowed to go there [i.e. the Great Bazaar] and they did go there time to time, but it was not considered suitable to stop in front of the shops, much less to enter them. They would install themselves in the mosque of Nuruosmaniye, in a part of the building especially reserved for the Sultan and Imperial Family, just as there is in every one of the Grand mosques of Constantinople.¹⁷⁹

Here, the point is that social class rather than gender was more influential in such segregation:

The ladies of the great konaks also did their shopping in the Bazaar just like the princesses, but out of respect, they would never stop in any of the dependencies of the Mosque in order not to give the impression of imitating the Imperial Family.¹⁸⁰

The shopping styles of women in different social strata which Leyla Hanım talks about are very important and informative because of firstly presenting the behaviours of women both outside and inside the Harem, and secondly challenging the idea of the Ottoman women as a homogeneous group. In this sense, her Ottoman identity provides Leyla Hanım with a background to present a detailed analysis of women's social lives in her time.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ SAZ, 1999, p.150.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p.152.

¹⁸¹ PIERCE (1993, pp. 9-12) points out two fundamental limits to a foreign observer's ability to achieve "truth" with regard to harem - the one a limitation by his/her own culture, the other a barrier created by Ottoman society.

Here, it would be suggestive to compare Leyla Hanım's account with that of Grace Ellison, an English lady, who "was determined to improve the reputation of the Turks to correct the errors, prejudice and hatred which have become almost a part of British national attitude to Turkey"¹⁸²and who worked on the lives of Ottoman women by making several visits to Turkey in 1913 and narrate her days in an Ottoman elite harem in her book.¹⁸³ While talking about going to the Bazaar with her host with the intention to show the positive changes in the Ottoman society, she remarks: "Five years ago we never walked a step; now we not only saunter through the bazaar, but go to a big dressmaker's in Pera."¹⁸⁴ But before Ellison, Leyla Hanım provides us with the information about shopping activities of the ladies of the great "konak"s: "Those who lived near the Bazaar would send the eunuch or woman in charge of their household to the Bazaar to pick out samples of material so they could make their choices at home."¹⁸⁵ Explaining how conditions changed according to status, Leyla Hanım adds:

The ladies of the small bourgeois would generally do their shopping at the weekly markets of their own quarter where they could buy all the things that they needed-... The great ladies never went to these markets; when they did go, either by whim or out of curiosity, they would preserve the strictest incognito in their dress and would cover their face with their thickest veils in order not to be recognised.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸² Quoted in LEWIS, R. *Rethinking Orientalism: Women Travel and the Ottoman Harem*. London : I.B. Tauris, 2004, p. 43.

¹⁸³ Quoted in LEWIS, 2000. p. 187, n.12.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid ., pp.31-32.

¹⁸⁵ SAZ, 1999, p.152.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p.153.

Beside these women who controlled their involvement in public spaces such as Bazaar or city market, Leyla Hanım also talks about the women of different strata who sold their own handworks at these markets.

The aim of presenting this difference between the narratives of Leyla Hanım and Ellison is not to praise Leyla Hanım's account, or to question the authenticity Ellison's narration, but to show how their different ways of looking at the same situation can be brought together. From Leyla Hanım's point of view what we can see is Ellison's unawareness of invisibility in public as something that indicated high status in those times. Regarding the case of the Princesses, Leyla Hanım further explains:

The princess customarily lowers the blinds of their carriage halfway; and furthermore they partially covered their faces with a gold handled fan ...which was always held in their hands: they did not want to expose themselves to indiscreet stares nor did they want to seem to be too much on display.¹⁸⁷

In the same excursion, Leyla Hanım recounts the behaviours of *kalfas* as well:

During the public excursions, the *kalfas* preferred to follow the excursion of carriages rather than to wait for them on the banks of the little river. They were stared at by men and sometimes the bolder novices would throw them provocative glances and then withdraw back into the depth of the carriage after having sown considerable trouble in the hearts of their admirers.¹⁸⁸

Leyla Hanım does not deny that the Harem ladies were secluded. On the contrary, she openly says that the excursions of the Imperial Harem were like "effervescence

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 147.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 147.

among the swarm of young girls who were living in such seclusion."¹⁸⁹ But beside this, she recites how protocols, hierarchy and customs affected the degree of seclusion. In this respect, Leyla Hanım shows that even inside the Harem, there was a kind of seclusion originating from hierarchy which presents itself in the use of domestic space, as in the case of eating activity, carried out in the hierarchically assigned room for each woman.¹⁹⁰ This organization of the eating activity might have been also a reason for the introduction of dining rooms to Imperial interiors later than upper class houses.

As can be seen in the structure of this chapter in the memoirs Leyla Hanım talks about different instances of daily life that took place both inside and outside the Harem. Beside this bilateral narrative of daily life, her presentation both Imperial and non- Imperial women's course of actions, and of differentiations among the non-Imperial women's course of actions in themselves, indicates multiplicity of Ottoman women behaviours in daily life. But while presenting instances of life both inside and outside the Harem, as a figure who has also lived outside the Harem, Leyla Hanım never mentions her own house and/or its harem. Her silence about this issue, prevents reading account of elite harem (such as Vaka Brown's and Grace Ellison's) together with hers and comparing differences between Imperial and elite harems. Still there is a piece of information in Grace Ellison's account which indicates the difference between the Imperial harem and elite harems in general terms. Ellison encounters with the Imperial Harem during a formal reception and stays there for a

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 147.

¹⁹⁰ For more information, see "Meals at the Imperial Harem" in SAZ, 1999, pp. 137-143.

week and her Imperial harem picture as an opulent place of rituals and state functions, contrasts with her elite harem picture of enjoyable domestic home.¹⁹¹

In the last section of the chapter, "Doctor's visit to the Imperial Harem", Leyla Hanım recounts the conditions of the Doctor's access to the Serail and care of the sick women in the Harem, as well as old treatments, superstitions and crone remedies.

What is especially important in this section is how Leyla Hanım explains the reasons why the access of strangers to the Harem was extremely limited:

It was no longer ago that the head of the family would only rarely consent to having a man introduced into *harem* and then this visit would be surrounded with all sorts of formalities. This was not because of any feeling of jealousy or an exaggerated suspicion but rather because the *harem* was an intimate place of withdrawal, a sanctuary of virtue and modesty which no one had the right to profane.¹⁹²

After that Leyla Hanım indicates the sensitivity of Turks about this issue in these words:

At that time when it was a great impertinence even to talk to a Turk about his *harem* without very serious reason, it was quite natural that a man would be permitted to enter only under the most extraordinary circumstances.¹⁹³

In her the prepositional phrases she uses as adverbials of time, indicates that while people like Leyla Hanım were living in that period with the virtues of that time, their perception of harem in their social structure was completely different from how the

¹⁹¹ ELLISON, G. *Englishwomen in a Turkish Harem*, Piscataway NJ: Georgias Press, 2007, p.35-37.

¹⁹² SAZ, 1999, p. 155.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p.155.

West perceived it then and we perceive it now. Like the other practices of era, this also evolved in time and changed through the years when Leyla Hanım wrote her memoirs second time.

As discussed previously, Leyla Hanım lived in a period, characterized by a series of changes in the society and she had the chance of comparing the daily life before and after these changes: “It was only after 1860 that fork was introduced into the Serail; it became accepted and today the tables have been set for a long time very much as they are in other countries -- however with far less luxury and care in the old days.”¹⁹⁴

The tone of Leyla Hanım in her expressions indicates that despite the innovations which she does not seem to be against, she misses the splendour of the old days, and moreover, she compares some instances of life with their counterparts in western culture and finds the Ottoman way superior. It is possible to detect this attitude in her narrative of Bayram festival:

The evenings of music and dance at the Imperial Harem were really beautiful and had a special charm. The foreign society balls can give no idea of what they were like. It was a vision completely different. Among our contemporaries there are a few people who have seen these brilliant evenings; certainly they will never be seen again.¹⁹⁵

As we can see in this passage, she gives detailed information about certain occasions of Ottoman conventions, such as confinement celebrations, Ramadan and “Bayram”

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 143.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p.186.

festivals and Imperial Weddings in the chapters other than the one which she devotes to the daily life in the Harem.

Performing as an ex-insider, Leyla Hanım in some parts recounts the daily life as a correction to popular orientalist assumptions and as an explanation to the most wondered issues about the Harem. An illustration of this point can be found in the emphasis she places on the costumes. She narrates the costumes especially of women, but to a certain extent, also of men, of different status in minute details, and evaluates them in relation to time and space. This sensitivity can be related to her desire of reflecting the important role played by costumes not only in the Harem, but more generally, in the Ottoman daily life as well,¹⁹⁶ and moreover, to her aim of redrawing the images of Ottoman women, dressed up in costumes, by undoing orientalist fantasies.

Leyla Hanım confronts with the orientalist myths of the Harem in some other parts of her accounts on the daily life as well. For instance, in the chapter on music and dance performances, Leyla Hanım corrects a major mistake:

Among the dances executed by the “köçekler” was also found what the westerners call a belly dance. This dance is hardly favoured in Turkey and certainly a dance in the Imperial Serail never takes a provocative, lascivious or indecent form which the westerners imagine it to have and which can be seen performed in their own countries by dancers more or less oriental.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ GOODWIN, G. *The Private World of Ottoman Women*. London: Saqi Books, 1997, p. 203.

¹⁹⁷ SAZ, 1999, p. 65.

Similarly, in the following chapter, which is on slavery, as a child of a man who was a slave too,¹⁹⁸ she explains:

Contrary to what people have sometimes imagined, slavery in Turkey never presented the horrible characteristics, let us say, slavery in America, where human cattle were bent under the whip and often died simply to enrich rapacious and pitiless master.¹⁹⁹

As a final rectification, Leyla Hanım dissolves the smoky orientalist fantasies: “Contrary to (what) one believes in the West, the princesses; or the ladies of their suites never smoked cigarettes, pipes or narghiles.”²⁰⁰

There are some other accounts about the Imperial Harem that counter against the stereotyped harem image too, such as the one by Lady Montague.²⁰¹ Among them, what specifies Leyla Hanım's account is her architecturally oriented narrative of the life in the Harem. Like Leyla Hanım, Montagu also gives place to architectural descriptions in her memoirs but her aim in describing architecture is to present and criticise the prejudices about the architecture of "Orient". But Leyla Hanım's aim is quite different. She presents the life in the Harem within the context of space, time and biography which constitutes a whole picture of it.

¹⁹⁸ Hekim İsmail Pasha was born of Greek parents and sold in the slave market to a Jewish surgeon in İzmir. Later he became a Pasha and appointed as the Royal Surgeon of the Palace. NEYZİ, A. H. "Epilogue" in SAZ, 1999, pp. 285-6.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p.76.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p.144.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

The memoirs of Leyla Hanım constitute a versatile source giving detailed information about different aspects of the daily life in the Imperial Harem of the nineteenth century. What distinguishes her memoirs from the other accounts of the Harem is her narration of this daily life in relation to the spaces and/or architectural settings within which it took place. In the memoirs of Leyla Hanım, the Harem life, which, in her own words, was “carefully closed to the influences from outside,”²⁰² and the nineteenth century Ottoman architecture, which was quite open to the influences from outside, are intersected. This means that in addition to invaluable information about the architecture of the disappeared Old Çırağan and also two other Palaces of its time, her memoirs provide information about less discernable details of everyday life in Imperial Harem in relation to space and practice.

In fact, in her memoirs, architectural settings form a topic in themselves as well. Accordingly, what makes her memoirs exceptional is not only this topic and but also the way she narrates it. It is of crucial importance that this topic deals with a nonexistent Imperial Palace, the Old Çırağan, and her memoirs constitute one of the rare sources on this Palace. Moreover, what is also unique is her refined and detailed architectural analysis of the Palace. Combined with this analysis, her "spatio-

²⁰² Ibid., p. 23.

temporal"²⁰³ narration draws a verbal sketch of the Palace and its Harem as a scene and lets the readers watch the actresses and actors of this scene in their daily lives. So, in the memoirs, the architecture of the Palace cannot be separated from the Imperial Harem as a socio-cultural institution that evolved in time.

All these specific characteristics of the memoirs are related mostly and undoubtedly to the author herself, Leyla Hanım. Her exceptional position both inside and outside the Harem and her role both as an Ottoman and a Republican lady, during a period marked by striking transformations in political, social and cultural structures in Turkey, strengthen authenticity of her memoirs and provide her with exceptional lenses to read the daily life in the Harem. It is through these lenses that she also corrects, kindly and subtly, as expected from a lady, the vision of the popular orientalist discourses on the Harem. In other words, she does not openly criticize and/or engage in an argument with these discourses, but uses phrases, like “as one in the west may think,” especially when touching upon the issues, such as slavery, belly dancing and narghile smoking. In this sense, the memoirs of Leyla Hanım have an important place in the literature on the Imperial Harem and consequently in the literature of Orientalism.

Since the sixteenth century, a lot has been written about the Imperial Palace.²⁰⁴ Initially it was the western male travellers who wrote accounts of the semi-

²⁰³ As Edward Soja explains, “the spatio-temporal structuring of social life defines how social actions and relationships (including class relations) are materially constituted, made concrete.” Quoted in SCHICK, I.C. *The Erotic Margin: Sexuality and Spatiality in Alteritist Discourse*. Verso, 1999, p. 43.

accessible Ottoman Seraglio and its “inaccessible” Harem. Ignoring to what extent they really had access to the Imperial Harem, these accounts were posited as telling the truths about the unknown, about the “mysterious” harem.

In the eighteenth century a new genre of harem literature of women travellers was initiated by Lady Mary Worthley Montagu's famous *Turkish Embassy Letters* (1771). In nineteenth century the accounts of women gained an ethnographic perspective,²⁰⁵ such as in the accounts of Julia Pardoe' *Beauties of Bosphorus* (1839), Mary Adelaide Walker' *Eastern Life and Scenery With Excursions in Asia Minor, Mytilene, Crete, and Roumania* (1886) and Emilia Bithynia Hornby' *Constantinople During Crimean War* (1863).²⁰⁶ Mary Roberts argues, although these women traveller-writers interpreted the Harem as a familial and social space with this ethnographic perspective and challenged the prevailing masculine fantasies with their claim of authenticity. They “adapted and transformed more familiar masculine fantasies by establishing themselves as eye-witnesses of harems they visited.”²⁰⁷ In this regard, written by an insider/outsider who lived in the Harem, Leyla Hanım’s memoirs can be included in this ethnographic group of accounts, claiming authenticity. However Leyla Hanım's memoirs go beyond these accounts since the language spoken in the Harem was Leyla Hanım's native language and she was a

²⁰⁴ PENZER, N. M. "Previous accounts of the Seraglio", *The Harem: Inside the Grand Seraglio of the Turkish Sultans*, Mineola, N.Y.: Dover, 2005, pp.27-54.

²⁰⁵ ROBERTS, M., *Intimate Outsiders: The Harem in Ottoman and Orientalist Art and Travel Literature*. Durham: Duke University Press. 2007, p. 60.

²⁰⁶ There is one more account belonging to Henriette Browne, but the publication date and the title is unknown.

²⁰⁷ ROBERTS, 2007, p.61.

permanent interlocutor who knew the cultural background. Furthermore, the protagonist tone that Roberts detects in the texts of the women travellers is not valid for her memoirs.²⁰⁸ Indicating her personal presence with the use of subject pronouns, she mostly describes the life in the harem as a pair of eyes would have seen it. Moreover, Leyla Hanım's position and technique of drawing a verbal image are beyond any comparison with those texts. Her pictorial narrative challenges the visual and literal discourses of popular orientalism while her position provides her a broad view with its dual nature.

Another remarkable characteristic of Leyla Hanım's memoirs is the time distance between her experience of the Harem and her activity of writing about it. This distance between Leyla Hanım and the Harem and between the experience and its narrative gives Leyla Hanım the possibility of comparing the Harem life with the life in the early Republican period and of evaluating the conditions of women in different layers of society. Thus her explanations which seem contradictory from time to time reveal actually her wide perspective of time and her position as a "part of the Sultanic court" and as a "participant in the cultural life of the Republican period." Rather than presenting the women's lives in the Ottoman Harem and in the Republican period as binary oppositions, Leyla Hanım, as an enlightened woman, evaluates these lives in their own time periods and circumstances.

Finally, considering her contribution especially to *Kadınlara Mahsus Gazete*, the context within which Leyla Hanım's biography can be placed is the Ottoman

²⁰⁸Ibid., p. 61.

women's movement.²⁰⁹ Here, it is also possible to suggest that her memoirs intersect with this movement through its implicit aim of correcting the popular orientalist vision of the Imperial Harem. More specifically, they intersect with the writings of Halide Edip and Ahmed Mithad, directed towards undoing such orientalist vision of the harem, including those of upper and middle classes as well.²¹⁰

In this regard, it would be an interesting project to read the memoirs together with these writings, and for instance, together with a passage from Ahmed Mithad's *Avrupa'da Bir Cevelan (A Tour in Europe)* (1889):

[This] lovable person lies negligently on a sofa. One of her slippers, embroidered with pearls, is on the floor, while the other is on the tip of her toes. Since her garments are intended to ornament rather than to conceal, her legs dangling from the sofa are half-naked and her belly and breasts are covered by fabrics as thin and transparent as a dream ... In her mouth is the black end of the pipe of a narghile, curving like a snake ... A black servant fans her. This is the Eastern woman that Europe depicted until now ... It is assumed that this body is not the mistress of her house, the wife of her husband, and the mother of her children, but only a servant to the pleasures of the man who owns the house. What a misconception!²¹¹

²⁰⁹ On the Ottoman women's movement, see ÇAKIR, 1994.

²¹⁰ On this criticism of the popular orientalist vision of the harem, see Lewis, Reina. "Harems and Hotels: Segregated City Spaces and Narratives of Identity in the Work of Oriental Women Writers," in Louise Durning and Richard Wrigley (eds.). *Gender&Architecture*. Chichester: Wiley, 2000, pp. 172-188.

²¹¹ Quoted in Çelik, Zeynep. "Colonialism, Orientalism and the Canon," in Iain Borden and Jane Rendell (eds.) *Intersections: Architectural Histories and Critical Theories*. London and New York: Routledge, 2000, p. 167.

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