

THE MATERIAL CULTURE IN THE ISTANBUL HOUSES THROUGH THE EYES
OF BRITISH TRAVELER JULIA PARDOE (d.1862)

by
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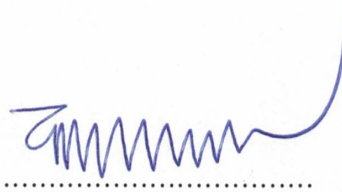
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**THE MATERIAL CULTURE IN THE ISTANBUL HOUSES THROUGH THE EYES
OF BRITISH TRAVELER JULIA PARDOE (d.1862)**

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ABSTRACT

THE MATERIAL CULTURE IN THE ISTANBUL HOUSES THROUGH THE EYES OF BRITISH TRAVELER JULIA PARDOE (d.1862)

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M.A. in History

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Tülay Artan

Keywords: Ottoman material culture, 19th century travel writings, middle-class travelers,
Ottoman houses, decoration, interior design

This thesis focuses on the domestic interiors and material worlds of Istanbul houses through Julia Pardoe's travel account "The City of the Sultan; and Domestic Manners of the Turks, in 1836". She traveled to Ottoman lands in 1836 and wrote of her experiences and observations in her account. Firstly, the thesis will present that Julia Pardoe's account was one of the early examples of 19th-century travel writings. It will analyze how travel writing was transformed in the 19th century by middle class women travelers through their critical approach to previous travelers and through their constructing of a new perspective and discourses. Secondly, the life of householders she visited will be evaluated to understand the atmosphere in these houses. This also allows us to position them within social hierarchy as either royal, high-ranking or upper middle class. Lastly, these houses will be analyzed on the basis of Pardoe's detailed descriptions, considering the main issues of material culture such as comfort, heating, luxury, decoration and design. Also, how homeowners from different strata of society presented status, power and wealth through decorating their houses will be put forth.

ÖZET

İNGİLİZ SEYYAH JULIA PARDOE'NUN (d.1862) GÖZÜNDEN İSTANBUL EVLERİNDE MADDİ KÜLTÜR

Gülbahar Rabia Altuntaş

Yüksek Lisans, Tarih

Tez Danışmanı: Doç.Dr. Tülay Artan

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı maddi kültürü, 19. yüzyıl seyahatname yazımı, Orta sınıf seyyahlar, Osmanlı evi, mimari, iç dizayn

Bu tez, Julia Pardoe'nun "The City of the Sultan; and Domestic Manners of the Turks, in 1836" adlı eseri bağlamında 19. yüzyıl İstanbul evinin maddi dünyasını inceleyecektir. Pardoe 1836'da Osmanlı başkentine seyahat etmiş ve bu eserde gözlemlerini ve deneyimlerini yazmıştır. İlk olarak eserin 19. yüzyılda değişen seyahatname yazımının ilk örneklerinden biri olduğu ortaya konulacaktır. 19. yüzyılda orta sınıf kadın seyyahların önceki seyyahların önyargılarına karşı kritik bir yaklaşım sergilemesi ve yeni bir perspektif geliştirmeleri sebebiyle 19 yüzyılda seyahat yazımında nasıl bir dönüşüm olduğu analiz edilecektir. İkinci olarak, ziyaret edilen kişilerin evlerindeki atmosferi anlamak için bu kişilere odaklanılacaktır. Bu söz konusu ev sahiplerini ve evlerini toplumsal hiyerarşide (hanedan ailesinden, üst düzey elit tabakadan veya üst orta sınıftan) bir yere oturtmamızı da sağlayacaktır. Son olarak, Pardoe'nun tasvirleri üzerinden bu evler maddi kültürün temel meseleleri olan ısınma, konfor, lüks, dekorasyon gibi meseleler göz önünde bulundurularak değerlendirilecektir. Ayrıca, bu kişilerin dekorasyon ve objeler yoluyla nasıl zenginlik, statü ve güçlerini gösterdikleri ortaya konmaya çalışılacaktır.

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INTRODUCTION

Ottoman historians have focused on the military, economic and political history of the Ottoman state and neglected the social, cultural and material life of Ottoman society for a long time. This was mainly because their research was based on archival documents. To bring these neglected issues into the realm of Ottoman studies, historians have turned to travel literature written by Europeans.¹ This proved to be helpful especially because 19th century travel accounts include information about various issues such as harem, coffee-houses, festivals and markets.

Studies based on travelogues, however, could shed only some light on Ottoman houses as travelers do not focus on the analysis of domestic life and interiors in detail. Since access to such spaces were forbidden to men, the absence of interior descriptions in the male travelers' accounts can be explained. Also, there were only a small number of females who traveled to the Orient before the 19th century and many of them were illiterate. In the 19th century, many educated female travelers visited the Ottoman lands and wrote their experiences. Especially British women travelers' accounts include information about the domestic life of Ottoman women and their houses.

Although travelers were interested in social life in the Ottoman empire, there was still limited information about domestic interiors and material worlds of Istanbul houses in the early 19th century travel accounts. Many women travelers had a chance to visit only certain houses, primarily royal palaces, and they only described the interiors in a general sense. In this regard, Pardoe's travel account is a very convenient source to study early 19th-century Istanbul houses because she described the interior of thirteen houses from different stratas of society in detail.

¹ Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady: A Social History from 1718 to 1918* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1986). Burcak Evren and Dilek Girgin Can, *Ottoman Women and Foreign Travelers* (İstanbul: Ray Sigorta, 1996). Reinhold Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama: British Travellers in 19th Century Turkey* (Amsterdam; Atlanta, Ga., 1999). Billie Melman, *Women's Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918--Sexuality, Religion and Work* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995).

The studies on Ottoman dwellings are also mainly related to royal palaces rather than private ones or the houses of ordinary people in the available literature. The main reason behind this is that early 19th century houses have not survived. Therefore, the information in the archives and primary sources are very valuable to study Istanbul houses. In this regard, this thesis aims to contribute to the field by analyzing domestic interiors and material worlds of early 19th century Istanbul houses through Pardoe's travel account, *The City of the Sultan; and Domestic Manners of the Turks, in 1836*.²

The thesis is divided into three parts. The first chapter provides an introduction to the historiography and debates within the study of Ottoman material culture. The first part explores the studies related to major elements of material culture -clothing, fashion, food, utensils, objects and furnishings- and primary sources which were used to cover these issues. Then, in the second part, the influence of trans-cultural and global turns in material culture studies is discussed.

The second chapter is divided into three parts. The first part deals with the life of Julia Pardoe mainly through her poems, books and travel accounts. The second part of the chapter focuses on how travel writing was transformed in the 19th century by middle class women travelers. Their special interest in the social life of women and their houses, an outcome of their middle class and Victorian sensibilities, will be analyzed to understand the reason behind Pardoe's visit to Ottoman houses. The last part of the chapter discusses the Ottoman State in the age of reforms.

The last chapter, the main part of the thesis, first analyzes the lives and lifestyles of the house-owners whom Pardoe visited.³ This also allows us to locate them and their houses within the social hierarchy of the Ottoman society -- as either royal, high-ranking or upper middle class. It is still difficult to analyze social classes within the context of

² There are some articles related to Pardoe's travel account. These articles are not based on academic research, they simply introduce the book itself. For instance; Arzu Baykara, "Julia Pardoe, Sultanlar Şehri İstanbul," *Tarih İncelemeri Dergisi*, vol: XXV, No:1, (July 2010): 379-381; Nilüfer Mizanoğlu Reddy, "Julia Pardoe'nun Sultan'ın Şehri ve 1836 yılında Türklerin Yaşamı," accessed Dec. 25, 2016, <https://www.scribd.com/document/15671776/JULIA-PARDOE-NUN-SULTAN-IN-%C5%9EEHR%C4%B0-VE-1836-YILINDA-TURKLER%C4%B0N-YA%C5%9EAMLARI>, Okan Büyüktapu, "Julia Pardoe-Seyyahların Gözünden İstanbul," *Frakkal 3 aylık Edebiyat Kültür Dergisi*, no:5, 2015-1, 48-65.

³ There are descriptions related to Ottoman material culture such as clothing, utensils and food kinds in Julia Pardoe's travel account. In the third chapter, they will be given as footnotes. They will not be analyzed within the text because the main focus of the thesis is domestic interiors and material worlds of the Istanbul houses.

Ottoman society due to the lacuna in the secondary literature and this issue is beyond the scope of this thesis. In this thesis, the palace, which belongs to the dynasty member, is categorized as a royal house. The houses of administrative elites are classified as high-ranking elites' houses. The houses of the people doing commercial activities and some non-Muslim notables are also classified as upper middle class houses.

The second part of the last chapter probes into the architecture, interior designs, objects and furniture of their houses based on Miss Pardoe's descriptions and perspective. In this part, issues such as how she perceived Ottoman houses, how furniture and objects were arranged in these houses, how comfort and heating were provided during the age, how luxury was presented in an Ottoman house, how power was displayed through decorations and whether imported objects were available in these houses are discussed.

CHAPTER 1: OTTOMAN MATERIAL CULTURE: HISTORIOGRAPHY AND DEBATES

Material culture studies is an interdisciplinary field, so it can be defined in various ways. However, the term 'material culture' itself reveals that material things are integral parts of culture, and the dimension of social existence cannot be fully understood without materiality. The attribution of a cultural meaning to materials developed in the 1970s under the effect of the material-cultural turn. Material-cultural turn assigns a cultural meaning to objects rather than a structural or semiotic one. In this way, objects “frequently do some sort of cultural work related to representing the contours of culture, including matters of social difference, establishing social identity or managing social status.”⁴ It is an object-based branch of cultural history, which is based on the meaningfulness of the object and object-human relations.

Daniel Miller was the first to present a culture-based approach to material culture. The first sentence of his work *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (1997) starts with the claim that “the book sets out to investigate the relationship between society and material culture.”⁵ Moreover, he “mainly switches the frame of analysis from the economic realm of objectification, to the process of consumer objectification.”⁶ Arjun Appadurai, Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, focusing on the nature of commodity and consumption, have followed Miller. Appadurai's edited book *The Social Life of the Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (1992) deals with the relationship between objects and things and how people define themselves through things and how the exchange of commodities constitutes the cultural meaning of things.⁷ Appadurai concentrated on the political aspect of this process. In this regard, he tried to show how the value and exchange of commodities was managed by power, and how they became

⁴ Ian Woodward, *Understanding Material Culture* (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2007), 86-7.

⁵ Daniel Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption (Social Archeology)* (Oxford; New York: 1997), 3.

⁶ Ian Woodward, *Understanding Material Culture...*, 99.

⁷ Arjun Appadurai(ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 3.

the criteria of good taste and expertise. Douglas and Isherwood's study *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* (1996) is an attempt to “build a bridge between economics and anthropology.”⁸ Firstly, they focus on the economic aspects of consumption and criticize the restriction of consumption to purposes like physical welfare, material welfare and display. They urge to reader to “... forget the idea of consumer irrationality. Forget that commodities are good for eating, clothing and shelter; forget their usefulness and try instead the idea that commodities are good for thinking; treat them as a nonverbal medium for the human creative faculty.”⁹ Moreover, they contextualize consumption within the cultural and social process. In this context, “behaving as an economic agent means making rational choices”¹⁰ and goods become markers of rational choices. They present “most systematic treatment of nature of goods as cultural props.”¹¹ They assert that “goods are neutral, their uses are social; they can be used as fences or bridges.”¹² Therefore, goods or consumer objects help redefine social categories¹³, define social relations¹⁴ and assign a hierarchical value to things and people. Consumers do not only shop or satisfy their own needs, but they attribute meaning to the objects and affirm social relationships as well. Therefore, objects acquire emotional significance.

Ottoman historians followed the footsteps of consumption studies in Europe through exploring inventories of various kinds in this context. They dealt with consumption much earlier than material culture. Consumption in the Ottoman context can be “studied as an economic matter, socially embedded activity and demonstration of political power.”¹⁵ In this regard, Donald Quataert's edited volume *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922: An Introduction* (1999) was one of the first to compile several articles dealing with Ottoman consumption, such as “the rise of mass fashion dress, changing fashions in clothing, the trans-cultural significance of tulip consumption, the rise of print advertising, the use of food as a marker of elite status, and

⁸ Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods. Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* (Routledge, 1996), xxiv.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 40-1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, ix.

¹¹ Ian Woodward, “Sociology, Consumption and the Study of Material Culture,” in *Advances in Sociology Research*, vol. 2, ed. Leopold M. Stoneham (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2005), 92.

¹² Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods...*, xv.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 102.

¹⁵ Suraiya Faroqhi, “Research on the History of Ottoman Consumption: A Preliminary Exploration of Sources and Models,” in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922: An Introduction*, ed. Donald Quataert (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010), 22.

the emergence of photographs as a consumer commodity.”¹⁶ All these articles proved that consuming is not limited to economic phenomena, but is also related to the social and cultural realm by presenting “cultural preferences, project self-image, and compete for status.”¹⁷ Eminegül Karababa's studies that are based on Bursa probate inventories were mainly from a social-cultural perspective.¹⁸ She emphasized the involvement of various occupational and status groups to the consumption process through various ways and the inter-class mobility between these groups.

Concentrating on consumption in material culture studies has involved various issues relative to the history of objects and things in Europe since the 1970s. Research on European material culture has explored and discussed the phenomenon from the perspectives of archeology, anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, economy and history. However, academic research on Ottoman material culture began belatedly with a limited number of studies. It has been studied extensively only in the last few decades. European material culture, on the other hand, has been enjoying a numerous collections and their inventories to be explored. Historical objects displayed in museums, memoirs reflective of private domestic lives has attracted the attention of a large circle of academics, interested in cultural objects from early modern and modern European history. The rapid development of museology in Europe played an essential role in providing materials for the studies of material culture. Conversely, in the Ottoman context, objects or their visual representations did not survive as much. Given the limited number of visual materials, academic research has relied more on archival documents. The evasive descriptions of objects in archival documents and first-person narratives allow researchers in the field of Ottoman material culture to maintain their studies. The exploration of such documents promises to contribute to the expansion of the field.

Among many types of archival documents, dowry registers (*çeyiz defterleri*) of Ottoman-high- ranking women, is one of various inventories. They provide crucial information for Ottoman women's history. Selma Delibaş studied the dowry registers of

¹⁶ Donald Quataert, ed., *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922: An Introduction* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), Back page.

¹⁷ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Research on the History...*, 15.

¹⁸ Eminegül Karababa, “Investigating Early Modern Ottoman Consumer Culture in the Light of Bursa Probate Inventories,” *The Economic History Review* 65, no. 1 (2012): 194–219. Eminegül Karababa, “Origins of a Consumer Culture in an Early Modern Context: Ottoman Bursa,” (Unpublished Dissertation, Bilkent University, 2006).

an Ottoman princess named Behice Sultan, the daughter of Sultan Abdulmecid I.¹⁹ Hatice Aynur made a similar study of the dowry registers of another Ottoman princess, Saliha Sultan, the daughter of Mahmud II.²⁰ Besides the dowry registers, there are imperial kitchen registers (*Matbah-ı Amire defterleri*), which give information about the food, drinks, and utensils used in the Ottoman imperial kitchen.²¹

There are also Ottoman probate inventories, such as *kassam*, *tereke*, *muhallefat* or *metrukat* (inheritance registers and records) that can be used to study material culture. Ottomanists have mainly focused on *tereke*s, which shed light on the lives of high-ranking elites and give detailed information on their properties. The numbers of *tereke*s recorded were limited in the 16th and 17th centuries. Their numbers increased in the 18th century because many estates were confiscated by the Ottoman government and transferred to the state revenues. In the 1950s, Halil Inalcık and Lajos Fekete were the first historians to explore such inventories and use them as sources in their studies of the economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire. Inalcık specifically studied the estate inventories of Bursa and commercial textile production.²² Fekete examined the *tereke*s of an Ottoman Effendi who died in Buda in the late 16th century, giving a detailed analysis of the materials that belonged to him.²³

In the 1960s, Barkan studied the *tereke*s of Ottoman military men in Edirne from the mid-16th century to the 17th. He was interested in price history and unwillingly launched Ottoman material studies. When he was reading the cost registers (*masraf defterleri*) to understand the construction materials used and the total cost of construction and labor wages, he discovered the corpus of a book series revealing the data of the Süleymaniye Mosque.²⁴ Through studying the *mübayaat/muhasebe defterleri*, Barkan contributed to

¹⁹ Selma Delibaş, "Behice Sultan'ın Çeyizi Ve Muhallefatı," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık* 3 (1988): 63-104.

²⁰ Hatice Aynur, "II. Mahmud'un Kızı Saliha Sultan'ın Çehiz Defteri," *Journal of Turkish Studies: Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları: Festschrift in honor of Cem Dilçin I Hasibe Mazioglu Armağanı*, Duxburry 23 (1999): 65-85.

²¹ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "İstanbul Saraylarına Ait Muhasebe Defterleri," *Belgeler* IX/13 (1979): 1-380.

²² Halil İnalcık, "Osmanlı İdari, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihiyle İlgili Belgeler: Bursa Kadı Sicillerinden Seçmeler I: Köy Sicil ve Terekeleri," *Belgeler* X (1980-1): 1-91; Halil İnalcık, "Osmanlı İdari, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihiyle İlgili Belgeler: Bursa Kadı Sicillerinden Seçmeler II: Sicil: (1 Safar 883 – Muharram 886)," *Belgeler* XIII/17 (1988): 1-41; Halil İnalcık, "Osmanlı İdari, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihiyle İlgili Belgeler: Bursa Kadı Sicillerinden Seçmeler I: Köy Sicil ve Terekeleri," *Belgeler* XV /19 (1993) : 23- 167.

²³ Lajos Fekete "XV.Yüzyılda Taşralı Bir Türk Efendi Evi," *Belleten* XXIX. 115-6 (1965): 615-38, "Das Heim eines türkischen Herrn in der Provinz im XVI. Jahrhundert," *Studia Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 29/5, (1960): 3-30.

²⁴ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Süleymaniye Camii ve İmaretî Tesislerine Ait Yıllık Bir Muhasebe Bilançosu 993/994 (1585/1586)," *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vol.9 (1971): 109-161.

Ottoman economic history.²⁵ However, he did not analyze these, but published them only as primary sources. Based on the primary sources he published, new studies can be conducted on Ottoman material culture, focusing on how these objects were used, whom they belonged to, and what they tell us about the everyday lives of the Ottomans.

Academic research on Ottoman material culture expanded after the publications of Inalcık, Fekete and Barkan in the 1980s to include studies by a group of scholars who published the probate or confiscation inventories of pashas or high-ranking elites in the Ottoman Empire.²⁶ Yet the flow of such studies is the lack of analyses and interpretations of listed property holdings or confiscated wealth in the documents. One should also recognize the difficulty of defining, describing and interpreting the listed objects in documents, as they were either called by different names or do not exist in modern material life. The purposes of using material objects changed from time to time. Hence, the terminologies became even more complicated.²⁷

Other scholars studied the traditions, cultural codes, regulations and restrictions on dress in the Ottoman Empire. They highlighted how clothing reflects different segments of Ottoman society. Donald Quataert studied the clothing laws and regulations in the late Ottoman era in his article *Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829* (1997).²⁸ Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph Neumann co-edited a book,

²⁵ See; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Fatih Camii ve İmareti Tesislerinin 1489-1490 Yıllarına Ait Muhasebe Bilançoları," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 23 (1-2) (1962): 297-341; "Edirne ve Civarındaki Bazı İmareti Tesislerinin Yıllık Muhasebe Bilançoları," *Belgeler*, I (2) (1964): 235-377; "Süleymaniye Camii ve İmareti Tesislerine Ait Yıllık Bir Muhasebe Bilançosu 993/994 (1585/1586)," *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vol.9 (1971): 109-161.

²⁶ For some example, see; Kenan Yıldız, "Sanatkâr bir Devlet Adamından Geriye Kalanlar: Esad Muhlis Paşa'nın Terekesi," in *Yavuz Argıt Armağanı*, ed. Mustafa Birol Ülker (İstanbul: 2010), 209-64. Musa Çadrcı, "Hüseyin Avni Paşa'nın Terekesi," *Belgeler* XI.15 (1986): 145-64. Jülide Akyüz, "Osmanlı Ulemasından Üç Efendi'nin Terekeleri," *Akademik Araştırmalar Dergisi*, no: 36 (2008): 188-200. Musa Çadrcı, "Hüseyin Avni Paşa'nın Terekesi," *Belgeler* XI.15 (1986): 145-64. Mehmet Güneş, "Karahisâr-ı Sâhib A'yanı Molla-Zâde Hacı Ahmed Ağa'ya Ait Bir Tereke Defteri/ an Estate Register Belonging to the Ayan of Karahisar-ı Sahib, Molla-Zade Hacı Ahmed Aga," *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* (2006): 65-92. Orhan Kılıç, "Harputlu Hacı Osman'ın 1725 Tarihli Terekesi ve Düşündürdükleri," *Turkish Studies* 2.1 (Winter 2007): 17-28. Yuzo Nagat, "Karaosmanoğlu Hacı Hüseyin Ağa'ya bir Tereke Defteri," in *IX. Türk Tarih Kongresi* (21-25 Eylül 1981) (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989), 1055-62.

²⁷ Dictionaries and books were compiled and published in order to understand the terms used for certain materials. For instance, Reşad Ekrem Koçu published a dictionary, titled *Türk Giyim, Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, defining various Turkish clothing materials and terms in Turkish language.⁶ Reşat Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim, Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü* (Ankara: Başnur Matbaası, 1967). Mine Esiner Özer published the names of fabrics in Turkish in her *Türkçede Kumaş Adları*, while Şennur Şentürk wrote about the collections of embroideries with various visual sources in her edited book, *Kumaş: Yapı Kredi İşleme Koleksiyonundan Örnekler: Examples from the Yapı Kredi Collection of Embroider*. Priscilla Mary Işın wrote a book entitled *Osmanlı Mutfak Sözlüğü* (Ottoman Kitchen Dictionary) on the kitchen utensils used in different times and places of the Ottoman Empire, drawing extensively upon archival documents, memoirs, and travel accounts. Priscilla Mary Işın, *Osmanlı Mutfak Sözlüğü* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2010).

²⁸ Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29, no. 03 (August 1997): 403-25.

Ottoman Costumes. From Textile to Identity (2004) on Ottoman costumes, mirroring the hierarchical order of Ottoman society. In her introductory chapter, Faroqhi focuses on the questions of why and how to study Ottoman costumes. In the same book, Odile Blanc gives an extensive historiography of Ottoman costume; Hülya Tezcan and Neumann write about imperial clothing; Louise Mackie and Charlotte Jirousek explore cultural mediation of Western and Ottoman clothing; Madeline Zilfi discusses the gender aspect of Ottoman clothes, and Matthew Elliot analyses the identity problems of non-Muslim subjects of the empire.²⁹ Onur İnal discussed the interchanges of women's clothing between Britain and Ottoman states in Ottoman ports cities, referred to as “borderland” that were active meeting places for different cultures.³⁰ Betül İpşirli also wrote on how clothing styles mirrored different statuses, religious, and ethnic and class affiliations in her article *Clothing Habits and Regulations in the Ottoman Empire (1703-1839)* (2005).³¹ The quality of fabrics, for instance, reflected social status and differentiation among different segments of society. Donald Quataert argued that “possession of certain textile could mean middle-class status in one home, while in another time and place ownership of handmade ‘oriental rugs’ provide escape from the tedium of mechanizing, standardizing world.”³²

The edited book of Nurhan Atasoy was related to silk fabrics “that were among the most powerful and most characteristic artistic products of Ottoman Empire.”³³ In the book, silk was evaluated within the scope of “artistic medium”, “status symbol”, “economic treasury” and “diplomatic gifts”. The book was illustrated with fabrics from the Topkapı Palace. Hülya Tezcan also focused on Ottoman fabric (silk, woolen, cotton), weaving centers and types of weaves.³⁴ Sumru Belger Krody and Roderic Taylor were particularly interested in embroidered textiles, techniques of Ottoman embroidery and kinds and colors of fabrics.³⁵

²⁹ Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann, *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity* (Eren, 2004).

³⁰ Onur İnal, “Women’s Fashions in Transition: Ottoman Borderlands and the Anglo-Ottoman Exchange of Costumes,” *Journal of World History: Official Journal of the World History Association* 22, no. 2 (2011): 243–72.

³¹ Betül İpşirli Argit, “Clothing Habits, Regulations and Non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire,” *Journal of Academic Studies*, v. 6 (2005): 79-96.

³² Donald Quataert, *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922: An Introduction* (Albany: State University of New York Press., 2000), 2.

³³ Nurhan Atasoy et al., *İpek: The Crescent & The Rose: Imperial Ottoman Silks and Velvets*, eds. Julian Raby and Alison Effeny (London; New York, N.Y.: Azimuth Editions, 2002).

³⁴ Hülya Tezcan, *Atlaslar Atlası Pamuklu Yün ve İpek Kumaş Koleksiyonu/ Cotton, Wool and Silk: Fabrics Collection* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1993), Back Page.

³⁵ Sumru Belger Krody, *Flowers of Silk & Gold: Four Centuries of Ottoman Embroidery* (London: Merrell, 2000). Roderick Taylor, *Ottoman Embroidery* (New York: Interlink Publishing Group, 1993).

Another scholarly focus of Ottoman material culture studies is the utensils used in Ottoman kitchens; mainly the imperial kitchen, and in the kitchens of dervish lodges and middle and upper-class houses were explored. Given the fact that Istanbul was a huge commercial center, various food types and kitchen tools were available to imperial and upper and middle-class households where many festivals and ceremonies were organized. Narrative sources ranging from Tursun Bey's *Tarih-i Ebu'l-Feth* to Seyyit Vehbi's *Surname-i Vehbi* gave accounts of kitchen utensils in the imperial kitchen, such as Chinese porcelain bowls (*fağfur-i üsküre*) in which sorbets were served to guests during the circumcision ceremony for the sons of Sultan Mehmet II, Bayezid and Mustafa. Modern Ottoman historians have been interested in studying such materials used in the imperial kitchen through various Ottoman archival documents. Stefanos Yerasimos focuses on the kinds of food found on the imperial table and the table culture in the 16th and 17th centuries.³⁶ Marianna Yerasimos deals with various issues of Ottoman cuisine such as cooking methods, kinds of food, table etiquette, utensils, and cookhouses from the 15th century to the end of the state.³⁷ Similarly, Özge Samancı and Arif Bilgin also contributed studies to imperial kitchen studies.³⁸ Tülay Artan wrote on changing staples, luxuries and delicacies of the Ottoman elites in the 18th century.³⁹ Michael Roger's articles on plate and its substitutes is an inspiring work, which presents how to study utensils through archived inventories.⁴⁰ Algar contributed to the field with an interesting article, related to the preparation, serving and consumption of food in Mevlevi and Bektashi dervish lodges.⁴¹ The articles related to various issues in the Suraiya Faroqhi's and Christopher Nouman's edited book *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture* (2003) are also very

³⁶ Stefanos Yerasimos, *Sultan Sofraları: 15.ve16. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı* (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002). He uses the recipe book of Mehmed bin Mahmud Şirvani.

³⁷ Marianna Yerasimos, *500 Years of Ottoman Cuisine* (İstanbul: Boyut Yayınları, 2005).

³⁸ See; Özge Samancı and Arif Bilgin, *Türk Mutfağı* (Ankara:T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Geleneksel El Sanatları / Sanat Eserleri Dizisi, 2008). Özge Samancı, "Osmanlı Kültüründe Değişen Sofra Adabı: Alaturka-Alafranga İkilemi," *Toplumsal Tarih*, no.231 (2013): 22-28; "19. Yüzyıl İstanbul Elit Mutfağında Yeni Lezzetler," *İstanbul Dergisi, Tarih Vakfı, Üç Aylık Dergi*, No.:47 (October 2003): 71-74; "19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı," *Yemek ve Kültür, Çiya Yayınları*, no:4 (2006) :36-60, "19. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Osmanlı Saray ve İstanbul Mutfağında Et Tüketimi," *Yemek ve Kültür*, no.28 (2012).

³⁹ Tülay Artan, "Aspects of the Ottoman Elite's Food Consumption: Looking For 'Staples,' 'Luxuries,' And 'Delicacies' in a Changing Century," in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922: An Introduction*, ed. Donald Quataert, 107-200. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002): 107- 200.

⁴⁰ Michael Roger, "Plate and Its Substitutes in Ottoman Inventories" in *Pots and Pans*, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art, ed. Michael Vickers (Oxford University Press, 1986), 117-36.

⁴¹ Ayla Algar, "Food in the Life of the Tekke," in *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey*, ed. Raymond Lifchez, (University of California Press1992): 296-303.

crucial to understand food culture and history.⁴² Especially, the article of Establet and Pascual in the book provides crucial information on cooking equipment, exploring 450 inheritance inventories from Damascus.⁴³

Another way to study Ottoman material culture is to analyze the domestic interiors, home furnishings and objects in Ottoman houses. The scholarly interest in Ottoman houses began in the department of architecture at Istanbul Technical University in the second part of 20th century. Architectural historians mainly approached Ottoman houses with a focus on architectural typology and terminology.⁴⁴

Sedad Hakkı Eldem compiled the plans of still extant houses in the Balkans, Anatolia and Istanbul.⁴⁵ According to the locations of the *sofa* (a hall or hallway), Ottoman houses were classified in four categories as “the plan without a *sofa*”, “the plan with an outer/ open *sofa*”, “the plan with an inner *sofa*” and “the plan with a central *sofa*.”⁴⁶ Not only did he focus on their architecture, but he also analyzed the roots of these houses and their relation to Turkish culture and art. Cengiz Bektaş also defined houses according to the locations of the *sofa*.⁴⁷ His main thesis was that the architectural designs of Ottoman houses were based on their functionalities. Doğan Kuban highlighted the *sofa* on the upper floor of the houses (later called *hayat*) as a dominant element of the Turkish architecture.⁴⁸ In time, open *hayat* was enclosed and became a center hall of the houses. Önder Küçükerman took rooms as the base of Ottoman houses and explored the role of rooms in the spatial organization of the house in his works.⁴⁹

The researches of architectural historians on the dwellings in Ottoman towns were mainly based on houses that were still extant. These houses were generally constructed

⁴² Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (eds.), *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture* (Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag GmbH, 2003).

⁴³ Collette Establet and Jean Paul Pascual, “Cups, plates and kitchenware in late seventeenth-and early eighteenth-century Damascus,” in *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture*, eds. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag GmbH, 2003), 185-197.

⁴⁴ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Research on the History of Ottoman Consumption...*, 15-44.

⁴⁵ Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri* (İstanbul: İTÜ, Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 1954).

⁴⁶ Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Turkish Houses Ottoman Period*, vol.1-2 (Türkiye Anıt Çevre Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı, 1984).

⁴⁷ Cengiz Bektaş, *Türk Evi* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996).

⁴⁸ Doğan Kuban, *The Turkish Hayat House* (İstanbul: Eren, 1995).

⁴⁹ Önder Küçükerman, *Anadolu Mirasında Türk Evleri* (İstanbul: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1995); *Kendi Mekanının Arayışı İçinde Türk Evi (Turkish House in Search of Spatial Identity)* (İstanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1988).

in the late 19th and early 20th centuries with the exceptions of Çakırağa Konağı of Birgi⁵⁰, Gübgüboğlu Konağı of Kayseri⁵¹ and some houses in Divriği.⁵² In these studies, historians mainly analyzed the characteristics of the interior and exterior architecture, plan types, local materials and ornaments to reveal the general house structure in a certain town. Although they presented the regional variety of vernacular architecture of houses in terms of the cultural and climatic differences,⁵³ they mainly analyzed these houses as examples of “Turkish” houses rather than highlighting differences. Yüksel Sayan studied the main characteristics of Uşak houses through eleven remaining houses in the region that were constructed in the late 19th century and 20th century.⁵⁴ Necibe Çakıroğlu, Vacit İmamoğlu and Gonca Büyükmihçi did research on Kayseri houses. Çakıroğlu’s thesis presented architectural drawings and building details of four Kayseri houses.⁵⁵ İmamoğlu focused on twelve traditional Kayseri dwellings and discussed the general characteristics of the architectural culture in the region.⁵⁶ He also “explained how people lived, what hardships they faced in their daily life, what attitudes they had and which values they wanted to keep in their dwellings.”⁵⁷ In addition, he analyzed how luxury, heating, decoration and lighting were provided in these houses. Büyükmihçi categorized Kayseri houses as Armenian and Muslim houses and compared them to each other.⁵⁸ Burhan Bilget and Celile Berk studied Konya houses in terms of their architectural styles, materials and decoration through several extant examples.⁵⁹ Mehmet Ali Esmer focused on thirteen houses in Avanos and analyzed their characteristics in terms of material and decoration.⁶⁰

⁵⁰ Doğan Kuban, *The Turkish Hayat Houses...*, 62. Sedat Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri...*, 71-72.

⁵¹ Necibe Çakıroğlu, “Kayseri Evleri” (PhD diss, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 1952). The construction of the mansion was started in 1519, but its present state was around 18th century.

⁵² Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Divriği’de Ev Mimarisi* (Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınlar, 1978).

⁵³ The reason of regional differences first analyzed by Albert Gabriel as climate and material in his article. (Albert Gabriel, “Türk Evi,” *Arkitekt Dergisi*, no: 5-6 (1938): 149-154.) The role of culture was mainly emphasized by Amos Rapoport. (Amos Rapoport, *House Form and Culture* (London: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969).) These issues were later debated by architectural historians.

⁵⁴ Yüksel Sayan, *Uşak Evleri* (T.C Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1987).

⁵⁵ Necibe Çakıroğlu, *Kayseri Evleri...*

⁵⁶ Vacit İmamoğlu, *Geleneksel Kayseri Evleri / Traditional dwellings in Kayseri* (Ankara: Türkiye Halk Bankası, 1992).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 205.

⁵⁸ Gonca Büyükmihçi, *Kayseri’de Yaşam ve Konut Kültürü* (Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005).

⁵⁹ Burhan Bilget, *Sivas Evleri* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1992). Celile Berk. “Konya Evleri” (PhD diss., İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 1950).

⁶⁰ Mehmet Ali Esmer, *Avanos’un Eski Türk Evleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992). Apart from the books, there are many many articles related to Anatolian houses. For instance; Mahmut Akok, “Çorum’un Eski Evleri,” *Arkitekt*, XXII/7-8 (1951):171-189; “Trabzon’un Eski Evleri,” *Arkitekt* XX (1951): 233-35; “Çankırı’nın Eski Evleri,” *Arkitekt* XXII/ 7-8 (1953): 142-153. Işık Aksulu, “Beypazarı Evleri,” *İlgi*, no:41 (1985): 18-23. Baha Apak, “Safranbolu Evleri,” *Türkiyemiz*, no: 52 (1990): 22-23. Bülent Çetinor, “Diyarbakır Evleri,” *İlgi*, no:32 (1981):15-20. Gökçe Günel, “Çorum’un Tarihi Evleri,” *Kültür*, no: 160 (1983): 15-31. Mustafa İncesakal, “Kayseri Evleri,” *Türk Halk Mimarisi Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (1991): 97-114.

Architectural historian Ayda Arel brought a critical perspective to previous literature and emphasized the role of social values and culture on the spatial organization of Turkish houses.⁶¹ Also in her studies in Western Anatolia, specifically in the Aydın region and the architectural patronage of the Cihanoğulları, a provincial dynasty in Aydın, she brought a new perspective to studies on Ottoman provincial housing.⁶² She claimed that Cihanoğulları had fostered a new architectural style by combining gothic and baroque elements, which she characterized as “family style”. Her emphasis on the role of magnates on architecture was crucial for further researches.

Social historians have different approaches from architectural historians to Turkish/Ottoman dwellings.⁶³ Suraiya Faroqhi remarked that “the question of survival does not have the central importance that it possesses for architectural historians.”⁶⁴ Hence historians conducted research on non-extant domestic architecture mainly through archival documents of various kinds. In this regard, Faroqhi examined 16th and 17th century *kadı* registers and discussed Ankara and Kayseri houses.⁶⁵ She explored social and functional aspects of houses located in these regions and the house-owners; properties of houses; and the social and economic structure of the towns. Stephane Yerasimos discussed the social meanings of the technical terms that were used for houses in the 16th century, exploring the vakıf registers of 1546, 1580, and 1596.⁶⁶ Tülay Artan studied waterfront palaces of the 18th century Bosphorous mainly from the *kadı* registers of Yeniköy.⁶⁷ She was interested in “rebuilding” these structures as a

⁶¹ Ayda Arel, *Osmanlı Konut Geleneğinde Tarihsel Sorunlar* (İzmir: Ticaret Matbaacılık, 1982).

⁶² Ayla Arel, “Belgesel İçerikli Bir Yapı: Cihanoğlu Mehmet Ağa Camii,” *Müze-Museum*, 4, Ankara, 1990–1; “Cincin Köyünde Cihanoğulları’na Ait Yapılar,” in *V. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, Ankara, 1987, 1-88, figs 1-62; “Aydın ve Yöresinde Bir Âyan Ailesi ve Mimarlık: Cihanoğulları,” in *Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e: Problemler, Araştırmalar, Tartışmalar. I. Uluslararası Tarih Kongresi*, (Ankara: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları): 184-221; “Ege Bölgesi Ayânlık Dönemi Mimarisi: 1986–1991 Çalışmaları,” in *X. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, Ankara, 1993.

⁶³ Suraiya Faroqhi, “Controversies and Contradiction: The Turkish (or Ottoman) Houses,” *Turcica* 45 (2014): 321-354.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 337.

⁶⁵ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance: House Owners and House Property in Seventeenth-Century Ankara and Kayseri* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁶⁶ Stephane Yerasimos, “Dwellings in Sixteenth Century Istanbul,” in *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture*, eds. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann, (Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag GmbH, 2003), 275-300.

⁶⁷ Tülay Artan, “Architecture as a theatre of life: profile of eighteenth century Bosphorous” (unpublished PhD diss., MIT, 1989). Waterfront palaces are one of crucial issue. Tülay Artan first evaluated this issue from socio-cultural perspective in her thesis. She also has another study on waterfront palaces at Eyüp region. (Tülay Artan, “Eyüp’ün Bir Diğer Çehresi: Sayfiye ve Sahilsarayları (Another Face of Eyüp: Villeggiatura and waterfront Palaces),” in *Eyüp: Dün/ Bugün Sempozyumu Bildirileri 11-12 Aralık 1993*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994), 106-115.) Historian Nurhan Atasoy also studied on a waterfront palace: “Nurhan Atasoy, *Boğaziçi’de bir Yalı’nın Hikayesi: Kont Ostrorog’dan Rahmi M.Koç’a* (İstanbul: Rahmi Koç Müzecilik ve Kültür Vakfı, 2004). Emel Sayın wrote on Sadullah Paşa Yalısı. (Emel Esin, Sadullah Paşa ve Yalısı: Bir Yapı, Bir Yaşam (İstanbul: Yem Yayınları, 2008).

“historical narrative” within a socio-historical framework because the 18th century waterfront palace did not survive until today.⁶⁸ By focusing on the notion of *göç*, she for the first time considered the other faces (*villeggiatura*) of the Bosphorous and the Golden Horn. She has also published articles on vizieral palaces based on archival documents, maps and various visual sources.⁶⁹

Another historian, Nurhan Atasoy, focused on the palace of grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha that was the only surviving palace of the grand vizier.⁷⁰ She did not only focus on extant parts of the palace, but also analyzed visual materials (mainly miniatures) and written documents. Gökçen Akgün Özkaya recently published work mainly includes quantitative and statistical analyses from data obtained in the *Ahkam* registers in Istanbul from between 1742 and 1764.⁷¹ She focused on the functioning of the *istibdal* system and the architecture, comfort and privacy of Ottoman houses.

Rather than having a statistical approach to architectural typology and terminology, social historians chose to explore historical changes and transformations in civil architecture. Tülay Artan analyzes “the emergence of a new pattern of settlement along the Bosphorus” by the effect of “gradual transformation in social structure” in the 18th and 19th centuries.⁷² She also studied palaces in “close proximity to the Imperial Palace from the 1630s to 1730s” and demonstrated that grand vizieral palaces have always changed hands from one dignitary to another so their names and appearances have changed.⁷³ In this way, it was shown that “Ottoman residences were not permanently fixed points in the cityscape.”⁷⁴

The thesis of Ayşe Kaplan was also related to the waterfront palaces. (Ayşe Kaplan, “From Seasonal to Permanent: A Study on the Effects of Göç Tradition on the Bosphorus Shores 1791-1815”) (MA Thesis, İstanbul Bilgi University, 2012).

⁶⁸ Tülay Artan, *Architecture as a theatre of life...*, 4.

⁶⁹ Tülay Artan, “The Kadırga Palace Shrouded by the Mists of Time,” *Turcica* XXI (1994): 55-124; “The Kadırga Palace: An Architectural Construction,” *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 201-211.

⁷⁰ Nurhan Atasoy, *Ibrahim Pasa Sarayı* (T.C Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2013).

⁷¹ H.Gökçen Akgün Özkaya, *18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Evler: Mimarlık, Rant, Konfor, Mahremiyet* (İstanbul:İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2015).

⁷² Tülay Artan, “Early 20th Century Maps and 18th-19th Century Court Records : Sources for a Combined Reconstruction of Urban Continuity on the Bosphorus,” *Environmental Design : Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Center* , n.13-14/1993 (Proceedings of the Symposium "La città Islamica attraverso i catasti.Strumenti per la ricostruzione del processo tipologica", 5-7 July 1991), ed. Attilio Petrocelli, (Roma, 1996), 110.

⁷³ Tülay Artan, “The Making of Sublime Porte Near the Alay Köşkü and a Tour of a Grand Vizieral Palaces at Süleymaniye,” *Turcica* 43 (2011): 145-206. Tülay Artan, “Ayverdi’nin 19. asırda İstanbul Haritası: Ağa Kapusu ve Civarı, 1650-1750,” in *Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi'nin Hatırasına: Osmanlı Mimarlık Kültürü*, eds. Hatice Aynur and Hilal Uğurlu, (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Yayınları, 2016): 117-154.

⁷⁴ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Controversies and Contradiction...*, 324.

Social historians also approach Ottoman housing from socio-political viewpoint. Tülay Artan analyzes the role of architectural patronage on the transformation of architecture, changing power relations and the issue of political legitimization.⁷⁵ She highlighted the 18th century architectural patronage of the royal women in her PhD thesis⁷⁶ and later explored this issue in a series of articles.⁷⁷ She presented the early 18th century was a new phase for Ottoman princesses because they began to gain independence from the circle of imperial power and pursued independent lives in their households. As indicated by her, “the freedom and privileges these royal ladies enjoyed were best symbolized by novel architecture they patronized on the shore of the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus.”⁷⁸ This was a change in terms of shifting political power from male members of the imperial family to its female members. Lucienne Thys-Senocak also focused the patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan and analyzed how “she expressed her political authority and religious piety through the works of architecture she commissioned.”⁷⁹

Tülay Artan pointed out the shift of architectural patronage from the sultan to the Ottoman elite, mainly certain families in both the capital and provinces in the late 17th century.⁸⁰ She claimed that patrons and builders had an important role in changing of architectural styles by searching “something new and different” in the 18th century as an alternative to the classical Ottoman architectural style.⁸¹ Rather than explaining the role of Westernization on the architectural transformations in the 18th century, she

⁷⁵ Tülay Artan, “Periods and Problems of Ottoman (Women's) Patronage on the Via Egnatia,” in *Via Egnatia Under Ottoman Rule, 1380-1699* (Halcyon Days in Crete II. A Symposium Held in Rethymnon, 9-11 January 2000), ed. Elizabeth Zacharidou, (Rethymnon, 1996), 19-20. She indicated that “Initially, I was attracted to *sultanefendis*’ waterfront palaces on the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus purely as a process of architectural history. Then, I came to see that building activity as running parallel to the emergence of new and enhanced political role for these royal women.” (19-20)

⁷⁶ Tülay Artan, *Architecture as a theatre of life...*, 73-91.

⁷⁷ Tülay Artan, “From Charismatic Leadership to Collective Rule: Gender Problem of Legalism and Political Legitimization in the Ottoman Empire,” in *Histoire économique et sociale de l’Empire ottoman et de la Turquie (1326-1960)*, ed. Daniel Panzac, (Peeters, 1995), Tülay Artan, “From Charismatic Leadership to Collective Rule: Introducing Materials on the Wealth and Power of Ottoman Princesses in the Eighteenth Century,” *Toplum ve Ekonomi* 4 (1993): 53- 92. “Periods and Problems of Ottoman (Women's) Patronage on the Via Egnatia,” in *Via Egnatia Under Ottoman Rule, 1380-1699* (Halcyon Days in Crete II. A Symposium Held in Rethymnon, 9-11 January 2000), ed. Elizabeth Zacharidou, (Rethymnon, 1996), 19-43.

⁷⁸ Tülay Artan, *From Charismatic Leadership to Collective Rule...*, 575.

⁷⁹ Lucienne Thys-Senocak, *Ottoman Women Builders: The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan* (Aldershot, England ; Burlington, VT: Routledge, 2007), Back Page.

⁸⁰ Tülay Artan, “Art and Architecture,” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey, vol 3, The Later Ottoman Empire*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi, (Cambridge: Cambridge university Press, 2006), 55-124. Also see, Tülay Artan, “18. Yüzyılın Başlarında Yönetici Elitin Saltanatın Meşruiyet Arayışına Katılımı,” *Toplum ve Bilim*, vol: 83 (1999): 292-322.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 446.

highlighted “the creativity of Ottoman builders and patrons” and “the developments of new elements and combination of motifs.”⁸²

The post-Tanzimat era has been discussed through the history of houses, namely, the interpretations of Ottoman architectural styles and their relation to Westernization and modernization. Emre Yalçın study of a particular mansion in Balat in his article entitled *Pastırmacı Yokuşu No: 7, Balat-Istanbul: The Story of a Mansion during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, is an illustrating case* (2003).⁸³ Yalçın explores the water system and the physical characteristic of the mansion which belonged to his family. Carel Bertram discussed housing within the context of social and political ideologies of the late 19th and 20th century.⁸⁴ She was mainly interested in the concept of the home in Turkish memory and imagination and its role in shaping personal and national identities.

With the material-cultural turn, scholars began to study material culture of domestic interiors, public and private spaces, comfort and luxuries, lighting and heating.⁸⁵ Ottoman historians now study domestic material culture more systematically. Fatih Bozkurt in his PhD thesis *Tereke Defterleri ve Osmanlı Maddi Kültürünün Değişimi (1785-1875 İstanbul Örneği)* (2011) explored architectural styles and interiors of Ottoman houses mainly from a material cultural perspective.⁸⁶ His analysis was based on the *tereke* registers in the capital from between 1785 and 1875. One of the aims of

⁸² Ibid., 480.

⁸³ Emre Yalçın, “Pastırmacı Yokuşu No: 7, Balat-Istanbul: The Story of a Mansion during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,” in *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture*, eds. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann, (Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag GmbH, 2003), 237- 275.

⁸⁴ Carel Bertram, *Imagining the Turkish House: Collective Visions of Home* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008).

⁸⁵ See; Richard Thornton, *Seventeenth Century Interior Decoration in England, France and Holland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981). Raffaella Sarti, *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture, 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002). Margaret Ponsoyby, *Stories from Home: English Domestic Interiors, 1750-1850* (England: Ashgate Publishing, 2006). Sandra Cavallo and Silvia Evangelisti, *Domestic Institutional Interiors in Early Modern Europe* (England: Ashgate Publishing, 2009). See about objects in home; S. Chevalier, “From Woollen Carpet to Grass Carpet: Bridging House and Garden in an English Suburb,” in *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter*, ed. Daniel Miller (London: University College London Press, 1997), 47–72. Sophie Sarin, “The Floorcloth and Other Floor Coverings in the London Domestic Interior 1700-1800,” *Journal of Design History* 18, no. 2 (June 1, 2005): 133–45. Behrang Nabavi Nejad, “The Meaning of Oriental Carpets in the Early Modern Domestic Interior: The Case of Lorenzo Lotto’s Portrait of a Married Couple,” *ARTiculate* 1, no. 1 (February 22, 2012): 4–18. The great interest raised various issues about material culture in home like “the intricacies of material culture : Inga Bryden and Janet Floyd(eds.), *Domestic Space: Reading the Nineteenth-Century Interior* (Manchester, New York; New York: Manchester University Press, 1999). The details of both provisioning of furniture: Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley u.a.: University of California Press, 1998) and the influences of states and commercial bodies on home interiors: Victor Buchli, *An Archaeology of Socialism* (Oxford: Berg 3PL, 2000). Sharon Zukin, *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2014).

⁸⁶ Fatih Bozkurt, “Tereke Defterleri ve Osmanlı Maddi Kültürünün Değişimi (1785-1875 İstanbul Örneği)” (PhD Sakarya University, 2011).

this study was to determine whether Ottoman houses were Westernized by the first part of the 19th century. He took issue with Müge Göçek's claim in her book, *Rise of Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (1996).⁸⁷ She studied 124 *tereke* registers from between 1705 and 1809 and argued for the increasing Westernization of Ottoman interiors, mainly due to the presence of Western furniture (tables, chairs, chests, drawers and beds) found in these registers.⁸⁸ Bozkurt criticized Göçek's argument because she did not provide information on the *tereke* owners, on the registers in which *inventories* were recorded, and the terms used to identify objects in *tereke*s that she defined as 'western'.⁸⁹ Such omissions cast doubt upon the reliability of Göçek's arguments. Moreover, Bozkurt's research on *tereke*s contradicted Göçek's numeric data regarding the western objects in the 124 *tereke*s in question. Therefore, Bozkurt, based on the *tereke* registers he studied, argued that the number of western pieces of furniture were very limited in Ottoman houses at the beginning of the 19th century. He claimed that the Westernization of the typical Ottoman house could not be dated to the first but to the second part of the 19th century.⁹⁰

A few Ottoman historians studied furniture and decorative objects as part of Ottoman material culture studies as well. Artan discussed changing lifestyles, living standards and aesthetic taste in the 18th century through probate inventories and other archival sources.⁹¹ She focused on Chinese ceramics and European porcelains in Topkapı Palace and the collections of two princesses, Hadice Sultan the Elder (1658–1743) and her grand-niece Hadice Sultan the Younger (1768–1822).⁹² Feryal İrez examined furniture styles of the 19th century through studying Dolmabahçe Palace, Beylerbeyi Palace and the Yıldız Palace-Lale Pavilion.⁹³ These studies are enriched by visual material. They present various networks and cross-cultural relations between Ottoman lands and the rest of the world.

⁸⁷ Fatma Muge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 106-7.

⁸⁹ Fatih Bozkurt, *Tereke Defterleri...*, 258-9.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 257.

⁹¹ Tülay, Artan, "Terekeler Işığında 18. Yüzyıl Ortasında Eyüp'te Yaşam Tarzı ve Standartlarına Bir Bakış, Orta Halliliğin Aynası" in *18. Yüzyıl Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Eyüp'te Sosyal Yaşam*, ed. Tülay Artan, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), 49-64.

⁹² Tülay Artan, "18th century Ottoman princesses as collectors: Chinese and European porcelains in the Topkapı Palace Museum," *Ars Orientalis* (Globalizing Cultures: Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century), Vol.39 (2011): 113-146. Julian Raby and Ünsal Yücel studied Chinese porcelain collections at the Topkapı Palace: Julian Raby and Ünsal Yücel, "Chinese Porcelain at the Ottoman Court" in *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul*, Regina Krahl et al. (London : New York, NY: Philip Wilson Publishers Ltd, 1986), 27-9.

⁹³ Feryal İrez, *XIX. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Saray Mobilyası* (Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1989).

1.1. Global Material Culture

Disciplines dealing with material culture from the perspective of cultural turns since the 1980s now seem to be shifting to a perspective of trans-cultural and global turns. In these debates, scholars are mainly taken issue cultural transfer and exchange. Peter Burke claims that cultural transfer does not explain acculturation adequately, because it refers to one direction in the process, so he introduced a new concept: ‘cultural exchanges’.⁹⁴ He mainly argues, “ideas, information, artifacts and practices are not simply adopted but on the contrary, they are adapted to their new cultural environment. They are first decontextualized and then recontextualized, domesticated or ‘localized’.”⁹⁵ Werner and Benedict Zimmerman’s new concept, “*historie croisee*” that mainly focus on the historical process of local and global interactions, influenced Burke’s approach.⁹⁶ “*Historie croisee* examines multilateral entanglements that occur in a temporal and spatial framework where many actors interact together on different levels, in different directions.”⁹⁷

The trans-cultural and global turn presents the connection of different narratives and histories and their global dimensions. Gerritsen and Riello explain this framework as follows: “this global turn meant that historians began to see objects as part of the wider stories that crossed the geographical and chronological zones.”⁹⁸ However, it is crucial to emphasize that globalization “does not abolish either cultural or the peculiarities of civilization developments of this or that region.”⁹⁹ Therefore, it led to a global perspective in addition to a local one and so broadens the view of material-culture studies. Indeed, material-culture studies should take into consideration both global homogeneity and local differentiation, because the “history of material culture is one of

⁹⁴ Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

⁹⁵ Peter Burke, “Translating, Knowledge, Translating Culture” in Michael North (ed.), *Kultureller Austausch in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Köln-Weimar-Wein, 2009), 1.

⁹⁶ Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, “Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity,” *History and Theory* 45, no. 1 (February 1, 2006): 30–50.

⁹⁷ Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Michael North, “Introduction – Artistic and Cultural Exchange between Europe and Asia, 1400-1900: Rethinking Markets, Workshops and Collections,” in *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400-1900: Rethinking Markets, Workshops and Collections*, ed. Michael North (Farnham, Surrey, England ; Burlington, VT: Routledge, 2010).

⁹⁸ Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, *The Global Lives of Things: The Material Culture of Connections in the Early Modern World* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 13.

⁹⁹ Leonid E. Grinin, Ilya V. Ilyin, and Andrey V. Korotayev (eds), *Globalistics and Globalization Studies* (Volgograd: Uchitel Publishing House, 2012), 120.

the most productive areas in which to develop intersecting narratives of the past, some of them local and comparative, others cross-cultural, transnational, and global.”¹⁰⁰

A good example of a book with a global approach to material culture is Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello's book *The Global Lives of Things: The Material Culture of Connections in the Early Modern World* (2016). The main aim of the book is to “make a contribution to a new field, where global and material culture intersect.”¹⁰¹ Global material culture is identified as a new field, because the social lives of things that were mainly emphasized by Miller's *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (1987) and Appadurai's *The Social Life of Things* (1986) is now shifted to the global lives of things. These studies focus on the material exchange between Europe, Asia, the Americas and Australia and analyze their role in the global connections in the period from 1400 to 1800. They argue that “material objects mediated between the forces of global economic exchange and the constantly changing identities of individuals, as they were drawn into global circuits.”¹⁰² The transformation and transfer of identities through objects and things is debated by Shelley Hales and Tamar Hodos in their books *Material Culture and Social Identities in the Ancient World* (2014) from the perspective of “the model of globalization” and “theories of hybrid cultural developments”. The articles examine both local and global identity structures of early civilizations -Greeks, Romans, Etruscans, Persians, Phoenicians, and Celts- and their role shaping Greek and Roman culture through cultural interactions. Adshead contributes to the field in a more specific context in his book *Material Culture in Europe and China, 1400–1800: The Rise of Consumerism* (2014). In his book, he concentrates on the “diffusion of goods, taste and techniques across culture, particularly from China to Europe.”¹⁰³

The evaluation of objects and things in both local and global contexts is crucial for the thesis because the travelers must be understood both in local and global frameworks. They “leave home and return, enacting differently centered world, interconnected cosmopolitanism.”¹⁰⁴ Therefore, they were not the same as when they started their

¹⁰⁰ Paula Findlen, ed., *Early Modern Things: Objects and Their Histories, 1500-1800* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 6.

¹⁰¹ Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, *The Global Lives...*, 23.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, i.

¹⁰³ S. A. M. Adshead, *Material Culture in Europe and China, 1400-1800: The Rise of Consumerism* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

¹⁰⁴ Jonathan Lamb, Vanessa Smith, and Nicholas Thomas, eds., *Exploration and Exchange: A South Seas Anthology, 1680-1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), xiii.

travel. Their cultural specificity melted in time and harmonized with other culture, even though they often did not fully realize it. They brought their views, sensibilities and background to other culture and formed a new perspective through their experiences. Therefore, it is crucial to focus on life of travelers in order to comprehend their writings and observations about traveled lands. In this regard, Julia Pardoe's writings from the perspective of material culture are hard to analyze without understanding background and sensibilities of her.

CHAPTER 2: JULIA PARDOE: A NEW PERSPECTIVE TO THE OTTOMAN WORLD

This thesis focuses on the material culture in the Ottoman houses through Julia Pardoe's writings of her travel to the imperial capital, Istanbul. One should recognize that travel accounts cannot be understood apart from the life of the writer. Rather, as Tim Young contends, "it is influenced, if not determined, by its' author's gender, class, age, nationality, cultural background and education."¹⁰⁵

I argue that it is crucial to grasp Pardoe's life in order to understand her travelogue and observations on Ottoman material culture of the early 19th century. Travel experience and writing was transformed in the 19th century, especially by women travelers. Their critical approach to the common views and prejudices of previous travelers provided a change of their experience with and account of the Orient. They constructed a new perspective and a new discourse in their writings perhaps because of their middle class and Victorian sensibilities. It is crucial to focus on the emergence of 19th century new travel writings because it helps to explain Pardoe's attraction to Ottoman houses as a way of understanding society, evaluating it as a feminine experience of daily life. Moreover, her account cannot be completely understood without examining the developments in the Ottoman State at the time of her visit. To sum up, in this part of the thesis, I will focus on Pardoe's life and character, the emergence of new travel writings in 19th century Europe aiming to transcend the boundaries of Orientalist literature and reconstruct a new perspective, and the transformation of the Ottoman world through Mahmud II's reforms. In doing so, I will draw upon travel accounts, letters, novels, journals and secondary sources.

¹⁰⁵ Tim Youngs, ed., *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century: Filling the Blank Spaces* (London; New York: Anthem Press, 2006), 2.

2.1. Pardoe's Life between Europe and The Ottoman Empire

Julia Pardoe was the second daughter of Elizabeth and Major Thomas Pardoe.¹⁰⁶ Her birth date is debated among scholars. Anita Gorman argues that although 1806 was accepted as the year of her birth, baptismal records from Saint John parish in Beverley, Yorkshire, confirmed that the date of baptism was 4 December 1804.¹⁰⁷ However, Gorman did not provide any reference to the information she gave. I found out that according to the website of St. John Baptisms Records at the Beverley Genealogical Records, Pardoe was baptized in 1805.¹⁰⁸ Given that there is a controversy over her birth date, other dates given in her biographies remain unreliable. Pardoe's father, Thomas Pardoe, was of Spanish origin.¹⁰⁹ He had a very successful career as an officer in the British army. Since he served at the Royal Wagon Train, he gained the confidence of the British state. He was granted the right to attend the Peninsular Campaign and took part at the battle of Waterloo.¹¹⁰

Pardoe was raised in an educated middle-class family. "In the early and mid-Victorian periods, the majority of middle-class girls received all or most of their education at home."¹¹¹ Therefore she most probably took private lessons at home. Her father's high-ranking status among the English elite certainly gave Pardoe an opportunity to mingle intellectual circles. There is no exact information about how she received her education but her contemporaries mentioned in their memoirs her interest in English literature. She wrote her first poetry book before she reached puberty. She dedicated a poem to her uncle, Captain William Pardoe. Later in 1829 she wrote a historical novel *Lord Morcar of Hereward: A Romance of the Times of William the Conqueror*. In the early 1830s, Pardoe wrote her first travel book *Traits and Traditions of Portugal: Collected During a Residence in That Country* about her fifteen-month stay in Portugal. Since she suffered

¹⁰⁶ Her full name was Julia Sophia Pardoe but she was commonly known as Julia Pardoe. In her books, she also wrote her name as Miss Pardoe, probably she did not prefer to use her second name. Therefore, her name was written as Julia Pardoe in the thesis.

¹⁰⁷ Anita Gorman, "Julia Pardoe (1804-26 November 1862)," in *Dictionary of Literary Biography: British Travel Writers 1837-1875 Victorian Period* (Detroit, MI: Gale, 1996), 294-298.

¹⁰⁸ See Beverley Birth and Baptism Records, accessed Feb. 26, 2016, <http://forebears.io/england/yorkshire/beverley> and Julia Pardoe's record: http://search.findmypast.co.uk/results/world-records/yorkshire-bishops-transcripts-of-baptisms?firstname=julia&firstname_variants=true&lastname=pardoe&lastname_variants=true

¹⁰⁹ Elizabeth Lee, "Julia Pardoe," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol: XLIII, ed. Sidney Lee, (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1895), 201.

¹¹⁰ Miss Pardoe, *The Court and Reign of Francis the First, King of France* (New York: J. Pott, 1887), xiii.

¹¹¹ Deborah Gorham, *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal* (Routledge, 2014), 20.

from the symptoms of tuberculosis in Britain, Pardoe's family had decided to move to a warmer climate.¹¹² This trip was a turning point in her life as it opened a way to observe different local cultures. In her book, Pardoe wrote about the customs and manners of the region and interpreted them from her own perspective. Her writing was praised by many contemporary magazines, as she was able to satisfy the Victorian thirst for travelogues and for tales of romance, violence, and intrigue.¹¹³ One of the British magazines titled *Fraser's Magazine* described the book as the best of the season.¹¹⁴

Pardoe's second other long-distance travel was to the imperial capital of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul. Her father was appointed to an official mission in Istanbul. Pardoe accompanied her father, arrived in Istanbul on 30 December 1835 and stayed there for nine months.¹¹⁵ In 1837, she published her book *The City of the Sultan; and Domestic Manners of the Turks, in 1836* about her experiences and observations in Istanbul. Maybe due to her sadness for leaving her mother behind for the first time, she dedicated the book to her.¹¹⁶ The publisher was Henry-Colburn Press, one of the leading publishers of the time. As the audience enjoyed Pardoe's writings on Istanbul, the book was reprinted in 1838, 1845 and 1854.¹¹⁷ *The City of the Sultan; and the Domestic Manners of the Turks, in 1836* was a very valuable source due to the detailed description of the daily life and material cultures of the Ottoman interiors. The adaption to Ottoman society and enlargement of her social circle could be related to her relatively long-term stay in Istanbul.¹¹⁸ She spent her whole time in Istanbul, although their plans included visits to Greece and Egypt. She explained the reason for changing her travel plan as: "I could not prove an honest chronicler if I merely contented myself with a hurried and superficial survey of a country constituted like Turkey."¹¹⁹ Therefore, she did not live only as a short term visitor but chose to become part of the community.

¹¹² Pardoe, *The Court and Reign of Francis...*, xiii.

¹¹³ Gorman, "Julia Pardoe (1804-26 November 1862)," 295.

¹¹⁴ "Book Review: The City of The Magyar," in *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, vol:23, (James Fraser, 1841), 316.

¹¹⁵ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 1.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Dedication page.

¹¹⁷ Nigel Cross, *The Common Writer: Life in Nineteenth-Century Grub Street* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 181.

¹¹⁸ Necla Arslan Sevin, *Gravürlerle Yaşayan Osmanlı* (T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınlar, 2006), 451. Sadun Tanju, *The Fairy-tale city of Miss Julia Pardoe, Istanbul 1835*, accessed Oct. 1, 2016

<http://earsiv.sehir.edu.tr:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11498/17168/001583090010.pdf?sequence=1>

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, x.

Pardoe's enthusiasm and "determination to learn as much as possible of"¹²⁰ Ottoman culture and materials made her an "intrepid and insatiable observer".¹²¹ She visited and saw more places than most of the contemporary visitors to Istanbul due to her fearless spirit and curiosity. Her character was noticed and praised in a contemporary magazine, which appreciated her hardihood and energy to overcome troubles despite the timidity of her sex.¹²² Another contemporary magazine, *Athenaeum*, also appreciated her fearlessness and courage as she "preferred running the risk of her life to returning home with her curiosity ungratified."¹²³

Throughout her visit to Istanbul, Pardoe made her itinerary interesting by seeing places that usually only male travelers would be allowed to see. One of those places was Hagia Sophia, which she visited wearing an Ottoman male garb. Later on, she wrote in her account: "What European traveler, possessed of the least spirit of adventure, would refuse to encounter danger in order to stand beneath the dome of St. Sophia? And, above all, what wandering Giaour could resist the temptation of entering a mosque during High Prayer?"¹²⁴ Her second visit was to the house of Reis Efendi, the Minister for Foreign Affairs where she got a unique chance to see the *selamlık* (men's section) in the house.

Specifically, Pardoe's observation of Ottoman houses and her dedication to learning about them opened new doors to her. In Ramadan, when Pardoe and her father arrived in the imperial city, she was eager "to pass a day of Fast in the interior of a Turkish family."¹²⁵ Although she barely knew him, she wrote to "a respectable Turkish merchant," whom she recently met at a port of Istanbul upon arriving, and stated her wish to visit his harem. She "received the most frank and cordial assurances of welcome".¹²⁶ Another time, she asked a friend to visit the house of a Jewish family to see the costume of their women.¹²⁷ Together with her friend, Pardoe went to the house of Naim Zomana and she was amazed by what she saw. Pardoe could thus manage to

¹²⁰ Fraser's Magazine, 318.

¹²¹ Reinhold Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama: British Travellers in 19th Century Turkey* (Amsterdam; Atlanta, Ga., 1999), 393.

¹²² Book Review: The City of The Magyar, Fraser's Magazine..., 318.

¹²³ "Review: The City of the Domestic Manners of the Turks," in *The Athenaeum: A Journal of Literature, Science, the Fine Arts, Music, and the Drama*, vol: 501, (J. Francis, 1837), 396.

¹²⁴ Pardoe, *The City of Sultan...*, 375.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, vol 2, 368

turn every situation into an opportunity for herself in understanding Ottoman material culture.

Apart from *The City of the Sultan; and Domestic Manners of the Turks*, Pardoe's trip to the Ottoman capital inspired her other two books, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus* (1838) and *Romance of the Harem* (1839). The reason for writing *The Beauties of the Bosphorus* was that she provided little information in her former book regarding the landscape of the city. This book also included natural views of Istanbul that were engraved by William Henry Bartlett who was one of the leading illustrators of his time. The combination of visual and textual materials was very rare in travel accounts. Pardoe's book captured the imagination of her audience because it was "purely descriptive."¹²⁸ Her hope in writing this book was to get the reader not to overlook "the fair city of Byzantium," compared to Palmyra, Balbek, or Jerusalem.¹²⁹ *The Romance of Harem* consisted of Turkish tales. The "reality" and "observation" and "readable" character of these tales was praised by a review in *Waldie's Select Circulating Library*.¹³⁰ These qualities made this work more valuable than the other books of Miss Pardoe about Istanbul, and Waldie described it as: "a romance more to our liking than the realities of her recently published journals".¹³¹ Curiously, this book is not known as much as her travel accounts.

She wrote another travel book about her trip to Hungary in 1840, entitled *The City of the Magyar, or Hungary and Her Institutions in 1839-40*. As was stated by the *Eclectic Review*, she was not like the "great mass of summer tourist" who just focuses on "the surface of society". She rather refers to "the existing institutions and habits to the causes when they originated, to combine or to analyze, as the case might be, the facts which has witnessed so as to extract the useful lessons which sound a philosophical teaches."¹³² The book was not only limited to her observations. She also provided her comments about Hungarian politics and society. Such thoughts made her book more worth reading. She observed local problems critically and interpreted them from her perspective.

¹²⁸ Ibid., vol 1, x.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 151- 2.

¹³⁰ "Review: The Romance of the Harem," in Waldie's Select Circulating Library, vol: 13 (A. Waldie, 1839). 487.

¹³¹ Ibid., 487.

¹³² Samuel Greatheed et al., *The Eclectic Review* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1841), 68.

Apart from her travel accounts, Pardoe wrote some history books. Presumably, it was her interest in history that encouraged her to write about historical events. She thought “history is the great drama of the world; but we never thoroughly comprehend its whole value until we have studied, not only its main outline, but also in details.”¹³³ Her historical works are *Louis the Fourteenth: or, the Court of the Seventeenth Century* (1846), *The Court and Reign of Francis the First*, and *The Life of Marie de Medici* (1849) and *Episodes of French History During the Consulate and the First Empire* (1859). These historical accounts are mostly related to French history, specifically to the biographies of well-known rulers of the time. Stecy Weir argues that Pardoe’s intention was to write a history of Europe, but it did not happen because of her and her mother's health problems.¹³⁴ J. Cody Jeaffreson writes that, “Miss Pardoe has shown herself capable of constructing ingenious plots, of charming by lively, and at times, gorgeously colored narrative, and of giving an attractive and novel exposition of history.”¹³⁵ However, it seems that they did not arouse the interest of the people at the time as much as travel accounts.

Pardoe’s other book *The River and the Desert, or Recollections of the Rhone and the Chartreuse* (1838) was a collection of her letters sent to friends during her journey to southern France. The exact dates of the trip are not known. Yet, presumably, she wrote these letters during the earlier phase of her journey.¹³⁶ “The account of splendors and curiosities of the *City of the Sultan* has led, it may fairly be presumed, to the publication of this earlier series of letters.”¹³⁷ There was inconsistency and “irrelevant matters” in the letters because Pardoe decided “to leave every paragraph as it originally stood.”¹³⁸ She apologized for irrelevances by making a reference to Molière's comedy, *Les Precieuses Ridicules*: “Tout ce que je fais me vient naturellement, c'est sans tude” (Everything I do comes naturally to me, it is without study).¹³⁹

¹³³ Miss Pardoe, *Episodes Of French History: During The Consulate And The First Empire*, vol:1 (London, Hurst and Blackett, 1859), v.

¹³⁴ Stecy Weir, *Biography of Julia Pardoe* (1806-1862), The Carvey Project at Sheffield Hallam University, accessed October 1, 2016, <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/corvey/corinne/1pardoe/pardoebiography.htm>

¹³⁵ John-Cordy Jeaffreson, *Novels and Novelists from Elizabeth to Victoria*, vol: 2 (London: Hurst and Blackett Publishers, 1858), 384.

¹³⁶ Pardoe, *The Court and Reign of Francis...*, vx.

¹³⁷ “Our Library Table: The River and the Desert, or Recollection of the Rhone and the Chartreuse,” in *Athenaeum: Journal of Literature, Science, the Fine Arts, Music and the Drama*, No: 543, London: 24 March 1838/Saturday, 216.

¹³⁸ Julia Pardoe, *The River and the Desert, or Recollections of the Rhone and the Chartreuse* (Philadelphia:

E.K.Carey & A.Hart, 1838), v-vi.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, vi.

Pardoe's letters included much information and descriptions of landscape, culture, manners, religious and political issues and folk tales of the region. Besides, Pardoe debated the social-political issues in her society, especially about women. In one of her letters to a friend, she said, "memory is a store-house, garnered with costly and with countless treasure; but hope is a 'painted sepulcher', where is void".¹⁴⁰ The previous memories of woman's roles in society can only be overcome with hope, a shining star on the days that 'life darkened upon' women.¹⁴¹ She indicated that the dependency of women on men was due to "the effect of custom rather than necessity."¹⁴² From birth to death, "they (women) were walled round within the charmed circle of domestic guardianship" and "habituated to obedience and self-distrust".¹⁴³ Although social codes and memory were formed in favor of men, she hoped that woman "can emancipate herself from the thralldom of customary indulges; and take her place in the world's throng, timidly, perhaps, but efficiently".¹⁴⁴

Some letters reflect Pardoe's psychological state. In a letter, she talked about her loneliness. Being distant from her loved ones reminded her of who she "truly loved" and that without them "the world may look cold."¹⁴⁵ Her pessimistic view of the character of human beings is strongly evident in her writings. Many times, she complained about people's egoism and their wish to turn everything to their own benefit. She said: "Are we not ever ready to smile or to sneer at the egoist, be his estimable qualities as palpable as they are? And do we not deal out praise grudgingly, where we felt that we are merely the echo of another's sentiment?"¹⁴⁶

Pardoe's pessimism was also seen in her novels. She pointed out the "corruption" and "hypocrisy" in the world in several of her novels.¹⁴⁷ Her novels were generally long,

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 69.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 69.

¹⁴² Ibid., 71.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 70.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 70.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 14.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 25.

¹⁴⁷ Pardoe's novel are *Lord Morcar of Hereward: A Romance of the Times of William the Conqueror* (1829), *Speculation: A Novel* (1834), *The Mardens and the Daventrys: Tales* (1835), *The Romance of the Harem* (1839), *The Hungarian Castle* (1842), *The Confessions of a Pretty Woman* (1846), *The Rival Beauties: A Novel* (1848), *Flies in Amber* (1850), *Reginald Lyle* (1854), *The Jealous Wife* (1855), *The Wife's Trials: A Novel* (1855), *Lady Arabella*; or, *The Adventures of a Doll* (1856), *Abroad and At Home: Tales Here and There* (1857), *Pilgrimages in Paris* (1857), *The Poor Relation: A Novel* (1858), *A Life-Struggle* (1859).

being published in two, three or four volumes. She did not only narrate stories in those novels, but conveyed her opinions about life to her readers. One can argue that those stories were philosophical. Her realist and rationalist attitude became effective in her novels like in her other works. Her contemporary, Sarah Josepha Buell Hale, explained this attitude with these words “those of the fiction want impassioned truth in sentiment.”¹⁴⁸ For this reason, wrote Hale, although “her books have all been reprinted in the United States, she has never been a favorite in our reading republic.”¹⁴⁹ Pardoe was not a well-known or successful writer compared to many of her contemporaries, such as Jane Austen (1775-1817), George Elliot (1819-1880), Anne Bronte (1820-1862), William Blake (1757-1827) or Charles Dickens (1812-1870), who were the pioneers of the Victorian era. One of the reasons may be that her stories were not perfectly formed. She could not capture the reader’s attention with her very long sentences and style of story telling. Presumably, the previously mentioned British writers were excellent in forming their narratives and holding the reader's attention until the end of the story. The other reason could be related to the subjects of Pardoe's book. She did not effectively talk about the social-political developments of Britain at the time. On the contrary, other authors not only mastered history and contemporary events in Britain, but also incisively criticized them with humor.

Although Pardoe was not as famous as these authors, she was luckier than them in terms of her economic conditions. At the time, she was relatively rich, while her contemporaries suffered from poverty, especially later in their lives. Many of them applied to the “Royal Literary Fund” in England. Yet the financial aid provided to them was so little that they made complaints about it.¹⁵⁰ Even Charles Dickens criticized to the fund:

“What we know of the condition of literature and its professors does not seem to us to point the argument in favor of such institutions. There is the Royal Literary Fund Society, if we are rightly informed, with its reserved wealth of somewhere about £45,000. This wonderful Society, if we are rightly informed, has not been able to dispense its income for the current year in the belief of suffering authors- though seldom rigid in the selection

¹⁴⁸ Sarah Josepha Buell Hale, *Woman's record; or, Sketches of all distinguished women, from the creation to A.D. 1854. Arranged in four eras. With selections from female writers of every age* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1885), 765.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 765.

¹⁵⁰ Nigel Cross, *The Common Writer...*, 72-3.

of its objects (25 March 1854).”¹⁵¹

Pardoe, on the other hand, took the financial support without making any application. The funding committee decided to grant her some money because, they stated, she was “a person of good moral character”.¹⁵² She was also awarded a civil list pension in 1860. An annual payment of £100 was given her, “in consideration of thirty years' toil in the field of literature, by which she has contributed both to cultivating the public taste and to supporting a number of helpless relations.”¹⁵³

In the last years of her life, Pardoe left London and resided in Kent with her family due to her health problems. Her literary career ended as she suffered from insomnia. She died at Upper Montagu Street on Wednesday, 29 November, 1862.¹⁵⁴ Eight years after her death, her contemporary, Samuel Carter Hall, described her as “a fairy-footed, fair-haired, laughing, sunny girl,” and added that she never admitted her age and wanted to remain young.

2.2. Opposing Orientalist Literature and the Reconstruction of New Travel Writing: Women Travelers' Experience with the Orient

Traveling outside Europe was a male experience until the 18th century. In Western Orientalist literature, the Orient was “depicted as a man's place, and the empire as a male space, the locus of male character-building and 'career'.”¹⁵⁵ European male travelers approached the Ottoman world with clichés and stereotypes. These clichés were mainly focused on ideas about the harem, depicting women as imprisoned or oppressed and men as despotic and tyrannical. They also focused on Ottoman despotism and Islamic bigotry in their narratives. For centuries, arguments by European male travelers continued in the same direction because none of them had the chance to observe forbidden zones that were reserved only for women. Therefore, there was a tendency to copy the mentality and written works of male travel writers for

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 73.

¹⁵² Stacy Weir, *Biography of Julia Pardoe*, <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/corvey/corinne/1pardoe/pardoebiography.htm>.

¹⁵³ William Morris Colles, *Literature and the pension list. An investigation conducted for the Committee of the Incorporated Society, 1855-1*, (London: Society of Authors, 1889), 39.

¹⁵⁴ Pardoe, *The Court and Reign of Francis...*, xvi.

¹⁵⁵ Billie Melman, *Women's Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918--Sexuality, Religion and Work* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 5.

generations.¹⁵⁶

An alternative view of the Orient emerged in the 18th century.¹⁵⁷ Lady Mary Montagu's travel to the Ottoman capital could be accepted as a starting point for the emergence of the new view. The wife of English Ambassador Edward Wortley Montagu was critical about the representation of the domestic sphere in male traveler's accounts. She wrote sarcastically: "Now I am a little acquainted with their ways. I cannot forbear admiring either the exemplary discretion or extreme stupidity of all the writers that have given accounts of [Turkish women]." ¹⁵⁸ The opportunity to visit the spaces forbidden to men provided *terra incognita* and a chance to witness and observe the Oriental reality for her, and other women travelers. This way, women travelers could spot male travelers' incorrect statements. European female travelers in the next generation were also aware of the privilege involved in visiting such houses. Sophia Lane noted: "The opportunity that I might enjoy of obtaining an inside into the mode of life of the higher classes of the ladies in this country, and of seeing many things highly interested in themselves, and rendered more by their being accessible only to a lady."¹⁵⁹ They enjoyed privileges of being women, for instance, when visiting Ottoman houses. It was easier to get themselves accepted as guests, because "Eastern women [were] also eager to learn about the [western] other, namely Western customs and manners".¹⁶⁰ As Ottoman women spent most of their lives at home, a space for sociability, they hosted the European travelers with generosity and hospitality. They organized many social gatherings for "celebrations, feasts, ceremonies and rituals: the birth of a child, circumcision, wedding feasts"¹⁶¹, which provided women travelers an opportunity to visit their houses. Pardoe received an invitation to visit the *Kadi* of Çekirge province in Bursa to an event organized for the birth of his first son.¹⁶² It was an Ottoman tradition to celebrate the seven days after the birth. Pardoe described the puerperant house and clothes of the mother and child. Such conditions provided a special privilege to women

¹⁵⁶ Juan Goytisolo, *Osmanlı'nın İstanbul'u*, trans. Neyyire Gül Işık (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008), 14-17. See also Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 15-16.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, *Women's Orient...*, 7.

¹⁵⁸ Lady Mary Montagu, *The Complete Letters of Lady Marry Wortley Montagu*, Volume 1, ed. Robert Halsband (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 327.

¹⁵⁹ Sophia Lane Poole, *The Englishwomen in Egypt: Letrers From Cairo* (Philadelphia:G.B.Zieber, 1845), v.

¹⁶⁰ Irene Kamberidou, "The East in the Eyes of Western Women Travellers of the 18th and 19th Centuries: Solidarity and Understanding the East," *The West International Conference of Faculty of Art*, Kuwait University (Nov. 26-28, 2013), 3.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁶² Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, vol:2 , 96.

travelers, allowing them to witness and observe the interior parts of Ottoman houses, as well as women's clothes and daily habits.

18th century women travelers had common views and prejudices about the Orient, but they did not reconstruct an alternative discourse. An 'alternative female discourse' on the Orient evolved during the 19th century through increased travel to the Orient by middle-class women in England. With the industrialization of Britain in the last quarter of the 18th century, power gradually shifted from aristocracy to the middle class. In other words, “the process of industrialization has created a middle class who gained social prestige by virtue of education, wealth and political power.”¹⁶³ Through the effect of aristocratic culture, increasing wealth and education, they began to travel to different parts of the world. Besides, “improvements in maritime and land-transport made travel easier than ever before and affordable to the *them*.”¹⁶⁴

Middle-class women travelers faced the Orient and strongly criticized male travelers' accounts. Their reactions to stereotypical and copied information used by male travelers could be seen in many of their writings. Pardoe argued that the “European mind has become so imbued with ideas of Oriental mysteriousness, mysticism, and magnificence.”¹⁶⁵ They “accused male travelers- who had written about domestic manners in the East and the position of women in Islam of misinforming or misleading their readers, stressing that their accounts were based on second or third-hand information, their unrestrained imagination and exotic fantasies.”¹⁶⁶

The main target of female travelers' criticisms of male travelers was “the deliberate extensive use of synecdoche, to the stereotyping of oriental features and, subsequently, oriental character.”¹⁶⁷ That is because the primary reason for the stereotyping was generalization and synecdoche, created by male travelers. Short-term staying, living as a tourist, and, more importantly, lack of access to certain places led them to generalization. Therefore, they made their observations with vague and broad

¹⁶³ Asebe Regassa Debelo, *Wilderness or Home?: Conflicts, Competing Perspectives and Claims of Entitlement over Nech Sar National Park, Ethiopia* (LIT Verlag, 2016), 144.

¹⁶⁴ Billie Melman, *Women's Orients...*, 11.

¹⁶⁵ Pardoe, *The City of Sultan...*, 89.

¹⁶⁶ Irene Kamberidou, *The East in the Eyes*, 1. Also see; Mary Adelaide Walker, *Eastern Life and Scenery: With Excursions in Asia Minor, Mytilene, Crete, and Roumania*, Volume 2 (London: Chapman and Hall Press, 1886).

¹⁶⁷ Billie Melman, *Women's Orient...*, 116.

descriptions. For example, male travelers made broad statements, about Turkish or Ottoman houses. A Scottish traveler, David Urquhart, compared Eastern and Western houses in his accounts, attempting to show the characteristics of an Eastern house. He described the windows, roofs, ceiling ornaments, paintings, and sofas of Ottoman houses.¹⁶⁸ He also described some objects and items like “the stowage of bedding”¹⁶⁹ and “cushion or shilteh” or “divan”.¹⁷⁰ Yet he did not specify where he saw these items in the houses he visited. Presumably, he had visited only one house and took it as a standard, rather than visiting several houses and presenting a general observation on all of them. Another possibility could be that he had heard about them from witnesses or copied them from previous travelers' accounts. English women travelers condemned tourist-centered traveling and generalization. As indicated by Pardoe, her main duty was to correct misconceptions and mistakes and present the facts through her own experience.¹⁷¹ Therefore, women travelers described every detail they saw to overcome synecdoche and stereotypes. Pardoe had a little tolerance in this matter. When describing the houses she had been to, Pardoe gave detailed accounts of the interior designs and domestic objects rather than giving generalized descriptions. Unlike male travelers, she did not use any second-hand information or clichéd descriptions. During her visit to the house of Scodra Pasha, she wrote, she had “no wish to add to the number of fables which have been advanced as facts, by suffering imagination to usurp the office of vision”.¹⁷²

Despite their strong criticism of male travelers, female travelers' writings were not completely “innocent of the *Oriental view*, *clichés*, prejudice or that cultural smugness which characterized the Victorian or Edwardian abroad.”¹⁷³ They were not from a 'separate tradition'. They still believed the supremacy of the Europe, Western culture and value.¹⁷⁴ Therefore, especially in the earlier examples, like Pardoe, there were examples of stereotypes and clichés. The idea of Western superiority and the “white man's burden” was still in Pardoe's subconscious as reflected by her words; “before those years are past, what may be the fate of Turkey? England must resolve the

¹⁶⁸ David Urquhart, *The Spirit of the East, Illustrated in a Journal of Travels Through Roumeli During an Eventful Period*, vol:1 (Philadelphia: E.L.Carey and A.Hart, 1839), 224.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 223.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 225.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 88.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 129.

¹⁷³ Billie Melman, *Women's Orient...*, 17.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.

question”¹⁷⁵ or “how much I must find everything in Turkey inferior to what I had been accustomed to in Europe.”¹⁷⁶ Moreover, Pardoe's description of women in the bath, “reclining luxuriously upon their sofas (...) in their fine white linen, embroidered with gold, with their fine hair falling about their shoulders”¹⁷⁷, evoked “the orientalist paintings of Ingres and Gerôme, a sensual dream world beyond time or history.”¹⁷⁸

Orientalist and stereotypical perceptions in the female traveler's sub-consciousness and the reflection on their writings did not cast a shadow on their success. They challenged the accepted and constructed truth and reconstructed a new travel writing in the 19th century through their middle-class sensibilities. This sensibility changed the experiences of British female travelers of the Orient. They redefined the relation between Europe and the Orient and developed an alternative discourse. Their main contribution was to give a detailed description of Oriental houses due to their access to these places, and, more crucially, to reconstruct a new ideology of domesticity in light of middle-class and Victorian values. Pardoe especially emphasized the lack of “the intimate knowledge of domestic life” and the necessity for eye-witness reports stripped of “the ideas of Oriental, mysteriousness, mysticism, and magnificence.”¹⁷⁹

The middle class was not from the ruling elite as the noble class in England, and so female travelers did not grow in a political environment. Rather, they lived in their own private and individual world. Most probably because of that reason, their experience with the Orient was “private rather than 'civic' or public, individual rather than institutionalized and finally it was a-political.”¹⁸⁰ An apolitical approach diversified the topics women travelers were interested in. Therefore, their accounts became “more complex than the orientalist *topos*” and reflected the plurality of “class, place and time.”¹⁸¹ Their accounts focused on the private life of individuals from all strata of visited societies, especially in the homes. They strongly criticized aristocratic travel writers for just dealing with the life of the elite class of the visited society. Emmeline

¹⁷⁵ Pardoe, *The City of Sultan...*, 211.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 131-2.

¹⁷⁸ Eferpi Mitsi, “Private Rituals and Public Selves: The Turkish Bath in Women’s Travel Writing,” in *Inside Out: Women Negotiating, Subverting, Appropriating Public and Private Space*, eds. Teresa Gmez Reus, Arnzazu Usandiza, and Aranzazu Usandiza (Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi, 2008), 55.

¹⁷⁹ Pardoe, *The City of Sultan...*, 89.

¹⁸⁰ Billie Melmann, *Women's Orient...*, 12.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

Lott, who traveled to Istanbul in 1867, attacked Montague due to her lack of interest in the daily life of Ottoman society, 'outside the salons of Audience'.¹⁸² The criticism of the aristocratic approach played a significant role in the "shifting of focus of interest away from elites, to the middle classes and even the populace, and from the exotic and unusual to the ordinary."¹⁸³ It did not mean they were not interested in the life of elites, but they were very "sensitive to the diversity of familial structures within the system."¹⁸⁴

By the apolitical interpretation of the East in 19th century travel writings, the Ottoman 'home' had taken a new meaning as a *private*, feminine space.¹⁸⁵ The harem was not perceived as a male-dominated area any more, but as "a society within society, a female community, an autonomous sorority, little affected by the world outside it."¹⁸⁶ This was the depiction of the Middle Eastern houses, like the idealized Victorian home. In Britain, the perception about the roles of women and men changed for the middle classes at around the 1790s due to the rise of power and migration to the cities with industrialization. In their new world, "men placed firmly in the newly defined public world of the business, commerce and politics; women placed in the private world of the home and family."¹⁸⁷ This perception led to the ideology of separate space (*public and private*) and home was accepted as a 'proper sphere' for women. It was not a center for economic production anymore; rather, it was a haven to protect women from the industrialized and impersonal world of the outside. Therefore, female travelers defined "the harem-system and its locus" as: "'sphere', 'home', 'haven' and 'sanctuary' or as: 'woman's sphere', 'sacred place', even 'sanctus sanctorum'."¹⁸⁸

The evaluation of the Eastern home as a feminine space through changing perspectives in Britain eliminated previous travelers' ideas and led to a shift of focus to different aspects of Eastern houses. It no longer was perceived as an exotic locus, but 'actual places' for women. It was "the aesthetic and socialised locus of the female and of the

¹⁸² Emmeline Lott, *Harem Life in Egypt and Constantinople: The English Governess in Egypt* (Bentley, 1866), vi-vii.

¹⁸³ Billie Melman, *Women's Orients...*, 101.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 101.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 140.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 144.

¹⁸⁷ Catherina Hall, "Private Persons versus Public Someones: Class, Gender and Politics in England, 1780-1850," in *British Feminist Thought: A Reader*, ed. Terry Lovell (Oxford, UK ; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Wiley-Blackwell, 1990), 52.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 140.

feminine experience of reality.”¹⁸⁹ This was the middle-class and Victorian reproduction of the Eastern house. The change of the perception of the woman’s role, home and domesticity in English society was projected onto the Eastern house and family structure by 19th century middle-class female travelers. In Britain, the ideal woman emerged as a response to the 'cult of domesticity' or 'cult of womanhood'. In this culture, true women ideally ought to live a home-centered life. Apart from taking care of her husband and children and maintaining domestic order, the important part of a woman's responsibility was decorating their houses tastefully.¹⁹⁰ The etiquette handbook of the age explained the duty of women as follows: “a sensible woman will always seek to ornament her house and to render it attractive.”¹⁹¹ In this regard, “the ideological construction of home as a woman's place coincides with the development of a distinct style of design.”¹⁹² Therefore, Pardoe dealt with the architecture, interiors, materials and decorations of houses to understand the Eastern woman’s world

Apart from the aesthetic taste, 19th century women travelers approached the Ottoman harem as “an alternative ordering of life of individuals and community.”¹⁹³ In other words, architecture, decorations, interior design and objects were evaluated as instruments to present order and regulation in society and the position and status of house owners in it. That is because the imposing of decorating and designing houses on women in British society was not only related to creating an aesthetic environment, but had a more complex meaning. British society was based on hierarchy, and house decoration was a way to gain social prestige and status, and to present one's wealth for the rising middle classes. People built new houses and changed the decoration and furnishing of their houses due to the rise of mass production and mass-transit through industrialization in Britain. They demonstrated their status, prosperity and power through decorative and architectural furnishings in their houses. Through decorations, a message was given to visitors that “this was a house of a successful man.”¹⁹⁴ In this regard, “through the creation of an appropriate domestic environment”, middle-class women assured that “the private sphere acted as an effective indicator of status in the

¹⁸⁹ Billie Melman, *Women's Orient...*, 140.

¹⁹⁰ Thad Logan, *Decorating Domestic Space: Middle Class Women and Victorian Interiors in Keeping the Victorian House: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Vanessa D. Dickerson (Routledge, 2016), 207.

¹⁹¹ Arthur Martine, *Martine's Hand-Book of Etiquette and Guide to True Politeness* (Dick & Fitzgerald, 1866), 146.

¹⁹² Thad Logan, *Decorating Domestic Space...*, 206.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 149.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 211.

public sphere.”¹⁹⁵ Pardoe visited many houses from different strata of Ottoman society (royal, upper and upper-middle class) to understand the order of the society, both in the public and private spheres.

The special attention to architecture, interior design and objects of middle classes could be helpful to clarify Pardoe's intimate knowledge about these issues. Pardoe explained many details of Ottoman houses with technical terms. She most probably took an education on embroidery and drawing because, at that time, they “learned at home with a drawing masters or governess.”¹⁹⁶ She herself may have a special interest in these issues due to her upbringing in a middle-class family.¹⁹⁷ She may also have been interested in reading pattern books and observing architectural developments in her country. The pattern books on architecture, furniture and interior design appeared first in the 1790s to cater to the need of the middle classes in England.¹⁹⁸ The middle classes developed their taste and style through these books in the form of both textual and visual illustrations. They gave advice to builders, craftsmen and furniture makers through these publications.¹⁹⁹ These books were influential in the forming aesthetic taste in Britain. Pardoe could enhance her knowledge due to reading the pattern books.

Apart from architecture and interior design, middle-class women travelers focused on behavior, manners, codes, norms, propriety and etiquette. Their special interest was related to the obsession of English society with order and regulation. It was crucial to “position people to their exact place in the social hierarchy.”²⁰⁰ In Victorian era, however, the shift of power from the aristocracy to the middle class and the migration of the middle class to the cities caused rapid changes in the class structure. The rising middle classes attributed importance to etiquette as a means of regulating society. They tried to identify themselves with the elite class through standards of behavior and tried to determine people's social position based on their education, which provided the social

¹⁹⁵ Deborah Gorham, *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal* (Routledge, 2014), 8.

¹⁹⁶ Jo Devereux, *The Making of Women Artists in Victorian England: The Education and Careers of Six Professionals* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 2016), 26.

¹⁹⁷ Necla Arslan Sevin, *Gravürlerle Yaşayan Osmanlı...*, 451.

¹⁹⁸ Michael McMordie, “Picturesque Pattern Books and Pre-Victorian Designers,” *Architectural History*, Vol. 18 (1975): 43.

¹⁹⁹ Akiko Shimbo, *Furniture-Makers and Consumers in England, 1754-1851: Design as Interaction* (Routledge, 2016), 21-3.

²⁰⁰ Kathryn Hughes, *The Middle Class: Etiquette and Upward Mobility*, accessed November 11, 2016, <https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/the-middle-classes-etiquette-and-upward-mobility#sthash.CMHZV8PF.dpuf>

graces and etiquette. In this regard, Pardoe's desire to portray Ottoman daily life and gain a detailed knowledge of their domestic manners, as previously mentioned, was related to her middle-class background and deep-seated Victorian values.

It is crucial to note that the Victorian period formally started in 1837, but 1830 has been accepted as a convenient starting point. The industrialization that began in the second part of the 18th century brought certain results, especially with the opening of the railway in Liverpool and Manchester in 1830 and the passing of the Great Reform Act in 1832. These improvements transformed class structure and prepared the ground for the successive developments in the Victorian Era. Therefore, 1830 was accepted as the starting point of the era. Pardoe was a witness to all these developments and so could be accepted as a part of Victorian culture. More importantly, her interests, attitude and interpretations differentiated her from previous travelers to the Ottoman land, especially from Lady Mary Montagu, who came from aristocratic background and was closer to middle-class and Victorian values. In this sense, Pardoe's travel accounts can be accepted as one example of the dramatic change took place in English travel literature of the 19th century which “coincided with the perceptible shift away from aristocratic travel towards what may conveniently be described as the *embourgeoisement* of the voyage to the eastern Mediterranean countries.”²⁰¹

As a result, the middle classes in Britain had the opportunity travel to different parts of the world with the rise of industrialization and the shift of power in the 19th century. Middle-class female travelers transformed travel to East through their critical approach to the stereotypes created by male; middle-class and Victorian sensibilities. Pardoe was one of traveler of 19th century new travel writings that provided important insights into the social life and material culture of the Ottomans.

2.3. The Ottoman State in the Age of Reform

Julia Pardoe arrived to the Ottoman capital on the eve of the *Tanzimat* era. The Ottomans' changing perspective of the Europeans and European culture made it easier for her to adapt to Ottoman society. At that time, the Ottoman state was under the rule of Mahmud II, which differed considerably from previous experience. The inefficiency

²⁰¹ Melman, *Women's Orient...*,99.

of former reforms to compete militarily and economically with the continental powers forced Sultan Mahmud II to adopt more radical reforms. Rather than trying to return to the practices of Ottoman golden age, he imported certain innovations from contemporary Europe.²⁰² “For the first time, Westernization appeared as a formal policy linked to extensive bureaucratic reform.”²⁰³

Mahmud II had to neutralize his opponents and establish his own authority in order to implement his reform agenda. He first destroyed the Janissary corps, which he saw as the paramount obstacle to genuine the reform. The destruction of the Janissaries was a break from previous Ottoman tradition and a turning point in establishing a new order. “This was a major accomplishment in centralization.”²⁰⁴ These centralizing policies were continued by struggling with local notables (*ayans*) in the provinces. Throughout the 18th century, *ayans* had become the peripheral powers at several domains of the empire by strengthening their power, accumulating wealth, and building headquarters for their benefit.²⁰⁵ Acquiring offices and land contracts from the imperial rule, *ayans* “integrated themselves into the institutional apparatus of the empire” and “monopolized taxation, public finance, policing, provisioning, conscription, and other imperial and public services in the business of governance in the Ottoman provinces.”²⁰⁶

Before Ottoman sultans sought to seize all the power and centralize the empire, *ayans* were “autonomous from state direct intervention.”²⁰⁷ Following Selim III’s lead, Mahmud II attempted to suppress them through a provincial reform program in which he consolidated the central power over the peripheral powers of the empire, and established an institutional link between the center and the peripheries. One way to consolidate central control over the provinces, and get rid of *ayans* was to create a standard institutional system of taxation which tax payers and prospective revenues would be identified much easier and earlier. Therefore, Mahmud II ordered the first

²⁰² Ercüman Kuran claimed that many reforms of Mahmud II had a similar character with the reforms of Mehmed Ali Pasha in Egypt. (Ercümen Kuran, “Sultan II. Mahmud ve Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Paşa’nın Gerçekleştirdikleri Reformların Karşılıklı Tesirleri,” *Sultan II. Mahmud ve Reformları Semineri İstanbul, 28-30.VI.1989*, 107-111.) Therefore, it can be said that Mehmet Ali Pasha’s reforms in Egypt were very influential on the formation of Mahmud II’s reform agenda.

²⁰³ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 63.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 59.

²⁰⁵ Ali Yaycioglu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2016), 67.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 67.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 117.

census to be conducted in 1830 and 1831.

It was around the same time when Phanariots was considered a threat to the central authority, besides the *janissaries* and *ayans*, mainly because of their support to the Greek Revolution. They were not exactly from the core of Ottoman ruling classes yet they actively were involved in Ottoman political life as governors, dragomans and diplomats.²⁰⁸ Although Mahmud II aimed to eliminate the power of Phanariots, “they demonstrated an ability to adapt to manifold changes and an ability to survive and prosper well into the supposedly new age of reforms.”²⁰⁹

As part of a centralization agenda, the state's administrative structure was reorganized. Old administrative departments were transformed into ministries that were based on specialization. “New ministries of the interior, foreign affairs, and finance formed the embryonic limbs of a modern bureaucracy.”²¹⁰ New schools were established to educate officials for a reformed state service. Moreover, groups of students were sent to Europe for education, especially in the military sciences.

Apart from reforms in the military, economic, administrative and educational fields, Mahmud II's reform program involved the social and material life of the Ottoman Empire. European architectural and artistic motifs started to appear in the lifestyle of the Sultan. In 1815, Mahmud II moved to a new palace (Beşiktaş), which “reflected European taste”²¹¹. The façade of new palace had a European style. Moreover, it was “furnished with Serves china, French tables, chairs and clock, along with divans and cushions.”²¹² Contemporary traveler Helmuth von Moltke also mentioned the furnishing of the room in the Sultan’s palace with chairs, tables, mirrors, chandeliers and even heating stoves. He also noted that all of these furnitures were like in the house of well-off person in our cities.²¹³ Imported materials from Europe transformed the traditional habits of the sultan and gradually replaced traditional customs and habits. Mahmud II

²⁰⁸ Christine M. Philliou, *Biography of an Empire: Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 5.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, xxv.

²¹⁰ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History...*, 62.

²¹¹ Daniëlle De Vooght, ed., *Royal Taste: Food, Power and Status at the European Courts after 1789* (Routledge, 2016), 117.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 117.

²¹³ Helmuth von Moltke, *Türkiye'deki Durum ve Olaylar Üzerime Mektuplar*, trans. Hayrullah Örs (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu), 84.

introduced “the European way of eating with knives and forks at the table instead of using a low tray and common plates.”²¹⁴ Contemporary English traveler Robert Walsh described the sultan’s eating habits as follows:

“He takes two meals a day; one at eleven, in the morning, and the other at sunset. He has exchanged the Turkish stool and tray for a chair and table, which is laid out exactly in European fashion. The table is furnished with a cloth, and knives and forks, which are English; to these are added golden spoons, and a decanter of wine. The wine is usually champagne, which he is fond of, and is greatly amused when the cork explodes and the wine flies up to the ceiling. He always sits alone at his meals. The dishes are brought in one at a time, in succession, to the number of fifty or sixty, all covered and sealed. He breaks the seal himself, and tastes the dish; if he does not like it, he sends it away.”²¹⁵

European table manners and accoutrements were used in the banquets of the Ottoman court that were held for foreign envoys.²¹⁶ Pardoe wrote about each day of the banquets that were given for the wedding of Princess Mihrimah. One table at the banquets that was arranged on the sixth day for a foreign ambassador was prepared in the European style.²¹⁷ She also mentioned the Ottoman and European table etiquette that she witnessed in the houses. She found the intermingling of the two cultures at the table as “perfectly European in its arrangement, being accompanied by silver forks, knives, and chairs; but the luxury of the East had, nevertheless, its part in the banquet.”²¹⁸

Transformations in material, architecture, taste and etiquette manifested itself effectively in the clothing style of the sultan and clothing reforms. The sultan himself shortened his beard and wore “his own version of contemporary Western hats, frock coats, and trousers.”²¹⁹ Unlike previous ostentatious clothing, he introduced more simple clothing, as was reflected in the words of British military officer Adolphus Slade: “Instead of robes of golden tissue, and a cashmere turban concealed by precious stones, he wore a plain blue military cloak and trousers, with no other ornament than a diamond

²¹⁴ Daniëlle De Vooght, ed., *Royal Taste...*, 118.

²¹⁵ Robert Walsh, *A Residence at Constantinople: During a Period Including the Commencement, Progress, and Termination of the Greek and Turkish Revolutions*, vol.2 (London: Frederick Westley and AH.Davis, 1836), 311-2.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 120.

²¹⁷ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 486.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 237.

²¹⁹ Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Volume 2, Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey 1808-1975* (Cambridge; London; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 49.

chelengk [aigrette] in his fez, and steel spurs on his Wellington boots.”²²⁰ Moreover, the sultan designed a new uniform for officers through the 1829 clothing law. The *fez*, with European-style trousers, jacket and shoes, became the obligatory dress for state employees. These radical changes in dress codes aroused the interest of Pardoe. She harshly criticized the reform, saying:

“the fez, which has almost superseded the gorgeous turban of muslin and cachemire: indeed, I was nearly tempted in my woman wrath to consider all the admirable reforms, wrought by Sultan Mahmoud in his capital, overbalanced by the frightful changes that he has made in the national costume, by introducing a mere caricature of that worst of all originals — the stiff, starch, angular European dress.”²²¹

According to Donald Quataert, “the *clothing* law (..) was a quite radical measure in its attempts to eliminate clothing distinctions that long separated the official from the subject classes and the various Ottoman religious community from one another.”²²² Mahmud II “offered non-Muslim and Muslim a common subjecthood/citizenry”²²³ through the elimination of class-based and confessional identity. In his ferman (July, 1829) issued near the end of the Greek Revolution, he said: “There will be in the future no distinctions made between Muslims and re’aya and everybody will be ensured the inviolability of his property, life and honor by a sacred law (Şeriat) and my sublime patronage.”²²⁴ All these can be accepted as a first step to break defining identity in Ottoman society based on religion.

Mahmud II tried to control and reshape society with his reforms, but the main question is whether- or how much- all these reforms affected the lifestyles of Ottoman subjects. It is difficult to radically change the customs and habits of society. Indeed, Mahmud II did not only target the palace in his reforms, but also aimed to “enlighten” his subjects and raise public awareness. He founded an official newspaper, *Takvim-i Vekayi* (Calendar of Events), to inform society about the reforms and developments in Europe and gain his subjects’ support. French-language newspaper, *Moniteur Ottoman*, had

²²⁰ Quated from Darin Stephanov, “Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839) and the First Shift in Modern Ruler Visibility in the Ottoman Empire,” *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association*, Vol. 1, No.1-2 (2014): 130.

²²¹ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 6-7.

²²² Donald Quataert, “Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Aug., 1997): 403.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 413.

²²⁴ Quated from Darin Stephanov, *Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839)...*, 140.

been published in Istanbul by Frenchman Alexandre Blaque with the support of the sultan. Furthermore, the sultan himself appeared among society with his European-style clothing and carriage, *fayton*, in an attempt to eradicate prejudices against the European culture and practices. All these had an impact on the changing views of Europe, and allowed Ottoman subjects to identify with European culture. Their openness to Europe also “resulted in their increased willingness to invite foreign women into their homes.”²²⁵ In this regard, Pardoe entered Ottoman houses more easily than previous travelers. Nevertheless, it remains difficult to measure the effect of these reforms on the lifestyles of Ottoman subjects. The descriptions of Ottoman houses by Pardoe, which will be analyzed in the next chapter, can also be helpful in determining how much these reforms influenced Ottoman daily life.

To conclude this chapter, I would claim that Pardoe, in her writings, shared her observations of different cultures, traditions, lifestyles in Europe and the Middle East. She aimed to put aside the prejudice and ignorance of previous British travelers. She “is not much behind her predecessors in her estimate of their intelligence and knowledge.”²²⁶ As a part of 19th century new traveler writings, she criticized male travelers’ constructed Oriental image and stereotypical information and provided a new view to the Orient. Her middle-class and Victorian background expanded her interest to include various aspects of the visited societies. She aimed to be a part of Ottoman society and so visited many houses. Her observations in these houses are a valuable means of understanding the material culture of the Ottoman state at the time.

²²⁵ Mary Roberts, *Intimate Outsider...*, 60.

²²⁶ “Article 3: The City of the Sultan and Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1836,” *The British and Foreign Review: Or, European Quarterly Journal*, vol:7, (J. Ridgeway and sons, 1838): 91.

CHAPTER 3: ISTANBUL HOUSES THROUGH THE EYES OF JULIA PARDOE

Julia Pardoe's book "*The City of the Sultan and Domestic Manners of the Turks*" was one of the early examples of the 19th century travel writings. The notion of middle class and Victorian background were influential on her interest in Ottoman society. While describing visited houses, she interpreted them as real and private place of Ottoman women and representative of the hierarchical structure of the society. Therefore, she focused on architectural style, domestic interiors and objects of houses to understand home-centered life of Ottoman women. She also approached the house as a place presenting social status of the house owners. Therefore, Pardoe specifically was interested in interior architecture, domestic interiors, furniture and objects of Ottoman houses.

Pardoe described the interior of one of the royal palaces, five high-ranking elites' houses and six upper middle class houses. The related parts where she wrote about the upper middle class houses makes her book more special due to the lack of this kind of description in previous travel accounts. The possible reason for her to visit many upper middle class houses could be her reaction against aristocratic travelers that focus only on the royal class or upper class houses. In addition, she came from the middle class, so she could be curious about the life of middle classes in other societies. Another reason could be her easy integration into Ottoman society thanks to relatively long-term staying, her character and openness of Ottoman society to European culture at that time.

Fernand Braudel explained clearly the importance of interior design to comprehend the 'whole picture' of material culture as follows: "one piece of furniture does not reveal a whole picture; and the whole picture is what matters most. Museums, with their isolated objects, generally only teach the basic elements of a complex history. The essential is

not contained within these pieces of furniture themselves but is in their arrangement.”²²⁷ The arrangements of these houses cannot be evaluated without considering the life of the person who organized the house with furniture and objects. In addition, the information about the house owners can allow us to contextualize the description of houses better. The social status of the owners, also, plays a role in the decorations of their houses. Therefore, the studying of their political careers and position in the society allows us to locate them either in royal, high-ranking elite or middle classes.

After that, the part focuses on domestic interiors and material worlds of Ottoman houses through the travel account of Julia Pardoe. In this analysis, mainly the essential issues of material culture will be considered, such as how furniture and objects were arranged in these houses, how comfort and heating was provided and how luxury was presented in an Ottoman house.

3.1. Life and Lifestyle of House Owners

Travelers were most probably writing the names what they heard or how a person was commonly called in the society. Therefore, it is a little tricky to recognize house owners of houses that Pardoe visited and reach the information about them. Therefore, political life, careers, clothes, eating habits and behaviors of Ottoman royal, high-ranking and the upper middle classes will be analyzed as far as her account, chronicles and secondary sources are concerned.

Among the royal houses, Pardoe only visited the palaces of Esmâ Sultan at Eyüp and Ortaköy. Esmâ Sultan was a prominent figure among Ottoman women elites at the time. She was the daughter of Sultan Abdülhamid I and Ayşe Sinaperver. She was married to Grand Admiral Hüseyin Pasha. After his death in 1803, she never married again and had a more independent life when compared to other women in the palace.²²⁸ Her difference from other women was indicated by Robert Walsh as follows:

“one of the few princesses of the house of Othman, who have not been

²²⁷ Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century, Vol. I: The Structure of Everyday Life*, trans. Siân Reynold (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 306.

²²⁸ Türkan Duran, “I.Abdülhamid'in Kızı Esmâ Sultan'ın Hayatı (1778-1848)” (MA thesis, Marmara University, 2007), 94.

debarred, owing to a barbarous policy, the society of their husbands; the object of marrying them off being only to free them from the restraints of the seraglio, and to give them a separate establishment, which the husband supports from the proceeds of his government, usually rich and distant, where he resides without daring to profit by the Mohammedan privilege of a plurality of wives, since on the good graces of his royal bride depends his existence.”²²⁹

Her free life caused rumors, like her poisoning and burying young boys in distant places after having entertainments with them²³⁰ and her having fun watching the killing of bulky men.²³¹

Esmâ Sultan was known for her high living and conspicuous consumption. The register of her expenditure reveal that most of the expense was for clothes and accessories.²³² Besides, Esmâ Sultan spent money for the furnishing (*mefruşat*) of her palaces.²³³ Because of so much spending, her mother sometimes prohibited shopping to her.²³⁴ Not only Esmâ Sultan, but her slaves would dress up too. Pardoe’s accounts reveal that her slaves would wear clothes that were made from “the most gaudy furniture.”²³⁵ The “most striking feature of their costume”, writes Pardoe, was their head-dresses.²³⁶ The most impressive one for Pardoe was the clothes of Nazîp Hanım (Nazîfe Hanım), “mother of slaves.”²³⁷ Pardoe described her clothes as an “odd mixture of the European and Oriental” styles.²³⁸ Apart from shopping for clothes and furnishing, Esmâ Sultan used to financially support music trainings of her odalisques²³⁹ as well as spending money for musical entertainment at her palace in Ortaköy. Pardoe wrote that the melodies would be heard while passing by her palace and would attract the attention of

²²⁹ Robert Walsh, Sir Adolphus Slade, *Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece, &C., and of a Cruise in the Black Sea: With the Capitan Pasha, in the Years 1829, 1830, and 1831* (Philadelphia: E.L.Carey & A. Hart, 1833), 71.

²³⁰ Nahid Sıdkı Örik, *Eski Zaman Kadınları Arasında* (Oğlak Yayıncılık, 1995), 19.

²³¹ Türka Duran, *I. Abdülhamid’in Kızı...*, 77.

²³² Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 76.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 31.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 44.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 303.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 304. Detailed decription as follows: “A painted handkerchief is bound tightly round the brow, and secured by jewelled bodkins : the back hair is crtpe until it be comes one huge dishevelled mass, when it is traversed across the top of the head by a corner of the handkerchief: a number of slender plaits of false hair hang down the back, frequently differing very materially from the colour of the natural tresses : the front locks are cut square across the forehead, and left a couple of inches longer at the sides, where they lie quite flat, and are stuck full of roses, or gems ; or over hung by the deep fringe of the handkerchief, wrought to resemble a wreath of flowers.” (304)

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 303.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 305. Nazîp Hanım's cloth was described in detail as follows: “She wore trowsers of pale blue cotton flowered with yellow ; and an antery of light green striped with white, and edged with a fringe of pink floss silk ; while her jacket, which was the production of a Parisian dress-maker, was of dove-coloured satin, thickly wadded, and furnished with a deep cape, and a pair of immense sleeves, fastened at the wrists with diamond studs.” (305).

²³⁹ İbrahim Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, “Osmanlılar Zamanında Saraylarda Musiki Hayatı,” *Belleten*, 161 (Ocak 1977): 110.

kayıkçısı.²⁴⁰

Besides her interests in amusements and shopping, Esmâ Sultan was also an influential figure in state affairs. As well put by Tülay Artan female members of the Ottoman imperial family started taking effective roles in administration around the early 18th century.²⁴¹ It is not surprising to see Esmâ Sultan on the stage of state affairs in the first decades of the 19th century. She played a role in her brother Mustafa IV's accession to the throne, the revolts of the Janissaries and Kabakçı Mustafa and the promotions or dismissals of some officers.²⁴² She was even supported by Janissaries as an alternative ruler. When Mustafa IV was murdered through the order of Mahmud II, he became only surviving male member of the dynasty. When Janissaries learned the murder of Mustafa IV by Mahmud II, they claimed that they did not trust Mahmud anymore and suggested alternative rulers, including Esmâ Sultan.²⁴³

Ottoman princesses mostly displayed their wealth and power by constructing palaces in their own name. In this regard, Artan noted that

“one of the consequences of royal princesses’ new found-license was that unlike in the classical age, when they had lived in a palaces held by and named after their husband, now the palaces constructed in their own name (such as Esmâ Sultan Sarayı, Beyhan Sultan Sarayı, Hatice Sultan Sarayı, etc.) came to dwarf their husbands’ residence.”²⁴⁴

Esmâ Sultan also constructed new palaces. The account registers (*hesap pusulası*) and the inventory registers (*keşif defteri*) uncover the expenditures of the construction work of her palaces at Defterdar Pier.²⁴⁵ Interior design was a passion for Esmâ Sultan. She owned one of the most spectacular looking mansions in Eyüp Pier, which she tastefully

²⁴⁰ Julia Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, vol:2, 161.

²⁴¹ Tülay Artan, From Charismatic Leadership to Collective Rule: Introducing Materials on the Wealth and Power of Ottoman Princesses in the Eighteenth Century,” *Toplum ve Ekonomi* 4 (1993): 53- 92. Tülay Artan, “Boğaziçi’nin Çehresini Değiştiren Soylu Kadınlar ve Sultanefendi Sarayları,” *İstanbul Dergisi* III, (October 1992): 109-118 / Noble Women Who Changed the Face of the Bosphorus and the Palace of the Sultans,” in *Biannual İstanbul I*, (January 1993): 87-97.

²⁴² Necdet Sakaoğlu, “Esmâ Sultan (Küçük),” in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol:3 (İstanbul, 1994), 207. Türkan Duran, *I. Abdülhamid’in kızı...*, 79-80.

²⁴³ Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi: Nizam-ı Cedid ve Tanzimat Devirleri (1789-1856)*, vol: 5 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007), 96.

²⁴⁴ Tülay Artan, “Periods and Problems of Ottoman (Women's) Patronage on the Via Egnatia,” in *Via Egnatia Under Ottoman Rule, 1380-1699* (Halcyon Days in Crete II. A Symposium Held in Rethymnon, 9-11 January 2000), ed. Elizabeth Zacharidou, Rethymnon, 1996, 20.

²⁴⁵ Tülay Artan, “Esmâ Sultan Sahil Sarayı,” in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol:3, (İstanbul, 1994), 209. Tülay Artan, Eyüp’ün bir Diğer çehresi: sayfiye ve sahil saraylar, in Tülay Artan (ed.), *Eyüp. Dün-bugün* (İstanbul 1994), 111.

decorated. She had requested the palace to be repaired after her marriage with Hüseyin Pasha and she herself got involved in the interior decoration process during the repair. The embroidery designs and color for furnishing of the palace were chosen by Esmâ Sultan.²⁴⁶

Pardoe was invited to the palace in Eyüp to spend a night. When she arrived, she learned that “the sultan and principal ladies of her households had been detained by the Sultan and would not return until the following day.”²⁴⁷ Therefore, she just entered the palace for a short time, as she feared of not being able to find any opportunity to visit the palace again. Therefore, she could not give a detailed description of the palace in her accounts. Apart from Pardoe, a traveler named Eugene Flandin engraved the exterior view of the palace at Eyüp with lithography techniques. Another traveler named Thomas Allom illustrated the meeting at the chamber, which could be the *Divanhane*. Although one should have enough formation to examine this illustration in detail, overall it can be said that the chamber is depicted as over-decorated and over-ornamented. Therefore, one can be argue that the illustration reflects an “oriental fantasy” rather than the possible reality. Although Pardoe’s descriptions for palaces were close to reality, W.H.Bartlett’s illustration of the room at Phanar in her book can be shown as an example of an oriental fantasy.

Another palace of Esmâ Sultan that Pardoe visited was in Ortaköy, which was also known as ‘Tırnakçı Mansion’. A book by Sedat Hakkı Eldem includes the photography, engraving and plans of the palace.²⁴⁸ Tülay Artan contends that the palace has civil architectural feature of the classical period due to spreading the linear parallel to the coast and its external façade feature.²⁴⁹ She also compares the palaces in Ortaköy and Eyüp in terms of their architectural styles and argues that while Western architectural elements are dominant though limited to the ornamentation in Ortaköy palace, the characteristic features of the classical Ottoman houses can be seen in the palace at Eyüp.²⁵⁰ Rather than the exterior of the palace in Ortaköy, Pardoe only wrote about

²⁴⁶ Türkan Duran, “I. Abdülhamid’in Kızı Esmâ Sultan’ın Hayatı (1778-1848)” (MA thesis, 2007), 58.

²⁴⁷ Julia Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 512.

²⁴⁸ Sedat Hakkı Eldem, *Boğaziçi Yalıları Rumeli Yakası/ The Yalıs of the Bosphorus European Side*, vol 1 (Vehbi Koç Yayınları, 1993), 90-1.

²⁴⁹ Tülay Artan, “Boğaziçi’nin Çehresini Değiştiren Soylu Kadınlar ve Sultan Efendi Sarayları,” *İstanbul Dergisi* III, (October 1992): 114.

²⁵⁰ Tülay Artan, “Esmâ Sultan Sahil Sarayı,” in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol:3, (İstanbul, 1994), 210; Tülay Artan, Eyüp’ün bir Diğer çehresi: sayfiye ve sahilsaraylar in *Eyüp. Dün-bugün*, ed. Tülay Artan, (İstanbul:

interior decoration in detail. Melek Hanım also visited the palaces and described the interior.²⁵¹ The closeness of the descriptions of Melek Hanım and Pardoe reveals the reliability of Pardoe’s narrative.²⁵²



Figure 1: Thomas Allom: “Apartment in the Palace of Eyoub, the Residence of Asme Sultana, Constantinople”²⁵³

Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994), 112.

²⁵¹ Melek Hanım, *Thirty Years in the Harem: Or the Autobiography of Melek-Hanum, Wife of H. H. Kibrizli-Mehemet-Pasha* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1872), 150-2.

²⁵² Artan claims that it is possible to draw the plan of the palace by evaluating two sources in the light of these two descriptions: two account registers (*hesap pusulası*) kept during the repair after earthquake of 1767 and a inventory register (*keşif defteri*) dated 1785. (Tülay Artan, *Boğaziçi'nin Çehresini Değiştiren Soylu Kadınlar...*, 114).

²⁵³ Thomas Allom and Rober Wash, *Constantinople and the scenery of the seven churches of Asia Minor* (London: Fisher Son&Co., 1838).

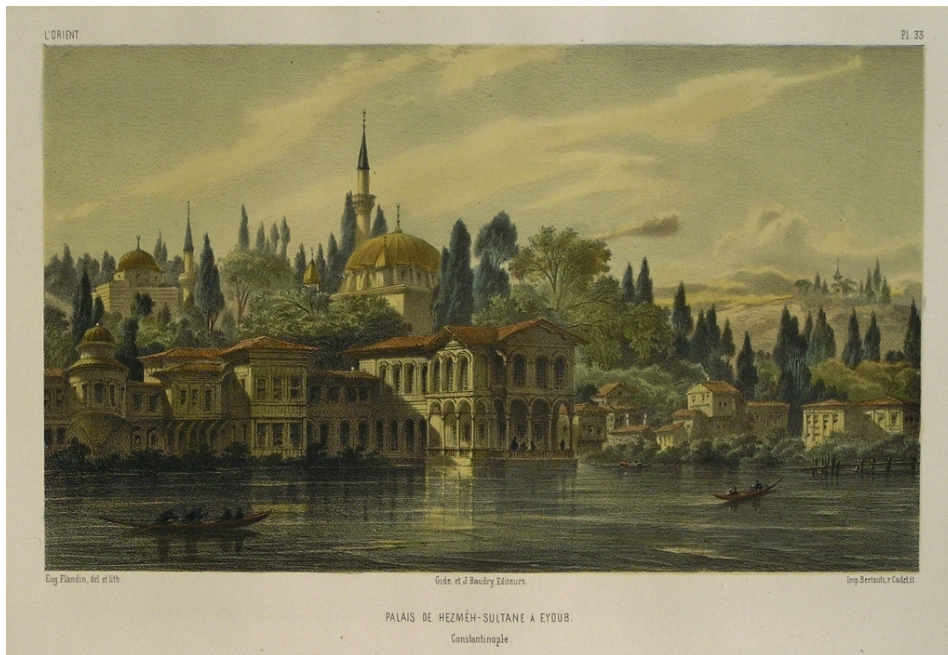


Figure 2: Jean-Baptiste Eugene Napoleon Flandin: “Palais de Hezmeh—Sultane a Eyoub, Constantinople”²⁵⁴



Figure 3: W.H. Bartlett: “A Turkish Apartment in the Fanar”²⁵⁵

²⁵⁴ Jean-Baptiste Eugene Napoleon Flandin, *L'Orient* (Paris, Gide et J Baudry, 1853). For the figure; <http://tr.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=43063> / Jan, 2016.

²⁵⁵ Julia Pardoe, *Sultanlar Şehri İstanbul*, trans. Banu Büyükkal (Türkiye:İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010), 59.

Pardoe visited more high-ranking elites' houses compared to royal palaces in number. She paid visit five upper-class palaces. One of them was the granted palace of İskodralı Mustafa Pasha. Pardoe called him as Scodra Pasha, but his exact name was Mustafa Pasha Buşati (İşkodralı Mustafa Pasha). The title Buşatlı came from the *Pashalık* of Scudari that was ruled by the Buşatlı family from 1757 to 1830. In the 17th century, many local notables and grandee families strengthened their power in Albania because of gradual weakening of central power in the peripheries. One of them, Mehmed Pasha Buşati, established his authority in northern Albania and received an official appointment as governor of Shkoder in 1757.²⁵⁶ The appointment intensified the power of the family. They extended their control over a large area and “linked Adriatic port-towns under their control with both the Balkan hinterland and the larger Mediterranean world.”²⁵⁷ By the policy of Mahmud II, which was the elimination of the local notable as a threat to the central authority, their power was consolidated.

İşkodralı Mustafa Pasha was the last hereditary governor of the sanjak of Scudari. According to Pardoe, the breaking of Mustafa Pasha's power was mainly related to his support to his army about the resistance to the clothing reform.²⁵⁸ After Reşid Mehmed Pasha's army defeated him, he asked for mercy. Beside forgiveness, the palace at Süleymaniye was granted to him.²⁵⁹ The granting of a palace as well as forgiveness could be related to his previous alliance with the sultan. Robert Elsie indicated that Mustafa Pasha was married with Ayşe, the daughter of Ali Pasha Tepedenli, but he learned that this was a tactical marriage to kill him and make an alliance with the Sultan.²⁶⁰ However, he started to control very large areas, including important center like Nishe, Skopje and Sofia and made alliances against the state²⁶¹ and broke away from the control of the state. Therefore, he was declared a rebel.²⁶² Pardoe explained his loss of power with these words:

²⁵⁶ Biray Kolluoglu and Meltem Toksöz, eds., *Cities of the Mediterranean: From the Ottomans to the Present Day* (London; New York; New York: I.B.Tauris, 2014), 120.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 120.

²⁵⁸ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 243-44.

²⁵⁹ Mustafa Lütfi Bilge, “Mustafa Pasha, Buşatlı (1797-1860),” in *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol: 31, (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2006), 344-5.

²⁶⁰ Robert Elsie ed., *A Biographical Dictionary of Albanian History* (London; New York: I.B.Tauris, 2012), 63.

²⁶¹ Ibid., 63.

²⁶² Mustafa Lütfi Bilge, *Mustafa Pasha...*, 345.

“Scodra Pasha had earned for himself a place on the page of history, but he had paid a high and a painful price for the privilege. He had tasted for a brief space the intoxicating draught of power, but the bowl had been dashed from his lips. He had defied the yoke beneath which he had been ultimately bowed, and the iron that has been resisted is ever that which eats deepest into the soul”.²⁶³

When Pardoe visited İřkodralı Mustafa Pasha, he might have been around 40 years old, because he was born in 1797. Pardoe noted that there was “a slight cast in one of his eyes” and his face had an “aggreable and sensible expression”.²⁶⁴ To her, he seemed to be healthy. Although Pardoe indicated that he was middle-sized²⁶⁵, Turkish novelist Cevdet Kudret mentioned that he was very tall and had wide shoulders.²⁶⁶ Even he claimed that Sultan Abdülmecit married him to a sultana because he was impressed by his bulky body.²⁶⁷ Through describing İřkodralı Mustafa Pasha in this way, he could portray him as a politically strong person. It was also shown that the stories about İřkodralı Mustafa were still alive in the memories of Ottoman people, because the book was published in 1943. It could be related to political and intellectual circles that he had in Istanbul. After he moved to Istanbul from Scodra, he formed a large intellectual circle due to his curiosity about literature and opinions that he presented in intellectual meetings.²⁶⁸ Political and intellectual circles might have kept his memory alive.

İřkodralı Mustafa Pasha took his education from her father, who was a statesman and poet.²⁶⁹ He also wrote poems by using the nickname ‘Şerifi’ and so was also known as ‘Şerifi Mustafa Pasha’.²⁷⁰ Pardoe pointed out his intellectual side and eating habits. He studied French and had a respectable library, including the books of “Voltaire, Racine, Boileau, Moliere and many other standard authors”.²⁷¹ Also, the table's arrangement in his house was “perfectly European” and he sat in a chair and ate at the table with knives and forks.²⁷²

The wife of İřkodralı Mustafa Pařa, the Buyuk Hanoum, “was descended from one of

²⁶³ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 236.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 249-50.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 250.

²⁶⁶ Cevdet Kudret, *Sınıf Arkadařları* (Evrensel Basım Yayın, 2006), 47.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 47-8.

²⁶⁸ Mustafa Lütfi Bilge, *Mustafa Pasha...*, 345.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 344.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 344.

²⁷¹ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 251.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 237.

the most powerful and princely families of the country.”²⁷³ They had a lovely daughter, Heymine Hanım. She mentioned to Pardoe about how she missed her country, which was the place where she felt more happy and free.²⁷⁴ As understood from the conversations with family members, they were living with memories that they had gone through in Albania. Even so, Emine Hanım shows an Albania-fashion handkerchief to her. “It was of black muslin, painted with groups of coloured flowers, and bordered all round with a deep fringe of fine pearls.”²⁷⁵ Albanians' love and loyalty to their country was also remarked by travelers Baron John and Cam Hobhouse Broughton as follows: “No foreign country, nor new sights, can take away from them the remembrance and the love of their mountains, their friends, and their own villages.”²⁷⁶

Pardoe visited another high-ranking elite Ömer Pasha's house. While she was trying to find the house of İşkodralı Mustafa Pasha, she mistakenly entered Ömer Pasha's house assuming that it was the house of İşkodralı Mustafa Pasha. Ömer Pasha was the successor of İşkodralı Mustafa Pasha.²⁷⁷ When Pardoe said that she came to visit Scodra Pasha, the households accepted her as a guest. After the conversation with Büyük Hanım, she understood that it was the house of newly appointed Scodra Pasha, not the Scodra Pasha who revolted before. After the appointment, Scodra Pasha moved to Albania and his households were making their arrangement to meet him, as indicated by Pardoe. Therefore, they “were occupying a house lent to them by a friend, for the few weeks which they found it expedient to pass in Constantinople.”²⁷⁸ Secondary sources I consulted with just focus on political chaos in the region without mentioning who ruled Albania because political instability and chaos was raised in the region after the elimination of the Buşati family's power. At that time, there were many “anti-Ottoman uprisings in most parts of Albanian territory that was demanding self-administration.”²⁷⁹ Pardoe also did not give information about the family members.

Pardoe also had a chance to attend a dinner given by Azmi Bey in his home. Mahmud II had opened *Mekteb-i Harbiye* (military academy) to strengthen his new army that was

²⁷³ Ibid., 234.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 234.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., 242.

²⁷⁶ Baron John, Cam Hobhouse Broughton, *A Journey Through Albania, and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia, to Constantinople during the Years 1809 and 1810*, Vol: 1 (Philadelphia: M.Carey and Son, 1817), 132.

²⁷⁷ Julia Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 226.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 227.

²⁷⁹ Antoine Young, *Albania* (Clio Press, 1997), xxix.

formed after the abolishment of the Janissaries and Azmi Bey was second governor of *Mekteb-i Harbiye*.²⁸⁰ Azmi Bey probably was one of the officers who were sent to England by the sultan to take military education because Pardoe had personal acquaintance with Azmi Bey in England. He was brought to the academy temporarily (1836-7).²⁸¹ In a short time, he was promoted to colonel (*miralay*), mainly due to his second language knowledge.²⁸²

Pardoe mentioned that he was like English gentleman with his ‘sincerity, frank and unostentatious politeness’ rather than a Turk.²⁸³ The invitees to the dinner were also modern and literate. Some of them took education in Europe and fluently spoke English and French. The dinner table for the guests was arranged in a European style and included French wines, champagne and Edinburgh ale.²⁸⁴ After dinner, she met with Azmi Bey’s eighteen-year-old wife. Her clothes were “partly of European arrangement.”²⁸⁵ The atmosphere in Azmi Bey's house made Pardoe hopeful about the civilizing process of Ottomans.²⁸⁶

Another high-ranking elite’s house visited by Pardoe was the house of Mustafa Nazif Efendi, the Egyptian Charge d’Affaires. Mustafa Efendi was the son of Kamili Ismail Efendi, so he was also known as ‘Kamilizade Mustafa Nazif Efendi’. Pardoe described him with his lofty turban and snow-white beard. For her, he was “venerable looking, kind and humorous person.”²⁸⁷ He took education at the *Enderun* school. After his education, he became a member of *hacegan* (scribal service) and served in various positions.²⁸⁸ He was appointed as Esham deputy accountant in 1807 and the accountancy of Haremeyn in 1830-1. Haremeyn Directorate was transformed to the ministry (*nezaret*) and Mustafa Efendi was appointed as a Chief Accountant of Haremeyn Ministry in 1836.²⁸⁹ He was sent to Egypt to meet Mehmet Ali Paşa in 1831-

²⁸⁰ There is a picture of old Maçka Barrack, the first building of Mekteb-i Harbiye (Military Academy) drawn specifically for her book by Bartlett after her visit to this barrack. (Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 194-215).

²⁸¹ *Harpokulu Tarihiçesi 1834-1945* (Istanbul, 1945), 9; *Ayin Tarihi* (Dahiliye Vekaleti Matbuat Umumi Müdürlüğü, 1934), 87.

²⁸² *Harpokulu Okulu Tarihiçesi...*, 9; Niyazi Ahmet Banoğlu, *Tarihi ve Efsaneleriyle İstanbul Semtleri* (İstanbul:Selis Kitaplar, 2007), 225.

²⁸³ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, vol:2, 307.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 312.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 314.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 309.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, vol 1, 113.

²⁸⁸ Mehmet Süreyya Bey, *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol IV (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları,1996), 1239.

²⁸⁹ John Robert Barnes, *An Introduction to Religious Foundations in the Ottoman Empire* (Leiden ; New York: Brill Academic Publishers, 1987), 78.

2 and became a *kapı kethüdası* (Chamberlain) in 1834. He died in 1836.²⁹⁰

Pardoe had the opportunity to visit the house of the foreign minister two times. At first, it was requested from Pardoe to make a visit to the harem of Reiss Efendi, but it was long delayed due to illness and death of Büyük Hanım.²⁹¹ In her visit, Reis Efendi was not in the house and most probably that second invitation directly came from Reis Efendi himself. It was not clear who requested the first visit. It could also have come from the Reis Efendi because it was understood from Pardoe's explanation that his desire to meet Pardoe was only related to political affairs. As indicated by her, “the only subject in which he took a marked interest, was the degree of popularity enjoyed by the present Turkish Ambassador (*Nuri Pasha*) in London.”²⁹² Her opinion about Nuri Pasha was that he was a good man but not a convenient person for Britain because he did not know any European language, how to behave in society and also made no attempt “to identify himself with the feeling and habits of them among whom he resided.”²⁹³ After that, Reis Efendi asked that if you had a chance to select the next ambassador, whom should be choose? She replied “without hesitation: Reshid Bey- the present minister at Paris.”²⁹⁴ She claimed that in a short period after this conversation a *ferman* was issued for the appointment of Reshid Bey.²⁹⁵ The person she mentioned was Mustafa Reshid Pasha. Mustafa Reshid and Nuri Efendi changed their embassies with each other toward the autumn of 1838.²⁹⁶ It was the time where Pardoe was in Istanbul but it was unknown whether she had an effect on this decision or not. Indeed, applying the opinion of a woman who knows both cultures demonstrated how open-minded Reis Efendi was.

Pardoe generally used the word ‘Reis Efendi’ to identify him. Just one time she called him with the name ‘Yusuf Pasha’.²⁹⁷ It is certain that she misnamed her, because there was not a *reisül-küttap* or foreign minister named as Yusuf at that time. As a part of bureaucratic reforms, Mahmud II transformed the old offices of the Reis’ül-küttap (Chief of the clerk) to the Foreign Ministry in 1836. When Pardoe was in Istanbul, the mentioned minister was either Akif Paşa (1836) or Ahmed Hulusi Paşa (1836 – 1837).

²⁹⁰ Mehmet Süreyya Bey, *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol IV (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları,1996), 1239.

²⁹¹ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 210.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, vol 2, 266.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 266-7.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 268.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 268.

²⁹⁶ Reşat Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit Paşa ve Tanzimat* (Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991), 82.

²⁹⁷ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*,vol:2, 268.

It is more likely to be Akif Pasha for several reasons. Before Reis Efendi applied her opinion, most probably he had an opportunity to observe her and have a good impression about her. The most possible place for Pardoe and Reis Efendi to have met was the imperial wedding of Mehmed Said Pasha and Mihrimah Sultan. As improved by Mehmet Işık in his thesis, the foreign minister attended the wedding ceremony and he was Akif Efendi.²⁹⁸ Also, Akif Efendi was the last Reis'ül-küttap and he was appointed as the first foreign minister.²⁹⁹ It was understood that he was appointed when Pardoe was there, because she also indicated that he was a minister of foreign affairs. It could be that although his title was changed, his old title might be commonly used among society because he was first recognized as Reis'ül-küttap (Reis Efendi). On the other hand, it was doubtful that Akif Pasha could support the appointment of Mustafa Reshid Pasha because Mustafa Resid Pasha was under the patronage of Pertev Pasha who was the enemy of Akif Pasha.³⁰⁰

In the house of Reis Efendi, Devlehay Hanım met Pardoe. Pardoe argues that the Sultan was disturbed by the unethical behavior of Büyük Hanım (the wife of Reis Efendi) while she was presenting her gift in the wedding ceremony of Saliha Sultan. Therefore, he sent Devlehay Hanım as a gift to perform such duties.³⁰¹ She was a very beautiful Georgian and Reiss Efendi received this gift and married her.³⁰² However, it was understood that Devlehay Hanım did not have a child. Therefore, when Reis Efendi learned his other concubine, Goncafem Hanım, was pregnant, he married her, but she aborted her child.³⁰³ In the harem, there were also other women from high-ranking families who Pasha married in his early ages.³⁰⁴ Through such stories, Pardoe could aim to present the controversy about the head of the harem, because her interest in this issue was to understand the “domestic economy of the harem.”³⁰⁵ Beside them, Pardoe also

²⁹⁸ Mehmet Işık, “Siyaset ve Şenlik 1836 Sur-ı Humayun” (MA thesis, Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf Üniversitesi, 2014), 19 and 26.

²⁹⁹ Cartley Findley, “*Hariciye Nezareti*,” in *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol: 16 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1997), 179.

³⁰⁰ Reşat Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit Paşa ve Tanzimat...*, 82.

³⁰¹ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, vol 2, 211.

³⁰² Pardoe described her cloth in detail as follows: “Devlehai Hanoum was dressed in an antery of white silk, embroidered all over with groups of flowers in pale green ; her salva, or trowsers, were of satin of the Stuart tartan, and her jacket light blue ; the gauze that composed her chemisette was almost impalpable, and the cachemire about her waist was of a rich crimson. Her hair, of which several tresses had been allowed to escape from beneath the embroidered handker chief, was as black as the plumage of a raven; and her complexion was a clear, transparent brown.” (vol 2,214-5)

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, 264.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 215.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 507.

briefly mentioned Goncafen Hanım (a concubine), Emin Bey who was the elder son of the Reis Efendi and a young Greek girl who converted to Islam.³⁰⁶

The third category in classifying the house type is middle-class houses. As well as understood from her descriptions, Pardoe had a large non-Muslim social circle that was mainly composed of Greeks. She probably had this circle through attending Greek carnival, festival of fire³⁰⁷ and Easter. Especially, she had an opportunity to meet and have conversations with leading Phanariots. She mentioned in detail about three leading Phanariots, residing in Phanar: Nikolas Aristarchi, İstefanaki Vogorides and Angeolopolo. According to her, they were gifted with diplomatic abilities and gained the trust of the Bab-ı Ali. She identified them with a certain characteristic: “the craft is with Vogorede, the energy with Logothesi, and the tenacity of purpose with Angiolopolo”.³⁰⁸

Nicholas Aristarchi was a member of the Aristarchi family, one of the well-established families in Phanar. He was born in 1799 and married with Marie, daughter of the Mano family who monopolized the 'great logothesi'³⁰⁹ of the Orthodox Patriarch. He was the great logothesi when Pardoe was there, so she called him Logothesi (Logofet Bey), rather than his name. His physical properties were described as

“he is about five and thirty, of the middle size, and there is mind in every line of his expressive countenance —his brow is high and ample, with the rich brown hair receding from it, as if fully to reveal its intellectual character; his bright and restless eyes appear almost to flash fire during his moments of excitement, but in those of repose their characteristic is extreme softness ; his nose is a perfect aquiline, and his moustache partially conceals a set of the whitest teeth I ever saw”.³¹⁰

There was some gossip in society about him. The gossip about his family was more attractive for her. It was told that his father was killed in front of him by his manservant.³¹¹ However, Pardoe thought that these did not reflect the truth. She paid a visit to her house by the invitation of Madame Logothesi, but she did not describe the

³⁰⁶ Ibid., 221.

³⁰⁷ Pardoe defined festival of fire as follows: “One of the ancient of the Greek commemorative usage” (Julia Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 134)

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 160.

³⁰⁹ Logothesi was the deputy of Orthodox patriarch and he was mainly responsible for economic issues.

³¹⁰ Pardoe., *The City of the Sultan...*, 79.

³¹¹ Ibid., 76.

interior of the house, just focused on the breakfast culture. She also mentioned how Aristarchi kindly behaved to his family members.

The person, named Angiolopolo, was Panoyati Argyropoulo.³¹² He served as a dragoman until 1817 and voluntarily retired.³¹³ Pardoe explained this situation as follows: “after an existence of political toil, Angiolopolo has ostensibly retired into the calm and quiet of domestic life.”³¹⁴ She accepted his invitation because of the positive impression on him and especially her “anxious to make the acquaintance of all those individuals who had become matter of local interest”.³¹⁵ As is understood from her description, there was a sincere atmosphere in the house that was mainly provided by Argyropoulo himself. His kindly behavior to his wife impressed Pardoe so much.³¹⁶

Beside the houses of the two Phanariots, Pardoe visited some other non-Muslim houses in Istanbul. The most civilized nation was the Greeks for her, as indicated as follows: “They pride themselves in their progress; they stand forth, scorning all half measures, as declared converts to European customs; and they fashion their minds as well as their persons, after their admitted models.”³¹⁷ She also claimed that *sedir*, the main furniture of Ottoman houses, was invented by Greeks and copied by Turks.³¹⁸ Philhellenism in Europe could also be the base of her ideas, which was the love of Greece emerging with the romantic relation to Greeks in the Romantic Era at the end of the 18th century. In this ideology, Greeks were accepted as the most civilized nation and so the cultural link between Ancient Greece and Europe tried to be constructed.³¹⁹

Pardoe visited three Greek houses. In one house, she witnessed a Greek wedding. As a part of the wedding ceremony, she went to another Greek house for performing the solemnization of the marriage. She also spent time in a Greek merchant's house before attending the Greek Carnival at the house of Keşişoğlu. The participants of the Greek Carnival generally took education in Europe and they knew ancient Greek, French, English and even Italian. In the clothes of Greek young men and females, there was a

³¹² Musa Kılıç, *Osmanlı Hariciyesinde...*, 23.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, 23.

³¹⁴ Pardoe, *The City of Sultan...*, 163.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 163.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 164.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 84.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 69.

³¹⁹ Christopher John Murray, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era 1760-1850* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 872.

harmony of Greek and European styles.³²⁰ She also noted that some of the Greeks used knives, forks, and other European appliances at dinner, but they were a “hindrance rather than auxiliary” for them.³²¹

According to Pardoe, “the Turks have a thousand old and cherished superstitions that tend to clog the chariot wheels of social progression, and which it will require time to rend away.”³²² From Turkish subjects, she visited the house of Turkish merchant. She did not indicate the name of the merchant.³²³ It was the first visited house in Istanbul. As soon as she arrived to the port, she met a “respectable” Turkish merchant and explained her desire to spend time with a Turkish family in Ramadan and take an invitation from him.³²⁴

The Turkish merchant's “family consisted of the father and the mother, the son and the son's wife, the daughter and her husband, and a younger and adopted son (Süleyman Efendi).”³²⁵ For Pardoe, women’s habits in the *harem* were a “luxury and indolent”.³²⁶ They just spent their time dressing³²⁷, sleeping and bathing in the bath (hamam).³²⁸ Even she could not understand why they woke up early. When she was here, the atmosphere of the house suddenly changed when a slave announced “the intended presence of the gentlemen of the family.”³²⁹ Two ladies, came for visiting, ran away from the room, old story teller (*masalci*) covered their face with a thick veil moved to the behind of the door.³³⁰ The Turkish merchant sat opposite to Pardoe. He was “smothered in furs, and crowned with the most stately looking turban I had yet seen.”³³¹

³²⁰ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, vol:2, 73.

³²¹ Ibid., 71.

³²² Ibid., 84.

³²³ Pardoe does not specify the name of Turkish Merchant, so he is called as “the Turkish merchant” and his house as “Turkish merchant's house” in the text.

³²⁴ Ibid., vol:1, 16.

³²⁵ Ibid., 18-9.

³²⁶ Ibid., 20.

³²⁷ Pardoe makes generalization for the cloth of women in the harem as follows: “They all wore chemisettes or under garments of silk gauze, trimmed with fringes of narrow ribbon, and wide trowsers of printed cotton falling to the ankle: their feet were bare, save that occasionally they thrust them into little yellow slippers, that scarcely covered their toes, and in which they moved over the floor with the greatest ease, dragging after them their anterys, or sweeping robes ; but more frequently they dispensed with even these, and walked barefoot about the harem. Their upper dresses were of printed cotton of the brightest colours — that of the daughter had a blue ground, with a yellow pattern, and was trimmed with a fringe of pink and green. These robes, which are made in one piece, are divided at the hip on either side to their extreme length, and are girt about the waist with a cachemire shawl. The costume is completed in winter by a tight vest lined with fur, which is generally of light green or pink.” (19-20)

³²⁸ Ibid., 20.

³²⁹ Ibid., 22.

³³⁰ Ibid., 26.

³³¹ Ibid., 27.

Pardoe did not mention any conversation she made with him. He may have been more conservative than other house owner that Pardoe visited.

Pardoe also had dinner with households.³³² In contrast to Mustafa Pasha's table arrangement, the dinner in the house was traditionally prepared. Meals were served on a round tray placed on low stands. Pardoe and the household “had each possessed *themselves* of a cushion, and squatted down with our feet under us round the dinner tray, having on our laps linen napkins of about two yards in length richly fringed.”³³³ There was only a spoon for eating, no other eating utensils such as knives, forks and plates. Fanny Davis argues that the traditional table arrangement at the house should be related to the traditions of Ramadan, because table accoutrements were mostly Westernized at that time.³³⁴

Although Pardoe did not describe the interior and architecture of the house, she entered an Armenian house. Her opinion was that they were “further removed from the improvements than Turks.”³³⁵ She also visited a Jewish family at Galata after she asked her friend to take her to a Jewish home to see the costumes of Jewish women. She just mentioned the *sofa* of the house, not a detailed description of the interior, most probably because her only aim was to see Jewish clothes.

The Jewish house's owner was a “respectable” merchant and his name was given as Naim Zornona. Unfortunately, his real name is not found in secondary literature. It could be written wrongly as Angiolopolo. In addition, he could not be an important merchant, so there was no knowledge about him in the sources. Also, the information about the merchant's family was limited in Pardoe's account. She just mentioned that the mistress of this house was a typical Jewish woman with her “eagle eye, prominent nose, and high pale forehead”³³⁶ and the whole family was kind and hospitable and so

³³² Description of food kinds by Pardoe as follows: “Nineteen dishes, of fish, flesh, fowl, pastry, and creams, succeeding each other in the most heterogeneous manner—the salt following the sweet, and the stew preceding the custard—were terminated by a pyramid of pillauf.” (24)

³³³ *Ibid.*, 23.

³³⁴ Fanny Davis, Mary E. Esch, and Sema Gurun, *The Ottoman Lady: A Social History from 1718 to 1918: A Social History, 1718-1918* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1986), 250.

³³⁵ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 84.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, vol 2, 369. Her dress was described as follows: “she was attired in a full dress of white silk, confined a little above the hips by a broad girdle of wrought gold, clasped with gems; both the girdle and the clasps being between five and six inches in width. Above this robe, she wore a pelisse of dove-coloured cachemire, lined and overlaid with the most costly saibles, and worth several hundred pounds.”

happy to host a Christian.³³⁷ Indeed, the person himself, his family and atmosphere in his house was not so crucial, because, as indicated, there was no information about the interior of the house, except the *sofa*.

All in all, Pardoe observed and witnessed different lifestyles regarding political life, careers, clothes, eating habits and behaviors in visited houses. In previous part, I presented a general view and atmosphere of visited houses through briefly mentioning house owners, households and the experience that Pardoe had in these houses. Also, the qualities of house owners made us to involve them in our classification of the house, which are royal, high-ranking and upper middle class.

3.2. The Material Culture in the Ottoman Houses

Pardoe described interiors of thirteen houses in Istanbul. Considering her descriptions and main units of typical Ottoman houses, visited houses will be analyzed into three parts: courtyards, halls and rooms. In addition, rooms will be categorized as *haremlik* (women's section), *selamlık* (men's section), bedroom, eating room and private rooms. In Ottoman classical houses, there were not specific sections like eating and bedrooms. In here, it was just rooms where Pardoe spent the night and had dinner with households because still there was not a specific rooms as bedroom and dining room as well as understood from her description. The main criterion for evaluating visited houses is Pardoe's own perspective formed with a middle-class and Victorian background and essential issues of material culture.

3.2.1. Courtyard

Ottoman houses were built within a courtyard. The courtyard was an area that was partly or completely surrounded by walls. The walls cut off the private space of Ottoman women from the public outside. In other words, courtyard allowed the houses to be excluded from the street.³³⁸ In their private place, women and children had an opportunity to socialize far away from the eyes of outsiders. They spent much of their time within courtyards especially in warmer climates.³³⁹ “Many of the family activities-

³³⁷ Ibid., 372.

³³⁸ Ülkü Altınoluk, “Geleneksel Türk Evi ve Yaşam,” *İlgi Dergisi* 56, (1989), 3.

³³⁹ Leslie Pierce, “The Material World: Ideologies and Ordinary Things,” in *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, ed. Virginia H. Aksan (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 218.

such as cooking, baking, preparation of food for winter storage, weaving carpets and rugs and laundry- were carried out in the courtyard.”³⁴⁰ The covered and spacious courtyards in the houses of Mustafa Efendi, İškodralı Mustafa Pasha and the Turkish merchant could be for a comfortable space. Pardeo witnessed children's entertainment in the courtyard of Reis Efendi. The younger sons of Re'is Efendi and three or four children were running barefooted around the fountain in the courtyards. They were soaked with water droplets from the fountain and laughed at the dripping condition of each other.³⁴¹

Having described the courtyards of the houses, Pardoe mentioned some objects. There was a fountain just in the houses of royal and some high ranking elites. It could be argued that they had better life conditions than the middle class because the water supply in middle-class houses was from fountains constructed in main street or rainwater.³⁴² Among fountains Pardoe mentioned, fountain kiosk in the house of Reiss Efendi was most beautiful that she had yet seen. “A painted dome *of fountain*, representing the shores of the channel, occupied the centre of the roof; and beneath it a graceful *jef d'eau* threw up its sparkling waters, which fell back into a capacious bason.”³⁴³ In the inner courtyard of İškodralı Mustafa Pasha, there was also a marble fountain. When Pardoe entered, “a pretty girl of about eighteen was performing her ablutions.”³⁴⁴ However, this situation was questionable because the privacy of women was essential for Ottoman society. Maybe, the girl was doing something else such as washing her hands, but Pardoe assumed she performed ablution.

In the house of Mustafa Efendi, a marble fountain was positioned on the left side of the courtyard.³⁴⁵ Just beyond the fountain, there was a conventual-looking wheel. It was a mechanism that rounded itself and functioned such a way. It was for transferring food and dishes between *haremlık* and *selamlık* (women's and men's sections) without facing each other. Another traveler, Garnett, described the mechanism as “a kind of buttery hatch, in the form of a revolving cupboard, called the *dulap*, serves for all verbal

³⁴⁰ Vacit İmamoğlu, *Geleneksel Kayseri Evleri...*, 214.

³⁴¹ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, vol:2, 273-4.

³⁴² For detailed information about water supply in Ottoman State see David Waines, *Food Culture and Health in Pre-Modern Muslim Societies* (Leiden ; Boston: BRILL, 2010), especially pages between 59 and 65.

³⁴³ Pardoe, *The City of Sultan...*, vol 2, 273.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 230.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, vol 1, 109.

communication between the two departments, and for the transmission of dishes from the harem kitchen when a meal has to be served in the *selamlık*”.³⁴⁶ Indeed, this was a system to protect women’s privacy.

The fountain was used as a decorative object in the courtyard of Mustafa Efendi. The water of the fountain flowed from a group of lions’ heads.³⁴⁷ Most probably, the lion figure of the foundation was a ‘spolia’, reusing decorative sculptures on a new monument. Indeed, using the lion’s head as an aesthetic and decorative object in the courtyard can be related to the display of power and wealth. It could be carrying a meaning that the owner of the house was a politically powerful man who not only tamed the strongest animal in the nature (lion), but made it his servant. A person who tamed the lion to serve him could subject the people around him.

The physical quality of courtyards gave an idea about the status and wealth of house-owners. Although the Turkish merchant, İškodralı Mustafa Pasha and Mustafa Efendi had spacious courtyards, Naom Zornona and Ömer Pasha had ‘miserable’ courtyards. Their houses’ exteriors were as distorted as the courtyards. The wooden front of Zornona’s house was blackened because of the time and fire and house’ shutter had a rusty hinge.³⁴⁸ The house of Ömer Pasha seemed almost to be demolished and was supported by heavy timbers in the garden. Pardoe described this scene as “tottering to its fall.”³⁴⁹ On the other hand, there were garish courtyards and ostentatious gardens in the palace of Esmâ Sultan. It was a very large land decorated with gardens, repositories, terrace and gaily gilded kiosk.³⁵⁰ Therefore, Pardoe could understand the wealth and status of visited families even from the appearance of the courtyards; right from the first moment she entered it.

3.2.2. Sofa (Halls)

A prominent part of Ottoman houses' interior was the hall (*sofa*). The sofa was the main access space of houses. It was the place that rooms opened to. The location of the *sofa* in houses was a criteria to categorize house type as: “no sofa, outer sofa, inner sofa and

³⁴⁶ Lucy M. Garnett, *Turkey of the Ottomans* (Isaac Pitman, 1911), 421.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 109.

³⁴⁸ Pardoe, *The City of Sultan...*, vol:2, 368.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, vol 1, 223.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 315.

central sofa.”³⁵¹ In other word, *sofa* was “either closed on one or two sides or it was in the middle, resembling a square.”³⁵² In my opinion, Pardoe used several words, such as hall, passage, saloon and great saloon to remark these differences among *sofas*.

The *sofa* did not only function as a passage or connecting rooms, but a place for social activities and gathering.³⁵³ Pardoe witnessed some organization that was arranged in the *sofa*. One of them was Greek wedding ceremony in 'simple' sofa of the Greek house (houses visited for the marriage ceremony). As understood from the description, the only remarkable item in the *sofa* was a Turkish carpet on the floor.³⁵⁴ Unfortunately, which kind of Turkish carpet was not indicated by her. Ushak was the “leading carpet-producing town in Anatolia” in the first decade of 19th century.³⁵⁵ Therefore, it could be Ushak carpet that has two main types of design which were 'medallion' and 'star'.³⁵⁶ For the purpose of gathering in the *sofa*, a Bible and two marriage rings were put on the reading desk “overlaid by a gold-embroidered handkerchief.”³⁵⁷ Silver money was scattered over them to give a shiny appearance.³⁵⁸ A handkerchief was used for the basic need and generally presented as a gift.³⁵⁹ One of the functions of handkerchief, as seen here, was to cover up something. In the house of the Turkish merchant, it was used to cover the Quran.³⁶⁰ It was generally made from fine linen and decorated with the “motifs of health, longevity, love and passion.”³⁶¹ The reason for using gold embroidery most probably related to the wedding ceremony that was considerable importance for all religious communities in the Ottoman State.³⁶²

The dinner, given by Azmi Bey, was also organized in the saloon (*sofa*) of the *selamlık*. The saloon had many windows, “opening upon delicious garden, and forming a leafy

³⁵¹ Sedat Hakkı Eldem, *Turkish Houses, Ottoman Period*, vol:1 (Türkiye Anıt Çevre Turizm Koruma Vakfı, 1984), 16.

³⁵² Esra Burçin Dengiz, “Boundaries of gendered space: traditional Turkish house” (MA thesis, Bilkent University, 2001), 42.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 42.

³⁵⁴ Pardoe, *The city of the Sultan...*, 342.

³⁵⁵ Donald Quataert, “Part IV: The Age of Reforms, 1812-1914,” in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, Vol. 2: 1600-1914*, Suraiya Faroqhi et al., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 915.

³⁵⁶ Murray L. Eiland and Murray Eiland III, *Oriental Rugs: A Complete Guide* (Laurence King Publishing, 2008), 178.

³⁵⁷ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, vol 2, 342-3.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 342-3.

³⁵⁹ Nurhayat Berker and Virginia Taylor Saraçoğlu, *Türk İşlemeleri / The Turkish Embroidery* (Yapı Kredi Koleksiyonu, 1985), 219.

³⁶⁰ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 18.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 219.

³⁶² Mehrdad Kia, *Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (Greenwood, 2011), 189.

screen amid which we caught here and there are a bright glimpse of the Bosphorus.”³⁶³ The guests were sitting on the *sedir* (divan) in the saloon. *Sedir* was also seen in the ‘spacious saloon’ of the Reis Efendi.³⁶⁴ It was covered with white fabric, most probably for a precaution to keep clean. The fabric could be removed when it was used. Most probably, cushions were also used for sitting in the *sofa* because there were many cushions in the recess of ‘very handsome saloon’ (*sofa*) of İškodralı Mustafa Pasha's palace.³⁶⁵ When it was necessary, they could move from the recess and use it for sitting. The covering of the face of *sedir* and putting the cushions in recess presented that sofa was not actively used in the house of high-ranking elites. It could be that there were many sofas depending on the size of these houses, so some *sofas* were just separated for meeting and organizations.

The sofa was a show-room to present wealth and aesthetic taste through objects and decorations for Ottomans. An immense mirror was “filled up a space between two of the doors of the sofa of Turkish merchant's house.”³⁶⁶ Mirrors were used from the early period of Ottoman Empire, but it was a small mirror known as ‘cushion mirror’ or ‘hand mirror’.³⁶⁷ A large mirror was first used for the decoration of Aynalı Kavak Kasrı (the Pavilion of Mirrors).³⁶⁸ Modern wall mirrors were a luxurious item because its production required a developed technology. Europe started to produce wall mirrors in the 19th century thanks to improvements in material and manufacturing process. The Ottoman state still imported it in the 19th century from Venice that was an important producer since from the 13th century.³⁶⁹ Therefore, it was a luxury commodity for Ottomans. It was an enigma how the Turkish merchant obtained it.

In the *sofa* of Ottoman elites, luxury was presented through objects imported from Europe and using richly embroidered and colored carpets and cushions. The most garish one among narrated *sofas* was the ‘saloon’ that opened into the Imperial sleeping room in the house of Esmâ Sultan. It has thirty windows curtained with purple velvet (*kadife*)

³⁶³ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 310.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 223. (the word *specious* was used by Pardoe to describe the sofa)

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, vol 1, 230.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

³⁶⁷ Şevket Rado, “Ayna /Mirrors,” in *Aletler ve Adetler*, Şevket Rado Başkanlığı'nda Bir Heyet (written by a group of people under the presidency of Şevket Rado) (Akbank Yayınlar, 1987), 12.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

³⁶⁹ Pamela Heyne, *Mirror by Design: Using Reflection to Transform Space* (Wiley, 1996), 22.

fringed with gold.³⁷⁰ There were “many types of *kadife* varying according to manufacturing techniques, areas of publication and the materials they included.”³⁷¹ It was difficult to exactly identify the kind of the velvet that Pardoe described. It can be just a flat curtain or a self-patterned *çatma* (a kind of velvet). *Çatma* was “brocaded with pattern, formed by additional weft threads, that were raised from the main surface.”³⁷² Another item that decorated the room was cushions with glittered tissues.³⁷³ A European style atmosphere was provided with imported items that were plate-glass (mirror) on gilded walls and tables decorated with scattering gems for serving.³⁷⁴

The decoration of the *sofa* also provided with carpets that was imported from other empires. The grand salon of state apartments in Esmâ Sultan's palace³⁷⁵ and the white walled *sofa* of Naom Zornana was covered with a 'handsome' Persian carpet.³⁷⁶ The trade between the Ottoman State and Persia had been established from Renaissance.³⁷⁷ Therefore, Persian carpets were in the Ottoman carpets since the early ages. The other empire that Ottoman State had trade relations from the early 15th century was India.³⁷⁸ Through merchants and sailors, Indian commodities were carried to Ottoman lands and occupied the Ottoman market. As mentioned by Pardoe, Indian matting was decorating the center of the saloon in Mustafa Efendi's mansion.³⁷⁹

Distinguishing the kind of carpet by Pardoe whether it was Turkish, Indian or Persian at the first glance was most probably related to the colors and motifs of the carpets. Murray L. Eiland Jr. and Murray Eliand III argue that “one immediate clue in distinguishing Turkish from Persian rugs is provided by the differing color tonalities.”³⁸⁰ Dark blue was more common for Iranian carpets, but the colors in the Turkish carpet was brighter than Persian carpets.³⁸¹ The Indian carpets were generally

³⁷⁰ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 316.

³⁷¹ Hülya Tezcan, *Atlaslar Atlası Pamuklu Yün ve İpek Kumaş Koleksiyonu/ Cotton, Wool and Silk: Fabrics Collection* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1993), 30.

³⁷² *Ibid.*, 30.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, 56.

³⁷⁴ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 316.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 315.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, vol 2, 369.

³⁷⁷ Murray L. Eiland and Murray Eliand III, *Oriental Rugs...*, 84.

³⁷⁸ Halil İnalçık, “When and how British cotton goods invaded the Levant market,” in *The Ottoman Empire and the World-Economy*, ed. Huri Islamoğlu-Inan (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 374; Halil İnalçık, *Studies in the History of Textiles in Turkey* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010), 73-80.

³⁷⁹ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 109-10.

³⁸⁰ Murray L. Eiland Jr. and Murray Eliand III, *Oriental Rugs...*, 172.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 172.; Charles Jacobsen, *Oriental Rugs: A Complete Guide* (Tokyo, Rutland, Vt: Tuttle Publishing, 1989), 57.

more colored with the mosaic of green, red, yellow and blue.³⁸² Besides, the majority of Persian carpets had “leaves, flowers, palmettes, rosettes (*char-bag design*), and other graceful and intricate patterns”³⁸³ but Turkish carpets were generally characterized by small geometrical designs.³⁸⁴ Although Persian carpets had animal and human figures, it was never used as a motive of Turkish carpets.³⁸⁵ Indian carpets were a rather a indistinct style³⁸⁶ but “usually asymmetrically knotted with cotton foundations.”³⁸⁷

Another grand saloon in Esmâ Sultan’s palace, which led to the Sultan’s room, was “the very embodiment of Eastern splendour.”³⁸⁸ To create a wealthy atmosphere, draperies, as used to hide rooms’ doors opened to *sofa*, were made from silk³⁸⁹ and *sofa*’s walls covered with plate glass.³⁹⁰ The grandness of the *sofa* completed with Persian carpet covering the floor and magnificently painted dome, “supported by forty porphyry pillars with gilt capitals.”³⁹¹ It is crucial to note that though such a wealthy *sofa*, “there was no matting upon the floor of the empty, chilly, comfortless hall” in the house of Omer Pasha most probably because of the preparation to move for Albania.³⁹²

Pardoe specifically pointed out the cleanliness of the *sofa* in Ottoman houses. She noted that there was “not a grain of dust, not a foot-mark, defaces the surface of the Indian matting that covers the large halls.”³⁹³ Although the courtyard, ground and first floor of Naom Zorona's house were ‘miserable’, Pardoe mentioned a magical change when she reached the *sofa* from the neatly matted steps that were very clean.³⁹⁴ For her, the cleanliness was the “leading characteristics” of Ottoman houses. This idea could be a reflection of her Victorian and middle class background. In the Victorian era, cleanness and uncleanness was associated with social categorization. As indicated by Richard and Claudia Bushman, “among the middle class anyway, personal cleanliness ranked as a mark of moral superiority and dirtiness as a sign of degradation. Cleanliness indicated

³⁸² Stanley Reed, *All Colour Book of Oriental Carpets and Rugs* (Hong Kong Mandarin Publihers, 1977), 14.

³⁸³ Charles Jacobsen, *Oriental Rugs...*, 23.

³⁸⁴ Walter B. Denny, *The Classical Tradition in Anatolian Carpet* (Washington: The Textile Museum, 2002), 18.

³⁸⁵ Charles Jacobsen, *Oriental Rugs...*, 57.

³⁸⁶ Stanley Reed, *All Colour Book...*, 14.

³⁸⁷ Murray L. Eiland Jr. and Murray Eliand III, *Oriental Rugs...*, 295.

³⁸⁸ Julia Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 315.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 295.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 295.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 315.

³⁹² *Ibid.*, 224.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, 106.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol 2, 369.

control, spiritual refinement, breeding; the unclean were vulgar, coarse, animalistic.”³⁹⁵ As well as personal morality, it presented the civilization level of the societies, as argued by Dr. Buchan. He noted that “whatever pretensions people may make to learning, politeness, or civilization, we will venture to affirm, that, so long as they neglect cleanliness, they are in a state of barbarity.”³⁹⁶ In this regard, the importance of cleanliness in English society at that time effected on Pardoe's evaluation of Ottoman houses.

3.2.3. Room (*Oda*)

The room in Ottoman houses was “a space surrounded by service areas and intermediate spaces, and separated from the other rooms by its almost independence position in the plan of the house.”³⁹⁷ The accesses to rooms were through halls. In traditional Ottoman houses, rooms were not devoted to a single purpose as in the Victorian home, so there was no departmentalization of Ottoman houses into dining, sleeping and work areas. Mainly, the emptiness of the room allowed the room to be used for multiple purposes such as sitting, sleeping, resting, working and socializing.³⁹⁸

3.2.3.1. Haremlik (Woman's Section)

In Ottoman houses, the room called *harem* was the women's quarter. Visited *harems* by Pardoe were generally sparsely furnished. A carpet or mattress covered the floor of the *harem*. Curtained windows were generally tightly closed.³⁹⁹ The *sedir*, a traditional low seat adjacent and fixed to the wall, surrounded three sides of the harem.⁴⁰⁰ The cushions were folded over the *sedir* or on the floor. For heating, there was a *tandour* and *mangal* in the room.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁵ Richard L. Bushman and Claudia L. Bushman, “The Early History of Cleanliness in America,” *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 74, No. 4 (Mar., 1988): 1228.

³⁹⁶ William Buchan, *Domestic Medicine: Or, a Treatise on the Prevention and Cure of Diseases* (London: Printed For W. Strahan, 1790), 102.

³⁹⁷ Doğan Kuban, *The Turkish Hayat House...*, 106.

³⁹⁸ Sedat Hakkı Eldem, *Turkish Houses, Ottoman Period*, vol:1 (Türkiye Anıt Çevre Turizm Degerlerini Koruma Vakfi, 1984), 20. Sumru Belger Krody, *Flowers of Silk & Gold: Four Centuries of Ottoman Embroidery* (London: Merrell, 2000), 71.

³⁹⁹ Pardoe, *The City of Sultan...*, 18.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁴⁰¹ In the second part of the 19th century, a “Turkish corner” became popular in European and American houses. “In the homes of the less-well-off, a single piece of overstuffed furniture – a sofa, ottoman, or divan – often conjured up the exotic East.” (Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922* Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 10.) Quataert claimed that it was “thanks to the Ottoman artifacts displayed at the various world’s fairs of the nineteenth century.” (Quataert, 10) Collectors also decorated their rooms with Oriental artifacts. For instance, Edouard and Nelia Jacquemart traveled the world and collected objects to decorate their home. Musée Jacquemart Andre in Paris was created from the home of wealthy couple and it was seen that their smoking room was decorated with the Oriental carpet. In this context, it can be debated in the further research whether travelers were influential in the popularization of Turkish corner. If travelers are found to be influential, they can be accepted

In some houses, Pardoe mentioned that curtains functioned as a door of the harem. The door of the Turkish merchant's harem was “screened with curtains of dark cloth embroidered with coloured worsted.”⁴⁰² The reason for preferring dark colors most strongly related to the privacy of the harem. The colored worsted yarns could give a more aesthetic view to it. A heavy curtain also veiled the room in the house of Omer Pasha.⁴⁰³ The use of the curtain as a door was pointed out by other travelers. For instance, Lady Hornby noted that “there were no doors, but heavy hangings of crimson embroidered cloth and tapestry at the entrance of the numerous apartments.”⁴⁰⁴

A detailed description of Turkish merchant's *harem* presented how the interior of a harem could be designed. This presentation can enable us to visualize the room. The large and warm harem had “double windows, which were all at the upper end of the apartment, were closely latticed.” It was “richly carpeted” and “surrounded on the three sides by the sofa, raised a foot from the floor.” The cushions were “rested against the wall or were scattered at intervals along the couch.” The tandour was at one angle of the sofa and the *mangal* in the middle of the floor. In the arched recess at the lower extremity of the room, there was “classically-shaped clay jar full of water, and a covered goblet in a glass saucer.” Two sides of the recess were decorated with “a number of napkins, richly worked and fringed with gold”, while a “Koran was deposited beneath a handkerchief of gold gauze, on a carved rosewood bracket.”⁴⁰⁵

Handkerchief and napkins also aroused the interest of Charles White who traveled to Ottoman lands in the 1840s. He noted that

“Muslin and cotton handkerchiefs... are employed less, perhaps, for the purposes to which such articles are applied in Europe, than for that of folding up money, linen, and other things. In the houses of great men, there is always a mahkramajee bashy (*makramacı başı*), whose principal duty it is to take care of these and other similar articles. No object, great or small, is conveyed from one person to another; no present is made—even fees to medical men—unless folded in a handkerchief, embroidered cloth, or piece

as a tastemaker of this popularization.

⁴⁰² Pardoe, *The City of Sultan...*, 17.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, 224.

⁴⁰⁴ Emelia Bithynia Maceroni Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War* (London: Adamant Media Corporation, 2002), 299.

⁴⁰⁵ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 17-18. (for all description of the paragraph)

of gauze. The more rich the envelope, the higher the compliment to the receiver.”⁴⁰⁶

Napkins were named as *peşkir*, *makrama* and *yağlık*. In addition to its being used for decoration like in this house, it could also be used for several purposes such as covering a book or wiping their hands before and after eating.⁴⁰⁷

In the *harem*, the simplicity of rooms was balanced with the richness of textiles. They had different colors, embroidered cushions, curtains and fabrics, but their quality depended on the wealth level. The *sedir* was generally colored with crimson. It was crimson shag in the Turkish merchant’s house⁴⁰⁸ and crimson satin in the İškodralı Mustafa Pasha’s room.⁴⁰⁹ The *sedir* of İškodralı Mustafa Pasha was more qualified because it was made from satin (atlas). Atlas was “the name of a stiff and glossy material made from tightly-woven silk.”⁴¹⁰ Pardoe did not indicate the origin of satin but it could be produced in Bursa or Istanbul that were the leading satin centers of Anatolia, or imported from Europe.⁴¹¹ The decoration of the *sedir* was completed with “cushions of gold tissue embroidered with coloured silk.”⁴¹² Most probably, for aesthetic harmony, the curtains of the room (İškodralı Mustafa Pasha) was “fringed with gold a foot in depth.”⁴¹³ The *sedir*’s cover in the Greek merchant’s house was less qualified than the Turkish merchant’s *sedir*’s cover. It was “covered with a gay patterned chintz, and furnished with cushions of cut velvet of a rich deep blue.”⁴¹⁴

Ottoman women generally spent their time in the *harem*. It was the place that “the group counted more than the individual.”⁴¹⁵ Women from the different classes, different races and different age groups mixed together in the *harem*. Therefore, it was crucial to ensure comfort and heating. Comfort was mainly provided with cushions. It was used “on the seat of the sofa as fixed feature, but sometimes also set along the wall, on top of

⁴⁰⁶ Charles White, *Three Years in Constantinople; or, Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1844* (London Henry Colbourn, 1846), 104.

⁴⁰⁷ Roderick Taylor, *Ottoman Embroidery* (New York: Interlink Publishing Group, 1993), 69. Sumru Belger Krody, *Flowers of Silk...*, 77.

⁴⁰⁸ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 17.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 249.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*, 249.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, 249.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁴¹⁵ Melman, *Women's Orient...*, 153.

the base cushions, to firm back rest.”⁴¹⁶ Heating was provided either by *tandır* and *mangal* (small stove). The Swedish dragoman Ignatius Mouradgea d’Ohsson “discussed the popularity among Ottoman women of the *tandır* as a way to keep warm in the winter.”⁴¹⁷ The engraving in the book of his book also shows that several women and children were warming up around the *tandır*. It was understood from Pardoe’s narrative that these systems ensured the comfort and well heating of the *harem* in many houses. The large harem of the Turkish merchant was warm.⁴¹⁸ Despite the poor condition of Omer Pasha’s house, small room was also well heated.⁴¹⁹



Figure 4: D’ohsson: Appartement d’une dame Mahométane avec le tandour (Apartment of a Muslim Lady with the Tandır)⁴²⁰

Pardoe described the *mangal*, as “a large copper vessel of about a foot in height, resting upon a stand of the same material raised on castors, and filled, like that within the

⁴¹⁶ Roderick Taylor, *Ottoman Embroidery...*, 77.

⁴¹⁷ Günsel Renda and Carter V. Findley, “Comments on engravings in d’Ohsson, Table General de Empire Othoman,” in *The torch of the Empire, Ignatius Mouradgea d’Ohsson and the tableau général of the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century = İmparatorluğun meşalesi, XVIII. yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun genel görünümü ve Ignatius Mouradgea d’Ohsson*, eds. Sture Teolin, Carter Vaughn Findley, Günsel Renda, Philip Mansel, Veniamin Ciobanu, Kemal Beydilli, Abdeljelil Temimi, Rachida Tilli Sellauti, Folke Ludwigs (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002), 212.

⁴¹⁸ Pardoe, *The city of Sultan...*, 17.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 224-5.

⁴²⁰ Mouradgea D’Ohsson, *Tableau Général De L’empire Ottoman*, vol:2 (Istanbul: Isis, 2001), facing 154.

tandour, with charcoal.”⁴²¹ For Pardoe, the tandour was an odd object that was “unlike any thing in Europe.”⁴²² In Victorian times, there was a fireplace in every room and heating was provided by a fireplace.⁴²³ French women traveler De Fontmagne, who lived in Constantinople from 1856 to 1858, pointed out this difference as there were no fireplaces in Turkish houses and so women warmed in front of the *tandır*.⁴²⁴ The tandour was described by Pardoe as follows:

“the tandour is a wooden frame, covered with a couple of wadded coverlets, for such they literally are, that are in their turn overlaid by a third and considerably smaller one of rich silk : within the frame, which is of the height and dimensions of a moderately sized breakfast table, stands a copper vessel, filled with the embers of charcoal”.⁴²⁵

Pardoe also indicated that the *tandour* was the main reason for fires in Istanbul. The person fell asleep by the effect of the *tandour*'s heat and the frame-work of the *tandour* suddenly moved. The clothes, chintz covered sofas and cotton draperies on the *tandour* burnt and caused big fires.⁴²⁶ A century ago, Lady Mantagu also pointed this problem as follows: “The hot ashes of *tandour* commonly set the houses fire.”⁴²⁷

Pardoe noticed the hierarchy among the women in the *harem* but the principle of hierarchy was not based on status or economic class as in Europe. It was related to “the physical place of a person, the position and posture of the body (whether a woman receives guests reclining on a divan, or a sofa, or sitting upright, or standing up) and her propinquity to, or distance from, other women.”⁴²⁸ The hierarchy in the *harem* of Mustafa Efendi manifested itself in the seating place and position of women. The wife and daughter-in-law were seated at the tandour and other family members were “inferior to the first wife, who takes the upper seat on the sofa.”⁴²⁹ For other ladies, it was “only permitted to fold their feet under them on a cushion spread upon the

⁴²¹ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 18.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴²³ Paul Righini, *Thinking Architecturally: An Introduction to the Creation of Form and Place* (Cape Town: Univ of Cape Town Pr, 1999), 160.

⁴²⁴ La Baronne Durand De Fontmagne, *Kırım Harbi Sonrasında İstanbul*, Trans. Celal Altuntaş (İstanbul: Tercüman Yayınları, 1977), 252.

⁴²⁵ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 18.

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*, 134-5.

⁴²⁷ Mary Wontley Montagu, *Lady Montagu's Letters During the Embassy to Constantinople 1716 – 18*, vol:1 (John Sharpe, 1820), 14.

⁴²⁸ Billie Melman, *Women's Orient...*, 156.

⁴²⁹ Pardoe, *The city of the Sultan...*, 111.

carpet.”⁴³⁰

As a middle class and Victorian traveler, the *harem* was a productive and self-sufficient place for Pardoe. For her, Ottoman women were indolent and lazy but their habits were transformed with developments. She explained this opinion as follow: “Habits of industry have, however, made their way, in many instances, even into the harem; the changes without have influenced the pursuits and feelings of the women; and utter idleness has already ceased to be a necessary attribute to the high-bred Turkish female.”⁴³¹ She narrated preparations for Ramadhan Eid by the women in the harem of Mustafa Efendi. Although they were aware of the fact that they could not leave the house and attend the Eid festival, they busily engaged in the preparing of the festival of tomorrow.”⁴³² Pardoe was also eager to observe the women workers’ conditions, so she visited the Imperial *Fez* Manufactory at Ayoub and described women piece workers from few national types as follows:

“After a delightful row from Galata, we landed at the celebrated pier of Eyoub; (...) There was the Turkes with her yashmac folded closely over her face, and her dark feridjhe falling to the pavement : the Greek woman, with her large tur ban, and braided hair, covered loosely with a scarf of white muslin, her gay-coloured dress, and large shawl : the Armenian, with her dark bright eyes flashing from under the jealous screen of her carefully-arranged veil, and her red slipper peeping out under the long wrapping cloak : the Jewess, muffled in a coarse linen cloth.”⁴³³

Female knitters from Turkish, Greek, Armenian and Jewish nation “do appear in archival documentation, maybe not colorfully as Pardoe depicts, but as numerous and as diverse as she stated.”⁴³⁴

3.2.3.2. Selamlık (Men's Section)

The *selamlık* was the part of Ottoman houses reserved for men. “It had a separate entrance and and a room where male guest were received.”⁴³⁵ Most probably because of

⁴³⁰ Ibid, 112.

⁴³¹ Ibid., 20.

⁴³² Ibid., 117.

⁴³³ Ibid., vol 2, 349.

⁴³⁴ M. Erdem Kabadayı, “Working from Home: Division of Labor among Female Workers of Feshane in late nineteenth-century Istanbul,” in *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women. New Perspectives*, edit. Duygu Köksal and Anastasia Falierou (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 70.)

⁴³⁵ Gabor Agoston and Bruce Masters, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire* (New York, NY: Facts on File, 2008), 46.

that, French traveler Theophile Gautier claimed that it was a room “reserved for the public part of the life of the Turk.”⁴³⁶ Pardoe was one of the women who had a chance to visit the *selamlık* of Reis Efendi in her second visit. For her, there was not a remarkable quality in her *selamlık*. It was just “a handsome house, well fitted up, and exquisitely clean.”⁴³⁷ Gautier also did not give a detailed description of the *selamlık* because of the extreme simplicity of it. After that, he imagined the harem as a place that all Oriental luxury was presented.⁴³⁸

The most exciting thing for Pardoe in the *selamlık* of Reis Efendi was open windows that gave a spacious feeling after “the closely-latticed and stifling apartments of the women.”⁴³⁹ This was because the close windows made the *harem* stuffy and Pardoe felt suffocated in the room. Even she opened a window with the hope of getting a little air as soon as she arrived to the *sofa* in the house of Reis Efendi’s house.⁴⁴⁰ One reason of small and close windows in the *harem* could be the privacy of Ottoman. In this way, she pointed out the private and home-centered life of Ottoman women and the life of men, which were open to the public. Another reason was to keep out heat and cold.

3.2.3.3. The Bedroom

As indicated previously, rooms were used for multiple purposes such as sitting, sleeping, resting, working and socializing. A room was turned into a bedroom by spreading mattresses on the floor at night and bedding “stowed away into the in the chest or built-in cupboards in the morning and the room then arranged for use during the day.”⁴⁴¹ Pardoe surprisingly explained how beds were tidied up quickly by the slaves in the house of the Turkish merchant as follows: “the slaves no sooner ascertain that you have risen, than half a dozen of them enter the apartment, and in five minutes every vestige of your couch has disappeared—you hurry from the bed to the bath, whence you cannot

⁴³⁶ Théophile Gautier, *Constantinople of To-day: Illustrated with Engravings from Photographic Pictures* (London: Henry Vizetelly, 1854), 190.

⁴³⁷ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 272.

⁴³⁸ Théophile Gautier, *Constantinople of To-day...*, 190. (All the luxury is confined to the harem. It is there that are displayed the carpets of Ispahan or Smyrna; there are spread the embroidered tapestries ; there stretch the soft divans of silk, and shine the little inlaid tables of pearl and agate ; there burn rich perfumes, in censers of gold and silver filigree : there bloom the rarest of flowers ; and there gleam, like stalactites, the superb chimney-pieces of marble of Marmora, and the fountains of perfumed water, which diffuse, at once, freshness and melody. In that mysterious retreat passes the real and actual life—the life of pleasure and of intimacy ; and there no relative, and no friend, can ever penetrate.)

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, 272.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, vol 2, 223.

⁴⁴¹ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London ; New York : New York: I. B. Tauris, 2005), 151.

possibly escape in less than two hours— and the business of the day is then generally terminated for a Turkish lady”.⁴⁴²

Ottoman bedding was composed of pillows, mattresses, coverlets, blankets, a quilt and a top sheet. It was arranged as follows: “the bed was made by spreading the mattress, covered with thin blanket, 'a battaniye' on the floor, with the pillows at the head covered with a loose cloth.”⁴⁴³ Prepared bed for Pardoe in the house of Turkish merchant was composed of double mattresses covered with muslin. A dozen pillows of various forms and sizes were piled up at the head of the bed and a couple of wadded coverlets were laid down that were carefully folded at the foot side.

There were different kinds of fabric, design and color used for mattresses, pillows and coverlets. The color of Ottoman mattresses was “predominantly red and blue but also in a green, a soft yellow, white and black.”⁴⁴⁴ Pardoe’s mattress in the Turkish merchant’s house was “yellow satin brocaded with gold” and the mattress of a Greek lady (her companion) was “violet-coloured velvet, richly fringed.”⁴⁴⁵ Velvet was a very rich fabric and generally use as *sofa*’s mattress in palaces, but Pardoe indicated their bed was on the floor. Maybe, a luxurious bad was prepared for European visitors to present Ottoman hospitality. Generally, mattresses were covered with a sheet of silk gauze or striped muslin; her own was the former one in Turkish merchant’s house. Flowers were the “most prominent elements in the composition of Ottoman embroidered textile.”⁴⁴⁶ The wadded coverlet at the foot side was “pale blue silk, worked with rose-coloured flowers.”⁴⁴⁷ The pillows at the head of her bed were also all “richly embroidered muslin cases, through which the satin containing the down is distinctly seen.”⁴⁴⁸ Pardoe also noted that sleeping arrangements were the same at the house of Argyropoulo but mattresses and pillows were less splendid.⁴⁴⁹

The ‘spacious’ and ‘lofty’ room that Pardoe stayed in the house of the Turkish merchant had ornamentation in the ceiling. A canvas, that had a leafy tree painted with oil, was

⁴⁴² Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 31.

⁴⁴³ Roderich Taylor, *Ottoman Embroidery...*, 83.

⁴⁴⁴ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 86.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁴⁴⁶ Sumru Belger Krody, *Flowers of Silk & Gold...*, 63.

⁴⁴⁷ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 32.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 167.

lined to the ceiling of the room. It was “instead of being tightly stretched, was mounted loosely on a slight frame, which, when the air entered from the open windows, permitted an undulation intended to give to the tree the effect of reality.”⁴⁵⁰ Pardoe compared the branches of the tree to a huge boa and the leaf's size and color to a man's black hat with her imagination. For her, it was a “great ornament” and a “model of ingenious invention.”⁴⁵¹ Decorating the ceiling in this way could be used to balance the simplicity of the room.

The room that Pardoe spent the night in Mustafa Efendi's house was more pleasant and wealthy than others. The carpet in the room of Mustafa Efendi was wool. It was known that Anatolian carpets were “almost uniformly of wool”⁴⁵², but Pardoe specifically indicated that it was “expensive wool.”⁴⁵³ The *sedir* was flesh-colored satin and the cushions on the bed both from the fabric of velvet and satin. Crimson color for *sedir* was an old tradition. Therefore, using flesh color as the cover color of *sedir* could be related to the fashion of the time, because pastel colors -such yellow or light blue- were preferred at that time by the effects of Europe. The coverlet was remarkable because it was “rich Broussa silk, powdered with silver leaves.”⁴⁵⁴

The bedroom (Mustafa Efendi's house) had a different atmosphere from other rooms in visited houses due to the decoration of small objects and artifacts. At that time, there was no sideboard, so the niches were built to display luxurious objects. In the domed recess of the room, there were a French clock, “two noble porcelain vases”, “a china plate containing an enamelled snuff-box” and “a carved ebony chaplet.”⁴⁵⁵ Pardoe noted that French clocks were very popular among Eastern people, who had one or two in every room where the family lived.⁴⁵⁶ In the room, foods were also presented in an artistic style: “crystal goblets of water”, “covered glass bowls filled with delicate conserves”, “a silver caique, whose oars were small spoons” positioned on a tray.⁴⁵⁷ In a beautifully worked wicker basket, there were also crystallized fruits “beneath a veil of

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 30.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 30.

⁴⁵² Murray L. Eiland and Murray Eiland III, *Oriental Rugs...*, 171.

⁴⁵³ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 123.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., 123.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., 122.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid., 122.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., 122.

pale pink gauze knotted together with bunches of artificial flowers.”⁴⁵⁸

3.2.3.4. Eating Room

Like a bedroom, a room was easily turned into a dining room when a round metal tray was put on the floor. In visited *harems*, the foods were mainly served in the harem. For instance, the breakfast was in the harem of Reis Efendi’s house.⁴⁵⁹ However, they moved to another room for the *iftaree* in the Turkish merchant’s house. It could be related to Ramadhan that the table was richly arranged with foods. Therefore, the preparing of the table could take time, so they may want to organize the table without disturbing hosts. As mentioned by Pardoe, the table was arranged in a perfect square room that was totally unfurnished. An immense round plated tray was put into the center of the room. It was almost two feet in height from the floor and supported with a wooden frame.⁴⁶⁰

Pardoe mentioned in detail the foods and table manners she witnessed in the Turkish merchant house and ‘gastronomy in Turkey’. This may seem to her very attractive thanks to the rich ritual of *iftaree*. In Britain, eating was accepted as a social and masculine activity, but here it was transformed to a private and feminine activity.⁴⁶¹ Women were sitting around the same tray and socialized through eating at home. This also cut across the hierarchy in the harem. In this regard, Pardoe aimed to break “every single rule in the middle-class code, regulating female behavior” through representing eating neutrally and presenting it as feminine activity.⁴⁶²

3.2.3.5. Private Rooms

Pardoe criticized a French traveler for his misinformation about the *harem*. He argued that jealousies of women in the harem reached the point of poisoning and humiliating each other. Pardoe claimed it was not possible due to “the very arrangements of the harem...: each lady has her private apartment, which, should she desire to remain secluded, no one has the privilege to invade.”⁴⁶³ She aimed to this image by previous travelers through emphasizing the order in the *harem* that allowed privacy to the women.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., 122.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., 274.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., 20.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 124.

⁴⁶² Melman, *Women's Orient...*, 125.

⁴⁶³ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 120.

The ladies of houses (Büyük Hanım) could have a private room as the head of household, but it is known that “less important family member and the servants would sleep in corridors, across doors, on the roof or in the outside verandahs.”⁴⁶⁴ In addition, it was a question whether they were as free as in their own room that Pardoe thought.

Concubines had private rooms around a *sofa* just in the palace of Esmâ Sultan. Private rooms were only for the head of the slaves, not for all. Pardoe visited the apartments of Nazîp Hanım (Nazîf Hanım), mother of slaves, and Perousse Hanım (Fîruze Hanım), ‘the private secretary of the Princess’ and ‘favourite odalisque of Sultan Selim’.⁴⁶⁵ Nazîp Hanım’s “charming room overlooking the water” was covered with cushions.⁴⁶⁶ Pardoe mentioned that she was a “celebrated poet” and shared one of her ballad translated into English.⁴⁶⁷ Most probably because of that, her sofa was “surrounded by papers; lying confusedly in heaps, or tied up in squares of clear muslin.”⁴⁶⁸ Also, when Pardoe entered the rooms, she seated on her sofa (*seDIR*) and wrote somethings on the chest. Depending on the size, the chest could be a *sandık* (for middle-size), *ambar* (for large size) and *kutu* (box/ for small size). The chest of the wealthy families could be made from massive wood inlaid with pearl or ornamented with filigree or carving.⁴⁶⁹ Perousse Hanım’s chest was inlaid with mother-of-pearl. The chest was not only used by Turkish people, but also by non-Muslim subject in Ottoman society. Pardoe came across a chest in the room of Argyropoulo. It was made from “polished wood” and contained papers.⁴⁷⁰ The chest was probably used for writing; but it is also crucial to indicate there was “a small writing-stand on a low stool” beside the chest in the house of Argyropoulo.⁴⁷¹

In the palace of Esmâ Sultan, there was a section separated for the Sultan. Pardoe named the rooms in this section as “state apartments” and indicated that they were “situated immediately over the harem.”⁴⁷² One of the rooms in this part was the ‘reception room’. For her, the room was “sombre, magnificent, and almost cloistral in

⁴⁶⁴ Frederick Taylor, *Ottoman Embroidery...*, 83.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 310.

⁴⁶⁶ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 303.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 320.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 310.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 158.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, 315.

its decorations.”⁴⁷³ Pardoe did not give a detailed description of the room. Heavy gilded cornices created a gloomy atmosphere for her. Indeed, the illustration of reception room of a Minister of the Porte in the book of d’Ohsson depicted a typical reception room in the late 18th century Istanbul house.⁴⁷⁴ In the room, there was “a sitting area one step raised from the entrance to the room, two rows of the windows, a decorative ceilings and a fireplace. The decorative details on the walls are especially striking. Two landscape compositions are clearly visible on the upper sections of the walls as well as narrow landscape frieze around the ceiling.”⁴⁷⁵



Figure 5: D’ohsson: Appartement d’un ministre de la Porte (Reception Room of a Minister of the Porte)⁴⁷⁶

In the section of ‘state apartments’ in the Esma Sultan’s Palace, there were other rooms named the Sultan’s morning room and private withdrawing room. In English houses, the withdrawing room was mainly for the guest; the morning room was a sitting room for just family members to spent time in the daylight.⁴⁷⁷ Robert Kerr defined the morning

⁴⁷³ Ibid., 316.

⁴⁷⁴ Günsel Renda and Carter V. Findley, Comments on engravings in d’Ohsson..., 211

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 211.

⁴⁷⁶ Mouradgea D’Ohsson, *Tableau Général...*, facing page 128.

⁴⁷⁷ Edith Wharton and Ogden Codman Jr, *The Decoration of Houses* (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 2015),

room as “the drawing room in ordinary.”⁴⁷⁸ The room was named the sultan’s morning room probably because it was thought that the Sultan spent the day there.

For Pardoe, the roof of the morning room displayed the most elaborate taste of the Orient. It “was of a deep purple colour, ribbed and studded with golden stars.”⁴⁷⁹ The use of purple for both the *sofa* of the imperial sleeping room and morning room could be to provide the harmony of color in this section. It could also reflect the aesthetic taste of Esmâ Sultan. The walls of the room were also decorated with the purest white fabric.⁴⁸⁰ Apart from providing an aesthetic view, it could be for heat protection. “The private withdrawing-room was not remarkable in any respect” for Pardoe.⁴⁸¹ The only thing worth talking about for the European eye was “sofa and curtains being trimmed with fluted gauze ribbon.”⁴⁸² Most probably, the reason why the room looks so simple to a European was the splendor of English withdrawing rooms in contrast to the simple and comfortable morning room. The parlour of Azmi Bey's house was more impressive for her, because it was English- looking with chairs, tables and sofas.⁴⁸³

The most elegant room of state apartments was the resting room prepared for the Sultan. Both European and Eastern furniture decorated the room. There was a European-style bed, decorated with knots of colored ribbon and surrounded by flowered muslin. According to her, it was “contrasted cheerfully with the heavy magnificence of the saloon and its elaborate draperies.”⁴⁸⁴ Richly gilded silver mangal and 'the collection of jewelled toys' provided to turn back ‘gorgeous East’ for her.⁴⁸⁵ Besides, there were also ‘incense-burners of gold’ and ‘a chocolate cup of enamel studded with pearls’.⁴⁸⁶ Personal items of the sultan in the room were watches that were put into a gilt salver, ‘a toilette of fillagreed silver’ and ‘ring-trays wreathed with rubies’.⁴⁸⁷ She was “more delighted by a Koran, and a manuscript collection of prayers, written by the Sultan, and

132.

⁴⁷⁸ Robert Kerr, *The Gentleman's House Or How To Plan English Residences From The Parsonage To The Palace With Tables Of Accommodation And Cost And A Series Of Selected Plans* (John Murray, 1864), 103.

⁴⁷⁹ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan...*, 316.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 316.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 317.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*, 317.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, vol 2, 313.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, vol 1, 317.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 317.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 101.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 101.

splendidly illuminated.”⁴⁸⁸ They were both covered with gold and each corner was brilliantly wrought with Imperial cipher (tughra). Also, there was a border “formed round the outer edges of the volumes, of passages from the holy writings, indifferent coloured jewels.”⁴⁸⁹ This kind of decoration in the room may give us some clues about the presentation of political power and royal identity of the sultan through the dynastic elements and religious items.

Pardoe also visited some high-ranking elites -Reis Efendi, İškodralı Mustafa Pasha and Mustafa Efendi- in their personal rooms. In the house of Reis Efendi, a large room, honored by the Sultan in a night about three years ago, was separated for him. The Imperial bedstead was still there. The *sofa* surrounded the upper end of the room that was formed with raising a step from the floor. The covering of the *sofa* was crimson satin (atlas) and “fringed with gold a foot in depth, and furnished with cushions of gold tissue embroidered with coloured silk.”⁴⁹⁰ A pile of cushions was heaped upon the floor at the extreme side of raised step. The lighting of the room was provided by candles that were on a tray on two tables. A branch holding other candles were also positioned in an arched-recess between the two tables. Heating was supplied by a *mangal* at the center of the room. The personal items of the pasha -his watch, his hand-mirror, and a small agate box containing opium pills- were also laid on a sofa-cushion.⁴⁹¹

The room of Mustafa Efendi was much more attractive and splendid than the rooms of İškodralı Mustafa Pasha and Reis Efendi. His room was extensively decorated with European style furniture. Even Pardoe noted that it “would have satisfied the most boudoir loving petite-maitresse of Paris or London.”⁴⁹² A tripod table, a splendid coffee service of French porcelain and a chair (brought for the Greek lady) were in the room. In the room, heating was supplied by “a magnificent *mangal*, up-headed with fire.”⁴⁹³ Mustafa Efendi was from the scribal service (hacegan). Most probably because of that, there were books, papers and boxes on his sofa.

When compared to the rooms of the households’ head, the rooms of the house’s lady

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., 317.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., 317.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., 249.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid., vol 2, 221.

⁴⁹² Ibid., 113.

⁴⁹³ Ibid., 113.

(Büyük Hanım) were very simple. The room of İškodralı Mustafa Pasha's wife Haymine Hanım was composed of cushions and a *sedir*. Lighting in the room was provided by the four candles on the tray. This tray was positioned on a small round table at the extremity of the apartment. Pardoe noted that “this custom of clustering the candles together is common in both Turkish, Armenian, and Greek houses.”⁴⁹⁴ She also visited the room of Reis Efendi's wife. The only remarkable object in there was a “high-backed chair of crimson velvet and gilding”.⁴⁹⁵ In the house of Reis Efendi, there was a room where the mother of the children gave her last breath. The belongings of her were put in there and it was locked.⁴⁹⁶ No person was allowed to visit the room.

The room was separated for the wife of Omer Pasha. The atmosphere in the room was very oppressive especially because of the windows. Turkish windows, “perforated in a double tier”, did not allow sunlight to enter the room. The lower ones of the tier were so closely latticed and the upper ones were “small and half circular, dull with dust, situated close to the ceiling.”⁴⁹⁷ The room looked even worse because “several instances, where time or accident had displaced the glass, repaired roughly with thin planks nailed across.”⁴⁹⁸ The mangal, where the perfume was burned, also enhanced the oppressive atmosphere of the room.

In this part, firstly the life and lifestyles of house-owners that Pardoe visited were analyzed considering their place in the hierarchical order of Ottoman society. Although some of them were not exactly identified, their households and the atmosphere in their houses were examined in a general schema by the information provided by secondary sources, Pardoe's travel book and chronicles. The part focused on the material culture of Ottoman houses through the descriptions of Pardoe. Her perception of these houses and essential issues of material culture -such as objects, artifacts, heating, lighting, comfort, kinds of fabrics and embroideries- were considered while analyzing visited houses.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., vol 2, 239.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., vol 1, 218-9.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., 220-1.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., 227-8.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., 228.

Conclusion

The material world that surrounded Ottomans (men and women, rich and poor) has been neglected by Ottoman historians for a long time. It could be related to the lack of sources and the tendency to use only official documents for the researches. This thesis, grounded on a travel account, aimed to investigate royal, high-ranking and upper middle class houses in Ottoman society with regard to their material culture.

In this thesis, first, the transformation of travel experiences and the construction of new discourses in the 19th century were analyzed. This is because Julia Pardoe was among the travelers of the early 19th century, and transformations in travel writings had an influence on her interests, depictions and interpretations. It has been claimed that travel experiences to the Orient and travel writings were subject to transformation especially by middle class women travelers. Through their critical approach to common views and prejudices of previous travelers, they brought an alternative view to travel writings. Their new perspective and discourses were mainly constructed through their middle class and Victorian background. The changing experiences and perspectives were also transformed by the topics that travelers were interested in. Thanks to their apolitical approach in particular, the issues that concerned them were diversified.

Among various topics, the focal point for the thesis was the transformation of views regarding the Oriental home, because this was Julia Pardoe's main objective in visiting many Ottoman houses and giving detailed and realistic descriptions of them. Therefore, specifically, the change in perceptions of the woman's role, home and domesticity in English society and its effects on transforming views of the Oriental home were analyzed. It was argued that 19th-century women travelers interpreted the Eastern house as a private and feminine space and socialized locus of women. Their Victorian background also led them to pay special attention to behaviors, manners, codes and social life in visited houses. Therefore, there was a middle class and Victorian reproduction of Eastern houses in their travel accounts.

The transformation of views on the Oriental home was reflected in Julia Pardoe's travel account *The City of the Sultan; and Domestic Manners of the Turks, in 1836*. She visited several homes and focused on households, home-life, stories of individuals, interiors and objects to be able to understand daily life, Ottoman women and the hierarchical order in society. Besides, her passionate and enthusiastic character and the social transformation of the Ottoman society made it easier for her to visit most of the depicted houses. Describing in detail what she observed and witnessed in these houses, she demythicised the Orient and aimed to eliminate stereotypes and clichés constructed by previous travelers.

For the thesis, Pardoe's descriptions of architecture, interiors and objects of Ottoman houses were very crucial because the main target of the thesis was to analyze early 19th-century Ottoman houses through her eyes. Before going into detailed analyses of houses, the house-owners and their lifestyle and households were evaluated to understand the atmosphere in these houses. This was also important for placing them within a social hierarchy to render them royal elites, high-ranking elites or upper middle classes. After that, visited houses were analyzed regarding her stance and issues essential to material culture. Therefore as well as the interior, objects and furniture of these houses, her special focus on cleanliness of sofas, eating culture, hierarchy in the harem were also pointed out.

Among the upper middle class houses that Pardoe visited, the most detailed descriptions were given for the house of a Turkish merchant. The description was elaborated to such a degree that one could envisage it. The reason could be that it was the first house visited by Pardoe. In other words, it was the place where she had her first encounter with Ottoman culture, houses, furniture and objects. Therefore, she was very curious about every detail and tried to understand the architectural style, ornamentation, decorations and objects in an Ottoman house. From her description, it was also argued that the Turkish merchant was wealthier than any other upper middle class house-owner. A mirror, which was so rare even in the houses of high-ranking elites, decorated his sofa. The coverlet, mattresses and pillows were more splendid than Argyropoulo 's mattresses, and pillows and the fabric of his sedir were described as more high-quality than a Greek merchant's. Among the mentioned houses, the most interesting case was the house of Ömer Pasha. He was a pasha but the condition of his house was very poor because his

household was residing there temporarily. They were in that house while finishing preparations to move to Albania.

As understood from the descriptions, Ottoman houses architecturally still had specific characteristics at that time. Basically, they were built within courtyards and composed of rooms around a *sofa*, while stairs and passages led to other floors and different parts of the houses. The numbers of *sofas*, rooms and passages only varied according to the size of the houses depending on whether they were inhabited by royal, high-ranking or upper middle class households. Separate personal rooms for concubines and the house's ladies (*Büyük Hanım*) were also up to the size of houses. There were private apartments for the head of slaves in Esmâ Sultan's palace, but Pardoe did not mention private rooms for slaves in high-ranking and upper middle class houses. There were also personal rooms for all high-ranking ladies. A room was provided even for the wife of Omer Pasha although their stay was temporary there. However, Pardoe did not mention any personal room for upper middle class ladies.

Rooms were also very simple considering the small amount of furniture. There were only few pieces of furniture such as *sedir*, *tandır*, *mangal* in royal, high-ranking and upper middle class houses. In this context, the way to display luxury was decorating the houses with objects, carpets, ornamentation and embroidered and colored fabrics. These kinds of decorations also pointed at the wealth and status of the house owners within society. Even houses' courtyards served to understand the wealth and position of a person. Esmâ Sultan's courtyard was richly decorated with gardens, repositories, a terrace and gaily gilded kiosk, and high-ranking elites' mainly with marble foundations. On the other hand, the upper middle classes had more modest and even distorted courtyards. Most splendid *sofas* and rooms were also in the palace of Esmâ Sultan. The embroideries, carpets, wall decorations and roof designs reflected the royal grandness.

In the rooms, many furnishings were of the same kind but the types of fabric, color and embroidery were diverse. For instance, although the harem was very simple in high-ranking and upper middle class houses, İşkodralı Mustafa Pasha's harem was decorated with golden-fringed curtains and richly embroidered cushions. He also displayed his wealth through covering the *sedir* with satin although the Turkish merchant's *sedir* was made out of a shag, and the Greek merchant's covered with a gay patterned chintz. The

color of a *sedir*'s cover was generally crimson, but it was flesh color in a room of Mustafa Efendi's house. There was also a chest in many Ottoman houses but the quality differed for each house. Perousse's *hanım* chest was made of massive wooden and inlaid with mother-of-pearl but Argyropoulo's chest was of polished wood. The bedding was also arranged in the same way in different houses but fabrics presented luxury. While the coverlet of bed was velvet, satin and embroidery muslin in the house of the Turkish merchant, it was Broussa silk in the house of Mustafa Efendi. The mattresses and pillows were also more splendid in the bedroom of the Turkish merchant than that of Argyropoulo.

Besides, rooms in Mustafa Efendi's house decorated with small objects had a distinct character. The room that Pardoe spent the night was more wealthy and pleasant mainly because of the presence of a French clock, porcelain vases, china plates and foods presented in an artistic style. His private rooms were also decorated with European-style small objects such as a tripod table, a splendid coffee service of French porcelain and a table. For Pardoe, his room was more splendid most probably because English houses were too crowded with small objects.

There were also European style goods in the shape of free-standing furniture such as chairs, table, bedsteads in the houses of royal and certain high-ranking elites. A European-style bed was in the private chamber of the Sultan in Esmâ Sultan's palace. There was also one in a private chamber of Reis Efendi because the Sultan had spent a night in there. Tables and chairs were also seen in the houses of Mustafa Efendi, Reis Efendi, *İşkodralı Mustafa Pasha* and *Azmi Bey*. For Pardoe, European-style objects gave an English look to the rooms. In this respect, it can be argued that European style furniture and objects started to be seen in the houses of royal and certain high-ranking Ottomans but still they were few in number.

Pardoe's travel account provided valuable information to investigate architecture and interior design of Ottoman houses. However, it was only limited to certain houses in Ottoman society. To be able to envisage the whole picture of the material culture in Istanbul houses, further research is needed. Further studies about other travelers' accounts on Ottoman material culture may also shed light upon several other issues that escaped her notice and broaden the scope of this field.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: The Visited Places in Istanbul by Julia Pardoe

Religious Buildings	Historical Place / Buildings
Galata Mevlevihanesi	Kapalıçarşı
Greek Church of Pera	Yerebatan Sarnıcı
Patriarchal Church of Fanar	Binbirdirek
Aya Sophia	Konstantinus Sarayı
Sultan Ahmet Mosque	Rumeli Hisarı
Süleymaniye	Sarayburnu
Balıkli Church	
Balıkli Ayazması	
A Chapel	
Official Buildings	Social Places/Buildings
Mekteb-i Harbiye	Bathroom of Scodra Pasha
Selimiye Kışlası (2 times)	A Khan
Yedikule	A Prisoner
Beylerbeyi Sarayı	Tımarhane (Süleymaniye)

Houses	
Royal Houses	The Palace of Esmâ Sultan at Ortaköy and Eyüp
Upper Class Houses	The Palace of Reis Efendi The Palace of İškodralı Mustafa Pasha The Mansion of Mustafa Efendi (the Egyptian Charge d'Affaires) The Palace of Azmi Bey A House of Ömer Pasha
Upper Middle Class Houses	A Turkish Merchant's House A Greek's House (wedding),

	A Greek's House (wedding ceremony) A Greek Merchant's House Jew's House (Naim Zornana) The House of Argyropoulo (Angiolopolo)
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Appendix B: Furniture and Objects in the Visited Houses

Esma Sultan's Palace at Eyup	
Nazip (Nazife) Hanım's Room	
Perouse (Firuze) Hanım's Room	Sofa Papers The Lid of a chest Cushions
The principal room of Harem	Cushions Mirror
The morning-room of the Sultan	Carpet Cushions Fabric hanging of the walls
The Reception Room	Curtains
The Sultan's Room	Curtain Sofa bed Mangal Toys Incense-burner A miniature of Sultan A toilette A chocolate cap A gilt salver Watches Kur'an A manuscript
The Private Withdrawing-room	

The Palace of Reiss Efendi	
Buyuk Hanım's Room	Sofa A high-backed chair Cushions
The Forbidden Room	The personal property of women (death)
A Room (The room of Reis Efendi)	Imperial bedstead A sofa

	Cushions Watch Hand-mirror A small agate box
Selamlık	

The Palace of İškodrahı Mustafa Pasha (Scodra Pasha)	
An apartment	Sedir Mandolin Tambourine
The room of Heymine Hanım	Cushions A Tray Wax Lights
Pasha's Room	Sofa Two tables Candles Curtains Cushions Mangal

The Mansion of Mustafa Efendi, the Egyptian Charge d'Affaires	
Courtyard	Marble fountain The conventual looking wheel
Harem	Indian matting An embroidered carpet A couple of cushions The dinner tray
Apartment of the lady	Curtains, Tandour
The Apartment of Minister	Sofa Cushions Mangal The divan(covered with inlaid boxes, articles of bijouterie, books, and papers) A large silver tray, Coffee service of French porcelain, A pair of tall and exquisitely-wrought essence-vases of fillagreed silver, Chair
The room that she spent the night	A French clock Two noble porcelain vases

	A china plate A tray Glass bowls A silver caique, Divan Carpet Cushions
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The Palace of Azmi Bey	
English looking parlour	Chairs Sofa Tables
Haremlik	

A Turkish Merchant House	
Harem	Curtains Immense mirror Sofa Cushions Tandour Windows Clay jar Goblet Napkins Koran Mangal
Dining Room	Carpet Tray Porcelain saucers Goblets Cushions
Bedroom	Canvass Beds Mattresses Pillows Coverlets Closets for the reception of the bedding

A Greek House (wedding)	
An Inner Room	Bridal Dress Gauze Flowers Diamonds

	Satin slippers Embroidered handkerchiefs Cashemire shawl
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A Greek House (wedding ceremony)	
Great Saloon (Sofa)	Turkish carpet A Bible Two marriage rings A reading desk Silver Money

A Greek Merchant's House	
Harem	Sofa Cushions Tandır

The house of Argyropoulo (Angiolopolo)	
His Room	Sofa Writing-Stand A Chest Tandour
Bedroom	Matresses Pillows

A House of Ömer Pasha	
Harem	Cushions Curtain
The room of Buyuk Hanım	Sofa