

THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL STRUCTURE OF THE OTTOMAN CITY

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ABSTRACT

In Lapidus Grunebaum's Islamic City model where the socio-economical and spatial relations are described, four categories of social organization are mentioned as seen in Islamic societies, but emerging in Anatolia only during the Ottoman period. In Muslim societies, such way of an organization, no matter urban or rural, constitutes one of the most important and most comprehensive social organization categories of social life. These categories can be classified as emperorship or state organization, religious communities, artisan-akhi organizations and districts.

Palaces, mansions, big mosques and *külliyes* representing the power of administration staff such as vizier, *subaşı* and governor of sanjak who are at the top of emperorship or state organization, are the focal points of Ottoman cities. An architect designs these buildings which are of stone construction, costly and building organization is comprehensive. Other groups on the other hand, were sheltered in the districts constituted of relatively cheap wooden construction houses built by building craftsmen. The trait of society partitioned into different divisions which are guided by religious functionaries, can be seen in the urban area. Within a social structure of each group lives in its own district, divisions are explicitly clear like Muslim districts, Armenian district and Jewish district. The manufacturing and retail shops of artisan-akhi groups in social organization were located into khans, caravanserais and covered bazaars. These buildings forming the commercial center of cities were built by the waqfs of wealthy families. The growth of center conditioned the growth of city. Public living in the districts were organized in kin-based groups. Therefore, the income difference in a district is understandable only with the size of houses. Briefly, it can be stated that the social and cultural structure of Ottoman city has determined the formation of physical environment.

Keywords: Ottoman City, Ottoman Socio-Economic Structure, Physical Structure of the Ottoman City

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INTRODUCTION

In the model of the Islamic City of Lapidus Grunebaum, where socio-economic and spatial relations are defined, it is mentioned that there are four categories of social organization. These categories are indicated as model; "Emperorship or state organization, Religious communities (community organization of different religious sects), Artisan-Akhi organizations (Guilds or in more general terms, associations of socio-economic professions) and Districts (Neighborhood units of homogenous character in socio-economic and religious terms) (Tosun, 1983, p.14)." This structure, seen in Islamic societies, began to be seen in Anatolia during the Ottoman period. In Muslim societies, such way of an organization, no matter urban or rural, it is possible to say that this form of categories constitutes one of the most important and most comprehensive social organization categories of social life at the regional scale. (Aktüre, 1978).

In addition to such categories in social structure, Lapidus states that the urban population consists of definite social strata. These social strata are not reflected in the physical structure of the neighborhood. Aktüre states that; "spatial closeness is no necessary condition for solidarity among classes in any of the districts within urban space, and despite the homogenous structure in every level of social stratification, the districts bear heterogeneous characteristic such that the rich and poor may be living side by side (Aktüre, 1978, p.7)."

Within the scope of this study, it is aimed to examine the Ottoman social and cultural structure based on the categories of Lapidus in the Islamic City model. In addition, physical environment will be explained and related institutions will be discussed. The neighborhoods, which are the basic unit of the Ottoman urban texture,

will be examined in detail and the administrative and cultural structures of the neighborhoods and their place in the structural structure of the Ottoman city will be explained. The aim of this study is to show how the social and cultural structure of the Ottoman city played an important role in the design of the physical environment.

EMPIRE AND STATE ORGANIZATION

There are categorization of empire and state organization with different approaches. Mustafa Akdağ states that, the socio-economic stratification of the empire age city communities; the major social class of the city is the *âyan* (senators) and *eşraf* (notables of the city). These are people who have been assigned as vizier, *subaşı*, governor of sanjak, kadhi, *müderris* (teacher in a *medrese*) and in similar duties in the past. The second class is members of the state. Teachers in *medrese*, *nazırs* (ministers) of *waqfs* (foundations), officials of finance, military chiefs and chief administrator policemen (*subaşı* and *asesbaşı*) are defined as members of government. At this point, it should be noted that kadhi is naturally above all levels. In the third level, there are the class of artisans and tradesmen. Trades sheikhs (head of a group of dervishes) and *yiğitbaşıs*, savants (“*üstad*”s, recognized experts), tradesmen are included in this class. It takes fourth place, workers and apprentices, groups of people in public who possess small vineyards and orchards or shops and can only afford making their living and the class of “*mürtezika*” who benefit from *waqfs* (Akdağ, 1995).

According to Kuban; the first component of the Ottoman society is the Muslim Turks. The second component is defined as non-Muslims, who have an important place in economic life, and the third component to the state as represented by the sultan, soldiers and administrative structure. Everything is under control of the state on top. Absolute dominance of sultan is at issue. A comparison with the Western world gives the impression that the state administration is very rigid. The class structure has yet been not developed. Almost no civil participation in state works. (Kuban, 1996).

According to Cerasi, the administrative hierarchy of settlements addresses to the following divisions: “the center of sanjak or province governed by a pasha, as corresponding to a region or some wide locality in country; the regional center as corresponding to a small region including the place where the sanjak is and its environs or plenty of towns and cities; center of the administrative region consisting of small or medium sized towns in general (Cerasi, 1999, p.57).” Aktüre mentions about a population of 40-50.000 for the centers of provinces, 20-30.000 for sanjaks and 5-10.000 persons for those places where there is *subaşı* (Aktüre, 1978) within this management hierarchy.

In administration of the city, the ulama class is of crucial value. A part of these people work for state as kadhi, *müderris* (teachers in *medrese*) or mufti (official in charge of Islamic affairs for a province or district). Another group is listed in salary books of *waqfs* employed as *imam* (prayer leader), preacher or fiduciary of *waqfs* (Faroqhi, 2002). But “the main official figure is the kadhi (Cerasi, 1999, p.68).” Kadhi can be described as the Islamic judge who has the authority, in issues related with real estate reconciliations and problems concerning the municipality and the court. The kadhi has the highest position in these matters and works as an administrator appointed by the government. Every district is under control of a separate kadhi holding municipal responsibilities as well; some kadhıs try to expand their territories via inclusion of remote villages by appointing viceroys who well know about the locality to act as their proxies in a large district of kadhi or at a town distant from the court (Faroqhi, 2002). Kadhıs are assisted by the *muhtesip* leading an organization consisting of fifty-six police force. Works held by the *muhtesip*, *kethüda* (chief steward) and trustees are also under their control (Cerasi, 1999). Apart from these, there also exist other employees such as the *ihıtısab* aghas, who are responsible for urban works, but are mostly in charge of the bazaar and shopping districts, *mimarbaşı* (chief architects) who are responsible for and control the buildings, and *subaşı*, who are responsible for and control the waterlines (Kuban, 1996).

The administration of Istanbul displays a special case, compared to other regions, because the levels of the state and municipality become one there. In Istanbul, the divan, the council of state, allocates every week a session for problems of the main center. During 16th and 17th centuries, the ulama class possessing a position as powerful as that of tradesmen and craftsmen in daily life of Istanbul also has the right to comment on administrative levels in priority. İşın indicate that; strategic positions to which those from the ulama class rise as Anatolian and Rumelian military judges (*kazasker*, a high official in the Ottoman judiciary), kadhıs of Istanbul, hodjas of Sultan, *müderreses* of Süleymaniye, and kadhıs with *Mevlevi* positions.

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

In Ottoman cities one of the important symbols of daily life in urban scale pertains to the mosque and *tekkes* (dervish lodges). The local masjids (small mosques not used for Friday noon prayers) in neighborhood units, and *küllıye* mosques (complex of buildings adjacent to a mosque) are important architectural structures in the holistic urban texture and they create a focus in the urban pattern. These places also undertake a social religious community. *Küllıye* can firstly be depicted as a prevailing symbol of worshipping culture that leaves its mark on the whole city. “This symbol has been shaped according to a social organization model that shelters the main

public facilities within its body (Işın, 1991, p.65).” Functioning as some kind of a forum -usually located in western ancient cities- where the community gathers at specific time periods, the mosque takes the central location within the *külliye*. *Külliye* and mosques function like a communication center between the palace administration and the public. Decisions concerning city life are announced to the community in these places. Thus, the mosque attains the quality of being such a social institution and the public order of daily life is kept under control on behalf of the palace. The operations of the mentioned control mechanism, is provided by the *külliyes* that execute educational and health facilities via various institutions they shelter and educate the administrators for bureaucracy. Another importance of the *külliye* is that it is a public space that meets the health and food needs of the people.



Figure 1-2-3: *Selimiye Mosque (Edirne), Sultanahmet Mosque (İstanbul) and Şehzade Mosque (İstanbul)*.
Photographed by Hayriye Oya Saf

The *tekkes* were to present styles of daily life in a diverse set of alternatives in order to accomplish their roles of organizing the Muslim population for *tariqats* (Işın, 1991). *Tariqats* are bearing great importance in cultural structure of the society. It is important to know the activities of the *tariqats* in social, cultural and political fields, in terms of understanding the spiritual structure of Ottoman society (Kuban, 1996). In this context, it can be said the Ottoman state has tried to part the society into different divisions organized in cells where religious functionaries were to be guiding and was in search for a similar order for the non-Muslim public as well. While trying to maintain this order, the Ottoman state has tried to part the society into different divisions organized in cells where religious functionaries were to be guiding and was in search for a similar order for the non-Muslim public as well. According to Cerasi these “*ethnic-religious five groups were based on division of five nationalities called millet-i hamse: Roums, i.e., Roum-Ortodoxes and Slav Ortodoxes, Armenians, Catholic Armenians, Jews, and Catholic Latins.* (Cerasi, 1999, p.73).” The specified non-Muslim communities had limited autonomy used in different ways each.

ARTISAN-AKHİ ORGANIZATIONS (GUILDS)

One of the main features of the Ottoman cities is the formation of artisan-akhi organizations. The internal operations and rules of these organizations embodied as result of social and economic solidarity (Tosun, 1983) carry the traces of the Seljuk period. According to Kuban, the Ottomans have kept the elements pertaining to solidarity of the Islamic urban society. The most important one of these is the semi-religious guilds system (Kuban, 1996). The economical load of daily life is over the shoulders of artisan and craft guilds. Except for the soldiers and ulama class in the city, the presence of all the male population within these organizations, emphasize the importance of the guilds system for daily life. “*Artisan guilds are extensions of tariqats in daily practice* (Işın, 1991, p.85).”

Constructing their spiritual bases upon moral values, the guilds also include administrator positions each, for having control over these values and protecting the organization from degeneration. Those people who have the right to comment on issues within guild administration are the Sheikh, *Nakib*, *Duacı* (prayer), Sergeant, *Yiğitbaşı* and *Kethüda*. Under control of one savant for each one of the shops and manufacturing workshops specific to one crafts field. Every unit within this structure, apprentices work according to settled rules and function as schools educating master (of crafts) each. There are one Akhi, deemed as the head of savants in the same field of work. Akhis are also called artisan sheikhs or artisan *kethüdas*. *Kethüda* represents the Guild for the Palace. His assistant and chief of staff is the person who is the *yiğitbaşı*. The one with the highest volume of work among the akhis is given the position as the head of all artisan associations under the name “*akhi baba*” (Akdağ, 1995). The right to punish those artisans who sell goods of poor quality and who trade deceitfully belongs to *muhtesip*. As for the *muhtesip* who is responsible directly to the center, he is controlled by grand vizier. Control

of the bazaar takes place among the duties of grand vizier as well. Whilst carrying out this duty, some officials like the kadhi of Istanbul on the lead, or agha of Janissary corps and *muhtesip* etc. also aid the grand vizier. Generally, the bazaar controls in presidency of the grand vizier are usually held for making some inquiries in the market prior to making important economical decisions (Işın, 1991).

For every kind of crafts and artisan works in the city, there have been associations established for each one (Akdağ, 1995). In Işın's opinion, "as long as the economical dynamics shaping the daily life of the city have been kept under control of guild type of organizations, they could reflect, in a balanced manner, the circulation of materialistic and spiritual culture upon the urban pattern (Işın, 1991, p.63)." In this context, it would not be wrong to say that they created some focus point in the urban pattern. On the other hand, as places where the professional groups of artisans and craftsmen have settled, the khans and caravansaries have been so important in formation of commercial centers that were even as much determining as the bazaars as well. The khans provide an environment convenient for transfer of professional knowledge and culture between artisan groups as members of different communities (Işın, 1991). In this respect, they are important for social and cultural integration.

There appear to be two different factors, which determine the social status of artisan tradesman class within the daily life, worth consideration. The first factor is based on religion and classifies the artisan groups according to the communities they belong to. In this manner, the civil life of any artisan group remains limited to the boundaries of the district allocated to them. As for the second factor, which is completely based on practical reasons, it classifies the artisan groups only according to the professions they represent, without taking account of the religious communities they belong to. For this reason, groups of different religious communities come together in daily life only on basis of their professional careers. The artisan-tradesman classes encountering the basic needs of daily life are active in two major sectors. The first one of these is the food and fuel sector upon which the minorities dominant, and the second one is the sector of textiles and fabrics. The raw materials of the second sector are as well supplied by minority tradesmen in the maritime industry. As for the manufacturing of various house tools and equipment, with textiles taking the lead, it is, to a great extent, realized by Muslim craftsmen. Roms have an effective role in ship transportation. Armenians and Jews have superiorities in processing valuable mines (Işın, 1991). The organization ways of particularly the artisan-tradesmen class can be regarded as influential upon physical structuring of the Ottoman urban pattern.

PRODUCTION OF PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

5.1. Public and Private Constructions

It is possible to classify the buildings of the Ottoman urban texture into two as public and private. Products of public architecture usually have been of monumental character and they stand out in the urban pattern. These buildings are usually made of stone. The orderly processing of ashlar that were used in monumental buildings has been considered very important. It has been observed that materials taken out from the old buildings were sometimes used in monumental buildings as well. According to Faroqhi, the reason for this is neither the cheapness of the materials nor that they could be found easily, but their values with high symbolism worth being considered as antique. One can also run into 'çini's (piece of earthenware decorated with opaque colored glazes and motifs that are characteristic of Turkish art) as material of ornamentation. The surfaces of most public-monumental buildings are sheltered by lead-coated domes. However, until the 15th century, it is also occasional for the domes to be coated with brick (Faroqhi, 2002).

In private buildings called civil architecture, on the other hand, the dominance of local materials is at issue. Stone is used only in regions with inadequate amounts of trees where there exists no cheaper material than stone, or in regions like *Ürgüp* where the stones are especially smooth to be easily processed. In Western Anatolia, Black Sea region and Istanbul, the materials used in construction of houses are mostly timber. In inner regions, where wood is very expensive, the bay work (half-timbered) construction technique has been developed. Similarly, inner regions, the use of adobe is also common, only the carrier elements and the roof are built of wood. Due to the arid climate, the roofs of the houses are mostly flat and the summers are used as terraces. In coastal lines and the forestry areas, roofs are usually pitched and covered with thin wooden slabs called "*padavra*" (shingle roof) or roof tiles (Faroqhi, 2002).

Almost all of the private constructions to be held in a city depend upon permission of that city's kadhi. The kadhi would give technical control responsibility to an architect or master builder assigned by him and supervision of the construction. The construction taxes were collected by the building fiduciary. As for the monuments to be built for purposes of public benefit, their constructions were realized with the support of private persons and foundations (waqfs) (Cerasi, 1999). In the city, the control mechanism was operating for all constructions. In this context; "D'Ohsson (1878) speaks of frequent land surveys and merciless controls made to prevent illegal constructions (Cerasi, 1999, p.68)." Many firmans of the Ottoman period determine the heights and distances of buildings from mosques and buildings to be preserved. However, these rules were often seen to be not obeyed. Detailed building regulations could be put into effect by the beginning of 19th century only. We have no knowledge

concerning the extent to how much influential these decrees have been in particularly the provinces. Nevertheless, until the period between the 18th and 19th centuries, the limiting norms related with the heights of buildings as determined by different regulations of the housing pattern appear to have been kept (Cerasi, 1999).

5.2. Architects

One of the differences between civil architecture and the public architecture is that in public buildings, the name of the responsible architects were known, whereas in private buildings, unknown. Here is not much information about Ottoman architects. *Mimar Sinan*, *Atik Sinan*, *Davud* and *Mehmet Agha* are some of the very well-known architects. Not all of the Ottoman architects are *anonymous craftsmen* loyal to the commands of palace bureaucracy and insisted rules of the guilds. Contrarily, some are known as respectful people who have been so influential that their words were regarded as commands (Faroqi, 2002).

The splendid buildings of the period are known to be constructed mostly at Istanbul and its environments. Following the designing of the projects demanded by the padishah or members of his family, the project is approved firstly by the *mimarbaşı* (chief architect) and then presented to the padishah. Another procedure belongs to those buildings to be constructed outside Istanbul where a young architect is to be assigned for the control of the construction site. Urban architects are above all seen to have instrumental roles in providing for the bureaucratic control of central authority upon the cities in the provinces. Those architects who have been assigned by the central government are trained usually in the Hassa Architects Center, the organization of which has continued until the beginning of 16th century. Urban architects were charged with control of all craftsmen engaged in construction works. A private construction in the countryside could not have started without the approval of the urban architect. The urban architect would sometimes bring standards to construction material (Faroqi, 2002). By this way, the buildings to be constructed in the provinces were kept in conformity with the style of the capital.

In the Ottoman period, regulations have been set forth for especially the new houses to be constructed in Istanbul as involving such rules that resemble today's "*municipal construction bylaw*". For example; dictate upper floors with projections not to cover the street. The stone counters placed in front of the houses not to exceed specific limits. These rules should be within knowledge of constructors and the architects. When necessary, one can refer to the registry books of kadhi. The urban architect would also assist kadhi in resolution of conflicts concerning the construction activities and the buildings. In addition, the money paid for the government by craftsmen working, in construction business were also collected by the urban architect. The word architect comprises not only the architects in the known sense, but also the master builders of lower level, because the houses are constructed not by architects educated mostly from the Hassa Architects Center, but by *dülgers* (carpenters) or bricklayers working together with the property owner (Faroqi, 2002).

5.3. Institutional Framework of Building Activity: Waqf

"*Waqf is an institution managing the charity buildings to be constructed with the financial support of a private donator* (Cerasi, 1999, p.74)." According to Kunter, the waqfs (foundations) were responsible for ethical or religious activities or a wide range of aid activities including distribution of firewood and coal to poor people, collection of signatures for the naval force, and purchase of trousseau for poor brides and for construction and management of public buildings such as the mosque, school, *külliye* etc. (Faroqi, 2002).

From an institutional point of view, all waqf buildings were religious foundations. These waqfs, of which the frameworks have been drawn according to Islamic law that has taken its final shape during the 7th and 8th centuries, have functioned within the same framework in the Ottoman period as well.

DISTRICTS

The district is an urban institution that makes up an integrated whole with its social and physical structures both. The social context of the city is divided in between the mosque and *külliye*, bazaar and palace. The district, as an urban institution with housing texture, reflects a social structure that corresponds to family existence and its relations. The mosque and the surrounding buildings stand for a more widespread social context in this texture. The bazaar that creates the environment for exchange of goods and the palace that brings rules pertaining to the ways of behavior function as catalysts each. In Ottoman cities, the physical development of Ottoman cities, seem to be established through erection of new districts. It is possible to find parallelisms between the overall development process of the Ottoman social structure and the formation of neighborhood units in cities (Kuban, 1996).

Homogenous groups consisting of migrants from villages, nomad communities and other regions have established new districts by settling communities with less number of families according to their ethnical origins or being of the same social, professional or religious groups. In the community, there is often a founder. This person stands out as a religious leader or a figure respected for his wealth or authority (Cerasi, 1999). The first

districts are conspicuous as small scale settlement units constituted by community-type of organizations. These districts have taken their names usually these people are authority figures (Işın, 1991). In new districts, people have constructed their houses at a location nearby a place of worship or a religious complex. Therefore, scattered texture is rarely seen on maps in residential areas. The vacancies within the settlement pattern of districts have been filled with flows of migration later (Cerasi, 1999).

Another point taken into consideration during structuring of the district is the arrangement of population balance as the fundamental component of daily life. The city is also thought to shelter qualified population who are members of different religious communities having resided there through exile. In result, the settlement of crafts masters and of those families who have the right to comment on both administrative and religious issues has been maintained so that it would firstly aid in economic development of the city. The placement of Muslim and Christian communities in separate neighborhoods has led to the emergence of a neighborhood culture that has marked the daily life.

The districts are shaped according to a centralist structuring model. Muslim districts are administratively dependent upon the *imam* (Işın, 1991). The by-laws related to districts are based on religion. The *imam* of the mosque, who is vested with the authority in property, municipal and legal issues, has been the highest authority of the district until 1829 (Cerasi, 1999). The extent of *imam*'s authority is not limited with administrative issues and he is deemed as the only person responsible for fundamental matters of daily life (Işın, 1991). He also undertakes the duty of referee in civil discussions of secondary degree (Cerasi, 1999). In addition, it has the authority to sanction the residents of the neighborhood. The *imam*'s role in Muslim districts, are played by priests in Christian districts and rabbis in Jewish districts (Işın, 1991). In 1829, until when *imam*'s delegated powers have begun to exceed the given limits and thus create pressure, an enacted law has declared foundation of village council where the imam had to be accompanied by two mukhtars. Those people elected by family leaders of the district (Cerasi, 1999).

In the classical period, security is important for the districts. In administration of the district, the *Pazvants*, acting as policemen also called '*Pasbân*'s, in other words, the salaried watchmen are worth notice as well. These people act administratively in connection with district *imams*. Another point, which is, as much essential as providing for security in district of the classical period is to have the life standards be kept at a specific level in economical terms. In this context, the most noteworthy arrangement is the establishment of the *Avarız* chests, which are financed by people who are considered to be a kind of social assistance fund and who are in good condition. These large chests constitute the actual source of all aiding expenses, including credits of low interest rates given as proportionate to the need as well as caring of the poor ones, widows and orphans (Işın, 1999).



Figure 4-5-6: Images from Safranbolu City Center
Photographed by Hayriye Oya Saf

When it comes to physical structuring of the districts, there exist some mechanisms determining their structures and formal characteristics and these have been kept unchanged for centuries. At the center of the Muslim district take place the mosque-masjid. Although the district center displays distinctive qualities due to placement of the mosque there, there are residential areas developed around such buildings as turbeh (large, usually domed tomb), Turkish bath, fountain, or school etc. as well. The districts of Christian and Jewish communities have similarly resided at the surrounding areas of churches and synagogues and to a great extent, have realized their cultural organizations with the influence of these religious centers (Işın, 1991). To "mark" the geography of its own is the duty of the district center. The fountain, small square, masjid or if the district is large enough, the mosque, school and café ("*kahvehane*", serving only coffee, tea or soft drinks) all play a determining role in the center of district (Cerasi, 1999). "*Having never extended over too much of an area, the district consists of several tens of or one or two hundred houses. Ayverdi and Aktüre speak of an average of population changing between 150 to 2000 people in Istanbul and the seven Anatolian cities of the provinces* (Cerasi, 1999, p.72)." The districts function as small urban villages sheltering common and public places like the worship place, school, library, food

shops, fountains and sometimes a Turkish bath as well as administrative structures that have yet not completed their development (Cerasi, 1999).



Figure 7-8-9-10: Examples of Street Texture from Ottoman Cities (*Edirne, Kütahya, Bursa*)
Photographed by Hayriye Oya Saf

The districts consist of main streets extending to city centers as well as many dead-end streets. As a typical feature of Islamic cities, this phenomenon can to a great extent be related with the previously mentioned concepts of property and family immunity in Islam. The dead-end streets functions far from being a street, as rather a passage providing access to one or several houses. Except for the areas around the masjid or fountain, there exists no planned public urban space. In the internal organization of the districts, the principles of the Muslim social order were influential. The first one of these principles is mutual respect for property. In this context, the first settlers are given priority. They were not allowed to have their houses built in a way as to block the scenery of the previously built houses, open any window or have a balcony that will be facing the interior of those houses and would not also be impeding access to their doors. As for the second principle, it was the intimacy of the household. Privacy necessitates living immunity and houses to be built physically enclosed (Kuban, 1996).



Figure 11-12-13-14: Examples of Ottoman Houses (*Birgi Çakırağa Mansion, Kütahya Houses, Muğla Karaosmanoğlu Mansion, Trilye-Bursa Houses*) Photographed by Hayriye Oya Saf

In Ottoman society, the cell of urban living is the family. No other institution has had such an impact upon the social and physical conditions of urban life. Houses as the fundamental component of city's physical form that can be defined as living unit of the family, have created a unique architecture under the name Ottoman house. In this context, it can be said; "*The fundamental component in the physical form of the city consisting of organic clustering of districts is the house* (Kuban, 1996, p.194)." Except for the palace buildings, the house has never been designed as an expression of the owners' wealth, nobility or splendor in the Ottoman society. In functional terms, the self-development of plans imply emergence of typical street organizations. Another unique characteristic of the Ottoman cities is the walls with no window openings on ground floors of the houses, at the backside of which take place wide spaces used for various functions. Until the 19th century, the ground floors have been designed either without any or with one-two small windows. Although the houses differ in scientific terms and in terms of construction techniques and ornamentation, the structural layout of residential areas have definitely not changed. The most evident characteristic of Ottoman cities during the pre-industrial era pertains to the residential area organizations consisting of the layout of houses with courtyards and gardens. Following the first period of migration, such structural change mechanisms as earthquakes, fires or construction of large *külliyes* and palaces must have caused the emergence of diverse variations in garden and house relations. However, as the first reliable maps date to 20th century and as there exists no other documents other than several miniatures displaying the physical relations between the house and garden during the early periods, we have only a few information regarding this change and the spatial organizations at issue (Kuban, 1996).

CONCLUSION

Four categories of social and cultural structure of Ottoman city, which are state organization, religious communities, Artisan-Akhi organizations and districts, has clearly shaped the development of physical environment. Palaces, mansions, big mosques and *külliyes* representing the power of administration staff such as vizier, *subaşı* and governor of sanjak who is the top of emperorship or state organization, are the focal points of Ottoman cities. An architect designs these buildings which are of stone construction, costly and building organization is comprehensive. Other groups on the other hand, were sheltered in the districts constituted of relatively cheap wooden construction houses built by building craftsmen.

The trait of society partitioned into different divisions which are guided by religious functionaries, can be seen in the urban area. Within a social structure of each group lives in its own district, divisions are explicitly clear like Muslim districts, Armenian district and Jewish district. House characteristics are different as well. Whereas the Muslim house is a garden house, wooden construction and its roof has long eaves, non-Muslim house is a row house, stone construction and the roof does not extend outside from the facade line. However, house characteristics are merged to each other at the boundaries of districts, so the partitioning disappears. For instance, the upper floor with projections in Muslim house is a similar building component with the upper floor with bay windows in non-Muslim house.

The manufacturing and retail shops of artisan-akhi groups in social organization were located into khans, caravanserais and covered bazaars. These buildings forming the commercial center of cities were built by the waqfs of wealthy families. Establishing a waqf and building a mosque, a khan, a Turkish bath and a covered bazaar has been a strategy of urban development. The growth of center conditioned the growth of city.

Public living in the districts was organized in kin-based groups. Therefore, the income difference in a district is understandable only with the size of houses. Wealthy family house is adjacent to a low income family house in a district. The building system with the walls which are made of mud-brick infilled wooden construction, of one story or two stories upper part onto stone construction ground floor walls is the same in both houses. But, the wealthy family houses are usually three stories and the number of rooms are more. Ground floor is for the storage, servants live on the first floor, the patriarch and household live on the second. A number of *revzen*, the window at the upper part of dual windows order, is the indicator of richness, since they are very expensive. Similarly, ceiling ornaments in rooms, *çini* applications on the walls, hand-drawns, detail and ornament precision of fireplaces, cupboards and doors, all refer to how much the family is rich. As the last word, it can be stated that the social and cultural structure of Ottoman city has determined the formation of physical environment.

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