

Understanding the Transformation of Domestic Architecture Through the Novel “Cevdet Bey and His Sons”¹

Merve AKDAŞ^{2*}, Şeniz ÇIKIŞ³

Abstract

Domestic architecture is a collective product shaped by social networks of individuals, families and societies. But the literature of Turkish housing history, examines housing generally through physical, economic or political factors. Reason for such state can be associated with the difficulty in collecting social data from the past due to the absence of witnesses and tangible materials from the past. Benefiting from sources of other disciplines may give opportunity in obtaining clues about the social life of a previous period. Literature, which contains information about the social life of the past, is one of the disciplines that can contribute to the field of architecture. In this study, 2006 Nobel laureate Orhan Pamuk’s novel “Cevdet Bey and His Sons”, which portrays three different periods with three different housing typologies, is examined. Texts are analyzed over nine factors that İlhan Tekeli (1996) claims to be effective in domestic architecture. When the details obtained from the novel are combined with the literature of housing history, a comprehensive perspective is built upon domestic architecture.

Keywords: Domestic architecture, Dwelling, Housing history, Orhan Pamuk, Literature

Konut Mimarisinin Dönüşümünü “Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları” Romanı Üzerinden Anlamak

Öz

Konut mimarisi; bireylerin, ailelerin ve toplumların kurduğu sosyal ağlar ile şekillenen kolektif bir üründür. Ancak Türkiye konut tarihi yazınında konut genellikle fiziksel, ekonomik veya politik faktörler üzerinden incelenmiştir. Söz konusu durum, geçmişin tanıklarının ve somut materyallerin varlığını sürdürmemesi nedeniyle geçmişe ait sosyal verilerin toplanmasındaki güçlüğü ilişkilendirilebilir. Diğer disiplinlerin kaynaklarından yararlanmak, bir önceki dönemin sosyal hayatı hakkında ipuçları elde etme fırsatı verebilir. Geçmişin sosyal yaşamı hakkında bilgiler içeren edebiyat, mimarlık alanına katkı sağlayabilecek disiplinlerden biridir. Bu çalışmada, 2006 Nobel ödülünün sahibi Orhan Pamuk’un üç farklı dönemi üç farklı konut tipolojisiyle anlatan “Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları” romanı incelenmektedir. Metinler, İlhan Tekeli(1996)’nin konut mimarisinde etkili olduğunu öne sürdüğü dokuz faktör üzerinden incelenmektedir. Romandan elde edilen detaylar, konut tarihi literatürü ile birleştirildiğinde konut mimarisi üzerine kapsamlı bir bakış açısı inşa edilmektedir.

* This study has been produced from the master’s thesis titled “Use of Literature in Understanding the Transformation of Domestic Architecture: Case of Istanbul Between 1908 and 1950.” Izmir Institute of Technology.

¹ M.Arch., Faculty of Architecture, Gazi University, Ankara, Turkey.

** Corresponding Author / İlgili Yazar: merve.akdash@gmail.com, ORCID ID: 0000-0002-3371-1656

² Prof.Dr., Faculty of Architecture, Izmir Institute of Technology, Izmir, Turkey.

Email: senizcikis@iyte.edu.tr, ORCID ID: 0000-0002-2335-611X

Anahtar Kelimeler: Konut mimarisi, konut, Konut tarihi, Orhan Pamuk, Edebiyat

1. Introduction

Features of housing is determined by many factors such as physical, social, economic, ritual and cultural aspects. Socio-cultural aspects have a primary stress among all, for domestic space is tightly related with everyday life and social relations. Changes in the beliefs and preferences of a society affects the daily practices and causes changes in housing, so examining these aspects can give clues about domestic architecture (Rapoport, 1969). The opposite statement is also valid because dwellings include a set of social values so changes in form or typology is a clue of a social change or development in a society (Lawrence, 1985). While the importance of social aspects upon domestic architecture is so obvious, Turkish housing literature has usually disregarded the social relations attached to the house. The technique, economic, politic and stylistic changes in the Turkish society are underlined as the factors shaping and transforming the dwellings. Most of the historians focus on a specific factor while determining the milestones of each period the housing went through (Table 1). For example, Sedat Hakkı Eldem (1954), one of the pioneers of the housing subject, uses a morphologic method to categorize domestic architecture. Some emphasizes the political issues like Afife Batur (2005) while Yıldız Sey (1998) focuses on housing policies. This approach started to change in the recent years and Uğur Tanyeli (1996) gave a unique example by tracing the transformation upon household activities and the changes in the family structure.

Table 1. Mainly mentioned aspects in each architectural historian's work (Yılmaz, 2018).

Writers	Physical Aspects	Household Activities	Urban Pattern	External Relations	Classification in the Society	Material and Technology	Internal Relations	Meaning and Beliefs	Habits of the Society	Legal Regulations
S.H.Eldem: "Türk Evi: Osmanlı Dönemi (1984)" / "Türk Evi Plan Tipleri (1954)"	•	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-
D.Kuban: "Türk Hayatlı Evi (1995)" / "Kent ve Mimarlık Üzerine İstanbul Yazıları (1998)"	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-
İ.Asmanoğlu: "Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: 1923-1938 (1980)"	•	-	-	-	•	•	-	-	-	•
Y.Sey: "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Konut" in the book she edited "75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık (1998)"	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	•
A.Batur: "A concise History: Architecture in Turkey During The 20 th Century (2005)"	•	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	•
M.Sözen: "50 yılın türk mimarisi (1973)" / "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarisi (1996)"	•	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	•	-
U.Tanyeli: "İstanbul 1900-2000: Konutu ve Modernleşmeyi Metropolden Okumak (2005)"	•	•	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-
İ.Bilgin: "Modernleşmenin ve Toplumsal Hareketliliğin Yörüngesinde Cumhuriyetin İmarı" in the book "75 yılda değişen kent ve mimarlık (1998)"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-

A critical look towards the modern source-based history, founded by German historian Leopold von Ranke, was developed by the discussions took part in the 20th century. Especially the journal Annales d'Histoire Economique et Sociale founded by Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch in 1929, broke radically with traditional historiography by considering every social stratum in a society. Studies of Fernand Braudel, one of the leading names in Annales School, brought priority to the everyday life of common people.

These developments had an impact in involving the social disciplines to the history field. The important role of socio-cultural factors upon housing history also started to be realized.

İlhan Tekeli (1996) synthesizes the physical and social factors in order to gain a holistic view. He suggests ten aspects which creates and transforms the dwellings. First are the “physical aspects” such as the size or the typology of the house. Activities like eating, sleeping and entertaining are included to the second group as “household activities”. The required equipment and furniture for such activities have a role on house design. Third aspect named as “settlement the housing creates” is a wider perspective considering house as a unit which comes together and creates an urban pattern. “External relations of the house” as the fourth aspect, includes the activities which determine the function of the house. House may sometimes be used as a working space while it can also provide a private space especially for women. “Social classification within the society” is the fifth factor which has an impact on house design. Different lifestyles and income levels changes and transforms domestic architecture in time. One of the most effective aspects is the sixth which is “Internal relations of the house”. Structure of the family and division of labor within the household are analyzed under this topic. The attribution of symbolic functions to housing creates some “beliefs and meanings attached to the house” which is the seventh aspect. Eighth aspect is the rules and customs of a society which is the “habits of a society”. “Construction material and technology” which is related with the skill and knowledge of a society corresponds to the ninth aspect and finally the tenth aspect is the “legal regulations” attached to housing and settlement. According to Tekeli (1996), understanding the house and its transformation is possible by understanding all these factors together. Capturing a comprehensive perspective is aimed in this study so all these ten factors will be considered, in order to trace the transformation of domestic architecture.

Clues about some of these aspects such as the “physical aspects” or “legal regulations” can be found in many written housing histories but gathering information about the social networks of a previous era may be a difficult task, as the witnesses and the physical proofs usually do not exist. Benefiting from the sources of other disciplines may be helpful at this point. Disciplines, which are especially linked with human beings, will help understanding and answering mankind’s requirements. Julia Kristeva (1980), claims that Literature is the most effective discipline in transferring human mind. Edward T. Hall (1966) also adds that literature is a key which helps understanding how space is perceived by individuals.

Gürhan Tümer, is one of the leading names in Turkey, using literary source in architecture discipline. Tümer (1982) claims that disciplines which are related with architecture may offer important clues but the unrelated disciplines can add a new perspective for both of the fields. According to these statements Tümer suggests Literature as a beneficial discipline and underlines that it will widen the architect’s perspective. Especially the novels are acceptable sources for architectural studies because they represent the individual with its surrounding and transmits how the users consumed, perceived and gave meaning to the architectural products of their period (Uğraş, 2007).

As a fact, novels have a fictional nature so the real-life people and events are not transmitted as they are. We may say that the novels which are influenced by a true-life story like the novel Cevdet Bey (Turkish title roughly corresponding to Mr.) and His Sons offer much more valid data. The author Pamuk was raised in a similar family which is

portrayed in the novel so he either witnessed the depicted period or listened to it from his parents. It should be noted that examining a literature text always requires a critical look (Sılahsızoğlu, 2007). Checking more than one source will help verifying the collected data and general conclusions can be achieved after analyzing various viewpoints. While the fictional nature of the novel creates a negative situation it also offers positive incomes. As space is not the essential issue for the authors, they are usually concerned with the relation between the character and space instead of the physical features of the space. Figuring out these relations related with space may be more helpful than collecting data about its physical aspects. Literary sources may serve to Architecture discipline by helping to figure out the Zeitgeist (the spirit of age) (Hegel, 2016).

The transformation of housing has been emphasized in many Turkish literary works. One of the early examples is the novel "Felâton Bey ile Râkım Efendi (Felatun Bey and Rakım Efendi) (1875)" written by Ahmet Mithat Efendi, who emphasizes misunderstood westernization and the east-west dilemma upon two characters representing each side. Effects of westernisation process in daily habits and its reflection on space is underlined. In his novel "İstanbulun İç Yüzü (Interior face of İstanbul) (1920)", Refik Halit Karay depicts İstanbul just before and after the second constitutionalism. Many housing types such as mansion, waterfront and apartment are involved while comparing two periods. Social and cultural changes in the society, especially the change in the situation of woman, sense of privacy and its effect on space can be traced in the novel. Another novel based upon the transformation of housing is the novel "Kiralık Konak (Rental Mansion) (1922) written by Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, which describes the transformation from traditional housing to apartment building and its response in the society. Two generations develop different perspectives to the new housing, elders describe it as degeneration while youth accept it as a prestige indicator and the first step of being "western". Memduh Şevket Esendal in his novel "Ayaşlı ve Kiracıları (1934)" traces the first years of Republican era in Ankara. Collective life in a new housing typology is represented to the reader. Mithat Cemal Kuntay's novel "Üç İstanbul (Three İstanbul) (1938)" narrates three historical periods of İstanbul, which are the period of Abdülhamit II, constitutionalism and armistice period. Spaces of each period are depicted and the effect of these spaces upon the main characters personality is underlined. "Akile Hanım Sokağı (Miss Akile Street)(1958)" written by Halide Edip Adivar, expresses the cultural changes in the society during 1950's upon a neighbourhood which involves different housing typologies. New relations built upon modern life has been analysed and Adivar especially mentions issues such as women becoming free. Another important novel is "Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü (The Time Regulation Institute) (1962)" written by Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar. Novel starts in the late 19th century until the middle of the 20th century and traces the changes caused by the modernization process including mansion and apartment typologies. Melih Cevdet Anday, author of the novel "Aylaklar (Idlers) (1965)" traces the collapse of mansion life and the spread of a family after the second constitutionalism. The chosen space in the first section is the mansion while the second part starts in a new house with a new lifestyle.

To understand the spirit of a period in which the social changes had accelerated, the novel Cevdet Bey and His Sons will be analyzed, as it contains many details about daily routines and social relations. Texts selected from the novel will be evaluated basing on ten aspects suggested by Tekeli (1996). The aim is to collect data about social relations as well as other aspects to compile a comprehensive perspective. What is proposed in this study is to capture a relation or a situation rather than achieving an analytical conclusion.

2. About the Author Orhan Pamuk and His Novel Cevdet Bey and His Sons

Orhan Pamuk, Turkish novelist and 2006 Nobel laureate, was born in 1952 in Istanbul. He graduated from the American Collegiate Institute and studied architecture in Istanbul Technical University for three years, but at the age of 23 he decided to become a writer and abandoned architecture course (URL-4). His first novel was *Karanlık ve Işık* (1979) (Darkness and light) which will be titled as *Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları* (Cevdet Bey and His Sons) later on. *Benim Adım Kırmızı* (My Name is Red), *Masumiyet Müzesi* (The Museum of Innocence), *Kara Kitap* (The Black Book) are some of his well-known novels. Pamuk gained many awards and his books have been published in more than a hundred countries. At present, Pamuk is continuing to his career as an academician in Columbia University.

Space is an essential matter in Pamuk's novels and he frequently depicts spaces which carry traces of his life. For example, in his novel "Kara Kitap (Black Book) (2008)", Şehrikalp apartment corresponds to Pamuk's Apartment where he grew and wrote a part of his novel "kara kitap". In his novel, Pamuk criticizes the changes on housing, which occurred with social transformations, and the loss of the sincerity of house. Another novel which space is a priority is "Benim Adım Kırmızı (My Name is Red) (1998)". House plays an important role in the flow of events, since the narrative time is the 16th century, when woman spent most of her time inside the house. Pamuk used the house as a tool to reflect the changing perception of space due to the experiences. In the novel "Masumiyet Müzesi (The museum of innocence) (2008)", house is transformed into a space which replicates the past. The main character falls in love and a passion toward collecting objects, owned by the girl he loves, grows inside him. Four years after the novel is published, the museum of innocence is established in real life. The museum is built by transforming a 19th century housing and gained the European Museum of the Year Award in 2014 as it is the first museum to be created basing on fiction.

In his novels, Pamuk used many literary genres ranging from realism to post-modernism. He is known with expressing the daily life of ordinary people in a multifaceted way. Pamuk's novel Cevdet Bey and His Sons is chosen as an essential source in this study for it portrays a period in which the social changes accelerated and also transformed the dwellings. Pamuk was influenced by the 19th century western novel and preferred a realistic approach. The novel was first named *Karanlık ve Işık* (1979) and gained Milliyet Literary Prize and the Orhan Kemal Novel Prize. The novel is not yet translated into English but available in several other languages (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Publications of Cevdet Bey and His Sons in other languages

East-West dilemma in the Turkish society is the main subject of the novel Cevdet Bey and His Sons which portrays the daily life of a family's three generation. These three

generations were born in to different social conditions as the westernization process, modernization in broader terms, gradually transformed the society. The story of Cevdet Bey's family carries traces from the authors life. Pamuk was also a member of a wealthy family who lived in a five-storey apartment in Nişantaşı just like the one mentioned in the novel (Pamuk, 2003). Ahmet, the grandchild of Cevdet Bey, represents Pamuk. This state makes this novel much more valid because the author is portraying a period which he witnessed or listened from his parents. Pamuk's architecture education may also have an effect in enriching his depiction of spaces.

The novel Cevdet Bey and His Sons underlines the influence of the Western Europe over the Turkish society. It is the story of a family's three generation which covers the years between 1905 and 1970 and mainly set in Istanbul. Three different generations of a family and three different periods of Turkey are narrated parallelly. The features of the dwellings in each period also differs which makes this novel convenient to understand the transformation of domestic architecture. Novel covers a period in which the usage of furniture changed, rooms became specialized (such as bed room and living room) and multi-story housing started to spread. Social reasons such as the change in the perception of privacy, woman's situation and individualization have an important role upon these transformations which is frequently mentioned in the novel.

Table 2. Structure of the novel Cevdet Bey and His Sons

Cevdet Bey and His Sons	Narrated Period	Characters	Main Subject	Families Income Type	Politic Conditions	Prominent aspect shaping the society	Depicted Space
Section 1	1905	First generation: Cevdet Bey, Nigan Hanım	Daily life-of Cevdet Bey, his future plans, illness of his brother	Trade	Period of Abdülhamit	Westernization	Traditional House in Vefa
Section 2	1936-1939	Second generation: Cevdet Bey's sons, daughter and daughter-in-law	Dissatisfaction of Refik and his friends towards their life and the situation of Turkey.	Imports	Revolution Period: The one-party regime	Revolutions Nationalism	Mansion in Nişantaşı
Section 3	1970's	Third Generation: Cevdet Beys grandchilds	Art discussions, the life and romantic relationship of Ahmet	Industry	Just before the coup	Modernization	Apartment in Nişantaşı

The structure of the novel is set upon three sections corresponding to each generation (Table 2). It should be noted that the spaces mentioned in the table are based on the main space narrated in the novel. Determining each period with only one typology will be misleading because varies typologies are used simultaneously. First section of the novel starts in 24 July 1905 and covers one day of Cevdet Bey's life. After his father's death Cevdet Bey had taken over his father's timber shop and became successful by converting it into a lighting and hardware shop. He was engaged to Nigan Hanım, a Pasha's daughter, and had a dream of owning a big modern family, just like the French families he read in books. The traditional house in Vefa, which is a traditional neighborhood, is the main space of this section. Second and main part of the novel is set between 1936 and 1939. Cevdet Bey and Nigan Hanım were married and started to live in a mansion in Nişantaşı, a developing modern district, where their sons Osman,

Refik and daughter Ayşe were born. After the marriages of Refik and Osman, they became a big family (Figure 2). Second part of the novel is mainly about the thoughts of Refik and his two friends who were unhappy with their life and Turkey's situation. The mansion is determined as the main space of this section involving everyday life of the family members and their relations with each other. Epilogue of the novel is set in 1970 in which Cevdet Bey and Refik had died, the mansion was demolished and a family apartment was built instead. Each storey was allotted to the members of the family. In this period, Cevdet Bey's grandchild's takes the scene and especially the life of Ahmet, Refik's son, is mentioned. The ongoing art discussions of the period also takes place beside Ahmet's life and romantic relationship. Apartment is the main space of the third section which contains indirect relations between the family members. The death of Nigan Hanım marks the end of one generation and the novel also ends.

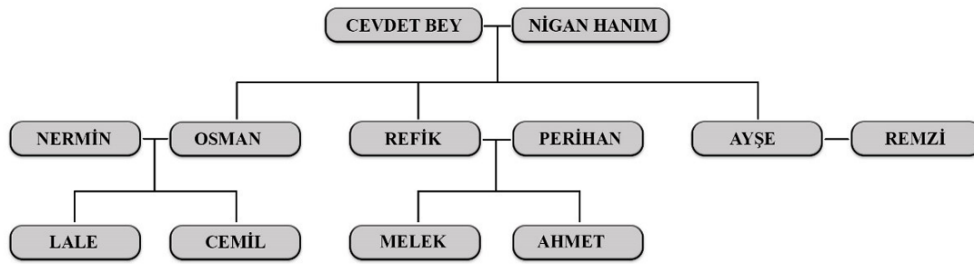


Figure 2. The Family Tree of Cevdet Bey and His Family

3. Analysis of the Novel Cevdet Bey and His Sons

As it was mentioned before the novel Cevdet Bey and His Sons is analyzed in order to define and understand the transformation of domestic architecture. This transformation will be traced upon ten factors determined by Tekeli (1996), which are defined previously. First criteria is the “physical aspects” of the house and the novel Cevdet Bey and His Sons involves rich descriptions about the physical features of many houses. Domestic space of the first section is a small wooden frame house with four rooms but the frequently mentioned space is the mansion in Nişantaşı which is portrayed in the second section. The “physical aspects” of this mansion are introduced to the reader during Cevdet Bey's first visit. This three-storey mansion was built by Armenian stone-masons and its first owner was a Jewish trader (Pamuk, 2020, p. 62-65). There was a gravel path with rose bushes on both sides, leading to the house starting from the garden gate. There were chestnut and linden trees in the garden (Pamuk, 2020, p. 61).

Once you enter the house, stone stairs invited you to the first floor with a wide sofa (hall) opening to many rooms. When Cevdet Bey entered to the saloon (actually the term saloon is not yet used in this era, this space needs to be named as a *baş oda* which is the main room for guests), placed in the first floor, he gazed around and saw gilded chairs, carved armchairs, tables and much more. Bay branches, rose flowers and flying angels, made of plaster, adorned the corners of the walls. One of the rooms which opened to this saloon only served as a piano room. The ceilings were low; the floors were parquet and dirty (Pamuk, 2020, p. 61). A short and wide corridor opened up to two empty rooms at the backside of the house while a narrow and dark staircase was used to reach the second floor. The plan of the second floor overlapped with the first-floor plan. There was a bedroom at the back section of the second floor which is assumed to be the master bedroom with a big bed inside it. Cevdet Bey lastly looked at the ground floor because this was the place where he was less concerned with because it was for

the servants. The rooms in this floor were small and also had small windows. There was more than one European style toilet in the mansion and one was located in this floor which will be transformed later on into a *la turca* (Turkish Style) toilet by Cevdet Bey. A wide kitchen opened up to the back yard of the house and other service units such as the laundry room were also placed in this floor (Pamuk 2020, p. 63). Cevdet Bey added a floor to this mansion in 1927, when his son Osman got married (Pamuk, 2020, p. 101).

A family apartment block is portrayed in the third part of the novel. This section starts in 1970s and by then, the mansion was demolished and replaced by an apartment. Nigan Hanım, the eldest family member, lived in the third floor, her son Osman and his family lived in the second floor while her grandchild Cemil and his family lived in the first floor. Ahmet, the grandchild of Cevdet Bey, lived on the last floor which was a small penthouse with two rooms. He spent most of his time in this floor and joined his grandmother during dinner times (Pamuk, 2020, p. 511). The kitchen in Nigan Hanım’s floor directly opened to the saloon which may be because they came together at meal times in the house of the eldest member of the family (Pamuk, 2020, p. 512). Nigan Hanım kept all the furniture of the mansion in her floor so there was hardly any space to walk. The piano was now used as a table and there were precious tea cups, porcelains and much more on it, which no one was allowed to touch (Pamuk, 2020, p. 539). Besides the main entrance, there was another entrance opening from the kitchen (Pamuk, 2020, p. 540). Each floor included its own service units and servants. Bubble diagram of the ground floor and first floor are created with the clues retrieved from the novel (Figure 3).

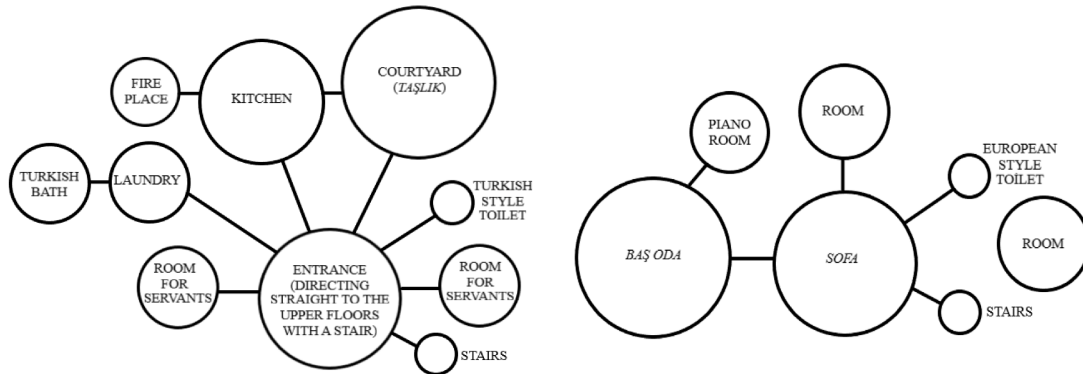


Figure 3. Bubble diagram of the ground floor (left), Bubble diagram of the first floor (right)

The construction date of Cevdet Bey’s mansion is not mentioned in the novel but when the features are compared, we may say that it has many similarities with a real-life mansion named the Izmit Fazıl Pasha Mansion. This mansion was built in 18th century and according to Eldem (1984), it contains the characteristic features of traditional houses (Figure 4, 5, 6, 7). Mansions with similar features are also seen in the 19th century.



Figure 4. Izmit Fazil Pasha Mansion. (Eldem, 1984, p.154, redrawn by Akdaş)

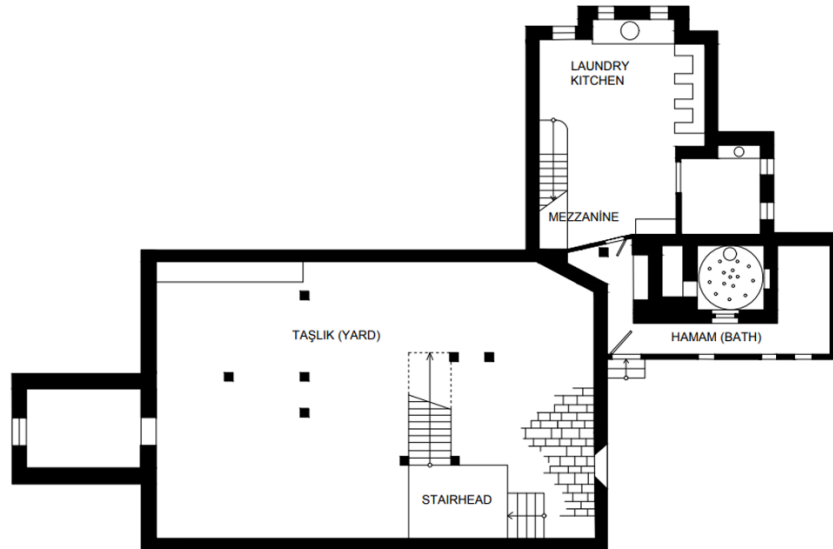


Figure 5. Ground floor plan of Izmit Fazil Pasha Mansion. (Eldem, 1984, p.154, redrawn by Akdaş)

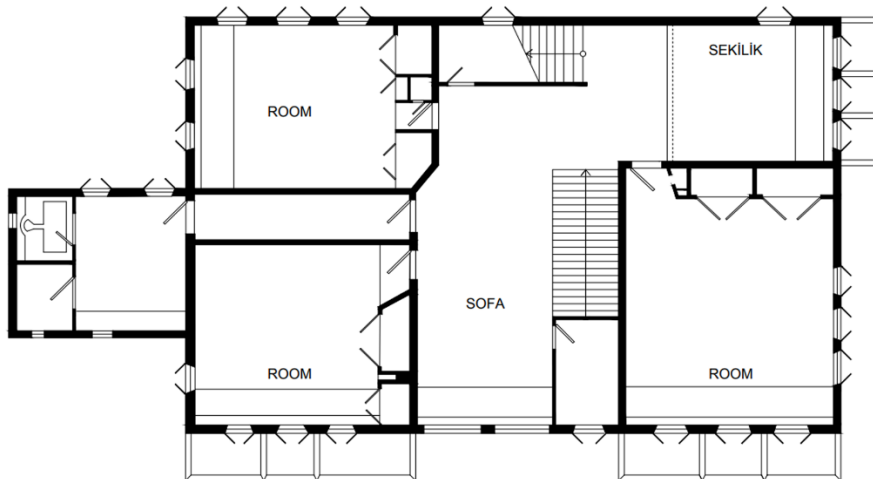


Figure 6. First floor plan of Izmit Fazil Pasha Mansion. (Eldem, 1984, p.154, redrawn by Akdaş)

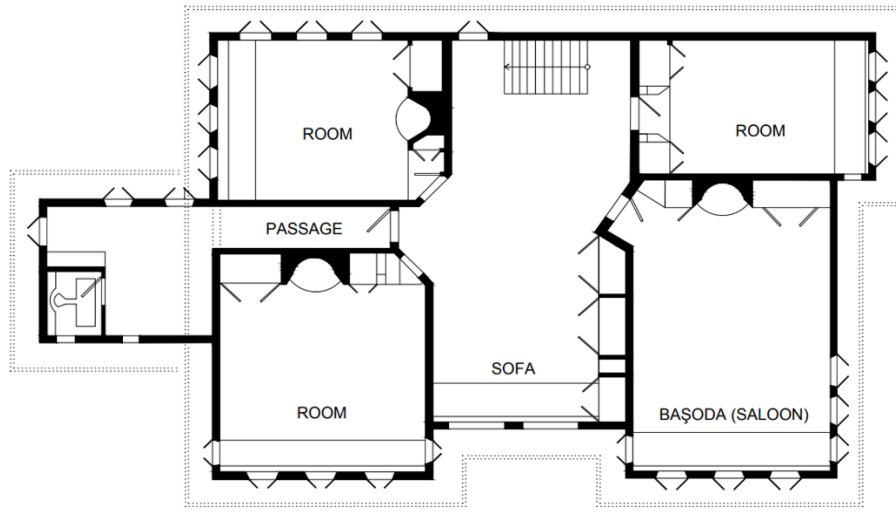


Figure 7. Second floor plan of Izmit Fazıl Pasha Mansion (Eldem, 1984, p.154, redrawn by Akdaş)

Apartment building is the second house typology portrayed in the novel. First apartment buildings in Turkey were seen in 19th century. These apartments were owned only by wealthy families because the whole apartment block could have one landlord. These apartments were usually named as rental houses and rented by different families while there were also family apartments in which the members of the same family lived. Decugis house in Beyoğlu, designed by Vallaury in 1895, is an example for such type (Figure 8). The building was designed for the Decugis family and consisted of three floors and a basement used as a grocery. Two floors were added later on and it is used as Galata Hotel in present (Can, 1993). These family apartments were prevalent until the proclamation of the condominium law in 1965. Family apartments included a lifestyle which may be assumed as a transition form from extended family to nuclear family. Members of the extended family lived in each floor as a nuclear family. They kept together while they also had their own private spaces (Öncel, 2010). This change in the family structure is a result of individualization which was caused by the westernization process.

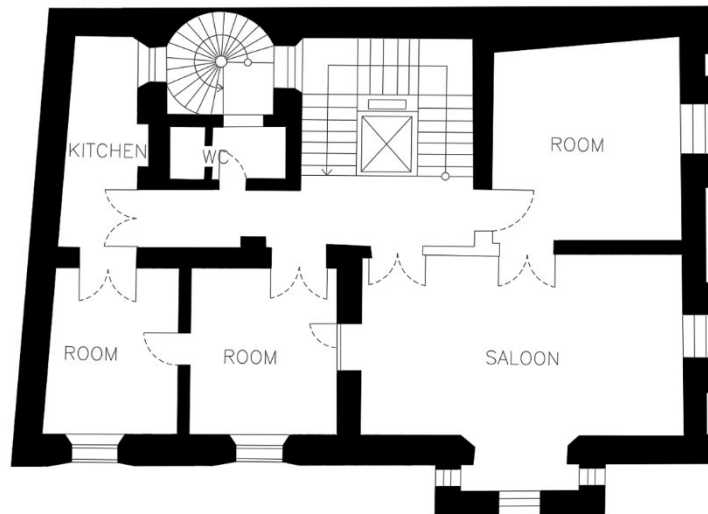


Figure 8. Decugis house (URL-3), first and second floor plan (Görgülü, 2017) redrawn by Akdaş)

Another example from real life is M.K. apartment designed by Haluk Baysal and Melih Birsnel, in İstanbul during 1953-1954. The construction date is similar to the apartment depicted in the novel (Figure 9).

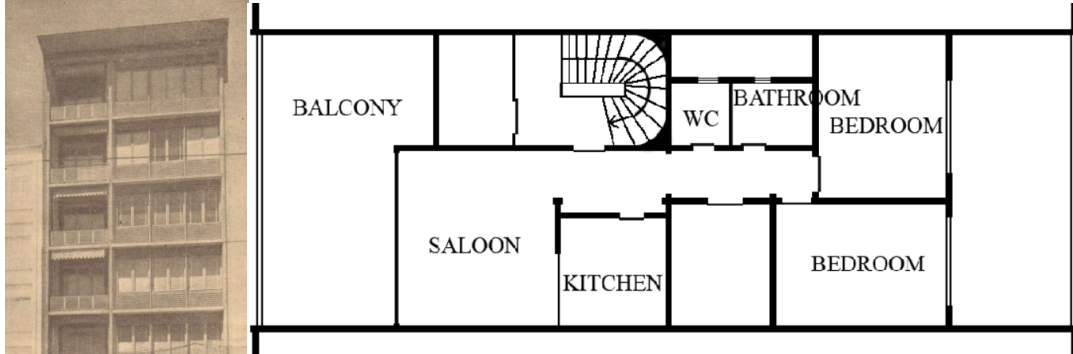


Figure 9. Photograph of M.K. Apartment and floor plan (Bayhan 1957, Redrawn by Akdaş)

Details given in the novel help relating traditional houses with family apartments. The hierarchy among floors of the apartment portrayed in the novel is parallel to the one in the traditional houses. The upper floors of the apartment are accepted more special than ground floor which is parallel to the hierarchy in the traditional houses. Another resemblance is that this apartment had more than one entrance as it was common in the traditional houses. These features can be traced in Degucis house in which cumba (bay window) is also conserved. The apartment depicted in the novel has a very similar example from real life for Orhan Pamuk's family also owned a similar family apartment in Teşvikiye (Nişantaşı). It was named as the Pamuk Apartment and was one of the early examples of the family apartments (Figure 10).



Figure 10. Pamuk Apartment (URL-1)

The plans of Pamuk apartment could not be obtained during this study but the definitions in the book "İstanbul: Hatıralar ve Şehir (2003)" (İstanbul: Memories and the City), written as a memoir, gives many clues about Pamuk Apartment (figure 11), as follows:

"My mother, father, brother, grandmother, uncles, aunts, sister-in-laws, we were all living on various levels of a five-story apartment building. One year before I was born, my family used to live in the big stone mansion altogether in each room like a big Ottoman family. Later on, this mansion, which was located beside the "modern" apartment built in 1951, was abandoned and rented to a private primary school. We used to live in the fourth floor and we had proudly written "Pamuk Apartment" to the main entrance as it was a fashion in those days" [...] "Because there was a constant flow between the floors, as in the parts of a large family mansion, the apartment doors of Pamuk Apartment were open most of the time (Pamuk, 2003, p. 8-9)".



Figure 11. Entrance (URL-2) and balcony (Pamuk,2003) of Pamuk Apartment

Second aspect which forms domestic architecture is the "household activities". These activities are affected by habits and traditions of a society. The novel portrays a period in which some traditions had started to be abandoned. For example, sleeping on floor was common in traditional multifunctional rooms but this habit changed in time and beds started to be used while some rooms became specialized for sleeping function. The novel portrays a period, which mixed usage of modern and pre-modern furniture was prevail. Armchair was used besides the *divan* (couch) located in the front of the *cumba* (bay window). This *divan* was used for sitting and also for *kaylule* (day napping) (Pamuk, 2020, p. 47). *Sandık* (chest) was used instead of wardrobe (Pamuk, 2020, p. 188). The usage of a *la turca* (Turkish style) and *alafranga* (European style) toilet is frequently mentioned in the novel. Cevdet Bey, who was portrayed as a person trying to own a modern family, was having difficulty with abandoning his old habits. When he moved into the mansion, he transformed the *alafranga* toilet, in the ground floor into an *a la turca* toilet and used it in his everyday life (Pamuk, 2020, p. 63). This behavior was reproved by the rest of the family because *a la turca* toilet was accepted pre-modern and was usually located in the ground floor to be used by the servants (Pamuk, 2020, p. 246). Another issue that needs to be underlined is that the toilet, which was placed outside, started to be added to the house plan. There is also toilet in every floor which is an important change because supplying every necessary unit for each floor opens the way of separating the floors from each other. This development is one of the important aspects which lead to the transformation from mansion to apartment.

Guests always had a priority in Turkish tradition so the guest rooms gained importance in traditional Turkish houses. This can also be traced from the novel as Sait Bey's specialized saloon is portrayed while he welcomed Cevdet Bey's family. This was an upper room with a wide *cumba* with high windows extending toward the garden. This garden was surrounded with chestnut and lime trees, just like the other gardens in Nişantaşı (Pamuk, 2020, p. 210). These pretty gardens had an importance in the life of

women for it added pleasure to their everyday life which was mostly spent within the boundaries of the house.

The traditional houses, just like the one in the novel, were suitable for invitations, like wedding and circumcision ceremonies. For example, Cevdet Bey and Nigan Hanım's wedding was held in Sait Bey's mansion (Pamuk, 2020, p. 209) while Perihan and Refik's wedding was also organized in the mansion. The circumcision ceremonies of Cevdet Bey's grandchildren (Pamuk, 2020, p. 446) and the funeral ceremonies also took place in the house (Pamuk, 2020, p. 208).

"Settlement the housing creates" is the third aspect which is also clearly mentioned in the novel. The portrait of many settlements has been drawn with the house typologies they involve. For example, Nişantaşı is urban fabric of Nişantaşı is formed by mansions with backyard. Children used to spend time in these backyards and it was also used for some functions like hanging clothes (Pamuk, 2020, p. 61). The green texture of this neighborhood was created with these backyards and the trees on both side of the streets. The previous state of Nişantaşı was also depicted in the novel and it was introduced as a field which strawberries and figs grew. The story behind the name "Nişantaşı" is also pointed. The Sultan's used to shoot to this area from the hills on the other side for target practice. They built nişan taşı (target stones) to the points they shot for remembrance. In time, some palaces and mosques were constructed in this area and after these first constructions people started to ruin the kale yards and built mansions which spread all around Nişantaşı. Later on, a garden fashion had raised among the household (Pamuk, 2020, p. 64).

"Wealthy people started to settle in here and wooden mansions started to grow huger. Huge stables were built in the houses and two or three cars were placed in these stables. Coachmen, buyers, servants, handmaids increased. After the Pasha's and Bey's; Jews, Armenians and merchants came. They built stone and concrete structures. The trees were cut, the seedlings were removed, roads were opened, and there were no kale yards left" (Pamuk, 2020, p. 64: Translation by Akdaş).

Nigan Hanım is the other name who frequently states about Nişantaşı by complaining about its new look. She thinks they ruined the settlement with apartment buildings and construction sites (Pamuk, 2020, p. 478). Another depiction about Nişantaşı is also pessimist: *"Nişantaşı smelled of seaweed and sea. The smell faded into lime trees, shops, dirty and new apartments, old houses, men wearing tie and everything"* (Pamuk, 2020, p. 238: Translation by Akdaş).

The novel underlines the transformation of the districts in a pessimist approach. Especially the old generation had the chance to compare two periods and they ended complaining. New generation argued that traditional houses has decreased their freedom while new spaces, which involved new lifestyles, supplied them more freedom (Pamuk, 2020, p. 208). So, some questions like why apartments became so common and how individuals adapted it so quickly, can be replied with social interactions.

"External relations" which is the fourth aspect to be analyzed is the function attributed to the house. The distinction between private and public (working) space is determined by this aspect. In traditional era these two spaces were together, as selamlık was used as a working space (Eldem, 1984). Selamlık was the section in a mansion or palace where only men were accepted (section with an opposite usage is named haremlik which only served women). Private space and working space differentiated in time which is also

pointed in the novel; the workplace of Cevdet Bey was in Sirkeci while his house was in Nişantaşı. House was the private space especially for women while public spaces were used by men. This separation depended on the work distribution between men and women. Women had duties which took place inside the house such as giving birth and raising children while man had the responsibility of earning money. When we look at the novel from this perspective, we may say that a parallel state is obvious. Even after women gained some freedom and had the chance to spend their time outside the house, they still didn't have much option. There were a few places where women can go and enjoy their selves. One of these places was a new restaurant in Tunnel (may be the first Tunnel in Karaköy) located in Beyoğlu (Pamuk, 2020, p. 119). Women were happy that a restaurant was opened for them in Tunnel. There was also a famous club where they can go, but entering that club needed courage for ladies (Pamuk, 2020, p. 182).

One of the most emphasized states in the novel is linked with the fifth aspect which is the "social classification within the society". Shift between social classes occurred in the society because aristocracy could no longer withstand the conditions of the new period. They started to lose their prestige while a new class, named bourgeoisie, emerged. This new class was the new owners of money, respect and power. Aristocracy was trying to survive economically by the marriages of their children with the members from bourgeoisie. Nigan Hanım's father looked down on bourgeois but he was aiming to ensure their future by getting his daughter marrying Cevdet Bey, who was also a member of this new class.

The minorities, non-Muslims, used to live in Galata and Beyoğlu, which represented the modern world (Akin, 1998). First apartments were built in these districts and most of the residents were non-Muslims. This new house typology was appropriate for their understanding of privacy more than Muslims of the era. Pamuk also draws attention to this situation while his character Refik walks in front of the apartment doors wondering about the lives inside, as he usually did, but he couldn't hear anything helpful as Greek was spoken in most of the floors (Pamuk, 2020, p. 505). In time, the new bourgeois class wanted to become a part of the modern world so they abandoned their traditional neighborhoods and moved to districts like Nişantaşı and Cihangir. Cevdet Bey was one of them, he also wanted to leave Vefa, which involved traditional lifestyles, and move to Nişantaşı. This was the precondition to build up the big modern family of his dreams. States of Muhittin, a friend of Refik, reflects the community's subconscious; "Yes, he won't come to Beşiktaş, he is from Nişantaşı. He comes from above (upper class). Beşiktaş has always remained beneath. In the past, our masters who were in Yıldız, are now in Nişantaşı!" (Pamuk, 2020, p. 217: Translation by Akdaş).

With the advent of the bourgeoisie class to Nişantaşı and Cihangir, the members of the noble families like Nigan Hanım started to depreciate these neighborhoods. They thought these districts became the place for upstart people. When Refik claimed that they found a house in Cihangir and decided to rent it, Nigan Hanım was unpleasant and said that was the place of uncouth people (Pamuk, 2020, p. 479).

Sixth aspect which is the "internal relations" has an important role upon the transformation of traditional houses. This aspect includes the family structure and the relationship between its members. Traditional Turkish society used to consist extended family structure which involved grandparents, parents and children. Cultural factors have an effective role in creating this family structure while economic independency also has a part. The design of the traditional houses supplied every nuclear family their own multi-functional room. Westernization process brought individualization beside it, which started

to cause problems in living together. This state could be traced from Perihan's complaints;

"We are stuck in a room of a three-storey house which is like a coop... Anyway, it is a mistake in this time to live in one house as an entire family. Everyone is watching each other carefully and when you try to do something it is immediately noticed so that is why I'm sitting in this room in such a hot weather!" (Pamuk, 2020, p. 208: Translation by Akdaş).

Perihan also told her husband that the crowd inside the house was interfering them (Pamuk, 2020, p. 429). These sentences reflected the thoughts of the new generation. Moving to a separate house of their own meant freedom for them which was necessary for their happiness. Muhittin, a friend of Refik, also suggested Refik to move to a separate house in order to solve their problems (Pamuk, 2020, p. 222). While this was the viewpoint of the new generation the elders thought keeping the family together was vital and living together was the only way to provide this. One day, Osman states that they should demolish the mansion and build an apartment. Nigan Hanım strongly rejects this suggestion;

"Your father has a will that this house will not be demolished... My family used to live in big houses... Not in piled boxes!.. Everyone should care for each other; everyone should love each other and no one's life should be hidden from each other. This is the right thing!" (Pamuk, 2020, p. 431: Translation by Akdaş).

Refik's will of moving to a separate house upsets Nigan Hanım and she struggles to understand the reason for such requirement and asks Osman why they are leaving them. Osman tells her that their child is growing and the room is becoming small. Nigan Hanım offers to give them a bigger room but this does not change the situation (Pamuk 2020, p. 474). Refik and Perihan managed to convince their family to move to a house of their own. Individualism once again showed itself while they were moving out of the mansion; Perihan asked if they could take the cupboard next to the stairs. This confused Refik for it was a new approach and he wrote the following sentences to his diary;

"Most of the items didn't use to belong to anyone rather they belonged to the house. Someone or everyone could use it. But now the goods are shared as ours and theirs. For example, that cupboard! It wasn't bought when we got married, but we have been using it for years. We do not have a dining table either. Mum is so angry within the way the things are being divided; she makes a face as if she is disgusted from us. She blames us. But she does not really understand us" (Pamuk, 2020, p. 488: Translation by Akdaş).

Besides individualism, education also had a role in transforming the family structure. New generation had received education in schools which caused the elders to respect them (Pamuk 2020, p. 164). Their desires and choices started to gain importance such as choosing the person they will get married or moving to a separate house which changed the family structure (Pamuk, 2020, p. 165).

Seventh aspect to be analyzed is the "beliefs and meanings attached to the house". The novel gives many clues how people of a specific era perceived some spaces and gave meaning to them. Each district, house typology and even the house units represented a lifestyle belonging to a traditional or modern world, which are terms that are relative to their context. Members of bourgeoisie wanted to own a house in Nişantaşı because it was a sign of prestige and they also wanted to be a part of this world. Cevdet Bey also bought a house in Nişantaşı for he dreamt of having a modern family and living in a western neighborhood was the first step to be taken. Apartment building represented the

modern lifestyle. The struggles living in a mansion was frequently underlined while apartment was offering comfort. A conversation took part in the novel between Nigan Hanım and her two guests: One was Dildade Hanım who complained how hard it was to warm up the house. Upon this Leyla Hanım mentioned about the comfort of the radiators in the new apartments, but Nigan Hanım claimed that she will never be able to get used to the thing named apartment (Pamuk, 2020, p. 290). With the effect of westernization some meanings were also attributed to spaces such as the *a la turca* toilets being assumed pre-modern.

"Habits of the society" which is the eighth aspect has a major role upon the transformation of the house. The novel underlines the changes in the understanding of privacy, relationship between man and woman, welcoming guests, entertaining, organizing ceremonies etc. Stillness of the historic peninsula, where nothing had changed for hundreds of years, started to disturb the youth because this new generation was in a rush for a change (Pamuk, 2020, p. 33). They quickly adopted the conditions of the new period and their expectations from life changed. One of these issues was marriage which no longer depended on elder's choices or economic worries. Some even believed that marriage was a barrier avoiding people from reaching their aims. Another event which changed the habits of the society was that women started to learn how to gain their rights and freedom. For example, Ayşe started to complain for her being picked up from the places she went (Pamuk, 2020, p. 136). The effect of individualization and the desire for freedom fastened the collapse of the extended family structure. The districts which were influenced by the Western lifestyle were more individualized so they were preferred by the youth instead of neighborhoods like Vefa, Haseki which had close relationships among the residents. The apartment floors were suitable for the requirements of the new generation so this house typology started to spread in order to serve to nuclear families. After the death of Cevdet Bey, Refik's also moved into an apartment in Cihangir. Sait Bey comments about the ongoing situation:

"We are adapting things in time but we are not aware of it. As I said, why shouldn't the old be adapted to the new? Look at this room. Isn't this a saloon? Once it was a sofa of a selamlık... My father used to say that big changes don't take much notice because they are always the result of small and endless compromises" (Pamuk, 2020, p. 212: Translation by Akdaş).

It is sure that many traditions changed with the effect of westernization process but this took a long time because people were confused in their daily practices. For example; haremlık-selamlık practice was abandoned, men and women shared the same room but they continued sitting in their own corners. They didn't want to sit apart because they believed this attitude was pre-modern but none of them had the courage to break the ongoing state (Pamuk, 2020, p. 179).

4. Conclusion

Westernization process, modernization in broader terms, has caused socio-cultural changes in the Turkish society which also reshaped the domestic architecture. These changes didn't happen at once, some struggles were faced and some contradictive practices took place. Every new practice carries the traces of the previous era. For example, the first apartments involved traces from mansions by including the same hierarchic structure and architectural components like cumba and sofa. Uncovering the social and psychological structure behind such changes and transformations, helps to grasp some milestones of domestic architecture. But this is not possible by only analyzing the physical proofs suggested by architecture. The analysis of the novel

Cevdet Bey and His Sons reveals some changes in the socio-cultural structures which triggered the transformation in house design.

The novel “Cevdet Bey and his sons” features a transition period in which two different lifestyles coexist. Reflection of westernization upon housing, first appeared inside the traditional house with modern furnishings. This was a mixture of traditional and modern practices which continued in apartments in an opposite way. Apartment, which represented the modern house typology, carried traces of traditional practices. The novel reveals that change in daily life is a complex process which progresses in a slow pace.

The family apartment depicted in the novel represents a transition form between traditional house and apartment. This usage softens the family falling apart by transforming from extended family to nuclear family. Instead of being together with strangers, members of the same family prefer living in different floors, so privacy is still preserved. Gathering for dinner at the elder member of the family or leaving the doors of each floor open carries the traces of the traditional practices of the extended family.

When the information retrieved from the novel are compared with the ones in the Turkish housing history, we can say that they mostly match or complete each other's deficiency but controversial statements also occur. First aspect which is the physical aspects have parallel features in the novel and in the Turkish housing histories, but there is also a confusion upon terms. For example, the term “saloon” is not yet used in the traditional era this should be a *baş oda* which is the main room for guests. On the other hand, the typologies, plan types, hierarchy among the floors etc. are common with the ones described by Eldem (1954) and Kuban (1995). For example, the traditional houses had a flexible design so new floors or rooms were able to be annexed. This was a common approach in the traditional era and the construction was usually conducted by the household. So did Cevdet Bey added a floor to his mansion when his son Osman got married.

Household activities, second aspect, is one of the rarely mentioned aspects in housing histories. Architectural historians such as Eldem and Kuban, mentions about daily activities as a function which house involves instead of an aspect transforming the house design. Tanyeli (2005) is one of the names underlining the effect of household activities upon house design. Opposite to the housing histories, novel involves many details about daily activities like eating, sleeping, entertaining, cleaning etc. The novel portrays a period which includes a modern-premodern dilemma and this also shows itself in the mixed usage of modern and pre-modern furniture, determined by modern and premodern household activities. Third aspect; “Settlement the housing created” has been more or less involved in the architectural history but how these settlements were perceived by the individuals and the interaction between them is more apparent in the novel. External relations, fourth aspect, determines the boundaries of private and public space which is especially related with the position of women within the society. Women have an important role on house design especially in a period which woman spent most of her time inside the house but only Tanyeli (2005) underlines this aspect. The novel includes the journey of woman gaining freedom by underlining the spaces they were able to use once and now. The shift between social classes is another important milestone for the social structure, which also has an important impact on architecture. Architectural historians such as İnci Aslanoğlu (2010) usually bases this classification upon economic factors which is also valid for the novel. But the cultural and religious factors are also mentioned in the novel. The common approach in the novel and the housing history is that they both deal with the house of the upper income group. Clues about the “internal

relations" can be found very often throughout the novel while this state is not valid for the housing history. Again, we can say that housing history offers few data about the beliefs and meanings attributed to the house while the novel gives many clues how people of a specific era perceived some spaces and gave meaning to them. As it was anticipated there is no remarkable information about the material and building technology and also the legal regulations. Meanwhile, many descriptions about the material and technology can be found in housing histories written by Eldem (1984), Küçükerman (1985) and many others. Housing history also refers to legal regulations. Especially Yıldız Sey (1998) explains the transformation of domestic architecture under the scope of housing policies.

The results make these two fields, literature and housing history, a convenient match in filling each other's gaps. So, it is possible to say that all ten aspects suggested by Tekeli (1996) can be analyzed by studying these fields together. We may say that analyzing literature in order to understand architecture is far beyond a romantic approach. Novels are fiction but the ones which portray the same period usually have common thoughts and emphasizes. Considering literature and architecture discipline simultaneously may help gathering information about many aspects affecting the transformation of households and housing design. Adding these findings to our previous knowledge derived from the written housing histories will maintain us a comprehensive perspective to understand the factors which have a role upon domestic architecture.

References

- Adivar, Halide Edip, *Akile Hanım Sokağı*, Can Yayınları, 1958.
- Akin, Nur, *19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Galata ve Pera*, Literatür Yayıncılık, İstanbul 1998.
- Anday, Melih Cevdet, *Aylaklar*, Everest Yayınları, 1965.
- Aslanoğlu, İnci, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi mimarlığı: 1923-1938*, Bilge Kültür Sanat, Ankara 2010.
- Batur, Afife, *A concise history: Architecture in Turkey during the 20th century*, Chamber of Architects of Turkey, Ankara 2005.
- Bayhan, İrfan. H., 1957. M.K. Apartmanı, *Arkitekt Dergisi*, 1957-03(288), 99-101.
- Can, Cengiz, Decugis Evi, *İstanbul ansiklopedisi*, Kültür Bakanlığı Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul 1993.
- Eldem, Sedat Hakkı, *Türk Evi plan tipleri*, Pulhan Matbaası, İstanbul 1954.
—*Türk Evi: Osmanlı Dönemi I*, Türkiye Anıt Çevre Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı, İstanbul 1984.
- Esendal, Memduh Şevket, *Ayaşlı ve Kiracıları*, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara (1934) 1983.
- Görgülü, Tülin, *Apartman tipolojisinde geçmişten bugüne; kira apartmanından "rezidans'a" geçiş*, Kültür Envanteri, 2017, 14(14).
- Hall, Edward, *The hidden dimension*, Doubleday, New York 1966.

- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, *Tinin fenomenolojisi*, Translated by Aziz Yardımlı, İdea Yayınevi, 2016.
- Karaosmanoğlu, Yakup Kadri, *Kiralık Konak*, Birikim Yayınları, (1922) 1979.
- Karay, Refik Halit, *İstanbul'un İç Yüzü*, Orhaniye Matbaası, (1920) 2012.
- Kristeva, Julia, *Desire in language: A semiotic approach to literature and art*, Columbia University Press, Columbia 1980.
- Kuban, Doğan, *Türk Hayatlı Evi*, Mısırlı Matbaacılık, İstanbul 1995.
- Küçükerman, Önder, *Turkish House: In search of spatial identity*, TTOK Press, Ankara 1985.
- Kuntay, Mithat Cemal, *Üç İstanbul*, Oğlak yay., İstanbul, (1938) 1998.
- Lawrence, Roderick, *A more human history of houses: Research method and application*, Plenum, 1985.
- Mithat, Ahmet, *Felâton Bey ile Râkım Efendi*, Akçağ Yayınları, Ankara (1875) 2009.
- Öncel, Ayşe Derin, *Apartment*, Institut français d'études anatoliennes, İstanbul 2010.
- Pamuk, Orhan. *Cevdet Bey ve oğulları*, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul 2020.
— *İstanbul: Hatıralar ve Şehir*.Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul 2003.
— *Benim Adım Kırmızı*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul 2008.
— *Kara Kitap*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul 2008.
— *Masumiyet Müzesi*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul 2008.
- Rapoport, Amos, *House form and culture*, Pearson, 1969.
- Sey, Yıldız, Cumhuriyet döneminde konut, in Yıldız Sey, Ed. *75 yılda değişen kent ve Mimarlık*, Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul 1998.
- Silahsizoğlu, Emel, Metin tahlil yöntemleri ve bir uygulama Örneği, Problems and Definitions of the Science of Literature, *ICANAS* 38, 2007, 1415-1431.
- Tanyeli, Uğur, *İstanbul 1900-2000; Konutu ve modernleşmeyi metropolden okumak*, Ofset Yapımevi, İstanbul 2005.
- Tekeli, İlhan, Konut tarihi yazıcılığı üzerine düşünceler in Yıldız Sey, Ed. *Tarihten Günümüze Anadolu'da Konut ve Yerleşme.*, Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul 1996, 6-14.
- Tümer, Gürhan, *Mimarlık Edebiyat ilişkileri üzerine bir deneme*, Matbaa Kavram, İstanbul 1982.
- Uğraş, Hayal Meriç, Erken Türk romanında fiziksel çevre, *Arrademento*. 200, 2007, 58-63.

Yilmaz, Merve, *Use of Literature in understanding the transformation of domestic architecture: Case of Istanbul between 1908 and 1950*, Thesis (MS), Izmir Institute of Technology, İzmir 2018.

Internet Resources

URL-1: <https://www.facebook.com/165421444171251/posts/359139488132778/>
[Access date: 10.00, 15 April 2020].

URL-2: <https://www.herumutortakarar.com/pamuk-apartmani/>

URL-3: <https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/101542> [Access date: 21.00, 20 August 2020].

URL-4: <http://kitap.ykykultur.com.tr/yazarlar/orhan-pamuk> [Access Date: 14.00, 20 March 2020].