

An Assesment on the Definiton of Publicity in Ottoman Context

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By the end of the 19th century, the transformation of Ottoman spatio-temporal practices and built environment were the evident phenomena. Administrative buildings, military compounds, schools and factories are the formal and pivotal artifacts of the new modern built environment, which are generally regarded as the first and foremost spatial organizations of modern urban life inculcating universal time which is locally named as “*alafranga saat*”. Although having remarkable effects on the transformation of the Ottoman spatio-temporal culture, to regard them as core institutional urban fragments seems to be problematical.

This paper does not offer a historical overview of the transformation of modern spatio-temporal built environment in the Ottoman context, nor its historiography; rather, it offers to work on the socio-cultural meanings attributed to these practices forming the urban developments in the 19th century. In this aspect, archival documents in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives and the periodical texts concerning the issue and the context such as Ahmet Mithat Efendi’s *Avrupa Âdâbı Muâşeret-i yahut Alafranga* (European Manners or the European Style) in 1884, Hasan Hamid’s, “Şems-i Tarih-Zevâl-i Saat (Dissolution of Time)” published in the *Mülkiye* magazine in 1909, Ahmet Samim’s “Vaktimizi Bilelim! (Let us Know Our Time!)” in *Sada-yı Millet* magazine in 1910, Basiretçi Ali Efendi’s *Şehir Mektupları* (City Mails) published in the journal *Basiret* between 1866-1908 and Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey’s *Eski Zamanlarda İstanbul Hayatı* (Istanbul Life in Old Times) in the early 1920s are referred to as the primary sources.

The intention is to demonstrate the direct relation of changing conceptions and practices of publicity with sophistications that can be traced back from the 19th century and complicated, multiple and rapid formations after the 19th century. The transforming conception of publicity together with new practices of space-time within the leaping shift from pre-modern sophistications to extensive formations of the modern will be adressed as the nexus of Ottoman socialization practices.

Keywords: Late Ottoman, Istanbul, modernity, transformation, publicity, space-time.

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Ondokuzuncu yüzyılın sonuna doğru Osmanlı bağlamında zaman-mekân pratikleri ve yapıları çevrenin dönüşümü somut bir olgudur. Söz konusu yeni modern yapıları çevrenin ön saflarına yerleşen idari yapılar, kışlalar, okullar ve fabrikalar, yerel bağlamda genellikle alafranga saat olarak nitelendirilen evrensel saat uygulamasını da telkin ettiklerinden, modern hayatın kuruluşları olarak değerlendirilir. Osmanlı zaman-mekân kültürünün dönüşümünde yadsınamayacak etkileri olsa da, söz konusu yapıları merkezci kurumsal kent parçaları olarak değerlendirmek sorunsallaştırılması gereken bir konudur.

Bu öngörü ile çalışma, modern zaman-mekânsal yapıları çevrenin dönüşümüne yönelik tasviri bir anlatı önermek yerine ondokuzuncu yüzyıldaki kentsel gelişmelere ilişkin pratiklere atfedilen sosyokültürel anlamları değerlendirmeyi amaçlar. Bu bağlamda, irdelenecek konuya ilişkin İstanbul Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi'ndeki belgeler ile birlikte Ahmet Mithat Efendi'nin 1884 tarihli *Avrupa Âdâbı Muâşeretü yahut Alafranga*, Hasan Hamid'in 1909 tarihli *Mülkiye* dergisinde yayımlanan "Şems-i Tarih-Zevâl-i Saat", Ahmet Samim'in 1910 tarihli *Sada-yı Millet* dergisinde yayımlanan "*Vaktimizi Bilelim?*", Basiretçi Ali Efendi'nin 1866-1908 tarihleri arasında Basiret Gazetesine yazdığı *Şehir Mektupları* ve Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey'in 1920'lerin başlarına ait *Eski Zamanlarda İstanbul Hayatı* başta olmak üzere çeşitli dönem metinleri çalışmanın birincil kaynaklarını oluşturur.

Makale boyunca 19. yy'dan geriye doğru uzanıldığında kamusal hayata ilişkin gözlemlenecek sofistifikasyonlar ile 19. yy'dan itibaren söz konusu olan kompleks, çoklu ve süratli oluşumların, Osmanlı'da değişen kamusal kavrayışı ve uygulamaları ile olan doğrudan ilişkisi ortaya koyulmuştur. Denilebilir ki; modern öncesi dünyanın sofistifikasyonundan modern olanın kompleksitesine sıçramalı yayılan bu oluşumlarda yeni zaman-mekân uygulamaları ile birlikte dönüşen kamusal kavrayışı, Osmanlı'da gözlemlenecek toplumsallaşma biçimlerini yeniden organize eden bir bağ unsur olarak değerlendirilebilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Geç Osmanlı, İstanbul, modernite, dönüşüm, kamusal, zaman-mekân.

Introduction

According to Lewis Mumford, in his *Technics and Civilization*¹, the key machine of the industrial age was not the steam engine but the clock due to the profound changes in the conceptualization of time and space. Similarly, Werner Sombart claims that the measurement of time stands as a symbol for the processes of modernization and rationalization.² Yet, as put by Uğur Tanyeli, these hypotheses seem valid only for the western world and cannot be directly

¹ Lewis Mumford, *Technics And Civilization*, Brace and Company, New York, 1934, pp.12-18.

² Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour: Clocks and Modern Temporal Orders*, Trans. Thomas Dunlap, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1996, p.13.

applied to the Islamic realm and in particular to the Ottoman case.³ Tanyeli argues that the social construction of time in the Islamic realm resisted the dissolution of space-time unity via the mechanical construction of time.

In the context of Ottoman-Turkish modern processes and in terms of publicity and conception of space-time what is in question is the generation of a modern conception of space-time as a proposal of alienation to nature and a rupture from natural rhythms due to the erosion of the rhythmic relationality established between every day practices and the repetition of temporal phenomena determined by the empirical observation of nature.⁴ Temporal patterns were regulated by various Islamic or distinctly Ottoman Institutions such as the daily prayer cycle, the imperial codes (*kanunnames*), endowment deeds (*vakfiyes*) of institutions such as public kitchens (*imarets*), *hammams*, and *hans*, and of learning institutions such as *mekteps* and *medreses*.⁵ *Muvakkits*, were employed in Ottoman mosques since the early days of Ottoman Empire and beginning from the 15th century, many of them served in single-room buildings known as *muvaakkithanes* (*muvaakkit* houses), which were constructed within the vicinity of the larger mosques.⁶ Other than determining prayer times and informing the *muezzin*, the *muvaakkits* also issued tables, known as *imsakiye*, which specified the times of breaking fast during the month of Ramadan. The *muvaakkits* throughout the Ottoman Empire operated under the authority of the *müneccimbaşı* (chief astrologer) of the imperial court.⁷ The pre-modern temporal patterns was thus not only “in synchrony with the heavens”, as put by David King, but also with the more easily identifiable political power structures on earth.⁸

19th century is an intercultural era in which the local conditions were starting to erode. International norms and measures became a topic to which every practice that can accrue to mind would inevitably be associated with. New techno-cultural and socio-cultural developments of the era, especially as in the second half, brought forward a new spatio-temporal organization and publicity

³ Tanyeli Uğur, “The Emergence of Modern Time Consciousness in the Islamic World and the Problematics of Spatial Perception”, *Anytime*, 1999, Ed. Cynthia Davidson, MIT Press, Cambridge, pp.159-167.

⁴ Işıl Uçman Altınışik, *Osmanlı'da Zaman Mekân Kavramının Değişimi ve Mimarlık*, Yıldız Technical University Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences, unpublished doctorate thesis, İstanbul, 2012, pp.11-70.

⁵ Avner Wishnitzer, *The Transformation Of Ottoman Temporal Culture During The Long Nineteenth Century*, Tel Aviv University The Graduate School of Historical Studies, unpublished doctorate thesis, Tel Aviv, 2009, pp. 33-34.

⁶ Salim Aydüz, “İstanbul'da Zamanın Nabzını Tutan Mekanlar: Muvakkithaneler”, *İstanbul*, Sayı 51, İstanbul, 2004, pp.92-97.

⁷ Salim Aydüz, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Müneccimbaşılık ve Müneccimbaşılar*, İstanbul University Graduate School of Social Sciences, unpublished master thesis, İstanbul, 1993.

⁸ David A. King, *In Synchrony with the Heavens: Studies in Astronomical Timekeeping and Instrumentation in Medieval Islamic Civilization (studies I-IX)*, Brill Press, Leiden, 2004.

within the interaction between new communication, transportation, and illumination techniques that would also link the Ottoman cultural world in the context of Istanbul and the world conjuncture. This new sociality, which is a topic of modernity, dragged a lot of elements present in the spatio-temporal conception and its practices into alteration.⁹ The Hijri-Lunar Calendar¹⁰, *Alaturka Saat*¹¹ and the inception of the eroding of the day and night limit, are vital facts through which the change can be observed. The Ottoman administration underwent a major reform process, unprecedented in scope and its consequences. The Ottoman scribal service evolved into an elaborate bureaucratic system, which facilitated previously unseen levels of centralization and surveillance.¹² This process entailed a parallel elaboration, rationalization and centralization of space-time organization within the administrative systems such as military and education.¹³ Even in the early stages of the 20th century, these issues had been effective in the association of modernity and the public life in Istanbul. For example, Hasan Hamid, in his article titled “Şems-i Tarih-Zevâl-i Saat” that was published in the *Mülkiye* magazine in 1909, puts the necessity of excelling to the universal calendar and the clock applications onto the axis of public welfare, for the public life to gain functionality in the global network and scale:

“One of our affairs that needs to be reformed is our calendar and clock. Between folks, learning three dates is necessary; the lunar calendar, to know the days and religious festivals; the fiscal and the *Rumi*, for transactions, internal affairs, and official accounts; the Frankish (European), for liaisons with a foreigner; sometimes noting down one or sometimes noting down the two side by side; during a conversation when a date is mentioned, comprehending which one of these dates are being spoken or when not comprehended, just asking is required... On the other hand, by establishing good will, we will be able to benefit from the treasures and skills of Europe and America. By keeping always in touch with them, we will take in whatever is beneficial for us. To keep a good will and to keep in touch with this civilized west necessitates common grounds.¹⁴”

⁹ Uçman Altınışık, *ibid*, pp.70-113; Wishnitzer, *ibid*.

¹⁰ A. Necati Akgür, “Takvim”, TDV, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 39, İstanbul, pp.487-490; Bekir Cantemir, *The Changing Conception of Time: Calendar and Clock From the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey*, Boğaziçi University The Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History, unpublished master thesis, İstanbul, 2004, pp.55-57.

¹¹ Also known as *gurbî* (literally, ‘of or relating to the sunset’) time or *alaturka* (a Turkishized version of ‘a la Turca’) time; Ekmelettin İhsanoğlu ve Feza Günergun, “Osmanlı Türkiyesi’nde Alaturka Saatten Alafranga Saate Geçiş”, *X. Ulusal Astronomi Kongresi, İstanbul, 1996*, pp.434-436.

¹² Carter Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1980.

¹³ Safiye Kırancılar, “Uluslar Arası Saatin Kabul Edilmesi ve İleri Saat Uygulaması Kapsamında Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e Zaman Kavramının Şekillendirilmesi (1919-1946)”, *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi*, Sayı 15, İstanbul, 2006, pp. 65-73.

¹⁴ Hasan Hamid, “Şems-i Tarih-Zeval-i Saat”, *Mülkiye*, Sayı 2, 1909, p.11.

Hamid's statements not only shed light on the universal values that become problematic in the formation of a modern spatio-temporal awareness but also provide an account on the modern procedures that take place at the start of the century. In this course, where social life and everyday practices are being reorganized, locality is not much "beneficial" anymore. The axis of benefits that Hamid defines is to take part in the global network of relationships. In the same article, he explains the plausible way of doing so as to nestle in a common language. The calendar and time are stated as the requisites of such language. The spatio-temporal relations to be associated with the facts that are Ottoman projections for the modern urban and public life of an intercultural new world can be followed further in Hamid's statements:

"Ferries, railway trains, telegraphs and recently telephones that connect the east and west to one another, needless to say, commence their motion from the departure point on a different calendar and a different style of hour reach the destination at a different day, say for example, arriving before its departure, announcing such an arrival would not only be weird, puzzling, unnatural but also impossible. If a train departing from Paris according to the European noon clock and reaching our borders would intend to move along with the Ottoman style clock, it would be forced to halt for short or long durations and if we assume the trains in our homeland to move by the *gurubî* clock (reset at evening time) and the train from Europe moves by the European noon clock, this will lead to lots of accidents.¹⁵"

Having similar concerns, Ahmet Samim plainly discloses the "hour crisis" prevailing in the everyday life at the beginning of the 20th century in his article entitled "Let us Know Our Time!" published in the journal *Sada-yı Millet* dated 21 May 1910. Samim dwells on the topic right after a chart titled "Yevmi (daily) Calendar" (figure 1) that shows prayer times of that very day:

<i>Tulu'-ı evkât</i> [sunrise] hour: 11: minute: 43	<i>İmsâk</i> (fasting) hour: 10 minute 00 [tomorrow]
<i>Zubr</i> [noon] hour: 6 minute: 00	
<i>Asr-ı Evvel</i> [afternoon] hour: 9 minute: 26	
<i>İşâ-I Evvel</i> [evening] hour 1 minute: 31	

Figure 1. Prayer times given in Turkish clock in Ahmet Samim's "Let us Know Our Time!"

"Let us know our time!"

¹⁵ Hamid, *ibid*, p.12.

I do not want to elaborate extensively on gürûbî clocks that definitely differ a couple of minutes every day and hence out of order at every instant as there is no one who does not know how erroneous and irregular gürûbî clocks are that we use as Turkish clock. As it is definite for the competent of science (erbâb-ı fen), the horizontal progression (ufk-ı satbından müritüru) of the sun does not happen at the same minute every day. Therefore, devices adjusted on such basis are vulnerable to corruption.

Hence, it is futile to mention of our clocks that necessitate repair every year and renewal after several repairs and elucidate further on how we are caught in extortion by European factories because of this. Yet, it is difficult or even impractical to schedule the state affairs, especially, the means of transport (vesâit-i nakliye) or to organize our working hours by somewhat varying measure of an everlasting change¹⁶

The demand for precision in the above statements accounting for the title “Let us Know Our Time!” concretizes the change experienced in space-time conceptualization. The demand is on ambiguity that is constitutive in the *gürûbî*¹⁷ time system in relation with the temporal space-time conceptualization, which had become a solid problem at the very beginning of the century.

The scope of the problem formulated by Samim as “organizing work hours and scheduling state affairs, especially, the means of transport”¹⁸ is a space-time appearance that cannot be observed before the second half of the nineteenth century. Such space-time formation is a production of everyday life that conforms to a set of new practices regarding the customization of daily agenda to catch an appointment or to go to work that is planned according to boat, train or tramway timetables at an urban scale operation. Change is so apparent and effective that it is frequently addressed in literary texts of the period. The opening of the Ottoman to a new intercultural world evolves into new images within the focus of changing space-time conceptualization and experience, especially in the novels. In this sense, almost a century of literary process starting from Ahmet Mithat in the second half of the nineteenth century and extending to Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar in the second half of the twentieth century is significant.

As can be traced in the statements above, the new communication, transportation, illumination techniques that the Ottoman cultural world becomes associated with bring on a new modern spatio-temporal organization and experience in the context of Istanbul, especially in the second half of the 19th century. The physical environment encountered when getting off at Sirkeci Train Station from the Orient Express that had been boarded on from a city in Europe or, when crossing from Üsküdar to Eminönü to run some errands in Bankalar Street or, when making it on time to the rivet-work class in *Tersane-i*

¹⁶ Ahmet Samim, “Vaktimizi Bilelim”, *Sada-ı Millet*, No:111, 1910, p.1.

¹⁷ Also known as *alaturka* (a Turkishized version of ‘a la Turca’) time. İhsanoğlu and Günergun, *ibid*, pp.159-160.

¹⁸ Samim, *ibid*, p.3.

Amire (the Grand Shipyard) factory¹⁹ or, when going on a tram to Taksim after taking the funicular from Karaköy to Beyoğlu to eat and drink something while watching the everyday life just to take the edge off in a café and the spatio-temporal states associated with such environment are radically different than the one before 19th century. Notwithstanding some delay, Istanbul was able to acquire all the innovations symbolizing cultural progress and the institutions of prestige in the same century. As factors alienating man from a natural spatial experience and compelling a shift in the perception, the increase in accessibility and in the speed of transportation compresses space, thus, shrinking the world. The technologies that diminish the magnitude of distance bring along the transformations in the perception of space.²⁰ It can be said that particular content is in formation for the new spatio-temporal facilities of public life in the Ottoman context.²¹ In this historical and cultural setting, depiction of daytime and dependency on the sun to schedule work shifted in content and uninterruptedly divisible time and hours together with day and night comes into action.²² Hence, a modern time-space and a new publicity conceptualization gained visibility as working and recreational life drew away from the neighborhoods; public transport applications (tram, train, ferry timetables and sounds) emerged at the city scale and popular culture items (printed daily newspapers and magazines, promotional posters, booklets and photographs) differed.

New Publicity, Visibility and the Street

To discuss the changing sociality in the Ottoman-Turkey transformation process, public space and the change in public space ought to be defined. Tanyeli, rather than referring to the public and the private in the Ottoman context, highlights the necessity of discussing a very complex pattern actualized in the gradual diminishment of intimacy from the interior to the outdoors, towards a more generic use.²³ In this sense, it is important to assess the novel

¹⁹ *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Sadaret Mühimme Kalemî Evrakı, BOA, A.} MKT.MHM., 413/8, 20.Ra.1285/11.07.1868.*

²⁰ Günkut Akın, “20. Yüzyıl Başında İstanbul: Toplumsal ve Mekânsal Farklılaşma”, *Osmanlı Başkentinden Küreselleşen İstanbul’a: Mimarlık ve Kent, 1910-2010*, Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, İstanbul, 2010, pp.20-21.

²¹ *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Haricîye Nezâreti Tercüme Odası, BOA HR.TO, No:492 /43 (30.08.1865); Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Bâb-ı Âlî Evrak Odası, BOA BEO, No:1223/91707, 25 C 1316 (10.11.1889); Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Maarif Nezâreti Mektubi Kalemî, BOA MF.MKT, No:429/22, 08 Ş 1316 (22.12.1898); BOA BEO, No:1280/95937, 01 Za 1316 (13.03.1899).*

²² Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1996, p.17; Uğur Tanyeli, “The Emergence of Modern Time Consciousness in the Islamic World and the Problematics of Spatial Perception”, *Anytime*, MIT Press, Cambridge 1999, pp.162-163.

²³ Uğur Tanyeli, *Türkîye'nin Görsellik Tarîhi'ne Giriş*, Akın Nalça Kitapları, İstanbul, 2010, p.48. Tanyeli reverses Yerasimos' categorization of streets in the Ottoman/Islamic city. Noting the neighborhood as not traversable on one's free will, Yerasimos denotes a degradation that moves from a common scale that dwells in the market, the monumental mosque or the city gate to the domicile scale as the most private space via the larger street, the smaller street and the *cul-de-sac*.

sociality and urbanity becoming within the modern processes in the Ottoman world beyond quantitative analysis that is often discussed with reference to diversity of building typologies. Although, indicators in the context of modernity without any doubt, the building types, which can be exemplified quickly, as administrative buildings, military compounds, schools and factories are not sufficient on their own to discuss modern public space. Due to their content, whether located in the periphery, and thus, having an indirect relation with the city, or notwithstanding their location in the city, these building types can be defined as installations rather than generators and their capacity to produce qualitative situations rather than quantitative states and spatio-temporal relations are the topics of the urban and the publicity.

Spatio-temporal conception and practices in transformation act as regulators in public works and reshape the urban context. For example, Istanbul had become traversable as never before in the second half of the 19th century. In previous centuries, urban mobility, in the sense of moving from place to another in the city, was an issue that only a distinct group could utilize with extremely limited facilities²⁴. Therefore, it is obvious that the visibility issue, which determines public life in the Ottoman world before the 19th century, is problematical in itself. Therefore, in order to address the issue of public life, it is important to remind that public is something negotiated as an interaction in a socio-cultural milieu that is determined within the scales of house and neighborhood. Hence, accompanied by issues of visibility and moving from one place to another, the street itself is the spatio-temporal setting in which public life emerges after the second half of the 19th century.

Being the primary location for novel initiatives such as gas technology, water installations, cleaning and widening of roads in the wake of the efforts for municipal organization that started in 1850s²⁵ and key undertakings of *Şehremaneti* (Istanbul Municipality) that was founded in 1854 and inasmuch as accommodating different cultural profiles, a pioneer of change with its local yet non-Muslim and foreign population that promoted transformative potentials which were far removed from homogenization both physically and culturally, Pera became associated with the equivalence of “being in the streets”, as the newly opened grounds. It can be said that Pera/Beyoğlu transposed “visibility”

Stefanos Yerasimos, “Tanzimat’ın Kent Reformları Üzerine”, *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, Ed. Paul Dumont, François Georgeon, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 1996, pp.1-18.

²⁴ Uğur Tanyeli, “Osmanlı Kentsel Ulaştırma Düzeni ve Batılaşması: Tekno-Kültürel Bir Değerlendirme”, III. *Symposium of History of Sciences, Modern Transportation and Communication Techniques in the Ottoman State*, 1997, pp.350-361.

²⁵ Nur Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, ikinci baskı, Literatür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2002; Zeynep Çelik *Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, University of California Press, California, 1993.

into the metaphor of “going out to Beyoğlu”.²⁶ While puzzled and lamented at the deprivation in Istanbul (the historic peninsula), the coveted status of Pera/Beyoğlu is articulated by Balikhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey in his *Eski Zamanlarda İstanbul Hayatı* (Istanbul Life in Old Times) in 1920s:

“Especially, in carnival times, there had emerged a swarming of ramblers to Galata and Beyoğlu. Private cars and taxis carried the youngsters there with tremendous speed, splashing the mud. Crowding into balls and casinos till morning hours had become the custom... A good deal of native and foreign youngsters of our Istanbul gave into their lusts and strolled in this location and committed a variety of perversities.”²⁷

Especially after the second half of the 19th century, *Grand Rue de Pera* has become traversable and the locus of the *flâneur* with its spatio-temporal and urban amenities. The issue of traversing emerges as a socialization, which was generated by gas lamps, especially at nighttime that drives the urban imagination towards the street. In this socialization process, the street is at times a landscape or at times an interior. Strolling in a spatio-temporal interval including the nighttime will produce new identities that will add up to the imagination.

These figures, which appear in the utterances of the late Ottoman era, which are, in a sense, the *flâneurs*²⁸ of Istanbul and especially appearing at nights, also take their places in the Istanbul novels of Ahmet Mithat where they have become imagined characters. Just like the “picaresque” novels²⁹, especially male characters in Ahmet Mithat’s novels hit the road to live a vagabond Istanbul and nightlife that is not to be found in the traditional imagination.³⁰ Evening trips that have been colloquially popularized as “promenade” were significant for they were performed collectively. Such *mise-an-scène* of 19th century Pera/Beyoğlu are denoted in various narratives as a fashion that invigorated Istanbul after the *Tanzimat* (reformation), attended by, both foreigners and Muslim and non-Muslim natives, particularly by women, in carriages or on foot, in the area between Küçük Mezarlık (*Petits Champs des Morts*) and Büyük Mezarlık (Grand Champs des Morts) covering the Ayaspaşa quarter.³¹ In a way, *Grand Rue de Pera*/The Beyoğlu Street ascribes a novelty on the spatial programs the street bears in the Ottoman context: the promenade, extending into the night

²⁶ Nevin Meriç, *Adab-ı Muşeret: Osmanlı’da Gündelik Hayatın Değişimi (1894-1927)*, Kapı Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005, pp.73-116; Reşat Ekrem Koçu, “Beyoğlu”, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 5, İstanbul, pp.2703-2723.

²⁷ Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, *Eski Zamanlarda İstanbul Hayatı*, Hazırlayan: Ali Şükrü Çoruk, Kitabevi, İstanbul, 2001, p.191.

²⁸ Walter Benjamin, *Pasajlar*, Trans. Ahmet Cemal, YKY, İstanbul, 2004, pp.98-99.

²⁹ Nükhet Esen, “Ahmet Mithat ve İstanbul”, *Victoria R. Holbrook’a Armağan*, Ed: Özgen Felek, and W. G. Andrews, Kanat Yayınları, İstanbul, 2006, p.174.

³⁰ Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Vab*, Sel Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2007, pp.20-21.

³¹ Koçu, *ibid*, pp.2703-2723.

and strolling as a social act. This is a spatio-temporal pattern that makes those moving around on it a part of public life.

Differing from the traditional space and time practices, theaters, cafés, patisseries, restaurants, shops partaking in this pattern, brought different social groups to whom they served, together in a new and common field and opened strolling through the streets to everyday practice as an urban amenity. Thus, the street and being on it would expand the public realm that is in constant formation, and would stimulate difference ever more. An interesting observation from the beginning of the twentieth century addresses the issue:

“[...] although now and then notices such as ‘our theatre is closed on the occasion of the night of Night of Innocence (Berat Kandili) or Night of Destiny (Kadir Gecesi)’ can be seen in the newspapers, brother of the lutist and composer Şekerci Cemil and the imam of Şebzâde Mosque Hafız Tevfik Efendi is known to perform the next day’s taravîh service in twenty minutes, prostrating before getting to the rükû, so as to rush the community to the theatre.”³²

Differentiations pertaining to street and publicity became attractive for the behavioral patterns they conducted. While expanding the living culture, these instances restructured the manners and addressing to the individual *vis-à-vis* unfolded in this period. From now on, legitimacy of the individual depended on the recognition of and participation to the tastes of social groups that s/he were a member of.³³ Transformation of the everyday life by the ever-escalating visibility of differentiations in manners in the second half of the 19th century, a social evaluation was irresistible. For example, motivated by a necessity of domesticating differences Ahmet Mithat Efendi tried to codify or stylize the changing life culture in his *Avrupa Âdabı Muâşeretî yahut Alafranga* (European manners or the European Style) in 1884.³⁴ In this frame, the notion of “*âdâb-ı muâşeret*” (manners) should be assessed as an extension of a “novel publicity” that had become a necessity due to the increase in time spent collectively outdoors. Sadri Sema recounts one personal memory yet at the same time deeply embedded in the urban memory: “Now, the city nestles in Beyoğlu and Beşiktaş. Lighting gas has been installed. Roads have been illuminated somewhat [...] Now the tree shadows on the pavements are joyful; now there is no more the terrifying silence of desolate nights. Now at nights, there is the swish of the silk costumes on the roads. There is the hustle and bustle of crowds. Every night there is plenty of joyous wine in every neighborhood. There is light, there is air.”³⁵

³² Ekrem Işın, *İstanbul’da Gündelik Hayat*, YKY, fourth edition, İstanbul, 2006, s.135-152.

³³ Meriç, *ibid*, p.3.

³⁴ Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Avrupa Adab-ı Muâşeretî yahut; Alafranga*, Akçağ Yayınları, Ankara, 2001, p.184.

³⁵ Sadri Sema, *Eski İstanbul Hatıraları*, Haz. Ali Şükrü Çoruk, Kitabevi, İstanbul, 2008, pp.140-141.

New Publicity and New Imaginary

Within the temporal space-time conception³⁶ that determines the Ottoman frame of pre-modern sociality and publicity, the night precedes the day. When daylight diminishes, a new day begins accompanied by the evening azan. Comprising the first part of day, night is the spatio-temporal interval programmed as “prayer” and “relaxation”, where the household performs the daily religious service and goes to sleep along with prayers. Everyday practices are performed during the daylight, which is the symmetrical counterpart of the night. The night and day cycle which can be referred to as cosmological scales that determine the social content of a day is the programmatic actuality marking off the spatio-temporal limits of daily practices before the 19th century. While the day is acceptable, accessible and open for the public realm and daily activities, the night is uncanny, inaccessible and closed. Before the 19th century, fading out of day was not only a new calendar day, but also a reset point to start a new cycle. Accompanied by the evening azan, these space-time indicators are various introversion practices that have become particular rituals.

In the city scale, every built structure like the gates of fortifications, market, bazaar, inn, hammam, madrasa, library except for the mosque and in the neighborhood scale, doors of courtyards and shutters would go be tightly closed until the first light of the day. Moreover, such physical barriers were enforced by bodily barriers. In front of almost every endowment building, there would be a night guard standing fast.³⁷ Night is somehow the topic of those left out, the expelled and the marginalized. Thieves, prostitutes, thugs, rambles, lunatics were the accepted figures. The problem rose with the unknown, the incognito or the obscure. Obscurity (*mecbulü'l abvağ*) in the Ottoman context surfaces when the social status of a person is not acknowledged or unidentified and considered a social threat. As night provides a more convenient environment for the obscure with its darkness, it rises spatio-temporal occasions in which social control and supervision tightens yet which can also be exploited. This is undoubtedly fostered and triggered by the darkness of a physical environment where there is no illumination with gas or electricity before the second half of the 19th century. For example, walking at night without a lantern is an indication of obscurity and since considered a social threat, such act gets judicially penalized.³⁸ Walking without a lantern was often forbidden by edicts.³⁹ Therefore, to address publicity, one has to delineate quite a narrow frame.

³⁶ Uçman Altınışik, *ibid*, pp.11-70.

³⁷ Kemal Edip Kürkçüoğlu, *Süleymaniye Vakfıyesi*, Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü Yayınları, Ankara, 1962.

³⁸ Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediye*, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1995.

³⁹ Balıkhané Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, *ibid*, p.129.

Conclusion

Erosion of the symmetrical antagonism in the conceptualization of night and day is a result of the mutual and never seen before synchronic interaction between the era's techno-cultural amenities that determine the everyday life and the socio-cultural structure. In this historical and cultural interval, new working and resting patterns began to take form in relation to "working hours". Thus, pre-modern daily life programs became reprogrammable and the traditional space-time conceptualization was displaced by modern space-time and novel publicity conceptualization that is removed from the focus of the house and the neighborhood. Therefore, ambiguities that were operational in pre-modern activities are not applicable anymore. As Marshall Berman stated, the period had become a gigantic worksite.⁴⁰ Practices necessitate precision to organize proliferating space-times and actors.

Furthermore, the new publicity can be addressed as processes of normalization and thus, a particular homogenization. To achieve precision in the new organizations, invented norms and forms conduce certain ways to even the irregularities of pre-modern patterns. In popular literary imagination, the new publicity is portrayed as a process of similitude. For example, in his article titled "Apparently, not only their clocks were similar!" in *Eşkal-i Zamân* (Image of Time) published in 1918, Ahmet Rasim recounts two imaginary officials:

"I saw them both together every day. Sometimes their clothing and dressing are similar. So much similar say, like ribbons attached to identify twins, blue to one and red to the other, their neckties differ in color or shape.

Presumably, their tastes are also similar. Of course...they knock down a bottle in *Çalgı*⁴¹, they sit side by side at the cinema.

Seemingly, their status and backgrounds are similar too. Their salaries are alike; they work in a ministry, in an office but - exceptionally - at different tables. Therefore they get paid the same day, they go to work at the same hour, they get out of work at the same hour, and they even get on the boat at the same minute. Death, God's will... they get out of the same gate in that jam, that thrust, that push and shove. Briefly, their feasting, dressing and traveling are the same except for their necks and backs.⁴²

To conclude, it can be said that in the context of a novel becoming Istanbul, each becoming stands out as a particular keyword. It is obvious that propositions based on these keywords addressing the change in sociality and publicity within the transformation process from Ottoman to Turkey in the focus of space-time conceptualization can be enhanced on the particulars of

⁴⁰ Marshall Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air*, Penguin Books, London, 1988, p.139.

⁴¹ A popular restaurant in Şehzadebaşı.

⁴² Ahmet Rasim, *Eşkal-i Zamân*, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1992, pp.142-144. *Eşkal-i Zaman* is a collection of Ahmet Rasim's articles published in the oppositional newspaper *Tasvir-i Eşkâr* during the World War I.

city and architecture. This articulation is to herald further studies in this context.

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