

Women in Early Modern Istanbul:

The Use of Space

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by

Fatma Tunç Yaşar

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ABSTRACT

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by

Fatma Tunç Yaşar

This thesis examines the women in early modern Istanbul with particular focus on the use of space. Particularly, its main concern is to write about women's experience in a manner of use of domestic, outer public and social spaces in urban context. It argues that the women's sphere of action was by no means defined only by the boundaries set up through religious-ideological norms, but also by a set of factors such as social background, economic status, tradition, familial relations and physical conditions. Thus, this thesis suggests that studying the urban experience of women necessitates a multi-dimensional investigation with the support of contextual reading of the archival documents.

ÖZET

Erken Modern Dönem İstanbul'unda Kadınlar: Mekan Kullanımı

Fatma Tunç Yaşar

Bu tez çalışması, erken modern dönem İstanbul'unda kadının mekan kullanımını incelemektedir. Kadının ev içi, dış kamusal ve sosyal mekanın kullanımı ve bu mekanlarla ilişkisi bağlamında şehir tecrübesine yoğunlaşmaktadır. Kadınların hareket alanının dini-ideolojik normların yanında, sosyal ve ekonomik statü, gelenek, aile ilişkileri ve fiziksel şartlar gibi çok sayıda faktör tarafından belirlendiğini ileri sürmektedir. Bu tez, kadının şehir deneyimine yönelik bir çalışmanın, arşiv kaynaklarının bağlamsal okumaları ile desteklenen çok yönlü bir araştırmayı gerektirdiğini ileri sürmektedir.

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Introduction

This thesis is an attempt to examine women's experience of daily life in early modern Istanbul with particular focus on the use of space. Its main concern is to write about women placing them in urban life in a manner of use of domestic, outer public and social spaces in an urban context. It argues that, although at the ideological level, bans were invoked whenever women transgressed their limits, such considerable leverage was given to women that, combined with certain socioeconomic factors, they were left many in control of their lives. The questions I wish to raise here are the following: How can we draw the boundaries that mark the women's experience in early modern Istanbul? What were the social boundaries within which women's experience took place? What strategies did women have across different social settings to gain a bargaining position in society? By taking in hand these questions, the primary task of this study is to locate women in the sources and write a historical narrative grounded in their relation to the use of urban space.

Women's history has emerged in recent years as one of the most innovative and influential branches of contemporary historical scholarship. Transformations in women studies from feminism to women's history as a field of an academic interest has accompanied with the recent developments in historical writing.¹ New areas of research such as everyday life

¹ Joan Wallach Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *Gender and the Politics of History*, New York, 1988, pp. 28-52; Elizabeth Fox Genovese, "Placing Women's History in History,"

experience, culture, mentality, gender, the question of identity have also attracted historians. The intersection of research informed by feminist theory and by the new social history has also generated novel studies in history that focus specifically on the experience of ordinary women.²

Such developments in historical writing have rarely been followed by the Ottoman historians. Most historians turn their attention to political, economic and social structures in a monographic manner. Accordingly, the earliest studies on Ottoman women have focused mostly on şer'iyye registers and interested in the legal status of women exposed by authorities.³ Some of the leading figures who studied the history of Ottoman women with specific reference to court records were Ronald Jennings, Haim Gerber, Leslie Pierce, Judith Tucker and Dror Ze'evi.⁴ The approach developed by

New Left Review, No. 133, 1982, pp. 5-29; Nikki R. Keddie, "Deciphering Middle Eastern Women's History," *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender*, ed. Nikki R. Keddie and Beth Baron, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991, pp. 1-22.

² Fatma Müge Göçek and Marc David Baer, "Social Boundaries of Ottoman Women's Experience in Eighteenth-Century Galata Court Records," *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era*, Leiden-New York-Köln: Brill, 1997, p.48.

³ For detailed information about the studies based on court registers, see. Yunus Uğur, "Mahkeme Kayıtları (Şer'iyye Sicilleri): Literatür Değerlendirmesi ve Bibliyografya," *TALİD*, V. 1-1, 2003, pp. 305-344.

⁴ Ronald C. Jennings, "Women in Early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records: The Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri," *JESHO*, XVIII (1975), pp. 53-114; Ronald C. Jennings, "The Legal Position of Women in Kayseri, a Large Ottoman City, 1590- 1630," *International Journal of Women's Studies*, III (1980), pp. 559-82; Haim Gerber, "Social and Economic Position of Women in an Ottoman City, Bursa, 1600- 1700," *IJMES*, XII (1980), pp. 231-44; Judith Tucker, *Women in 19th Century Egypt*, Cambridge, (1985); Yvonne J. Seng, "Standing at the Gates of Justice: Women in the Law Courts of Early-Sixteenth Century Üsküdar, İstanbul", *Contested States: Law, Hegemony and Resistance*, ed. Mindie Lazarus-Black and Susan F. Hirsch, New York, 1994, pp. 184-206; Dror Ze'evi, "Women in 17th-Century Jerusalem: Western and Indigenous Perspectives," *IJMES* 27 (1995), pp. 157-73; Fatma Müge Göçek and Marc David Baer. "Social Boundaries of Ottoman Women's

these historians certainly made an important contribution to the understanding of women's experiences in the social and economic life. Beside that, they became an important step in women studies evolving from monographic studies to multifaceted ones. Nevertheless, these works on the history of Ottoman women have lagged behind similar studies. Their overemphasis on the use of court records without the support of other sources limited them to a state-oriented perspective revealed in the archival documents. Moreover, these studies remained very local in many viewpoints by focusing on particular cities.

Today, however, the situation is beginning to change. Apart from the earlier studies, recent studies are more multi-dimensional in terms of use of sources, time period and subject matter. One of the most important departing studies is the introducing of letters of a seventeenth century woman mystic, *Asiye Hatun* by Cemal Kafadar.⁵ The book representing a personal narrative is very significant in the study of women's history in terms of both its approach and methodology, and sources. This work came as a something of a surprise, for a long time, diary and the first person narratives in general had been widely regarded as virtually absent from the Ottoman domain. Through brilliant mental equipment, it focused on this

Experience in Eighteenth-Century Galata Court Records", *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era*, ed., M. Zilfi. Leiden, Leiden-New York-Köln: Brill, 1997, pp. 48-65; Leslie Peirce, "She is trouble... and I will divorce her: orality, honor, and representation in the Ottoman court of Aintab", *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety*, ed. by Gavin R.G. Hambly, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999, pp. 269-300.

⁵ Cemal Kafadar, *Rüya Mektupları: Asiye Hatun*, İstanbul: Oğlak Yayıncılık, 1994.

diary on the basis of questions such as what were the relations between women and *Sufi* orders? In what manner and how did women interact with the male dominated *Sufi* circles? However, the book takes a woman as a subject matter who could be accepted as on the margin in early modern Ottoman society.

The work of Faroqhi, on the other hand, is more comprehensive in subject matters, sources and methodology.⁶ Her main concern is the daily life of subjects with a particular focus on the diverse sources of information such as *mühimme* registers, probate inventories, diaries, books and artistic productions as well as court records. The book is representative of more recent intellectual currents that have a heightened concern with the issue of the daily life of ordinary people. She pointed out in the introduction of the book that its focus was ordinary townsmen living in different geographies of the empire. Women as a part of urban population were also treated as a subject matter. In this part, women were examined from quite diverse perspectives such as social and economic life, everyday experience, domestic life, theology and relation with art and architecture. In this part, like the entire book, human networks formed the core of the study as independent from a particular physical space, such as a city. This study is very illuminating for this thesis both in its approach, methodology and sources. Its concern with the daily life of ordinary people throughout the primary sources

⁶ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, London and New York: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2000.

convinced me to feasibility of a study on the everyday experience of women.

Lastly, the recent work of Pierce primarily focused on gender issues.⁷ Using a wide variety of sources such as Faroghi and departing from state-centered approach of much of Ottoman historiography, she asks how individuals understood themselves and their place in Ottoman society. For this purpose, she examines one year's trials of the court of Aintab, an Anatolian city that had recently been conquered by the Ottoman sultanate and narrates the history of three women's lives in the sixteenth century. The use of the court by men and women is the main concern of the study, bringing to light that local residents responded to new opportunities and new constraints by negotiating flexible legal practices. Their actions and the different compromises they reached in court influenced how society viewed gender and also created a dialogue with the ruling administration over mutual rights and obligations. Locating its discussion of gender and legal issues in the context of the changing administrative practices and shifting power relations of the period, it argues that it was only in local interpretation that legal rules acquired vitality and meaning. What I gained from this study is that it offered a new perspective about the reading of archival sources. The study shows that legal law in the Ottoman lands was not necessarily applied in the same way and manner. It was more flexible, conditional and bargainable.

⁷ Leslie Pierce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

Still, with the exception of a handful of scholars working on women and urban context, women's presence within urban life, if they were not producers of the space, still remains largely unexamined. Beside that, most of the studies have also covered Anatolian and Arab cities, but the Ottoman imperial capital remains to be studied. My project aims to fill this void partly by focusing on the daily life and urban experience of women living within the neighborhood structure of the city. Hence, it attempts to go beyond the existing scholarly literature, which is mainly concerned with the legal and economic life of women throughout the court experience.

However, at a first glance, this thesis may appear as a challenge to the current literature which was mainly focused on upper class or imperial women's experience. Although there is such stimulation, the main inspiration behind this work came from the article of Flanagan discussing "where do women fit in urban history."⁸ My interest in women's history in general was supported by a curiosity in urban experience. In this way, as Tilly argued, I hope to have an opportunity not only to uncover "women's experience in the past" but to connect this experience with gender as an analytical category.⁹ Through this melding of fact and analysis, I can be able to frame general historical inquiry on women's daily life in the early modern era.

⁸ Maureen A. Flanagan, "Women in the City, Women of the City: Where do Women Fit in Urban History," *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 23, No. 3, March 1997, pp. 251-259.

⁹ Louise A. Tilly, "Gender, Women's History, and Social History," *Social Science History*, Vol. 13, No.4, Winter 1989, pp. 439-77.

The present study uses various historical sources. Mainly, I use court records (*şer'iyeye sicilleri*), *mühimme* registers, and probate inventories recorded in court registers. I also utilize archival documents accumulated from the catalogues in the Prime Ministry Archives, such as *Cevdet-Zaptiye*, *Cevdet-Dahiliye*, *Cevdet-Belediye*, *Hatt-ı Hümayuns*. In addition, I look at *fetva mecmuaları*, and *waqf* registers and first person narratives such as diaries, letters and traveler accounts from a critical perspective. Finally, I will combine them with visual materials such as miniature paintings. Moreover, I will use current literature relating to women and space in the early modern era with the support of the studies of western scholars to contextualize them in a comparative approach.

Methodology and Sources

In this thesis, it is supposed that the ordering of space is actually about the ordering of relations between people. Social relations affect the spatial as space affects relationships. Hillier suggests that "architecture determines to a substantial extent the degree to which we become automatically aware of others, both those who live near and strangers, as a result of living out everyday life in space."¹⁰ This can be also applied to the relation between the women and space in order to highlight women's daily life in early modern Istanbul. However, studying women and space have

¹⁰ Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 24.

to contend with a number of problematic that touches on social constructions of boundaries and their interaction with gender. In ordering space, to what extent do culture and ideology shape the organization of space and its use by women? Around this question, this study focuses on both the physical and social spaces in the urban structure. I made an order among these spaces according to their use by women most frequently. I also followed a hierarchy among the spaces used by women according to their privacy as well as their accessibility by women. In this manner, the issues of why a particular organization of space has meaning for women and how it was used by them within the context of the early modern era also have a critical importance.

Around a multifaceted issue, this thesis necessitates a comprehensive study that touches on different angles. Thus, in constructing a text about this multi-dimensional subject requires utilizing different sorts of sources in use. Hence, this thesis is not based on a particular source. The bulk of material addressing the issues in this thesis is drawn from both archival sources and secondary literature.

Firstly, I use court registers (*şer'iyye sicilleri*) as the main primary source for this study. They would allow us to understand complex relations between space and women and to see women's sociability and domestic life. Court registers are also important sources for understanding relations between women and authorities through the exercising of power over the women's use of public space. Even though they generally offer a normative picture, their careful examination reveals actual

acts in public spaces. For instance, many cases recorded in the registers dealing with women's action in public spaces includes, the same view, "*şer'i şerife mugayir bir emr-i namülayim olduğundan başka nice mefasid ve şenayi'e bais olmakla*"¹¹ or "*tavaif-i nisvan gayr-i zaruret esvak ve pazar ve mecmeu'n-nas mahallerde gezmeyüp hanelerinde ikamet mahremi olmayup mesalih-i zarureye.*"¹² However, a detailed examination shows the state mechanisms in keeping the women's actions in outer spaces under control. The Ottoman law system, which reflected the court registers also reveal 'vocabulary of gender' and perception of authorities about women's participation in urban life. For example, in these records, it is possible to see justifications of the state behind the prohibitions related to the women's use of outer spaces (*taşra*). The main justification in these decrees seems to be that of regulating the subjects in a good manner and prevent the violation of gender segregation that was accepted as an Islamic requirement. Most of the decrees consist of an explanation such as a violation of Sharia (*şer-i şerife mugayir*), "commanding right and forbidding wrong" (*emr-i bi'l-maruf nehy-i ani'l-münker*) and "obligation of religion" (*vacibat-ı diniyye*).¹³

Secondly, probate inventories recorded in court registers are very illuminating sources for daily life,

¹¹ Bab Mahkemesi, D. 154, V. 98, 3 Ramazan 1143 / 12 Mart 1731 quoted from Suha Umur, "Osmanlı Belgeleri Arasında Kadınlara Buyruklar," *Tarih ve Toplum*, Ekim 1988, No. 58, p. 205.

¹² Tophane Mahkemesi, D. 174, V. 1, 20 Cemazie'l-evvel 1186 / 19 August 1772, quoted from Sadık Albayrak, *Osmanlı'da Sosyal Yapı ve İstanbul*, İstanbul: Kiptaş, 1998, p. 67.

¹³ Eyüp Mahkemesi, D. 12, V. 3/2, 10 Safer 1121 / 22 Nisan 1709.

especially in the survey of domestic life. They were drawn up by local courts following the death of people and recorded in the court registers. They list, in more or less detail, household, textile and clothing goods, and they also include some information about the status, occupation, and place of residence of the deceased person. In the present study, I have examined twenty-two inventory records of women recorded in the court of Üsküdar from the early seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In addition to these, ten inventory records of women from the early sixteenth century, examined by Yvonne J. Seng have also been utilized to widen the scope of the study.¹⁴

Thirdly, I also use archival documents accumulated from the catalogues in the Prime Ministry Archives, such as "Cevdet-Zaptiye", "Cevdet-Dahiliye", "Cevdet-Belediye", "Hatt-ı Hümayun." Cevdet-Zaptiye, is particularly important for understanding the exercising of power over women's actions in public spaces by authority. In addition to these, I also use published *Mühimme* registers,¹⁵ which are collections of the imperial decrees and *Ahkam Defterleri* to see the sociability dimension of public space, and how people perceived and used these spaces.

Fourthly, apart from the archival documents, personal narratives such as the Ottoman chronicles and the accounts of contemporary travelers are also used in this study. In spite

¹⁴ Yvonne J. Seng, "The Üsküdar Estates (tereke) as Records of Everyday Life in an Ottoman Town, 1521-1524," Unpublished PhD. Dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1991.

¹⁵ Some of these decrees have been published by Ahmed Refik and some were transcribed into modern Turkish.

of the monolithic and repetitive features of chronicles, and the orientalisizing gaze of travelers' accounts, they contain very colorful observations especially on the experiences of women in the communal spaces of early modern Istanbul. For example, the letters of Lady Montagu who was one of the earliest European women to write an extensive account of her experiences in Turkey at the beginning of the eighteenth century, is very useful for enlightening women's experience of daily life such as visiting public baths.¹⁶ At the same time, detailed reading of the letters reveals a hidden orientalizing gaze on the Ottoman women.

Fifth, I shall look a number of miniature paintings in several state sponsored festival books and private collections in order to determine exactly how and in what circumstances did women appear in urban scenes.¹⁷ I will consult the miniatures as a social document by keeping in mind also their values as a work of art. The miniatures could make a contribution on gendered space in Ottoman society providing description of a particular space and its use. An examination of a series of visual documents, which illustrate women in a variety of contexts, especially outdoors, would make an important contribution to expose how women used and occupied space in the Ottoman context.

¹⁶ Dervla Murphy, *Embassy to Constantinople, The Travels of Lady Worthley Montagu*, ed. Christopher Pick, New York: New Amsterdam Books of New York, 1988.

¹⁷ I have relied mostly on published images in the works of Nurhan Atasoy, *1582 Surname-i Hümayun: Düğün Kitabı*, Istanbul: Koçbank, 1997; Nurhan Atasoy and Filiz Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, İstanbul: R. C. D. Cultural Institute, 1974; Esin Atıl, *Levni and Surname: The Story of An Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival*, Koçbank: İstanbul, 1999; Esin Atıl, *Suleymanname: The Illustrated History of Suleyman the Magnificent*, New York: National Gallery of Art, 1986.

Lastly, the registers of pious foundations (*Waqf*-registers) are evaluated in this study with the support of other sources. *Waqf*-registers are very valuable sources especially for correctly picturing the physical make-up of domestic space and locating women in this space. For example, the published register of 953/1546 giving a general picture of house types in the sixteenth century was utilized by this study.¹⁸

Outline of the Thesis

This study is arranged in three chapters. Each deals with a particular space that is arranged according to its use by women frequently; house, neighborhood and outer public spaces. First chapter examines domestic space as a women's domain. It examines the use of domestic space by women with particular focus on the probate inventories. The issue of domestic space is addressed by examining the interior of the houses and household materials. Architectural forms and physical design in the house from inside rooms to the threshold and courtyard, and the issues of gender relations, women and domesticity are examined in relation to the concept of privacy.

The second chapter focuses on the neighborhood as the space, most used and most familiar to women outside the house. The neighborhood is considered as a semi-private/public space and an arena for women's network in the city. It was a physical and social space for women with its streets and urban

¹⁸ Ömer Lütfi Barkan and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri: 953 (1546) tarihli*, İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti İstanbul Enstitüsü, 1970.

institutions such as public bath and local market where women appear. This chapter putting the neighborhood as a semi-private space outside the home may contribute to reveal the public life of women within the context of early modern Istanbul.

The third chapter is about the use of public spaces by women. In this chapter, I try to focus on women's relation with public spaces as an extension of the neighborhood. Within the context of early modern Istanbul, two significant public and social spaces, festivals and *mesires* will be examined in a manner of use of urban spaces for entertaining. Both festivals and *mesires* are accepted as outer public spaces for sociability and leisure of women, separately from the neighborhood institutions. Miniatures depicting festivals and imperial decrees regulating women's actions in these spaces form the basic sources of the chapter.

CHAPTER I

THE HOUSE: THE USE OF DOMESTIC SPACE BY WOMEN

This chapter examines the domestic space and its use by women in early modern Istanbul through the probate inventories. It considers the spatial organization of the house and household goods as the material expression of lifestyle. In this chapter, *waqf* registers were also utilized in order to picture the organization of domestic space and locate women in this space. In addition, the court registers were used for household issues and disputes in some detail. Therefore, a precise understanding of the physical design of domestic space and its objects is the main focus of the study.

It has been assumed that household is, in some sense, the women's domain and it is not easy to identify the experience of women as distinct from household life. However, apart from the women's public life, the domestic life of women in the early modern era always remains a secret area due to some challenging problems. First of all, interior of the house was accepted as a private space. Thus, it was the area out of state control as long as there was no extraordinary situation. Thus, in the Ottoman archival sources, there are limited numbers of documents touching directly upon domestic life.

The best primary source for the study of domestic space could be houses themselves if they still exist. There is scant visual evidence on the dwellings of ordinary people who lived in a neighborhood organization. Yerasimos has shown that the need to emphasize the transitory character of human life in

every undertaking related to thereto became a fundamental principle of Ottoman civilization, especially in the synthesis it affected between architectural creation and its materials.¹ The idea of the impermanency of human beings on the earth made a big contribution to the nature of people's dwellings and possessions in early modern Ottoman daily life.² Kılıç has remarked that conceiving of people as tenants in the world has given residential houses a temporary character.³

From an architectural point of view, the use of wood and sun-dried brick in the construction of the family dwellings accounts for the relatively short life span of housing in most of the regions in Istanbul. Most of these structures have today disappeared, and in many cases, it is even impossible to locate their exact sites. Accordingly, visual material concerning the domestic structure of the early modern Istanbul is bounded with a few more or less exceptional examples.

In this context, the most beneficial source in this issue is *sicils* recorded by local courts. Faroqhi's work, *Men of Modest Substance: House Owners and House Property in Seventeenth-Century Ankara and Kayseri* is the good example of this kind of exercise.⁴ Since her main focus was architecture

¹ Stéphane Yerasimos, *Turkish Style*, Italy: Archipelago Pres., 1992, p. 29.

² As a result of this consideration, a common decoration patterns were seen across a wide range of building types. That is, the dwellings of people from different socio-economic status are distinguished by their size and by richness of decoration goods.

³ Kıvanç Kılıç, "On the Aesthetics of Space in the Ottoman House: Tracing the Eternal in the Ephemeral," *Turkology Update Leiden Project Working Papers Archive Department of Turkish Studies, Universiteit Leiden*, p. 1.

⁴ For the evaluation of *sicils* as sources for housing issue and background of the study see. Suraiya Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance: House Owners and House Property in Seventeenth-Century*

and physical shape of the houses, she had preferred to use mostly sale records in *sicils*. The study has a foremost importance in the study of domestic space due both its utilization of sources and questions it raised. Beside the physical descriptions, its focus on the meaning and the use of space made it more useful. On the other hand, its restriction with two Anatolian towns impedes us to reach general conclusions and remained in micro-level.

The domestic space has been examined also throughout different sources. The Istanbul *waqf* registers/*tahrir defterleri* formed the base of many studies examining residential dwellings in Istanbul. For example, the published register of 953/1546 giving a general picture of house types in the sixteenth century was utilized by different studies.⁵ The work of Tanyeli is mainly centered upon residential types and dwelling standards.⁶ He argued that one-room dwellings were more widespread than supposed and they were occupied not only by the margins of society such as bachelors, but also by families.⁷ However, his focus on one-room dwellings and independent houses remains as bounded with physical characteristics. Both studies by Faroqhi and Tanyeli are

Ankara and Kayseri, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, pp. 1-22.

⁵ Ömer Lütfi Barkan and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri: 953 (1546) tarihli*, İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti İstanbul Enstitüsü, 1970.

⁶ Uğur Tanyeli, "Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Metropolünde Konutun Reel Tarihi: Bir Standart Denemesi," *Prof. Doğan Kuban'a Armağan*, ed. Z. Ahunbay, D. Mazlum and K. Eyüpgiller, İstanbul, 1996.

⁷ Selma Özkoçak also confirms this view saying that one-room dwellings have accommodated single people and poor families. See. Selma Akyazıcı Özkoçak, "The Evidence of *vakıf*-registers for Residential Dwellings in Sixteenth Century Istanbul," *Sanat Tarihi Yazıları: Afife Batur'a Armağan*, (forthcoming 2004).

mainly focused upon physical space and its characteristics. However, the gendering of domestic space and the use of domestic space by women remained an understudied issue.

Nevertheless, women's domestic life had attracted the special interests of foreign travelers. However, since male travelers do not have the advantage of directly encountering the women, their accounts could not rescue themselves from an orientalizing gaze.⁸ Since they were not the participant observer, they wrote Ottoman women from their imagination. Another drawback of the traveler accounts is their stress upon upper class women and presentation of them as Ottoman women. For example, Dernschwam who visited Istanbul during the later years of the reign of Suleyman Magnificent (1520-66) wrote about his speculations rather than his observations. According to Dernschwam, women in Istanbul were idle and extremely lazy. The daily chores such as washing clothes and cooking were carried out by female slaves or servants. Their main activities were sewing or reading. As a matter of fact, they were not able to do anything else. For example, they eat soup, yoghurt, fruits, onions and garlic.⁹ In contrast, the perspective presented by inventory records and local courts reveal a great disparity from the observations of Dernschwam and other travelers.

⁸ Reinhold Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama: British Travelers in 19th Century Turkey*, Amstertam-Atlanta: Rodopi, 1999.

⁹ Hans Dernschwam, *İstanbul ve Anadolu'ya Seyahat Günlüğü*, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, trans. Yaşar Önen, Ankara, 1987, p. 180.

1. The *Tereke* Registers as Evidence of Lifestyle

Probate inventories (*tereke* registers) have been used for many years for historical research in European countries and in the United States.¹⁰ For the Ottoman, there is limited number of studies based on probate inventories concerning different cities such as Istanbul,¹¹ Edirne,¹² Bursa,¹³ Arab territories,¹⁴ and Balkan cities.¹⁵ However, most of these studies have paid little attention on the daily life of ordinary people. I would like to show here that probate inventories are very useful and illuminating sources for everyday life. They list, in more or less detail; household goods, textile and clothes. They also include some information about the status, occupation, and the place of residence of the deceased person.

In the present study, probate inventories are exploited for understanding the use of domestic space by women. I have examined twenty-two inventories of women recorded in Üsküdar *Mahkemesi* from the early seventeenth and eighteenth century. In addition to these, ten inventory records of women from the early sixteenth century, examined by Yvonne J. Seng have also

¹⁰ Lorna Weatherill, "A Possession of One's Own: Women and Consumer Behavior in England, 1660-1740," *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Apr., 1986), pp. 131-156; Ad Van der Woude and Anton Schuurman, (eds.) *Probate Inventories: A new Source for the Historical Study of Wealth, Material Culture, and Agricultural Development*, Wageningen, 1980.

¹¹ Said Öztürk, *Onyedinci Asır Askeri Kassama Ait İstanbul Tereke Defterleri*, İstanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1995.

¹² Ömer Lütfü Barkan. *Edirne Askeri Kassamı'na Ait Tereke Defterleri (1545-1659)*, Türk Tarih Belgeler 3, 5-6, Ankara: TTK, 1966.

¹³ Hüseyin Özdeğer, *1463-1640 Yılları Bursa Şehri Tereke Defterleri*, İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi, 1988.

¹⁴ Colette Establet and Jean Paul Pascual, "Damascene Probate Inventories of the 17th and 18th Centuries: Some Preliminary Approaches and Results," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (August 1992), pp. 373-393.

¹⁵ Ibolya Gerelyes, "Inventories of Turkish Estates in Hungary in the Second Half of the 16th Century," *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 39 (1985), pp. 275-338.

been utilized to widen the scope of the study.¹⁶ Of twenty-two inventories, I have examined only three inventories of non-Muslim women from the early eighteenth century. Since this study deals with Muslim women of Istanbul, I chose to use mostly Muslim women's *tereke*s. In the seventeenth century, Muslim women's inventory records were in the majority and non-Muslim women's *tereke*s were quite rare. However, in the eighteenth century, the situation seems to have changed in favor of non-Muslim women and their *tereke*s were in the same weight with that of Muslim women ones. This led me include some of them for this study.

A selection of twenty-two *tereke*s are found in about twenty *sicil defters*, since *tereke*s were rare and recorded randomly among other kinds of court records such as dispute, sale, divorce etc. To catch up change, transformation or continuity in the manner of use of domestic space and lifestyles on small number of *tereke*s, I preferred to select twelve of them from the early seventeenth century,¹⁷ while ten of them were from the early eighteenth century.¹⁸

It may be considered that inventories were reflected to the court records mostly depending upon some situations such as disputes among the family members. Women's inventories were the result of more varied circumstances than men's. There were many possible influences over the property left by a woman,

¹⁶ Yvonne J. Seng, "The Üsküdar Estates (*tereke*) as Records of Everyday Life in an Ottoman Town, 1521-1524," Unpublished PhD. Dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1991.

¹⁷ The first group was from 136 and 137 Numbered *Defters* which dated from 1028/1618-1619 to 1030/1620-1621.

¹⁸ The second group was from the *Defters* numbered from 363 to 388 and dated from 1132/1719-1720 to 1146/1733-1734.

such as her age, marital status such as married, divorced, widow or unmarried, local customs of inheritance. Regrettably, much of these details were not specified in the documents themselves. In this context, the application to the court may be expected as rarer in the case of women, since their husbands have undertaken responsibility of sharing inventory among the family members. But, from the example of twenty-two women's inventory records, it is hard to reach such a general conclusion. Among these women, there were also married women whose inventory was shared by her husband and other family members. For example, the inventory of *Halime bint-i Ahmet* (14.038 akçe) was shared by her husband (3051), father (2034), mother (2034) and girl (6102) respectively.¹⁹

Apart from inheritance cases, women's possessions were recorded in the court registers in very extraordinary circumstances. For example, the inventory of *Ayşe bint-i Abdullah* was recorded in order to protect her property due to her absence for forty days.²⁰ In contrast to ordinary inventory records of the deceased person, the list of her possessions including textile, household equipments and clothing items was clarified as numbers but not in value. This difference may be result of the view that although she was absent for forty days, she might be appeared again. Thus, her possessions were not to be shared on the basis of value. But they were to be protected as items for a while.

¹⁹ Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 365, V. 88/2, Gurre-i Safer 1133 / December 1720.

²⁰ Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 388, V. 67/1, 25 Cemaziye'l-Ahir 1146 / 3 December 1733.

The use of *tereke* records as a source of material culture may reveal women's domestic life. First of all, only a small percentage of women were literate and there was not a tradition among these women to keep diaries.²¹ Therefore, we do not have first hand accounts of women themselves. On the other hand, even though household goods did not remain as items today, they were known from the probate inventories. Therefore, they are potentially a more wide-ranging, more representative source of information.²²

Inventory records also give some information about the women's domestic life and help to make speculation about inside the house. Especially, the lists of very mundane household possessions in *tereke*s might be helpful to imagine the inner picture of the house. Thirty-two women's inventories in Üsküdar *Mahkemesi* were categorized roughly as household items, textile, clothes and jewelry. Household materials such as *minder*, *döşek*, *yorgan* and kitchen items like *sahan*, *tencere*, *tas*, *kahve ibriği* occupied an important place in these inventories. But, what do these items mean for a woman's domestic life? How can they be used for an historical analysis? First of all, household utensils provide people's practical needs. However, consumption and ownership of goods is representative of a lifestyle. Through assemblages of goods, or individual items, we can make statements about

²¹ The diary of Asiye Hatun from the seventeenth century is an exceptional case, see. Cemal Kafadar, *Mütereddid Bir Mutasavvıf: Üsküp'lü Asiye Hatun'un Rüya Defteri*, İstanbul: Oğlak Yayıncılık, 1994.

²² Jules David Prown, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method," *Winterhur Portfolio*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Spring, 1982), p. 3.

people's behavior and values.²³ In other words, ownership is also indicative of attitudes and behavior, and their presence or absence in a household reveals something about the household and its values. It is well known that people try to express themselves through clothing and material values. As a consequence, possession of goods is not only a physical phenomenon, but has wider implications.

Ordinary household items in the inventory records may be read as an expression of life-style. The nature and variety of certain items and ownership patterns may give a general picture about life standards. For example, among the twenty-two inventories from the early seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there were only seven stools (*iskemle*) while there was no table. On the contrary, in a study based on women's inventories in England in the second half of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries, nearly all of the women had tables and chairs.²⁴

Ownership of some kind of goods reflects the socio-economic status of a person. Fernand Braudel wrote that the probate inventory is a "document de vérité"²⁵ a deed validated by law, which allows the study of composition of wealth according to social standing. For example, clock ownership has a broad social and economic significance in the early modern era. The character of a clock such as gold, silver, striking

²³ Weatherill, p. 137.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

²⁵ Fernand Braudel, *Civilisation Matérielle et Capitalisme*, Paris, 1967, p. 212, quoted from Colette Establet and Jean Paul Pascual, "Damascene Probate Inventories of the 17th and 18th Centuries: Some Preliminary Approaches and Results," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (August 1992), p. 374.

clock may also give more detailed information about its owner's level of prosperity.²⁶ It was probably seen as a masculine object. In the survey of Artan, there were not women who had a clock in her inventory.²⁷ Of thirty two women's inventories used in this study, only inventory record of *Halime bint-i Ahmed*, dated 1133/1720, includes a clock chest (*saat sandığı*). Strikingly, the total value of this inventory has the second highest value among ten inventories of the eighteenth century following a non-Muslim women's inventory. In addition, basic daily equipments may represent women's major activities. For example, a larger proportion of valued embroideries in the inventories of women in Üsküdar may give an important clue for leisure time activities of women.²⁸

Items listed among the estates of women indicate not only their possessions and domestic life but also their social life. For example, most of the estates included one or more public bath items. It was also determined that there were number of different items related to the public bath: *hamam tası*, *hamam leğeni*, *hamam gömleği*, *hamam döşemesi*, *kil kutusu*, *hamam bohçası* and *hamam kutusu*. The frequency and diversity of these items confirms women's weekly visit to the public bath.

Still, utilization of this kind of sources poses a number of problems for this study. A random selection of

²⁶ For detailed information about the implications of certain goods in inventory records see. Tülay Artan, "Terekeler Işığında 18. Yüzyıl Ortasında Eyüp'te Yaşam Tarzı ve Standartlarına Bir Bakış: Orta Halliliğin Aynası," *18. Yüzyıl Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Eyüp'te Sosyal Yaşam*, ed. Tülay Artan, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1988, pp. 49-64.

²⁷ Artan, p. 57.

²⁸ Yvonne Seng, "Invisible Women: Residents of Early Sixteenth Century Istanbul," *Women in the Medieval Islamic world: Power, Patronage, and Piety*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999, p. 263.

limited number of inventories might lead to the thought that they are not representative of all women and they do not give a complete picture. Yet, it should be kept in mind that even if all the inventory records of a specific period were utilized in chronological order, there will always be missing persons, since there was not an obligation to record every deceased person's inventory to a *sicil*. This situation necessitates every study to be restricted by recorded ones.

Still, probate inventory records needed to be supported by other sources. As far as domestic life was concerned, the records do not give many details such as where household materials were situated in the house and how they were used for specific purposes. For example, there were many kitchen utensils such as skimmer (*kevgir*), plate (*sahan*), ladle (*kepçe*), but it is impossible to know whether they were used in a kitchen or in a living room. Therefore, the study must be supported with the documents about the architecture and physical layout of the house.

2. The House and Women's Privacy

The use of domestic space is not independent from spatial form and physical shape of the inside of the house. The house as an artifact, in some measure, reflects and reinforces aspects of household life. Thus, it seems worthwhile to analyze the physical shape of dwellings, and see whether it can tell us about the women's domestic life. Hence, the study includes unavoidably a certain amount of speculation and involves an

interpretation of domestic architecture of early modern Istanbul. It has also been assumed that the use of domestic space and patterns of family living changed, at least in certain aspects, from the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth centuries.

Privacy is an important concept in the examination of women's domestic life. It was used as an important tool to explain interior design of Ottoman house. In this part, the physical layout of the houses and possibility of privacy in the shared and private parts of the houses will be discussed. In this context, following questions has a vital importance: What kind of relation is there between the use of domestic space and privacy? To what extend is privacy dependent upon physical possibilities?

Before the discussion of physical arrangement of the house, it is necessary to ask : is there a definition of privacy? Ariés, in the introduction part of *The Passions of the Renaissance*, volume three of *A History of Private Life*, defines privacy as the sense of "the state of being withdrawn from the society of others, and seclusion and freedom from governmental interference."²⁹ In other words, privacy was associated with the compartmentalization of activities. Work, leisure, and home life are separated and people seek privacy. They insist on greater freedom to choose their own way of life and they withdraw into family, which becomes a refuge, a focus

²⁹ Tim Meldrum, "Domestic Service, Privacy and the Eighteenth-century Metropolitan Household," *Urban History*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (1999), p. 28.

of private life.³⁰ To what extent did this definition of privacy collide with its early Ottoman context? Was the house the focus of private life as it was in contemporary Europe?

The Ottoman house in early modern era has different implications than the house of Europe and privacy does not imply any of the sense of intimacy and seclusion that are associated with the term privacy in modern perspective.³¹ In the Ottoman vocabulary, 'mahremiyet' and 'mahrem' are equivalent to the terms of privacy and private respectively. The term, *mahremiyet* is originated from *harem* which means forbidden and means confidential, secret and intimate. As different from a modern sense of privacy, which takes family, individual or domestic life as a core against public, in Ottoman terminology, *mahrem* had religious connotations and stands as the opposite of outsider or stranger, *namahrem* (*el, ecnebi*). Hence, while there was no clear differentiation between the public and private spaces in early modern Ottoman world, Islamic law provided a very exact definition of what is *mahrem*, which was forbidden and what is *namahrem*, from which protection was obligatory. Protection of body, home and women against *namahrem* are the principal components of this privacy. For example, in a court register, dated on 930, a woman, *Selime bint-i Abdullah* was accused of unreasonably being

³⁰ Philip Ariés, "Introduction," *A History of Private Life III: Passions of the Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1988, p. 2.

³¹ Rhoads Murphey, "Communal Living in Ottoman Istanbul: Searching for the Foundations of An Urban Tradition," *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 8 (1990), p. 119.

present as a *namahrem* in the house of *Kasap Mahmud* and punished with *tazir*.³²

A person's dwelling was supposed to be safe and the law guaranteed its protection from unwanted entry and look. This attitude manifests itself in Ottoman legal building code. A simple example of this application is given in different *fetwas*. In these *fetwas*, the position of newly constructed houses' windows becomes a reason of dispute due to their view on women's quarter (*harem*). In a case, cited from the *Catalcalı Ali* collection, a plaintiff requests that his neighbor's newly constructed house's windows should be closed since they look upon the women's quarters of *Ömer's* house.³³ In this very widespread example, there seems a sense of privacy, which reminds us of *Ariés'* definition focused on family or household. However, the base of the case, cited in the *fetwa*, reflects mainly a religious anxiety for the protection of women from strangers, because a view on women's quarter could be a good reason to close a newly established house's windows. On the other hand, definition of *Ariés* is centered on the protection of family and inside the home.

In a recently published article, *Abraham Marcus* has also addressed the question of what value Ottoman city dwellers in *Aleppo* attached to preserving the privacy of their homes. He made the definition of privacy as the state of limited access to the person, attitudes, and experience of an individual; it is expressed in a variety of possible restrictions, affecting

³² *Üsküdar Mahkemesi*, D. 3, V. 214/2, *Evasit-i Cemaziye'l-evvel* 930 / Mart 1524.

³³ *Catalcalı Ali Efendi, Fetava-yi Ali Efendi ma al nukul al Kefevi*, 2 vols. *İstanbul*, 1283, *Fetva*, m.20. Quoted from *Murphey*, p. 123.

access to personal information as well as observation, intrusion, and physical exposure.³⁴ This definition reminds of modern implications of Ariés's privacy. Taking this definition as a base, he concluded that despite the public posturing and expression of pious concern about the need for seclusion of women, urban dwellers seems to have suffered little anxiety about privacy. Respectably, he focused on different variables, which have direct impact on the degree of privacy such as wealth, housing conditions, and status. However, his conclusion of the absence of anxiety about privacy in real-life by stressing on housing conditions as the main determinant prevents us from understanding how urban dwellers experienced privacy as independent from physical conditions. In this context, it is meaningful to discuss the true nature and limits of privacy in the domestic life of early modern Istanbul rather than its possibility. How were the houses in early modern Istanbul? What kind of relation was there between the use of domestic space and privacy? Is privacy purely dependent upon spatial possibilities?

Residential dwellings in Istanbul were categorized as houses with several rooms (*beyt, hane, ev, menzil*) and one-room dwellings (*hücre* or *oda*) in *waqf* registers.³⁵ In particular, the register of 953/1546 gives a general representation of dwelling types in sixteenth century

³⁴ Abraham Marcus, "Privacy in Eighteenth Century Aleppo: The Limits of Cultural Ideals," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, (1986) 18, p. 166.

³⁵ For terminology related to housing in Ottoman records see. Nejat Göyünç, "Osmanlı Belgelerinde Konut Terminolojisi," *Tarihten Günümüze Anadolu'da Konut ve Yerleşme*, ed. Y. Sey, İstanbul, 1996, p. 264.

Istanbul. In an article by Tanyeli, based on this register, it was stated that 1026 units of dwellings were recorded in the districts of Ayasofya, Mahmud Paşa, Atik Ali paşa, İbrahim Paşa and Sultan Bayezid. There were 769 independent houses and 257 one-room dwellings, *hücerat*,³⁶ which was stressed as mass shelter units. From this account, it can be said that seventy-five percent of dwellings was independent houses and twenty five-percent of them was one-room dwellings in Istanbul.³⁷ Mustafa Ali, writing in the sixteenth century, gave important information about the residential culture of the time and pointed out that *hücerat* were the dwellings of poor people.³⁸ Another important point is that two-storey dwellings were rare in Istanbul. Among the total of 1026 unit dwellings, seventy-five percent were one-storey dwellings, and twenty-five percent were two-storey dwellings, which were located mostly in Galata.³⁹ In the eighteenth century, the height of residential dwellings was taken under the control and houses higher than two-storey were subject to the prohibition by an imperial decree issued in May, 1719.⁴⁰

³⁶ One-room dwellings also sheltered families as well as bachelors who lived in bachelor rooms and Jews who live in Yahudihane. For detailed information about what kind of role one-room dwellings undertook in urban structure of İstanbul, see. Selma Akyazıcı Özkoçak, "The Evidence of *wakıf*-registers for Residential Dwellings in Sixteenth Century İstanbul," *Sanat Tarihi Yazıları: Afife Batur'a Armağan*, (forthcoming 2004).

³⁷ Tanyeli, p. 61.

³⁸ "Ne fakire münasip saray-i sultani
Ne hücre-i fukara şah-ı dehre erzani
Efendi, her kişinin layıkınca mesken olur"
Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Mevaidü'n-Nefais fi Kavaidi'l-Mecalis*, 1, ed. O. Ş. Gökyay, İstanbul, 1978, p. 199.

³⁹ Tanyeli, p. 63.

⁴⁰ Ahmet Refik, *Onikinci Asr-ı Hicri'de İstanbul Hayatı (1689-1785)*, İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988, p. 66-67.

The essential characteristics of basic dwelling types established in the *waqf* registers suggest that there was a consistent arrangement in the organization of rooms. In this vein, the plans for Ottoman houses in general, established by Sedat Hakki Eldem give an overall picture of houses and the arrangement of inside, the rooms with respect to each other and to the courtyard.⁴¹

Was there a hierarchy in the organization of Ottoman house? If so, what kind of relation was there between this hierarchy and privacy? First of all, it is a fact that hierarchy in the domestic space differs in various house types from one-room dwellings to independent houses and large mansions.⁴² However, the preoccupation with the protection of women from unacceptable exposure reinforced the ideal of domesticity in different scales as dependent upon availabilities.

The indoor activities of the household were regarded as private and house was kept from unlicensed observation and entry. As an example, the courtyard formed the first step of hierarchy in the household structure. Regardless of size, many houses in Istanbul had a courtyard. However, the courtyard might also be used as a share by a few families. For the courtyard, different terms were in use. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Kayseri, the most frequently

⁴¹ Eldem's categorization takes the absence or existence of sofa as base and includes the houses from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Sedat Hakki Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri*, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1954.

⁴² Tülay Artan, "Architecture as a Theater of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, MIT, 1989.

used expression was *muhavvata* (enclosed) or else term which appears to be *havlu* and corresponds to Turkish *avlu*.⁴³ In Istanbul, it was mostly referred as *havlu* or *avlu*.

In terms of privacy and definition of public and private spaces, the courtyard has a critical importance. It can be described as a "protected buffer zone" to guarantee certain privacy.⁴⁴ As Tanyeli pointed out in the study based on the register of 953/1546, nearly half of the houses had an oven in the courtyard.⁴⁵ Thus, the courtyard appears to have been something rather like an extra room to the house and instituted an integral part of the family dwelling. In a court register, dated 929, it was recorded that a husband divorced his wife on the ground that she took a stranger (*namahrem*) into their courtyard, *havlu*.⁴⁶ In this specific record, the courtyard was regarded almost as a private space. Yet, it is very hard to define the status of courtyard. In another record, dated 929/1523, it was stated that a person complained that his neighbor has a well in his courtyard but this well belonged to a *waqf* and he does not give water from this well to neighbors. The court found the owner of well guilty and recorded that this well belonged to the *waqf*.⁴⁷ In this particular case also reveals that the courtyard might be also a shared space. It has a changeable status between public and private.

⁴³ Faroqhi, 1987, p. 65.

⁴⁴ Murphey, p. 118.

⁴⁵ Tanyeli, p. 63.

⁴⁶ Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 3, V. 177/1, Evasit-i Şaban 929 / June 1523.

⁴⁷ Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 3, V. 125/2, Evahir-i Ramazan 929 / August 1523.

The entrance hall, *sofa* was an area providing access between the various rooms and called *sergah*, *sergi*, *seyvan*, *çardak*, *divanhane* and *hayat*.⁴⁸ The *sofa* was differentiated from ordinary rooms. It was the heart of the house and it was both a space, which used for circulation and also for everyday activities. It was located usually in the middle of rooms. It could also be positioned to the courtyard. In the register of 953/1546, the number of houses with a *sofa* is quite low.⁴⁹ On the other hand, in the later periods, the *sofa* had become an important part of the house. In the study of Faroqhi, most of the houses in Ankara and Kayseri were belonged to the Typologies of B and C, which refer to the house with an exterior *sofa* and the house with an interior *sofa* respectively.⁵⁰ The *sofa* is very important in terms of privacy as well as organization of the house. It can be accepted as a threshold to pass inside. Although it was for common use, there might be probably kinship relations between its users.

More importantly, the number of rooms has a big importance in the context of relation between the physical space and privacy. According to the same study, twenty-three percent of the recorded dwellings have only one room, forty-two percent has two rooms, fifteen percent has three rooms, twelve percent has four rooms and eight percent has more than four rooms in Istanbul.⁵¹ The study reveals that one-room

⁴⁸ Önder Küçükerman, *Turkish House: In Search of Spatial Identity (Kendi Mekanının Arayışı İçinde Türk Evi*, İstanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1991, p. 53. See also, Doğan Kuban, *The Turkish Hayat House*, İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1995.

⁴⁹ Tanyeli, p. 62.

⁵⁰ Faroqhi, 1987, pp. 65-116.

⁵¹ Tanyeli, p. 62.

dwellings were quite common. However, it can be also said that seventy-seven percent of the recorded houses have more than one room. What can be drawn from such a picture? How did women use these rooms? In this context, how was the application of gender segregation inside the room?

Within limited spatial conditions, it can be possible to see the consideration of privacy. Although spatial conditions might limit the level of privacy, it is possible to follow the traces of privacy in inconvenient conditions. For example, the existence of a threshold, *eşik* in front of the door of the room had a special significance. As a transition zone, a threshold is an effective barrier before the entry inside and may maintain a certain kind of privacy. In addition to a threshold, the position of the door could also provide a depth for access⁵² and offer limited privacy for women. In a study of Safranbolu Houses, it was stated that the doors were so designed that they prevented any sight of the ladies when the family gets together. Those who entered the room would be faced by a wooden folding screen. In order to come into the presence of those inside, another left or right turn was necessary.⁵³

Because the consideration of privacy in early modern Ottoman context is the part of a life-style surrounded by a

⁵² For the detailed information about plan analysis of the houses on the way of access and depth, see. Frank E. Brown, "Continuity and Change in the Urban House: Developments in Domestic Space Organization in Seventeenth-Century London," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol 28, No. 3, (Jul. 1986), pp. 558-590.

⁵³ Hande Birkalan, "Personality and Meaning of Gendered Places: The Case of Safranbolu," *The Ottoman House: Papers from the Amasya Symposium*, 24-25 September 1996, eds. Stanley Ireland and William Bechhoefer, The British Institute of Archeology at Ankara and the University of Warwick, 1998, p. 25.

whole set of variable factors such as cultural aspirations, religion, and social structure, it is not always bounded with environmental circumstances. As Marcus pointed out for Aleppo, housing condition seems to be more dependent on economic status rather than concern about privacy. Despite the fact that some sort of relation exists between the individual and space, it is also true that space itself is not determinative of human activity and behavior.

By calculating solely from the number of rooms, one can easily conclude that having more than one room provides more privacy for women as well as flexibility. However, inside the rooms led us to think that these rooms were not used for a specific purpose. The inner organization of the rooms was designed in order to provide all daily needs. The rooms were utilized for meals, sleeping and even for cooking facilities. The beds were stored in cupboards (*yüklük*), were spread onto the floor at night and they were wrapped again and put in cupboards with the beginning of a new day. This kind of an organization brings to mind to possibility that there might not be a separate house for every family and there might be more than one family under the same roof. Every room was probably assigned for the use of a single family. The sharing of rooms by family members in inheritance disputes also confirms this view.⁵⁴

On the other hand, the spatial association of different daily activities such as sleeping, eating, cooking within the same room is general characteristic of the period as well as

⁵⁴ Murphey, p. 118.

being a necessity. Interior of the house did not divide into a series of spatially demarcated rooms in early modern Istanbul. The strong coding and spatial demarcation of activities are distinctive characteristics of the present day.⁵⁵ Hence, houses with more than one room might be also used by a single family. In this case, protection of women from strangers is provided more easily.

The physical absence of guest room for males (*selamlık*) in the *waqf* registers may suggest that there was no gender segregation inside the house since the separation of women's quarter (*harem*) from the men's room (*selamlık*) are accepted as the major sign of this type of segregation. However, flexibility of early modern houses should be always kept in mind and privacy should not be attached to only the physical structures. It is probable that in a two-room dwelling, one of the rooms could be used temporarily as a *selamlık*, when there is a male visitor of a male host.

In fact, visits of unreasonable male guests who have not a kinship relation with the family might not have been welcome. They were usually treated with respect in the coffeehouses at the neighborhood level from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards. The widespread presence of coffeehouses has changed the hospitability and the use of private houses. Before the introduction of the coffeehouse,

⁵⁵ For the discussion of physical demarcation inside the house and its implications on the use of domestic space, see. Roderick J. Lawrence, "Domestic Space and Society: A Cross-Cultural Study," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 24, No. 1, (Jan. 1982), pp. 104-130.

male guests were hosted inside the house or in the courtyard.⁵⁶

Another point to be explored was the place of women in the housing organization. Is there a particular place in the house assigned to only the women? To what extent is this place women's space? For instance, the kitchen could be regarded as a women's space. In a study by Lawrence, the relation of women with kitchen was evaluated as connected to the position and function undertaken by kitchen. According to this study, in Australia, for example, regardless of the plan of the house, the households preferred to use the kitchen as the focus for family activities. In this context, the kitchen becomes a room for the whole family; it is not reserved for the housewife and her domestic chores. In England, the kitchen is a room reserved solely for women's housework. And, it was concluded that in England, kitchen is more a women's space and the responsibilities of women were more clearly defined.⁵⁷ What does this mean in the Ottoman context?

In the register of 1546, ninety percent of houses did not have a separate kitchen.⁵⁸ The study on the houses of Kayseri and Ankara, by Faroqhi, also revealed that having a separate kitchen as peculiar to the houses of wealthy families. In her survey of sale records, only a limited number of houses possessed separate kitchens. As was mentioned above, activities related with the kitchen such as cooking, preparing

⁵⁶ Ahmet Yaşar, "The Coffeehouses in Early Modern Istanbul: Public Space, Sociability and Surveillance," Unpublished MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2003, pp. 33-34.

⁵⁷ Lawrence, p. 125.

⁵⁸ Tanyeli, p. 63.

meal and eating were performed in multi-functional rooms. Beside that, the oven in the courtyard served for cooking. The housewives were responsible for maintaining the household chores, but they were not limited to a specific space like the kitchen to perform these activities.

As a last point, houses in Istanbul have an outer space, which was called *şehnişin*. It may offer vantage points from which to enjoy a pleasant view, such a veranda-like structure on an enclosed balcony.⁵⁹ In a court record, *Hatice Hatun* applied to the court and said in front of *hassa mimarları* that *Musa bin Abdurrahman* built a new house in a place opposite her house and from the *şehnisin* in the middle and upper floors, one could see the inside of her house. She requested its demolition. After an investigation, architects decided to demolish the *şehnişin* and not to open windows in her house's side.⁶⁰

3. Household Goods Recorded in Women's Probate Inventories

It is not easy to know the activities of women at home. But, we may discuss the possibilities on the bases of information given in the registers. For example, probate inventories of women and men include different kinds of household materials. Here, it is necessary to question whether men and women have

⁵⁹ Göyünç, p. 266.

⁶⁰ The record was taken from a manuscript book, *Mecmuatü's-Sukuk*, dated on 1224/1809 and be collected from court records of the late seventeenth century. Quoted from Necdet Sakaoğlu, "18. Yüzyılda İstanbul Evleri ve Sorunları," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 12:70, 1989, p. 32.

different material values in early modern Istanbul. It was very difficult to reach a general conclusion from a limited number of *tereke* registers utilized for this study. However, the study investigating a total of 1000 inventory records of the military class in seventeenth century Istanbul might give us an overall picture.⁶¹ According to this study, household materials, textiles and jewelry distinguished estates of women from that of men. Materials in the estates of 257 women were ordered according to their frequency: cash money (15.5 percent), household materials (15.4 percent), jewelry (15.3 percent), clothing objects (13.1 percent), credit (8 percent), slaves (3.7 percent) and kitchen items (3.5 percent). Comparatively, the share of jewelry and luxury goods among 1000 estate records was only 2.51 percent.⁶² In the same way, cash money was 36 percent among the total, it decreased to 15.5 percent in the estates records of women.⁶³ This survey reveals that the estates of women are easily discernible from those of male counterparts and give the general character of women's possessions.

Osman Bey bin Abdullah⁶⁴

Halime bint-i Ahmet⁶⁵

Kadife yastık yüzü	Cedid yemeni yorgan
Yemeni yorgan	Def'a cedid yemeni yorgan
Def'a sandal yorgan	Def'a isti'mal yemeni yorgan

⁶¹ Öztürk, p. 163.

⁶² Although jewelry may be accepted as a female possession, the amount and selection of valuable jewelry also indicate the socio-economic status of a woman.

⁶³ Öztürk, p. 163.

⁶⁴ Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 378, V. 23/1, 1140 / 1727-1728.

⁶⁵ Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 365, V. 88/2, Gurre-i Safer 1133 / December 1720.

Müste'mil kırmızı çuka kaplı ...	Cedid beledi döşek
Müste'mil kırmızı ferace	Def'a isti'mal beledi döşek
Kevgir sahan	Minder
Kevgir tencere	Def'a minder
Sahan ma'a kapak	Orta keçesi
Sahan-kapak	Müste'mil beledi yastık
Sini	Köhne döşek çarşebi
?	Köhne ehram
Köhne yemeni yasdık	İskemle ve faraş
Köhne kadife yasdık	Bakır tepsi
Def'a yemeni yorğan	Leğen ma'a ibrik
Def'a yemeni yorğan	Tencere ma'a tabak
Köhne çuka çakşir	Def'a sağır tencere
Mai kaba çuka yağmurluk	Sahan lengeri
Köhne beledi döşek yüzü	Kahve ibriği
Köhne perde	Tabe-i dest
Kırmızı çuka mik'ad	Hamam taşı ve kil kutusu
Köhne çuka	Köhne boğasi
Köhne kırmızı kablı sincap kürk	Tevci sahan
Sağır çarşeb	Köhne boğasi entari
Döşek çarşebi	Müste'mil çuka
Minder şilafı	Köhne beyaz entari
Köhne yemeni mik'ad	Köhne işleme seccade
Şam alaca ser.....	Köhne Kamis ve seravil
Köhne sarık	Müste'mil sandal kaftanı
Köhne kavuk ve...	Köhne kaftanı
Köhne kaftan	Müste'mil halsi çentibanı
Köhne beyaz saç	Köhne serpuş
Cedid mest	Müste'mil telli hatami kaftan
Sandal bohça	Hatafili sincap tafese
Cedid mesam alaca ser entari	Köhne telli hatami entari
Müste'mil yeşil çuka ...	Hamam dihter ma'a bohça
Minder	Kubane makremesi
?	Def'a cedid seravil
Köhne halı	İşleme yemeni
Ocak yaşmağı	Köhne sandal kaftan
?	İşleme cedid uçkur
Def'a köhne kadife yasdık	Çarşeblik bez
Def'a halı	Köhne sandal entari
Sepet sandığı	Seravil
Def'a minder	İşleme yüz yastığı
	Köhne bez gömlek
	Eş makremesi
	Def'a müste'mil Kamis
	Saat sandığı
	Sofra ma'a peşgir
	Def'a döşek çarşebi
	Sağır incili küpe
	Sim kuşak

Table I.I: Probate inventories of Osman Bey bin Abdullah and Halime bint-i Ahmet
Source: Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 378, V. 23/1, 1140 / 1727-1728 ; Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 365, V. 88/2, Gurre-i Safer 1133 / December 1720.

At a glance, the estates of women could be seen as differentiated from those belonging to their male counterparts. However, in terms of household materials, their

particular roles within the household did not result in a clear differentiation in the possessions. Some household items were owned by both men and women regardless of their use. For example, as Table I.I. shows us, Osman Bey bin Abdullah had several kitchen utensils, such as *kevgir sahan*, *kevgir tencere*, *sahan* which were mostly used by women of the household and basic items such as *döşek*, *minder*, *çarşeb* as well as clothing materials which were particular to men such as *sarık*, *yağmurluk*. In the first place, there were few differences between the proportions of men and women with items that were basic, well established cooking and eating utensils. Mattresses, for instance, were absent from only a few inventory records, and virtually every inventory had some cooking and eating materials.⁶⁶ Yet, the frequency of some kind of materials is higher in women's possessions such as coverings.

After all, what kind of household items were there in women's inventories and what did they mean for women's use of domestic space? In the inventories, the place of a good in the house was not clarified. Hence, activity based categorization was necessary for household materials. In fact, they were not probably belonged to a particular place inside the house due to lack of physical demarcation related to the use of space in early modern dwellings of Istanbul.

⁶⁶ This is also true for the inventories of men and women in England in second half of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century. Even for uncommon items, there were similarities in the overall percentage of men's and women's inventories with utensils for hot drinks and china. See. Lorna Weatherill, "A Possession of One's Own: Women and Consumer Behavior in England, 1660-1740," *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Apr., 1986), pp. 138-139.

Household items for					
Sitting	Sleeping	Covering	Eating and Cooking	Cleaning and washing	Furniture
minder	döşek	Kilim	tencere	Leğen	sandık
Minder çarşafı	Döşek çarşafı	Keçe	Tabak Tabak-iznik	Leğen-i hamam	Demirli sandık
Minder yüzü	Döşek kılıfı	Keçe-selanik	Sahan Sahan-iznik	İbrik	Ayaklı sandık
yasdik	yorgan	Orta keçesi	tas	Abdest ibriği	Tahta sandık
	Yorgan başı	Yan keçesi	Tas-ı hoşaf	Tas	Sandık ve kilit
	Yorgan çarşafı	Kaliçe	Kase-sahan	Hamam tası	iskemle
	yasdik	Hasır	tabe	Hamam kutusu	Sini iskemlesi
	Yasdik seraser	Mısır hasır	kevgir	Kil kutusu	fenar
	Yasdik-burusa	Perde	bakraç	Hamam döşemesi	şamdan
	Yasik kılıfı	Ocak perdesi	Kahve ibriği	güğüm	mum
	çarşeb	Leğen örtüsü	Sofra Sini sofrası	maşraba	Sofra-mum
	Dülben-i çarşeb	Bez zira	Sini (bakır, demir, ağaç)	kazan	Saat?
		Seccade		faraş	Saat sandığı
		Döşeme	Tepsi Tepsi-tahta	peşkir	mikraz
		Velence	maşa		kutu
		Duvar makremesi	Saç ayağı		

Table I.II: Households items recorded in probate inventories

Source: Probate inventories of 22 women recorded in Üsküdar Court.

The major goods in the inventories were directly related to the domestic space, although there were materials bound to women's activities in the public space such as *hamam tası* and *ferace*. The Table I.II. shows us household materials, which were derived from the inventories of twenty-two women. It is possible to see all kinds of household goods from a chest to a dustpan. One can imagine the interior of a typical house by locating these items. However, it is hard to determine the physical layout by going on the household objects because of

the lack of activity based demarcation inside the house. Therefore, household objects might not be a good determinative of space as it is in modern times. They can be located in a one-room dwelling or an independent house. Still, they are quite helpful for guessing their owner's domestic life as well as socio-economic status.

Object	No.	Value
Hane-i der mahalli mezbure	1	2500
Gılaf- döşek	1	120
Gılaf-ı minder	1	100
Maşraba	1	80
Köhne kaftan alaca	1	150
Kaban	1	50
Yasdık burusa	2	90
Münakkaş yorgan başı	1	250
Hamam gömleği	1	200
Çakşir	1	54
Gılaf-ı minder	1	50
Köhne paye kise	1	150
Alaca yasdık	1	38
Tencere	2	200
Atlas kaftan	1	1060
Yüz-i yasdık	1	15
Nezkeb	1	51
Seccade köhne	1	105
Kuşak	1	36
Gılaf-ı döşek	1	130
Kilim köhne	1	34
Gılaf-ı yadık	1	35
Tepsi	1	52
Sahan	1	56
Kaftan atlas beyaz		400
Yasdık ham	1	280
Yadık ham	1	200
Çarşeb münakkaş	1	580
Mısır hasırı	1	100
Döşek	1	190
Alaca minder	1	114
Yorgan	1	800
Maşraba sahan	2	30
Tabak sahan	2	39
Çarşeb beyaz	1	56
Döşek	1	200
Peşkir köhne	1	42
Gılaf-ı döşek	1	180
Kilim köhne	1	200

İskemle	1	14
Kevkir	1	26
Ferace köhne	1	450
Yorgan	1	130
Yasdık	1	61
Yasdık köhne	1	50
Leğen ve ibrik	1	120
Zibun	1	280
Köhne kuşak	1	25
Sahan hurda	4	60
Kutu hamam	1	100
Yorgan	1	144
Kaliçe köhne	1	50
Döşek	1	250
Tencere	1	37
Kil kutusu	1	17
Atlas kaftan	1	800
Yorgan münakkaş	1	560
Döşek köhne	1	150
Bakraç	1	57
Kase sahan	4	20
Mertub	1	370
Ayna	1	90
Arakıye	1	50
Kemha zibun	1	350
Kaliçe	1	500
Hamam leğeni köhne	1	50
Şamdan	1	31
Döşek münakkaş	1	600
Gılaf-ı yasdık	2	130
Sini bakır	1	215
Bilezik zehab	1	6500
Çarşeb	1	56
Peşkir	1	25
Sahan hurda	4	120
Sandık	2	300
Atlas kaftan ve ma'a kürk tavşan	1	1205
Cariye	1	4500
Mihri-i müeccel		3000
Total		54755

Table I.III: Probate inventory of Fahri Hatun bint-i Sefer

Source: Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 137, V. 25/1, Evahir-i Zilhicce 1028 / December 1619.

Immediately outstanding in household materials was the presence of a larger proportion of kitchen utensils. For example, the inventory of *Fahri Hatun bint-i Sefer* which was shown above includes varied kitchen utensils such as *maşraba*, *tencere*, *tepsi*, *sahan*, *kase*, *tabak*, *kevgir*, *bakır sini* and *bakraç*. These items can be accepted as quite wealthy in terms of kitchen utensils. It includes *tabak* and *kase* which were not common in other inventories. It is hard to whether say ordinary women had a wide range of kitchen materials. Similar to the use of physical space inside the house, there was not a clear demarcation in the use of kitchen tools. For example, *sahan* was used for either service or keeping food. The small number of saucepots also shows that it could be used as cooking material. Most food was eaten from large *sahans* by a group of people together.

Still, there were some specialized materials used for a particular function. For example, the inventory of *Şahzeman Hatun bint-i Abdullah* includes a *hoşaf tası*, which was used only for a kind of sweet beverage. However, it was not a personal item. It could be used by a group of people at the same time. The most specialized item among kitchen devices was *kahve ibriği*. Interestingly, there was no such item among the inventories of women from the beginning of the seventeenth century, utilized for this study. But, it was quite frequent with the beginning of the eighteenth century and became a

common element even in the modest inventories. More than half of the inventories included a *kahve ibriği* of different value. But it seems that it did not have an important value among other kitchen tools. It was acquirable by people from different socio-economic status. Taking into consideration both *hoşaf tası* and *kahve ibriği*, it can be said that particularization in the use of kitchen utensils was mainly for special beverages which was consumed for taste and pleasure rather than daily need.

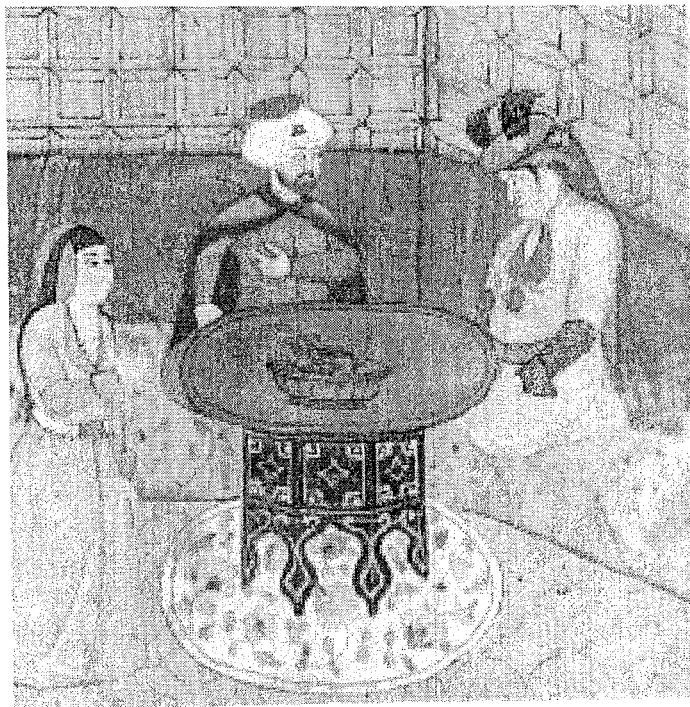


Figure I.I: Inner appearance of a house

Source: Hamse-i Atai, quoted from Cemal Kafadar, "Tanzimattan Önce Selçuk ve Osmanlı Toplumunda Kadın," *Çağlar Boyu Anadolu'da Kadın: Anadolu Kadınının 9000 Yılı*, Istanbul: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Anıtlar ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, 1993

In terms of eating habits, food would be prepared in a tray, often made of copper.⁶⁷ This tray was placed upon a

⁶⁷ Household materials were quite reflective of household conditions in terms of their raw materials from which they were produced. The

stool, *iskemle*. For example, *Havva Hatun ibnet-i Ali* had a *sini iskemlesi* among her modest inventory.⁶⁸ Of twenty two women, seven women had a stool in their inventories. However, it is not possible to determine whether they were used for sitting in a room or used with tables. On the other hand, it was known that the use of a table for eating was strange to Ottoman household culture until the beginning of the nineteenth century. In contrast, during the second half of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries, nearly all of the women had tables in their inventories in England.⁶⁹

In addition to stools, the most important furniture among the inventories was chests. Chests differed in a few forms like chest having foot (*ayaklı sandık*), chest with iron (*demirli sandık*) and chest made of wooden (*tahta sandık*). The chests were usually used for storing clothes and household items. However, chests could not be accounted only as furniture, since their presence was related with dowry assigned to women in her father's house. There were also some boxes for storing small items such as candlesticks. These boxes were sometimes associated with a specific purpose. For example, a *hamam kutusu* was quite widespread in the inventories. *Fahri Hatun* had two kinds of boxes called *hamam kutusu* and *kil kutusu*. More interestingly, *Halime bint-i Ahmet* whose inventory was mentioned above had a box for clock called *saat sandığı*.

value of a *sini* differs according to its production from copper, iron or wood.

⁶⁸ Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 136, V. 31/3, Evasit-i Rebiü'l-evvel 1028 / April 1619.

⁶⁹ Weatherill, p. 142.

Items associated with sitting and sleeping was light in weight and easily portable. They were very flexible and adaptable to the different physical conditions inside the house. The mattresses, for example, were stored in cupboards (*yüklük*), and laid onto the floor at night and they were wrapped again and put away into cupboards with the beginning of a new day. However, cushions, used for sitting were very definitely different from cushions used for propping against wall.⁷⁰ Objects like mattresses, cushions, pillows and quilts were supported with different coverings and embroideries by women attributed them special value and significance.

What can these household items say about domestic life of women? First of all, these objects reveal dwelling conditions inside the house. However, they are more than objects, and give important information about life-style. From this perspective, religion based tradition seems as a base for the way of living because of the repetition of some kind of goods in such a long period. There were little differences in the nature of household equipments in the inventories of women from different economic status. For example, in terms of the diversity in household goods, the quite modest inventory of *Ayşe Hatun bint-i Yusuf*,⁷¹ which was summed up to 11,792 was not reasonably different that of *Rana bint-i Abdullah*,⁷² whose inventory was summed up to 204,546. *Rana bint-i Abdullah* had

⁷⁰ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam: Ortaçağ'dan Yirminci Yüzyıla*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000, p. 171.

⁷¹ Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 137, V. 12/3, Evasıt-ı Şevval 1028 / September 1619.

⁷² Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 137, V. 42/2. Evasıt-i Zilkade 1029 / October 1620.

several from each kind of item such as seven quilts, *yorgan* with different kinds, while *Ayşe bint-i Yusuf* had only one. However, there were not difference in terms of variety; the quality and nature of goods were quite discriminative. For example, *Rana* had different kitchen utensils from Iznik, that reflect tastefulness and refinements for the time, but *Ayşe* had only simple and practical kitchen utensils to provide her basic needs.

Repetition and continuity in household goods can not be understood as a deprivation from a progressive mean, as Günkut Akın pointed out.⁷³ It is impossible to penetrate into the Ottoman house by means of western discourses. The modesty of possessions did not always stem from women's socio-economic status. Even in the most well appointed household in the estates, it was observed that choices were not governed only by financial considerations, but also a mentality of mobility. One will observe in the inventory records that the furnishing of an Ottoman residence was frugal. In the house, daily used objects are also placed in a temporal manner and furniture is always arranged closed to the floor. It stemmed from the basic principle that utility areas should not exceed human stature.⁷⁴ In other words, they are flexible, thoroughly detailed and crafted but simple, refined and plain; intimate,

⁷³ He says that while there is development and change in Western centralized spaces, in a progressive mean, but Ottoman space has to be interpreted in a quite different way. Because rather than history, tradition is the key word for estaern way of understanding, thinking and building processes. See. Günkut Akın, *Gelenek ve Merkez: Asya Merkezi Mekan Geleneği*, Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1990, p. 8.

⁷⁴ Küçükerman, p. 69.

isolated and protective, but also friendly and hospitable.⁷⁵ This might be the outcome of a mentality of mortality connected with the idea of İslam. Transportability of household items confirms this argument and as such they have always played a large part in the household items in the estates regardless of wealth.

Household materials can also give information about women's domestic activities as well as standard of living. For example, the adjectives attached to the some kind of household goods like *dokuma*, *işleme*, and *münakkaş*, bring to light the major leisure time activities of women inside the house. Prevalence of embroidered and handworked textiles among the estates might be read as women's preoccupation with these crafts. In particular, embroidery was associated with the upper-class women and high-status women of harem since it was thought that they had more time to spend in perfecting this craft, and in many cases, raising it to an art form.⁷⁶ From the inventories, it might be also suggested that needlework were also performed by ordinary women.

Yet the weaving of daily clothes, which appeared in several estates of women in Üsküdar, did not have an important value since it was produced for daily consumption and was assigned as one of the duties of the female members of a household. Flax (*keten*) was a crop cultivated around Üsküdar and the inventories indicate that it was not uncommon for women to spin yarn at home. The estates also showed that there were varying amounts of pieces of cloth (*bez*) in the

⁷⁵ Kılıç, p. 3.

⁷⁶ Seng, 1991, p. 241

inventories of women, but it could not be determined whether they were domestically produced or not. Besides that, it was not explained for what reason they were to be used. Only one record makes clear that a piece of cloth was for a bed sheet (*çarşeblik*). Its existence in the inventories of women from different socio-economic status make hard to define them as the production for practical needs or outcome of leisure time activities.

Lastly, how did women spend time and occupy themselves? What kind of daily chores were there waiting them? According to Dernschwam, women were extremely lazy and the daily chores such as washing clothes and cooking meal were carried out by female slaves or servants. Their main activities were sewing or reading book. As a matter of fact, they were not able to do anything else. For example, they eat soup, yoghurt, fruits, onions and garlic.⁷⁷ Among the twenty-two women in Üsküdar, only three women had a female slave in their inventories. Most probably, most of the ordinary women were carried out daily chores of their houses themselves. The image of Dernschwam presents mainly women of upper class. Because, having a slave servant required to have certain amount of wealth. Beside that, there were any books in the inventories of women. Reading book and even sewing were also activities, which were associated with upper class women's leisure times inside house.

To conclude, the *tereke* registers are very useful sources in the examination of women's domestic lives. Through

⁷⁷ Dernschwam, pp. 179-180.

the analysis of household goods recorded in the probate inventories, I had an opportunity to see inside the organization of the house. With the support of *waqf* registers, I also placed these household objects inside the house by speculating upon the architectural layout. Besides describing the physical characteristics of the house as I have shown in the table of household goods (See Table I.II.), the inventories also made it possible to speculate women's inside activities such as embroidery. Let us now see what happens when women go outside the house.

CHAPTER II

THE NEIGHBORHOOD: A SEMI-PRIVATE WOMEN'S SPACE

This chapter examines the neighborhood or *mahalle* as a space used by women as an extension of domestic space. The neighborhood has been examined by a number of studies; some viewed it as a political and social entity, while others have considered it as both cultural and social unit. However, this chapter considers the neighborhood as a focus for women's network in the city. Thus, it deals with it as a physical and social space, addressing its streets and urban institutions such as public baths and local markets which women frequently used. This study through putting the neighborhood as a semi-private space outside the house may contribute to reveal the level of public life of women within the context of early modern Istanbul.

1. The Neighborhood in Early Modern Istanbul

The neighborhood or *mahalle* was the base of the urban fabric of the residential areas of the city.¹ It was described by Behar as a unit that "consists of ten or fifteen streets at most, grouped around a thoroughfare or perhaps around a small square, and one or two small mosques (or a church or a synagogue, depending on the ethnic makeup of the neighborhood)."² In this context, it might be enlightening to

¹ Özer Ergenç, "Osmanlı Şehrindeki Mahalle'nin İşlev ve Nitelikleri Üzerine," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, vol. 4, 1984, pp. 69-78.

² Cem Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003, p.4.

ask how was a neighborhood formed or how did the neighbors come together? Faroqhi takes attention to religion as a base on the formation of the neighborhood structure. Religion was much more important to the sense of identity of Ottoman subjects than their ethnic origin, and the Ottoman administration accordingly classified its subjects using religious criteria.³ Similarly, Inalcık also maintains that in the formation of a neighborhood, religious identity is the central rather than ethnic identity. The neighborhoods of Istanbul in the early modern period were organic developments that grew around religious cores such as mosques, churches and synagogues.⁴ Therefore, it can safely be said that the world view of Islam determined the physical and social landscape of the city.⁵ Although there were quite different explanations for the motives behind the formation of Ottoman neighborhood, they emphasize mostly on the neighborhood as a community or *cemaat*. Indeed, it would not be wrong to define the neighborhood as a community, which has common rights and responsibilities.⁶

The formation of the first *mahalles* in Istanbul following the conquest may also support this argument. Because of the policy of "forced deportation"⁷ for the repopulation of Istanbul, people from all over the Empire populated Istanbul

³ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, London, New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2000, p. 40.

⁴ Halil İnalcık, *Essays in Ottoman History*, İstanbul: Eren, 1998, p. 262.

⁵ G. E. von Grunebaum, *Islam: Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition*, London: Routledge and Kogen Paul, 1955, p. 142.

⁶ Tahsin Özcan, "Osmanlı Mahallesi: Sosyal Kontrol ve Kefalet Sistemi," *Marife*, Spring 2001, Issue 1, p. 129.

⁷ Aşıkpaşazade, "Tevarih-i Al-i Osman," *Osmanlı Tarihleri*, İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1949, p. 193.

and they gave the name of their hometown to the area they settled. However, by the establishment of religious complexes, these areas turned into the neighborhoods of Istanbul, and then, gained the identity of the neighborhood.⁸

Mosques, churches or synagogues constituted the base of a neighborhood and remained significant institutions in neighborhood life in the early modern societies. In every neighborhood in Istanbul, there was at least one mosque. However, most of the mosques in the neighborhood were not Friday Mosques, where all Muslim adult males are required to attend the Friday noon prayer.⁹ Hence, it might be said that there was a motivation other than piety. Özkoçak's example of Çelebioğlu Mosque on the periphery of *Tahtakale* area that had a large Jewish population may be good example of this kind of motivation. The founder of the mosque also built shops and residential blocks adjacent to his mosque. After the conquest, most of the quarters in Istanbul were found through this kind of complexes built by the ruling elite. Mehmed II had issued an order to the powerful and wealthy ruling elite for the construction of complexes¹⁰ as nuclei of new settlements in

⁸ However, there is a handful study on the Ottoman neighborhoods and this literature reveals quite clearly that neighborhoods differed, both from place to place and over time though not in any predictable, evolutionary way.

⁹ Selma Akyazıcı Özkoçak, "The Urban Development of Ottoman Istanbul in the Sixteenth Century," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1998. p. 31.

¹⁰ "He also commanded them to build baths and inns and marketplaces, and very many and very beautiful workshop to erect places of worship, and to adorn and embellish the City with many other such buildings, sparing no expense, as each man had the means and ability", Michael Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, trans. C. Riggs, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1954, pp. 140-141.

various parts of the city.¹¹ Thus, the reconstruction process of Ottoman Istanbul depended essentially on the Islamic institution of *waqf*.

As places for divine worship, the mosques were primarily for the daily prayers. Widespread participation in the basic five-time prayer (*cevami'e müdavemet*)¹² neighborhood ties were also reinforced. Besides the prayer, there were many common activities like *mevlit* and *zikir* which also took place in the mosque. During the nights of *Ramazan*, there were festivals in the mosques and on other occasions too, such as the nights of *kandil*. The mosque on these occasions was illuminated: there was eating and drinking; incense was burned and *zikir* are performed.¹³ Also, the mosque courtyards, with their good-looking views and their shady trees, were favorite places of pastime and were sometimes used for markets as in the case of Bayezid.¹⁴ That is, the mosque operated as not only a place touching the religious needs of city inhabitants but also their social and cultural necessities.

Like the mosque, the church may also have played a significant part in the reinforcing of neighborhood bonds both within some neighborhoods in Istanbul that was dominated by the Christians and the neighborhoods in Europe. Frequent

¹¹"Bu vech ile olıcak şehir dahi mamur olmaya yüz tuttu. Mescidler yapmağa başladılar. Kimi zaviye kimi mülkler yaptılar," Aşıkpaşaoğlu, p. 193.

¹² Attending at mosques for daily prayer was strongly encouraged by the authorities and sometimes punished. Ahi Çelebi Mahkemesi, D. 100, V. 14/2, 8 Safer 1121 / 20 Nisan 1709, in Sadık Albayrak, 59 *Orjinal Belge Işığında Osmanlı'da Sosyal Yapı ve İstanbul*, İstanbul: Kiptaş, 1998, p. 59.

¹³ J. Pedersen, "Mescid", *Encyclopedia of Islam 2nd Edition*, CD Version.

¹⁴ Halil İnalcık, "İstanbul," *Encyclopedia of Islam, 2nd edition*, CD Version.

attendance at church by the whole population of the parish every Sunday made it a meeting place beside its religious function. A study on the neighborhood in seventeenth-century London by Boulton emphasized on the social role of the parish church in the urban community in English cities. Local parish church was seen as a further means by which the urban neighborhood might be bounded together. By fulfilling its role as a gathering space of neighbors, it also functioned as a communal meeting place. Thus, religious ceremony is thought to have acted as a form of 'social cement' in the urban neighborhood.¹⁵

Besides religious institutions, the informal social institutions of neighborhood life, such as shops, meeting the needs and services of residences, a public fountain or some public utility buildings, a dervish lodge, a public bath and a coffeehouse were bolstered and underpinned by a surprisingly pervasive parochial administration in which many inhabitants participated and all were involved with at one or more levels.¹⁶ Thus, neighborhood bonds were created and maintained by common dependence on these institutions that brought people together living and working in the same area.

On the other hand, in the eyes of authorities, the neighborhood was accepted as an officially defined space, delineated by the administrative boundaries of a quarter. However, it was not easy to determine the borders of a quarter

¹⁵ Jeremy Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society: a London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987, p. 275.

¹⁶ This was also the case in the seventeenth century London. See Boulton, p. 291.

while it was agreed on its center. Hence, the clear-cut division of a neighborhood would not be always possible. As reflected to the local court, authorities might be also forced to verify the borders of a neighborhood because of a disagreement among people.¹⁷

The moral and administrative intrusiveness of government and the responsibilities of neighborhoods to the authorities constituted an important aspect of the legal dimension of neighborhoods. Archival documents such as court records and *mühimme* registers abound in practical manifestations of the collective responsibility of neighbors. In the neighborhood, people of the quarter were responsible for "no one's property" such as the mosque or roads. Although these spaces were not property of someone, they were not public space in the sense that the state was major agent in maintaining their security. Neighborhoods waqfs, especially *avarız* waqfs also provide an interesting example of neighborhood solidarity for common responsibilities. These waqfs were common funds established to meet various expenses of the neighborhood such as the tax burden.¹⁸

¹⁷ "... Koca Mustafa Paşa mahallesi hududı Uzuncaova nam zokakdan ipekçi dükkanı ittisalinden Sulumanastır meydanı kemer altundan geçüp Çilingirler başından Yağhane zokağına ve Küçük meydan başına ve andan yalnız dükkan dükkanından sapup andan Parmakkapu zokağına ve andan hamam önünden Kuşbazlar içinde sağ kol ile Çarşu çeşmesine ve yol geçende camlı berber dükkanı kurbunda sınır varınca hudud-ı mezkure derunı bil cümle Koca Mustafa Paşa mahallesi olduğunu vesair maħallatun dahi her birinün hududları üzerine varup...", *Ahkam Register*, 4/33/93, Fi evail-i S, 1169, 6-15 Kasım 1755, *İstanbul Ahkam Defterleri: İstanbul'da Sosyal Hayat 2 (1755-1765)*, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı İstanbul Araştırmaları Merkezi, İstanbul, 1998, pp. 74-75.

¹⁸ Hülya Canbakal, "Some Questions on the Legal Identity of Neighborhoods in the Ottoman Empire," unpublished article.

Residents of a quarter have some rights regarding their neighborhoods as well as responsibilities. In a *mühimme* registers, dated 1165/1751, addressed to *Yeniçerileri Ağası Hasan Ağa*, it was stated that residents of *Tevkii Cafer Çelebi* quarter complained about the taverns in their neighborhoods and made a formal request in order to destroy them. The authorities went over the request and make a field research in the quarter. At the end, the authorities fixed two taverns that were also used for prostitution in the quarter and it was decided to destroy existing taverns and ordered to take necessary measures in order not to establish new ones.¹⁹ Thus, the neighborhood was an intermediate legal agent between the individual and the authorities. It was also a major forum in which residents took part in the city's public life.

In terms of population, the traditional Muslim *mahalles* of Istanbul like those of other cities in early modern Europe resembled each other in their heterogeneous composition. Such *mahalles* were generally not very large in population, nor did they cover a large geographical area. However, they had mixed populations in terms of social class and status. It was quite common to see the houses of *ulama*, merchants, craftsmen, and functionaries in the same neighborhood. The Istanbul court records, *mühimme defterleri*, *şikayet defterleri* and *vakıf*-registers shed light upon the cosmopolitan character of Istanbul's neighborhoods. Particularly in the court records it might be possible to see plaintiffs and defendants from very different social statuses living in the same quarter. The

¹⁹ Ahkam register 3/135/515, Fi evail-i S 1165 / 20-29 Aralık 1751, *Istanbul Ahkam Defterleri: İstanbul'da Sosyal Hayat 2*, p. 26.

study of Özkoçak on residential dwellings of Istanbul with reference to the sixteenth century *waqf* registers also showed that it was possible to see houses ranging from one-room dwellings to very large houses with several rooms in the same neighborhood.²⁰ Various house types often existed next to each other with the exception of *bekar odaları*, which authorities tried to exclude from residential area and limit them to the commercial areas.²¹ Economic, religious, and social life was not differentiated from each other as to create basis for physical segregation of classes. Hence, there was no segregation according to income or sociopolitical status. Quarters were the communities of both rich and poor.

Another important point about the heterogeneity of Ottoman neighborhood is the ethnic composition of the population. Until the nineteenth century, it was very rare to come across the neighborhoods ethnically based as ghettos. Especially in the cosmopolite, commercial, and dynamic cities whose population consisted of different nationalities, it would be very difficult to settle down population according to their ethnic origin. However, this natural end²² in the distribution of the population should be seen as a desired situation by the authorities. Especially, the neighborhoods whose population is Muslim in majority was tried to be kept as

²⁰ Selma Akyazıcı Özkoçak, "The Evidence of *vakıf*-registers for Residential Dwellings in Sixteenth Century Istanbul," *Sanat Tarihi Yazıları: Afife Batur'a Armağan*, (forthcoming 2004).

²¹ Uğur Tanyeli, "Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Metropolünde Konutun Reel Tarihi: Bir Standart Denemesi," *Prof. Doğan Kuban'a Armağan*, ed. Z. Ahunbay, D. Mazlum and K. Eyüpgiller, İstanbul, 1996, pp. 65-66.

²² In Istanbul, as a result of resettlement policy after the conquest, the groups from the different parts of the Empire were migrated totally. Therefore, people in a neighborhood were often from the same origin. See. Halil İnalçık. "İstanbul," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition, CD Version.

it was. It might be stemmed from the view that increase in the population of non-Muslim in a quarter may result in corruption. Authorities tried to prevent settlement of non-Muslims in Muslim neighborhoods especially around the mosques.²³ On the other hand, there are some cases that Muslim residents of a quarter are not willing to accept newcomers from non-Muslims and authorities defend the settlement of non-Muslim newcomers.²⁴ Hence, it might be difficult to reach a generalization about the policy regarding ethnic composition of the neighborhoods since it was contextual and changeable.

On the other hand, this socially and ethnically diverse and intermingling character of the neighborhood was supposed to be peculiar to the Ottoman neighborhood. This assumption stems from the idea that the physical structure of the neighborhoods was determined by social and cultural values that are mostly associated with the religion that is Islam. On the other hand, Boulton's study on London and many other studies on different cities in early modern Europe revealed that socially and ethnically diverse populations were not unique to Ottoman neighborhood but was a shared characteristic of neighborhoods in the early modern era. The unequal distribution of wealth did not involve a physical segregation

²³ A degree orders the Muslims in Bebek not to sell their immovable property to non-Muslims and not to allow their settlement around the mosque, *Ahkam Defteri*, 1/179/807, Evasıt-ı M 1157 / 25 Şubat-5 Mart 1744, *İstanbul Ahkam Defterleri: İstanbul'da Sosyal Hayat 1*, p. 128. Another degree asked from a Muslim in Kartal who sold his house to a non-Muslim by violating law to buy his house back, *Ahkam Defteri*, 1/202/906, Evasıt-ı R, 1157 / 24 Mayıs-2 Haziran 1743, *İstanbul Ahkam Defterleri: İstanbul'da Sosyal Hayat 1*, pp. 139-140.

²⁴ The order allows non-Muslims to settle in Katip Kasıp Mahallesi with the exception of around mosque, *Ahkam Defteri*, 1/255/141, fi Evahir-i L 1157 / 27 Kasım - 5 Aralık 1744, *İstanbul Ahkam Defterleri: İstanbul'da Sosyal Hayat 1*, p. 176-177.

of particular social groups. The housing stock was sufficiently heterogeneous to allow a certain amount of residential intermingling of people from different social and economic standing. Moreover, where people chose to live was determined not only by the dictates of wealth or occupation but was also influenced by patterns of property ownership, kinship and life cycle stage.²⁵

On the other hand, there is another argument claiming that there is a basic characteristic of a Muslim town that clearly distinguishes it from a Christian one. According to this argument, the separation of residential areas from commercial quarters and more generally, of the private from public domain is very common in both Ottoman and Muslim cities. The residential quarters were apart from the central market of the city and these quarters were structured around their religious complex, mosque, church or synagogue according to their ethnicity, and their local market. All commercial activities were sited around the central market place or along the arteries leading to it, whereas the residential quarters turned their backs on the traffic.²⁶ However, this view has underestimated the fact that the residential quarters obviously required daily supplies from their local markets, though perhaps less regularly from the main commercial quarters, and they thus also included the urban elements of commercial life.²⁷

²⁵ Boulton, p. 290.

²⁶ Titus Burckhardt, "Fez," in *The Islamic City*, ed. R. B. Serjeant, France: UNESCO, 1980, p. 166.

²⁷ Özkoçak, 1998, p. 13.

2. Women in the Neighborhood

The neighborhood was the most familiar space for women after the domestic space. Networks of neighboring women constituted an important part of social life of women. As we learned from the letters of Lady Montagu that women of Istanbul in the early eighteenth century paid each other extended home visits. As well as visiting each other's houses, neighbors met each day in the courtyard of the house, at the door, in the street outside, baths or at the local shops. As Garrioch pointed out for Europe, women relied heavily on other women in their neighborhoods for assistance in illness or simply with child minding and other minor day-to-day needs.²⁸

Hence, strong neighborhood ties were reinforced among women than men whose neighboring activities were mostly taking place in the coffeehouse of their neighborhood.²⁹ Agency of witnessing in the Ottoman court as well as European court was mostly relied on the neighborhood ties. Neighbors could and did inform each other even about all sorts of personal and family information that led us to question the boundaries of privacy in the Ottoman society that will be discussed later. Neighbors could also enforce particular codes of behavior within the neighborhood.

Nevertheless all of the women's relations with the neighborhood in which they lived was not on the same level. The use and meanings ascribed to the neighborhood by women in

²⁸ David Garrioch, "Sacred Neighborhoods and Secular Neighborhoods: Milan and Paris in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 27, No. 4, May 2001, p. 407.

²⁹ Ahmet Yaşar, "The Coffeehouses in Early Modern Istanbul: Public Space, Sociability and Surveillance," Unpublished MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2003.

the early modern era were defined by several factors. Social status and familial hierarchies had a determinative importance. For upper class women, the use and the meanings of space were intimately bound up with the projection of their identities as members of elite households.³⁰ On the other hand, for middle class women, the neighborhood was perhaps the most important space outside the home through which they asserted their identities and maintained social cohesion.

It might be for this reason that state of belonging to a space or defining herself with that space is much more apparent among women of middle class. As pointed out from the court records, upper class and elite women rarely identified themselves with a quarter when they came to court, while middle and lower class urban women together with men always mentioned the quarter of their residence. Relations within family are basic determining factor for the definition of upper class women's identity.

Elite women were first and foremost wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters within households in which their functions and their separateness from a specific physical space within the urban environment remained crucial to the reproduction of the household as an elite one.³¹ This identity was more important than their residence in a certain quarter or neighborhood. On the other hand, the identity of middle and

³⁰ Dina Rizk Khoury, *Slippers at the Entrance or Behind Closed Doors: Domestic and Public Spaces for Mosuli Women*, *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Madeline C. Zilfi, Leiden, New York: Brill, 1997, pp. 126-127.

³¹ "Müteveffa Büyük Abdi Paşa'nın Haseki Ağa Hanesi'nde mahbuse zevcesi Hatice Hatun ile harem kethüdası istintak olunarak muhalledatından üç mahalden başka hiç bir yerde bir şeyi olmadığını...", BOA, Hattı Hümayun 200, 10227, 1205/1790-1791.

lower class women was first bound to the neighborhood and then to a male who could be husband, child, brother or father.³² Although the family was essential, it was the place of the women in the maintenance and reproduction of the complex web of social relations within the quarter that was foremost importance. Outside the immediate family, identity was communicated through residence in a neighborhood.

The identity of women on the legal documents, on the one hand, might also be the result of imposition by authorities since it was necessary to know people. In the court records, the person's identification realized through three ways: the neighborhood he/she lived, person's gender, and religion as Muslim or non-Muslim. In this context, a woman who was in familial relation with a well-known or popular name could be easily defined through this relation and the place of her residential house might not be needed to mention since it was already known. However, these differences related to the identification of women in the legal records also imply their relation with the neighborhood even if it was imposed by authorities. First of all, people were needed to be identified with a thing that makes him/her well known. The neighborhood has much more importance in the lives of middle class women with men than upper class. Social status is also important both in the appearance of women in public and the use of neighborhood institutions such as public bath and local shops. For example, as Pierce pointed out, upper class women's visit

³² "...Hoca Paşa kurbunda Elvan Camii mahallesinde Hasan kızı Ayşe Hatun'un Mehmet kızı GÜlsüm Hatun'dan dört bin kuruş alacağı iddiasıyla...", BOA, Cevdet Zaptiye 1933, 22 Ca 1204 / 7 March 1790.

to public bath was quite different from that of ordinary women. While latter one was going together with her neighbors or other female family members, women of upper class were accompanied by servants who preventing her appearance by surrounding around her.³³

Differentiation in the use of space by women within urban space reinforced the hierarchies in the neighborhood, which began at their doorway, extended from courtyard to street, local market, public bath and mosque. Women seem to have played an active role in defining these hierarchies.

3. Intimate Relations and the Boundaries of Privacy in the Ottoman Neighborhood

The neighborhood was a major forum in which residents took part in the city's public life. The intense familiarity among residents and the intimacy of neighborhood life led us to question the possibility or protection of privacy in real life.³⁴ Personal stories and rumors circulated uncontrollably, almost everything was open to public knowledge. These gossips in many cases threatened the personal reputation and people turned to the courts for protection from the damaging effects of gossip. Women in particular were faced with slander and had adverse publicity among their neighbors, obtained notarized records from the courts. For example, in a court register,

³³ Leslie P. Pierce, *Harem-i Hümayun: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Hükümrانlık ve Kadınlar*, Tarih İstanbul: Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998, p. 359.

³⁴ Similar topic was studied by Abraham Marcus who discussed possibility of privacy in the neighborhood life in Aleppo. See: Abraham Marcus, "Privacy in Eighteenth Century Aleppo: The Limits of Cultural Ideals," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 18, 1986, pp. 165-183.

dated 1180/1766, it was recorded that a person, named *el-Hac Salih* was punished with *tazir* due to his false accusation of a woman.³⁵ This kind of a case was quite widespread in the *sicils*.

What render them noteworthy are the questions they arouse about the limits of privacy in a neighborhood. How could domestic and personal privacy have been important if people deliberately involved the public in the delicate details of their domestic lives? For example, in a court register, dated 929, it was stated that a man applied to the court for his very mundane domestic problem.

"Himmed bin Davud meclis-i şer'a gelip eğitti kim benim evil kızım vardı, ere verdikten sonra benim evime gelip bir nice zaman durdular, bunlara incinip yoldaşıma bir iki vurdum, varsın gitsin, diyecek benim avretim bana dedin, çıktı gitti ama ben bu sözleri avretime demedim deyü yemin edecek zevci hükm olup deftere sebt olundu..."³⁶

As was shown above, people could easily publicize their domestic life in front of a *kadı* and other people. If it was thought that domestic space is the core of privacy, which was defined by Ariés, what does this record mean in terms of privacy? First of all, the question has many problematic aspects in itself. Is the modern definition of privacy by Ariés applicable to the early modern Ottoman context? As was mentioned in the first chapter that, the perception of privacy by people in the early modern era was so different from that of modernity and expressed by a different terminology. By

³⁵ On the other hand, if the woman was succesful to confirm the claim of her virtuosity, *afife*, the person might probably take a more heavy punishment. İst. Mft. Şer. Sicl. Arşv., İstanbul Kadılığı, D. 25, V. 137, 20 Rabiü'l-evvel 1180/ 26 Augustus 1766.

³⁶ Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 3, V. 167/1, Evail-i Receb 929 / May 1523.

publicizing their domestic lives, people might not have thought that they were revealing their private lives. In fact, they probably had a strong consideration of privacy (*mahremiyet telakkisi*).

Beside that, the use of court was also different from the modern judicial courts. The cases brought by people to the court ranged from the registration of sales, purchases of real estate, payments of loans and debts, establishments of charitable endowments to familial issues such as marriage, divorce, inheritance. In addition to its function as a notary public, all of the matters dealing with the daily life could be easily brought to the court.³⁷ The court was seen as a mechanism to solve all kinds of problems. For example, neighbors did not want people who neglected his prayers and sold sexual favors in quarter and appointed to court for this reason. A woman appeared in court to assert her violated rights at the cost of publicizing her privacy.

On the other hand, intimacy in neighborhood relations erased the boundaries between self and society at the quarter level. Hence, even if people had a sense of privacy in their considerations, they might not be able to protect their privacy in their daily lives. The boundaries of privacy got narrow as personal stories and rumors circulated

³⁷ Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr discusses the variety of cases brought to the court by women. She demonstrated that even though the predominant number of lawsuits remained limited to dispute dealing with family matters and inheritance, women showed a keen interest in public issues that touched directly upon their daily lives. See. Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, "Women and the Public Eye in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul," *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, Piety*, ed. G. Hambly, The New Middle Ages Series, Vol. 6. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998, pp. 301-324.

uncontrollably among the neighbors. In some cases, however, people might not intentionally protect privacy. The publicity of privacy, which formed public opinion and personal information about others, could be used as a tool of social control. People informed the local authorities about unlawful and immoral activities,³⁸ even indoor actions, such as prostitution, gambling, homosexual relations, and the consumption of wine. And they proceed to expel them from the neighborhood. In this situation, the neighbor's confidence was accepted as a reference in the eyes of others. In a register, dated 1143, it was stated that a woman's father came to the court on the ground that his son-in-law accused his daughter of not being virgin after wedding night (zifaf).

"... el-Hac Mustafa bin Murtaza'nın kayın-pederi el-Hac Hasan meclis-i şer' de "mezbur el-Hac Mustafa, kızım ga'ibetün 'ani'l-meclis Zeyneb'i tezvic ve nikah edüp, tarih-i i'lam gecesi zifaf olduğdan sonra, kızım mezbure için bi-gayr-i hakkın bakire değildir" deyü celb-i mal için ta'ciz ü rencide ve ifk ü iftira edüp ve bu misilli evza'-ı mezburun 'adet-i müstemirresi olmağın, hakikat-i hal işbu hazirun bi'l-meclis kimesnelerden ba'de'l-istihbar haberleri tahrir ve i'lam olunmak muradıdır" dedikde, Balıpaşa Mahallesi İmamı Mehmed Efendi bin 'Ali ve Kassab 'İvaz Mahallesi'nden el-Hac 'Ali bin 'Ömer ve 'Osman bin Halil ve 'Ali Çelebi bin Halil nam kimesneler "Fi'l-hakika mezbur el-Hac Mustafa 'ibadullahın bıkır kızlarını ba'de't-tezevvüc celb-i mal sevdasıyla bi-gayri hakkın ta'ciz u rencide ve ifk ü iftira 'adet-i müstemirresidir" deyü her biri ihbar etdikleri huzur-i 'alilerine i'lam olundu."³⁹

³⁸ "... Cihangirli Saliha nam Hatun kendi halinde olmayup, menziline fahişe avratlar cem' ve gece ve gündüz namahrem erkek ... Yirmi neferden ziyade müsecelü'l-esami bi-garaz Müslimin haber virüp ve mahalle-i mezbureden merkume Saliha hatunun ihracını ..." İstanbul Bab Mahkemesi, D. 149, V. 75/1, 17 Safer 1143 / 1 September 1730.

³⁹ İstanbul Bab Mahkemesi, D. 149, V.75/2, 17 Safer 1143 / 1 September 1730.

Interestingly, for this very private situation, the judge had applied to neighbors and they agreed on son-in-law's habit of slandering his virtuous wives with the hope of getting their property. As an another example, a man, named Hasan, was complained by his neighbors against due to his beating of his wife at nights; they also made it clear that he was involved in aggression towards his children.⁴⁰

People's privacy was sometimes followed so exceedingly by others. The changes in the life of a person could create a public opinion for him. In the case of Hamza was who complained against because of robbery, beside this claim, when he was accused of fornication, drinking wine and his relations with prostitutes. These were asked for the inhabitants of his neighborhood. For the declaration of residents, the aforementioned person did not abandon his bad habits like fornication, in spite of giving up robbery, after the coming from pilgrimage. Even for the statement of witnesses, he does not perform the *namaz*. Hamza might be going to pilgrimage to change people's opinion about him, but he could not. This example shows that public opinion was very effective at neighbor's side.⁴¹

⁴⁰ BOA. Cevdet Zaptiye 786, 1204/1790-1791.

⁴¹ "...mezkur fahişe ile şürb-i harm idüp zina idüp ve el'an evinde fahişe var daima fesad ve şekva üzeredir keyfiyet-i hali sula olunsun dedükte cemaatinden sual olunup Hüsam halife bin Ömer ve el-hacc İlyas bin Hızır ve Muslihiddin halife bin Hamza el-hatib ve sayir cemaat iddia ve şehadet-i şeriyye idüp dedilerki mezkur hacı Hamza'nın hicazdan gevelüden berü hırsızlığın görmedik ve lakin fahişe ile gece ve gündüz şürb-i hamr edüp şirret ve şeka üzere olduğundan gayri asla namaz kılmayup bi-namzdır şer'le hakkından gelinsün deyü şehadet etdükleri..." Edremit Şeriyye Sicilleri 1206, V.31/2, Evahir-i Zi'l-kade 987 / 8-18 January 1580, quoted from the Fikret Yılmaz, "XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahremiyetin Sınırlarına Dair," *Toplum ve Bilim* 83, Kış 1999/2000, pp. 92-109.

In addition to court, in many other public places in quarters such as local market, streets, fountains, mosques and coffeehouses people came into contact with neighbor, stopping to greet each other and to share news and gossip.⁴² The dense physical environment entails a lively climate of familiarity; the narrow streets and attached houses placed people very much in the public eye. Their daily activities, even domestic quarrels became matter of public knowledge.

Especially after the beginning of the eighteenth century, individuals began to publicise their private lives. With this development, "the people of the public were starting to mention that which belonged to their private life and thus, brought the public into the foreground".⁴³ However, the bringing of such a subject to court and its discussion in detail in front of residents of the neighborhood and illustration of such kind of private matters are striking both in terms of personal freedom, rights and the depiction of a third sphere, namely the public sphere, among the private and official spheres.

As a result, judicial records show that even the most remote aspects of private life were observable and discussable in the quarter level. In this manner, private information was publicized vis-a-vis court or other communal spaces like coffeehouses, baths, mosques, and controlled by the society.

⁴² Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1989, p. 327.

⁴³ Tülay Artan, "Mahremiyet Mahrumiyetin Resmi," *Defter*, 20 Bahar/Yaz, 1993, p. 97.

That is to say, the public functioned as a guardian of morality and order, and controlled the privacy efficiently.

4. The Street

The street can be accepted as the most private part of a quarter due to its immediate location outside the home. If it was accepted that there was a hierarchy from the very inside to the exterior of the house, the street forms the end of this hierarchy. Thus, it could often be used by women as an extension of domestic space.

As a matter of fact, the roads and streets in the neighborhood were accepted as the main borders in the definitions of public/private spaces. The place of neighborhood in the urban hierarchy of public and private spaces might be seen as public but it was a female domain largely because it was used by women for domestic and familial chores.⁴⁴ To a large extent, their definition of what was private and public in the quarter depended on whether the use of these spaces by women as veiled or not.⁴⁵ On the other hand, it is hard to define these spaces with such concepts since there was no clear demarcation between public and private space. Unlike the modern, bureaucratic state, there was no public space from which women could be barred or private space to which women could be confined.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Erika Friedl, "The Dynamics of Women's Sphere of Action," *Women in the Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender*, ed. Nikki Keddie and Beth Baron, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991, p. 196.

⁴⁵ Khoury, 1997, p. 110.

⁴⁶ Mary Ann Fay, "Women and Waqf: Property, Power, and the Domain of Gender in Eighteenth-Century Egypt," *Women in the Ottoman Empire:*

The evidence from court records also confirms that within the quarter there were hierarchies of spaces regarding their use and these hierarchies were defined by a contractual agreement among the residents of the neighborhood. The search for the preservation of privacy of independent houses within a dense urban setting led to the organization of residential pockets around dead-end streets (*tarik-i has*), which acted as semi-public/private paths. These dead-end streets were closed through traffic and serviced the collection of houses around that road.

At some times, the lines between public and private were blurred. The cases brought to the court shows that public walkways could be described as private roads (*tarik-i hass*) that might be a share in the inheritance.⁴⁷ It is also quite often to encounter with this phrase "one side of house is private road, one side is"⁴⁸ in both the court records, *bey'-i huccets*, that are related to buy and sell houses and *waqf* registers.⁴⁹

The main streets were less secluded than private blind alleys in the quarter. Their nature as public streets was determined by the lack of structures that obstructed human and animal traffic. Because of the public nature of these streets,

Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era ed. by Madeline C. Zilfi, Leiden, New York: Brill, 1997, p. 34.

⁴⁷ A man who died in the Mahallat Nabi Jirjis left a house whose worth is 7000 qurush to his wife and two young sons. Along with this, he left his family shares in two public walk ways, Mahkama Shari'ah, Sijill Qassamat 1277, quoted from Houry, 1997, p. 116.

⁴⁸ Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 3, V. 152/1, Evasit-i Cumazielevvel 929 / April 1523.

⁴⁹ See. Ömer Lütfi Barkan and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri: 953(1546) Tarihli*, İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti İstanbul Enstitüsü, 1970.

women often wore a veil that allowed them to see but not be seen. During certain celebrations such as marriages or circumcisions, women occupied these streets while men were relegated to the background. Yet, especially in times of trouble, women were distanced from the male dominated spaces that made women such important components in the maintenance and reproduction of social order. Accordingly, women's use of the streets and main roads in the quarter was known through the bans and these bans were taken as the practice of daily life. The question arises here that to what extent did these records reflect the daily practices? Indeed, does the existence of these bans show the existence of opposite practices?

"... nisvan taifesinden mahremi olmayıp veyahut hamam ve sair havaic-i zaruriye takarrubu ile taşraya çıkanları ber-mutad-ı kadim ehl-i ırz zibende çıkıp havaicini rüyet, der-akab menziline ricat edip fi-ma-bad sabe ve hasna olanları min-ba'd nev zuhur dikişli ve kebir yakalı ve bed renk fer-ace ve heyet-i faziha ile çarşı ve pazar ve mecme'un-nas olan mahallerde geştü-güzar ve meks ve karar etmeyip havaiçlerini mahremlerin rüyet ve kendileri hanelerinde ikamet edip bundan sonra ol-misillü nev zuhur dikişli ve kebir yakalı sıkma ve bed renk ferace ve heyet-i kabika ile geştü-güzar edern müşahede olunursa ibreten li'lgayr lazım gelen tedibin icra olunacağını..."⁵⁰

As it was seen in aforementioned record, prohibitions were many sided and contingent on some conditions. In the register, women's being out of their houses were limited with necessities such a visiting bath. However, this bounded

⁵⁰ İstanbul Kadılığı, D. 35, V. 97/1, 17 Cemazie'l-evvel 1186 / 16 Ağustos 1772, quoted from Albayrak, 1998, p. 67.

permission of going out was bounded with some provisions such as having a *mahrem* along with and clothing in a proper manner. Edward Raczynski, who wrote in at the beginning of the nineteenth century, also supports this decree saying that Muslim women were free to go out as long as she accompanied with a relative, *mahrem* or a woman beside her.⁵¹

Besides this, it was seen in both court registers and *fermans* that the prohibitions related to women's use of space outside the home were not only directed to women - they contained many other orders that were not particular to women. In a court register, dated 1143, addressed to the Judge of Istanbul and Yeniçeri Ağası,⁵² there are a series of orders with explanations. Firstly, the women's being present among men was forbidden during the *Bayram* days. Then, its justification was expressed in such a way that it was a violation of Islamic law and it causes *fitne* and *fesad*. Following this explanation, it was clarified that this ban would be ended after the third day of the *Bayram* and women could not go out and walk around the court of the mosques and inside the neighborhoods for three days. Lastly, but before the ordinary warning sentence, it was made clear that moral

⁵¹Burçak Evren and Dilek Girgin Can, *Yabancı Gezginler ve Osmanlı Kadını*, İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1997, p. 28.

⁵² "... Eyyam-ı a'yadda nisvan taifesinin taşra çıkup rical ile muhalataları şer'i şerife mugayir bir emr-i namülayim olduğundan başka nice mefasid ve şenayi'e bais olmakla imdi inşallahu teala iyd-i şerifin ibtidasından üçüncü günü tamamına değin nisvandan kat'a birisi hanelerinden taşra çıkmayup ve cevami'i şerif havluları ve bazı mahallat aralarında beşik ve dolap ve bu misüllü bazı ve mülaabeye dair birşeye rıza ve ruhsal gösterilmeyüp ve men ü def'inde kemal merteye dikkat-i tam ve ehl-i ırz olan nisvana ba'del iyd taarruz olunamayup...", Bab Mahkemesi, D. 154, V. 98, 3 Ramazan 1143 / 12 Mart 1731, quoted from Suha Umur, "Osmanlı Belgeleri Arasında Kadınlara Buyruklar," *Tarih ve Toplum*, Ekim 1988, No. 58, p. 205.

women (*ehl-i ırz*) would not be disturbed in the street. Another record from the same court also refers to women's limitation of the use of streets in the specified days.⁵³

Women's free use of the street is observable also in the archival sources as well as paintings of foreign travelers. In a *mühimme* register, it was recorded that in Edirne, some people founded a coffeehouse and tobacco-house on the main road of Timurtaş quarter. In their newly established place, by drinking coffee and smoking tobacco, they disturb women passing the road. The residents of the quarter complained about the owner as a responsible of the situation. After a field investigation, the coffeehouse was shut down.⁵⁴ The decision in favor of women shows that women were free to use main roads in the neighborhoods as well as the streets and authorities were also responsible to make secure these roads for women. Marcus also brings another court register' from Aleppo that implies similar practice in use. According to this record, a large group of residents succeeded in having a new bakery in their neighborhood closed down after a court investigation established that the place harbored criminals and men who harassed female passerby.⁵⁵

Several cases illustrate how women moved freely through the streets.⁵⁶ For all women, the protection of the home

⁵³ İstanbul Mahkemesi, D. 25, V. 259, Fi Selhi Ramazan 1179 / March 1766.

⁵⁴ Mühimme Register 185/3, 82 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (1026-1027/1617-1618), Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2000, p. 124.

⁵⁵ Marcus, 1989, p. 294.

⁵⁶ Most women took part in street life, even if only via a basket lowered to vendors or through a window calling to children, Madeline C. Zilfi, "Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718 - 1730: The

extended to the street when a male who was her husband or relative accompanied them. Even though it was not a general practice, authorities sometimes issued decrees that asked women not to go out alone if it was not necessary.⁵⁷ However, it seems that the streets were the province of men, and women were only visitors. Their presence was tolerated only if they had a good excuse and as long as their dress and appearance were appropriate. On the other hand, men's access and participation in street life were free from this kind of restraint.

4.1. Street-wear: The Critical Provision of Women's presence in the Street

The definition of what was private and public in the quarter depended on whether women wore veil or not. Unlike men, there is strict division between the outside and inside clothing of women. Islamic law necessitated that women are required to avoid their beauty from *namahrem* and they were asked to dress in a modest manner in public spaces where they could be seen by *namahrem*. Therefore, the outside clothing of women was under the control of the authorities and bound to the strict rules since the state see itself as a principle responsible for the application of Islamic law. In many cases, some of which was mentioned above, the authorities made

'Tulip Era' and Its Historiography," *Women, the Family and Divorce Laws in Islamic History*, ed. Amira Sonbol, Syracuse, 1996, pp. 298-299.

⁵⁷ "... tavaif-i nisvan gayr-i zaruret esvak ve pazar ve mecmeu'n-nas mahallerde gezmeyüp hanelerinde ikamet mahremi olmayup mesalih-i zarureye ...", *Tophane Mahkemesi sicil* 174, V. 1, 20 Cemazie'l-evvel 1186 / 19 Ağustos 1772, quoted from Albayrak, 1998, p. 67.

reference to the Sharia when they decided to regulate the clothing of women in public.⁵⁸

In this part, women's veiling in the public space will be discussed with reference to the accounts of travelers. The standing point will be the issue of to what extent veiling made contribution to the use of space by women. Although the archival sources are abundant with the decrees arranging women's clothing, traveler accounts were chosen as primary sources, since travelers have a different perspective and the advantage of making a comparison with other practices.

According to Lady Montagu, Ottoman women's freedom stemmed from the so-called "masquerade", which apparently softens the social rankings, linking upper-class women to slaves in a mixture of emancipated femininity. She writes: "this perpetual masquerade gives them entire liberty of following their inclinations without danger of discovery", concluding that "upon the whole, I look upon the Turkish Women as the only free people in the Empire."⁵⁹

The practice of veiling, in both the literal and metaphorical sense, is significant. This metaphor for the oriental women's subjection is the standard trope of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' travel narratives about the Orient. These travel accounts presented the Orient as a place in need of rescue, and secured the idea of Europe as

⁵⁸ Betül İpşirli Argıt, "Clothing Habits and Regulations in the Ottoman Empire (1703-1839)," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Bogazici University, Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences, 2001, p. 131.

⁵⁹ Dervla Murphy, *Embassy to Constantinople, The Travels of Lady Worthley Montagu*, ed. by Christopher Pick, New York: New Amsterdam Books of New York, 1988, p. 111.

free, fair, and civilized.⁶⁰ Despite the similarities in the secondary positions of women in the East and the Europe, the veiled woman, as portrayed in these narratives, becomes one of the most powerful symbols of the "irrationality" and "backwardness" of the Orient.⁶¹

On the other hand, there are also exceptional cases that 'masquerade', or 'veiling' is accepted as a way of freedom for women. A few male travelers in the early eighteenth century had commented upon the advantages of the veil. Du Loir and Robert Withers in particular had noted that the *yashmak* offered Ottoman women a kind of freedom denied to the Christian woman.⁶² In the late eighteenth century, Lady Elizabeth Craven also evaluated the veil as a means of the visibility of women from all classes in a public space. Yet, according to Craven, veiling not only liberates Ottoman women sexually, but also makes them more mobile than their English counterpart. Coming from Craven, the passages on the freedom of women are particularly significant;

"As to women, as many, if not more than men, are to be seen in the streets - but they look like walking mummies - A large loose robe of dark green cloth covers them from the neck to the ground, over that a large piece of muslin,

⁶⁰ Teresa Heffernan, "Feminism Against the East/West Divide: Lady Mary's Turkish Embassy Letters," *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 33.2 2000, p. 203.

⁶¹ The legacy of Orientalist feminism has persisted through much of the modern era, as evidenced in the birth of modern Turkey. It was accepted that Turkey progressed from an Islamic nation to a secular nation at the beginning of the twentieth century. Again, at the heart of this transformation lies the (un)veiled woman. During the transformation of Turkey from a "backward" country into a "modern" nation, "emancipation of women" was encouraged and veiling was strongly discouraged.

⁶² Billie Melman, *Women's Orient: English Women and the Middle East: 1718-1918, Sexuality, Religion and Work*, Macmillan Press, 1995, p. 86.

which wraps the shoulders and the arms, another which goes over the head and eyes; judge, Sir, if all these coverings do not confound all shape or air so much, that men or women, princesses or slaves, may be concealed from them. I think I never saw a country where women may enjoy so much liberty, and free from all reproach as in Turkey."⁶³

Significantly, Lady Montagu as a woman actually thought that the veiled Ottoman women freer than their Western European sisters. Saying that no man dare touch or follow a woman in the street, she advocates that the veil is an expression cultural segregation that aims to protect young women.⁶⁴ During her living in Constantinople, she herself prefers to use the veil and in one letter to Lady Bristol, she expresses her pleasure with using the veil.⁶⁵

On the other hand, it was also debated whether a veiled woman's enforced anonymity promise greater liberty. Mernissi claims that when Ottoman women enter the encompassing male world, the possibility of positive liberty is automatically reduced to sexual transgression.⁶⁶ Still, Lady Mary insists upon the possibilities of greater freedom; Turkish women can and do take sexual advantage of enforced public anonymity. She

⁶³ Quoted from Melman, p. 87.

⁶⁴ Lady Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, ed. Anita Desai, London: Virago Press, 1994, p. 71.

⁶⁵ "You will wonder, madam, to hear me add that I have been there very often. The *yaşmak*, or Turkish veil is become not only very easy but agreeable to me, and if it was not, I would be content to endure some inconvenience to content a passion so powerful with me as curiosity."⁶⁵ In another letter; "I ramble everyday, wrapped up in my *ferige* and *yaşmak*, about Constantinople and amuse myself with seeing all that is curious in it." Quoted from, Melman, p. 85.

⁶⁶ "A woman is always trespassing in a male space because she is, by definition, a foe. A woman has no right to use male spaces. If she enters them, she is upsetting the male's order and his peace of mind. She is actually committing an act of aggression against him merely by being present where she should not be." Fatima Mernissi, *Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in Modern Muslim Society*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987, p. 144.

provides an alternative reading of the veiled woman in which women have neither to be saved nor to submit to their culture.

Montagu sees gender-segregated Ottoman society as a genuine alternative to Europe's strictly hierarchical organization of social space.⁶⁷ If the identification of the Eastern women with veiling is accepted as looking from Orientalist perspective, Lady Montagu can be seen as Orientalist. However, it should not be forgotten that Montagu saw the veil as a symbol of constructive segregation.

In the book, *In a world of difference: Islam and Gender Hierarchy in Turkey*, Julie Marcus also studies the way in which female seclusion liberates women to participate in a religious and social culture of their own design. In the Marcus argues that the male reigns supreme over both public and private spaces in Western Europe. There is no female space, but only a female place allowed within the privatized domestic domain over and in which men exercise effective control of their women. By contrast, in the East, there is female space, separate but secure in its own right.⁶⁸

5. Public Baths

The public bath (*hamam*) was a complementary unit of spatial organization in Istanbul. There is at least one public bath in a neighborhood in accordance with its population. These baths were laid down within the structure of mosque complexes by serving in certain days and hours of the week for men and

⁶⁷ Mary Jo. Kietzman, "Montagu's Turkish Embassy Letters and Cultural Dislocation," *Studies in English Literature: 1500-1900*, Volume 38, Issue 3, Summer 1998, p. 542.

⁶⁸ Kietzman, p. 546.

women, though some were strictly reserved for one or the other sex. In Istanbul, most of the public baths in the market places were *çifte hamam* that were designed to serve men and women at the same time but in different spaces. The most significant characteristic of these baths were their ability to serve women and men under the same roof without any encounter between the sexes. While the door of the men's bath was near the mosque, the door of women's bath was mostly on a different side and did not look on the main street.⁶⁹

The area reserved for the clients of the public bath consists of two quite distinct parts: the section for dressing and resting, and the section for bathing, which includes warm and hot rooms. The former place is mostly for the relaxation after bath, by way of talking, getting social contact with a variety of people, in sometimes by use of hashish and drinking coffee.

In terms of their architectural features and their social functions, public baths began to play a prominent role in Istanbul's daily life shortly after the establishment of new complexes with the conquest. Beside its traditional character, it was a space for bodily hygiene which Islam makes compulsory for specified situations to Muslims. The lack of private baths in the houses of the middle classes also had crucial impact on the popularity of the public baths. The houses in Istanbul were very small with one or two

⁶⁹ For example, in the plan of *Çemberlitaş Hamam*, while men's entry was from the street side, women's entry was in the back side. See. Semavi Eyice, "Hamam," *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1997, p. 415.

rooms and they did not have the capacity for a private bath.⁷⁰ But the upper classes, especially after the sixteenth century, had baths inside their *konak* or stately mansions.⁷¹ However, the scarcity of water provoked a reaction among the populace against the upper classes, claiming a careless use of water. Especially in the eighteenth century an increase in the number of both pious and private baths resulted in a shortage of water and firewood and led the authorities to take measures.⁷²

The public bath, as well as being a place intended for performance of ablution and bodily hygiene is a meeting place and a center of social life.⁷³ Hence, it was a public forum created by the people from the various social strata of the İstanbul's life in order to meet the religious and social needs of people. With its entrance near the mosque and sometimes situated in the middle of a bazaar, it assumes the character of a social center.

⁷⁰ For detailed information about the physical design of the houses, see. Chapter I.

⁷¹ Ekrem Işın, *İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995, p. 271.

⁷² "..... İstanbul ve Üsküdar ve Galata ve tevabi'lerinde ve Eyüp Haliç'i ve Boğaziçi'ndeki vaki kasabatda mebni ve mevcut olan hamamlar vaki oldukları mahallerin ahâlilerine kafi iken biraz vakitten beru bazı kimesneler kendülerine irad ve akar tedariki sevdası ile İstanbul ve Üsküdar ve Galata ve tebvabi'lerinde ve Halici mezkurlarda lüzumu olmayan mahallerde bazen çifte ve bazen tek çarşu hamamları bina ve ihdas idüb minbaad gayri lüzum hamamın kesreti eyyamı harrede suyun killetine badi olduğundan maada Asitane'ye gelen hatabın beyhude yere telef ve izaatı ile ibadullahın zaruretine bais olur halattan idüğü aşikar olduğuna binaen badezin gerek İstanbul ve Üsküdar ve Galata ve levahıklarında ve gerek Eyüp Halici ve Boğaziçi'nde vaki kasabatda ve çifte ve tek çarşu hamamı bina ve inşasına mimar başı olanlar ve sairler taraflarından izin ve rusat verilmeyüb men'i külli ve men'ü def olunması babında fermanı hümayunum", *Fi Evaili Ra 1182*, quoted from Ahmet Refik, *Onikinci Asr-ı Hicri'de İstanbul Hayatı (1689-1785)*, İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988, p. 217.

⁷³ J. Sourdrel-Thomine, "Hamam," *Encyclopedia of Islam 2nd Edition*, CD Version.

While the mosque is comparable to the church in terms of its religious and social function in a neighborhood, the public bath is also comparable to the bagnio in Europe. Cowan talks about London's bagnios, stating that the bagnios of London like the coffeehouses were in commercialized form, and they offer clientele the possibility to experience oriental cultures. In this way, they had an opportunity escape from the banalities of urban life.⁷⁴ As he points out, the bagnios of Europe was very different from the public baths of the East. In contrast, public baths have an important place in people's lives in Istanbul as well as mosques, coffeehouses and dervish lodges where people could gather. Especially for women who were deprived of these institutions, the public bath had become the only space in neighborhood life that provided opportunities for sociability and entertaining. In this manner, the public bath functioned as a viable public forum rather than merely a place for ablution. Outside the home, the amusement that formed a principle focus in the social life of women was the attendance of the public bath.⁷⁵

The public bath was an opportunity for women to become socialized as the coffeehouse did for men. As the coffeehouse advanced social contact and served as an exchange of news in the Western capitals, Lady Montagu drew the parallel and spoke of public bath as "the women's coffeehouse, where all the news

⁷⁴ Cowan, Brian, "The Social Life of Coffee: Commercial Culture and Metropolitan Society in Early Modern England, 1600-1720," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 2000, pp. 180-181.

⁷⁵ Nurhan Atasoy, "Scenes of Ottoman Women at Leisure," *Arts, Women and Scholars: Studies in Ottoman Society and Culture*, eds. Sabine Pr ator, Christoph K. Neumann. Istanbul: Simurg, 2002, p. 389.

of the town is told, scandal invented, etc."⁷⁶ Lady Montagu describes the bath like a space non-existent in England. She perceives the bath as a public space of unconstraint female space, performing the same social functions as its British counterpart, the coffeehouse. It is necessary to know the nature of gendered space in eighteenth-century aristocratic England in order to understand comparison with "coffeehouse" and its idealization as an unconstrained female space. The English aristocracy made primary distinction not between men's space and women's space, but between men's space and shared space since there is no women's coffeehouse⁷⁷. Lady Montagu expresses the need for such space in England. In her view, shared space allowed to women is constricted to the home. Female space in England was "encompassed and penetrated" by men in ways female space in Adrianople or Istanbul was not.⁷⁸

The comparison of the bath with the coffeehouse, was neither inappropriate nor singular. Another lady traveler, Julia Pardoe maintained that both sexes in Turkey had their specific spaces of communication. "What the public baths are to the women of Turkey, the public coffeehouses are to their lords - the headquarters of gossip, news and enjoyment."⁷⁹

Visit to the public bath is very widespread among women of all classes. Even the wealthiest women, who had their own private bath in their houses, dropped by the public bath in

⁷⁶ Christopher Pick, 1988, p.97.

⁷⁷ Joseph W. Lew, "Lady Mary's Portable Seraglio," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Volume 24, Issue 4, Summer, 1991, p. 445.

⁷⁸ Lew, p. 446.

⁷⁹ Julia Pardoe, *The Beauties of Bosphorus [...] Illustrated in a Series of Views of Constantinople and its Environs from Original Drawings by W. H. Bartlett*, London: Virtue, 1850, p. 147.

their neighborhood at least once a month. The routine ritual of going to the bath meant arriving with embroidered towel, brush, henna, kohl, Cretan soap, pearl-engraved patterns (wooden shoes) and if possible servants.⁸⁰ This ritualistic preparation was necessary as not just a couple of hours, but almost a whole day, would be spent in the bath. In the



Figure II.I: A women's visit to public bath with her servant
Source : Zenanname, Istanbul University Library. T. 5502. fol. 29a.

Zenanname, a late eighteenth century Ottoman work, a woman wearing *ferace* and whose veils are properly in place is portrayed on her way to the bath with her black female slave.⁸¹

It is also common in the paintings of foreign artists that the slave has tucked a cloth-wrapped bundle (*bohça*) that contained clean underwear and bathing accessories on her head. That is, this ritualistic form of public bath made women's lives more interesting.

⁸⁰ Faroqhi, 2000, p. 106.

⁸¹ Atasoy, p. 394.

Public bath equipments in the probate inventories of women also confirm the close relation of women with the public bath. For example, most of the inventories included one or more public bath items such as *hamam tası*, *hamam leğeni*, *hamam gömleği*, *hamam döşemesi*, *kil kutusu*, *hamam bohçası* and *hamam kutusu*. For example, *Havva Hatun ibnet-i beri Ali* had *hamam kutusu* and *hamam döşemesi* in her very modest inventory, which was summed up to 4,452 *akçe*.⁸² the existence of these items even in very modest inventories shows that public bath was an important part of daily life for women.

Public bath visits were a good excuse for women to leave their houses. This excuse was also recognized by the authorities. Even in the strict prohibitions by which women's presence outside the home was forbidden, a woman's visit to the public bath was accepted as a valid pretext for going out.⁸³ There were, of course, abuses arising from women's leaving their houses to go to baths, but ending up somewhere else. Often they went in groups of a dozen or more, leaving their houses early in the morning and not returning till nightfall. Sometimes women used the excuse of going to the baths as a pretext to resort to some other place, because no man could ever penetrate into the women's baths to find out who was there.

⁸² Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 136, V. 31/3, *Evasit-i Rebiülevvel* 1028 / May 1716.

⁸³ "... nisvan taifesinden mahremi olmayıp veyahut hamam ve sair havaic-i zaruriye takarrubu ile taşraya çıkanları.." İstanbul kadılığı, D. 35, V.97/1, 17 *Cemazie'l-evvel* 1186 / 16 Ağustos 1772, quoted from Albayrak, p. 67.

Still, going bath was not totally in the initiative of women in the early modern period, as opposed to the common view. According to the *fetwas*, a woman's going to the bath without saying his husband was sufficient reason for divorce in the sixteenth century.⁸⁴ Beside that, despite the fact that going to public bath had become a widespread and ritualistic tradition, it was not always accepted as a proper manner for women. It is seen from the *fetwas* of Ebussuud Efendi that people were curious about whether going to public bath is an obstacle to become virtuous (*ehl-i namus* or *muhaddere*).⁸⁵ According to these *fetwas*, even though going to public bath did not deprive of women becoming *ehl-i namus*, but still it was questioned by people.

On the other hand, the statements revealed in the *fetwas* might have resulted from the exploitation of the public bath for immoral behavior. As mentioned above, women might go to other places using the excuse of going to the bath. Besides that, going to the bath necessitates walking on the street, that required women to become veiled and in a proper manner. The aforementioned reasons might lead the authorities to take measures about it. However, there is another important point about the public bath as related to its moral dimension.

⁸⁴ **Mesele:** Zeyd hacca gider oldukça, zevcesi Hind'e "eğer ben gelince (gelinceye dek) hamama, düğüne varırsan ve namahreme görünürsen üç talak benden boş ol" dese ve zikr olunan şürûtu br kağıda yazıp evinin duvarına yapıştırıp gitse, Zeyd hacda iken Hind şürût-i mezkureyi işlese talak-i mezkur vaki' olur mu?

El-cevap: Olur.

M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebussuûd Efendi Fetvaları Işığında 16. Asır Türk Hayatı*, İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1972, p. 54.

⁸⁵ **Mesele:** Hamama ve düğüne ve ahar mahalleye seyrana varan Hind muhaddere olur mu?

El-cevap: Olur, eğer haşmet ile varır ise. (A. 158a)
Düzdağ, p. 55.

Morality in the women's bath had occupied an important place in the works of travelers and became one of the most important symbols of the East. Interestingly, while many traveler accounts⁸⁶ attracted attention to the morality inside the women's bath, legal authorities rarely issued decrees on morality and improper behavior in the bath. One of the most well-known abuses reflected in the legal documents is theft.⁸⁷

Especially, intimate relations among women in the bath were recognized as a loosening of morals and a sign of love affairs between them. A study based on Lady Montagu's description on public bath by Srinivas Aravamudan proposes that architecturally labyrinthine, the enclosed *hammams*, unlike the open Roman *balneae*, served as complex sites for the staging and regulation of sexual desire.⁸⁸ The passage in the account of Montagu related to her visit to the women's bath is mostly criticized with having orientalist perspective. Although there is no suspicion about her visit to the Turkish public bath, her description of it seems problematic. She described Ottoman women in the public bath as stark naked in her both letters from Edirne and Istanbul,⁸⁹ but most of the later descriptions, like Lady Craven manifested those women never take bath as naked.⁹⁰ It is understood that Montagu did not illustrate the bath as she had actually seen it. Her way

⁸⁶ Reinhold Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama: British Travelers in 19th Century Turkey*, Rodopi, Amstersam-Atlanta, 1999, pp. 285-288.

⁸⁷ BOA, Cevdet Zaptiye 4444, 12 N 1144 / 9 March 1732.

⁸⁸ Srinivas Aravamudan, "Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in the *Hammam*: Masquerade, Womanliness, and Levantinization," *ELH* 62-1, 1995, p. 87.

⁸⁹ Lady Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, 1994, p. 58.

⁹⁰ Elisabeth Craven. *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*, London: Robinson, 1789.

of seeing the women presence in the public bath might be linked to the orientalist gaze. As it was in most of the traveler accounts, she preferred to add an exotic appearance to her description.

Indeed, taking bath as stark naked is also in contradiction with Islamic law that requires "covering from belly to knee among Muslim women." In accordance with this law, women would ask to wear a cloth wrapped around the waist while in the bath. In a court register, dated 1143/1730-1731, addressing the Judge of Istanbul, it was recorded that women were warned about wearing proper clothes and acting in a good manners in the public bath.⁹¹ Although there was always the possibility of a violation of the law, the register shows that it was violated; nevertheless it can be assumed that it was not as prevalent as it was reflected in the traveler accounts. Still, it is very difficult to refuse totally the claim of Montagu. In a miniature depicted in *Zenanname*, women in the public bath were portrayed neither stark naked nor in the proper manner dictated by the authorities. In the miniature, although there were no women without any cloth, they used a piece of cloth, called *peştamal*, in an improper manner.

Another point should be also emphasized that women's bath is a space that is inevitably not in the direct control authorities. This might also impede the reflection of improper behaviors to the legal documents. Though there are lots of

⁹¹ "... libasların tağyir ve ricale mahsus olan elbise istimaliyle ref'-i hicab idüp nice kimseleri idlal ve ifsad eylediklerinden ma'ada sair nisvan dahi bunlara tebaiyyet ile ekseri tebdil-i came edüb deb-i kadimden hariç..." Bab Mahkemesi, D. 150, V. 1, 1143/1730-1731 quoted from Suha Umur, "Osmanlı Belgeleri Arasında Kadınlara Buyruklar," *Tarih ve Toplum*, Ekim 1988, V. 10, No. 58, p. 206.

fermans about the women's clothing and manners in the street, local market, picnics and other places outside the home, the public bath had remained as a private space in terms of government intrusiveness even if it located outside the home.

Lastly, there is another critical question concerning the composition of people in the bath. The public bath could be defined as a platform in which women from different levels of socio-economic status came together on the share of their gender. However, religion was also seen as a determinant in addition to gender to be present at the same place. Lady Montagu in her detailed description of two women's baths in Edirne and Istanbul did not talk about *gayr-i Muslim* women in the same baths.⁹² Mantran also mentions that some of the public baths were assigned to the Christians and Jews.⁹³

What is the reason behind this demarcation? At a first glance, division or density of population according to ethnicity in the neighborhood might naturally lead to this kind of separation. Among such baths, which were established with the support of the Patriarchate and the Chief Rabbinate and their income was secured to the affiliated pious foundations, were the *Fenerkapısı Hamam*, frequented by Greeks, and the *Cuhudkapısı Hamam*, frequented by Jews.⁹⁴ However, this practice might be also stemmed from the judgment of *Hanefi* School that requires from women to become veiled while they

⁹² However, the question arises that how she and other female travelers like Lady Craven were present among Muslim women in the bath although they were also non-Muslims.

⁹³ Robert Mantran, *XVI. ve XVII. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*, İstanbul: Eren, 1991, p. 218.

⁹⁴ Ekrem Işın, "Turkish Hamams: Public Baths as Social Venues," *İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995, p. 270.

were with non-Muslim women as they were with *namahrem*. It was also stated that Hz. Omer had forbidden Muslim women to be present in the same bath with non-Muslim women.⁹⁵ In a court register, dated 1143, addressed to Yeniçeri Ağası and the Judge of Galata, it was recorded that Muslim women could not be gathered with Christian and Jewish women in the same bath at the same time. But they could use the same bath in different days that specified for themselves.⁹⁶ Another court register, dated 1119, addressed to the Judge of Istanbul, also prohibited the use of public bath by Muslim and non-Muslims together. Interestingly, this particular register was not directed only to the women. It specified two days - Sunday and Tuesday - in a week for the use of public bath of non-Muslim men and women.⁹⁷ As it was seen from the court records, this practice seems on a large scale as an application of this Islamic law and aroused from the religious obligation rather than natural isolation.

6. Local Markets

The local market as a part of urban life can be accepted as the last step of the hierarchy, which began from the inside of the house to the courtyard, street, and public bath in the neighborhood. The small shops and open bazaars were among the

⁹⁵ Eyice, p. 434.

⁹⁶ "... Müslüman hatunları ile Nesari ve Yehudi taifesi avretleri hamamlarda cem' olmayup mahsus olan eyyamlarda Nesari ve Yehudi avretleri girmek üzere..." Bab Mahkemesi, D. 94, V. 63, 17 Zilhicce 1117 / 1 April 1706, quoted from Suha Umur, p. 205.

⁹⁷ "... fi-maba'd Kefere ve Yehud taifesinin rical ve avretlerine haftada Pazar ve Salı günlerin eyyam-ı mahsuse tayin ve sayir eyyamda ehl-i İslam rical ve nisaları ile hamama girmek üzere...", Bab Mahkemesi, D. 88, V. 96, 13 Şevval 1197 / 11 September 1783, quoted from Suha Umur, pp. 205-206.

places where women were frequently seen. Though husbands or servants conducted ordinary provisions of household, women went to the shops and open bazaars for their needs.⁹⁸ Even if it was not welcomed to open shop (*dükkan*) among the houses in the neighborhood, daily needs necessitated the existence of some shops. Since the women rarely went to the shops at the center of the city, local shops were very important in their lives.

The shopping was a good excuse to leave house as much as going to the bath and visiting the relatives. However, while women's going to bath was never totally forbidden and only made contingent on some provisions, shopping by women often became the target of authorities. Here, the questions arise that why shopping by women did encounter such a strict interference of authorities even if it was an outdoor activity like attendance in the public bath. And, why did shopping become so critical as opposed to the public bath? At this point, archival sources have a critical importance. There are lots of documents that were classified under the title of 'the decree about prohibition of women's going to shop or street.'

By keeping in mind these questions, firstly, a deep analysis of these texts may be helpful. As far can be seen, most of the documents concerning women's going out for shopping was determined within the context of bans related to

⁹⁸ İstanbul was popular with its large number of open neighborhood bazaars. Almost every neighborhood has its own local bazaar that founded in certain days of the week and called with this name such as *Salı pazarı* between Galata and Tophane, *Çarşamba pazarı* in Fethiye and *Perşembe pazarı* in Karaköy. See. Robert Mantran, 1991, p. 114.

women. However, it is also possible to read these texts as regular decrees to maintain public order within the context of the time, since they did not include only prohibitions, but also commands such as attaining in daily prayers. In two different court records, dated 1121/1709, addressed to the Judge of *Haslar* and *Üsküdar*, the prohibition regarding women's shopping was mentioned together with several orders and prohibitions dealing with daily life.

"Haslar ve tevabiinde vaki mahalatta sakin ehl-i İslamdan bazıları mahallelerinde olan cevami ve mesacide varmayıp taklil-i cemaata bais oldukları istima olunmakla imdi mahallatta sakin cemaat-ı müslimin cevami ve mesacide müdavemet ve vukat-ı hamsede eda-i salat-ı mefrüze muvazebet edip hatunlarına bed renk ferace giydirmeyip peçe ile vecihlerin dahi gereği gibi setr ve başların eğri bağlamayıp adet-i kadim üzere bağlatıp çarşı ve pazarda eğer müslim ve eğer kefare ve Yahudî dükkanlarında bey ve şıra bahanesiyle oturtup meks etmelerine ruhsat vermeyip men' olunmak üzere mahallat imamları ve esnaf kethüdaları getürtüp muhkem tenbih ve tekid ve dekaîn ashabına işae eylesiz. Emri maruf ve nehı anilmünker vacibat-ı diniyyeden olmakla şöyleki hafıyyeten tecesüs olunur, hılafına hareket edenler ahz olundukta mahkem haklarından gelinmek mukarrerdir. Ana göre habir ve agah ve mazmun-i münifin tefhim eylesiz deyü."⁹⁹

Deep reading and analysis of aforementioned register shows that it was a multifaceted decree touching upon different issues. Firstly, it includes an order that calls men to attain mosques for daily prayers. Secondly, it call men to caution her wives about clothing in proper manner. Lastly, it orders that women were not allowed to be present for a while in shops belonging either Muslim or non-Muslim and Jews in

⁹⁹ Eyüp Mahkemesi, D. 12, V. 3/2, 10 Safer 1121 / 21 April 1709; Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 337, V. 81/2, 10 Safer 1121 / 21 April 1709, quoted from Albayrak, 1998, p. 63 and 187.

bazaar and market places under the pretext of buying and selling. This last order is also decreed upon men in order not to give permission to their wives. The important question can be raised here that why did authorities address to men for the issues dealing with women? Was women's public appearance under the control of their husbands? Who did regulate women's public activities? If we turn back to the record, it seems important waiting in the shopping places with different reasons rather shopping as in the case of *kaymakçı* shops in Eyüp.¹⁰⁰

The main justification in this kind of decree seems to regulate the subjects in a good manner and prevent the violation of gender segregation that was an accepted Islamic requirement. Almost all of the decrees consist of a reference to Sharia (*şer-i şerife muğayir*). In 1754 the *qadı* ordered that a shop for weighing wool be closed after the competitors complained that the owners allowed their male and female customers to mix freely.¹⁰¹ Like shopping, *mesires* had also attracted attention of the authorities for the same reason. Therefore, this might be read in a view of "commanding right and forbidding wrong"¹⁰² that was accepted as a responsibility of each individual as well as the government. From the archival documents it can be possible to trace such policy. The desire to maintain public order and prevent prostitution were also seen among the main motives behind these decrees.

¹⁰⁰ Ahmet Refik, *Onuçu Asr-ı Hicri'de İstanbul Hayatı (1495-1591)*, İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988, p. 40-41.

¹⁰¹ Quoted from Abraham Marcus, 1989, p. 295.

¹⁰² This is a phrase expressed as "emr-i bi'l-maruf nehy-i ani'l-münker." For an application of this order in Islamic tradition, see. Michael Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Because it was also known that one of the aims of these decrees was to protect *ehl-i namus* Muslim women.

Beside religious anxiety, the bans related to women could be evaluated as the promulgation of sumptuary laws indicating authorities' effort to claim power over all the dynamics in the society at times of crisis.¹⁰³ Indeed, in Istanbul and different parts of the Empire, density and repetition of these kind prohibitions in second half of the eighteenth century take attention. Raymond also mentioned that because of the crisis in 1739, 1753 and 1786 in Aleppo, Damascus and Cairo respectively, women's going to market, waiting in the jewelry shops and bazaars were forbidden on the ground that their presence with men in the same place causes deterioration of morality.¹⁰⁴

In conclusion, neighborhood could be regarded as a semi-private space, as an extension of the house. Women participated in urban life through neighborhood institutions such as the public bath and local shops. However, their visibility and participation in neighborhood life changed as depended upon their socio-economic status. Therefore, social status seemed as important as gender in the examination of women's outside life. It is more important when women go

¹⁰³ Donald Quataert evaluates the historical context and explains the hidden motives behind prohibitions. According to his evaluation, in the eighteenth century, the state was under extreme military pressure and needed to assure its subjects that everything is under the control by promulgating a set of decrees dealt with many aspects of social life. Most of them were related to the women's dress and manners, morality, and maintaining social order. See. Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 29, 1997, pp. 403-425.

¹⁰⁴ André Raymond, 2000, pp. 173-174.

outside the neighborhood as I will discuss in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

FESTIVALS AND *MESIRES*: PUBLIC SPACES FOR WOMEN'S SOCIABILITY

This chapter focuses on the places of festivals and *mesires* for women and examines how they used them. Both festivals and *mesires* are accepted as public spaces for sociability of women in addition to neighborhood institutions such as public baths, mosques and local markets. In this chapter, the word 'public space' has a representative meaning connected to its collective character that makes possible particular forms of sociability between people in urban life. From a different angle, it can also be the space of supervision, that of the relationship between the authorities and the subjects. Accordingly, I consider "space", as distinct from place,¹ as a continuing process, activities and practices in the course of people's everyday life, rather than a pre-established structure.

1. Miniature Paintings as a Source for Women's Public Life

In this chapter, festivals as entertainments open to the public and having urban dimension are in my concern on the subject of the use of public space by women in early modern Istanbul. Taking festivals as a public forum for different groups, I aim at revealing ordinary women's appearance in the

¹ For the distinction between space and place, see Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. by Steven F. Rendall, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

festivals and the kinds of experiences by women, festival offered at street level. In this vein, I will cover mainly two major imperial festivals. The first one is the circumcision festival of 1582 for Şehzade Mehmed, the son of Sultan Murad III, and the second one is the circumcision feast of three sons of Ahmed III in 1720. I also try to look other ceremonials such as imperial weddings and funeral ceremonies.

As a major source, I shall look at a number of miniature paintings in several state-sponsored festival books that described the celebrations in detail in order to determine exactly how and in what circumstances women appeared in festivals.² I will take in hand the miniatures as a social document by also keeping in mind their value as a work of art. The miniatures could make a contribution to our understanding of gendered space in Ottoman society by providing description of a particular space and its use. An examination of a series of visual documents, which illustrate women in a variety of circumstances, especially outdoors, would make an important contribution to exposing how women used and occupied space in the Ottoman realm. Inevitably, the interpretation of visual evidence raises many awkward problems especially when it reaches us across a span of centuries with little contemporary written documents. Because images are silent witnesses, it is

² I have relied mostly on published images in the works of Nurhan Atasoy, *1582 Surname-i Hümayun: Düğün Kitabı*, İstanbul: Koçbank, 1997; Nurhan Atasoy and Filiz Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, İstanbul: R. C. D. Cultural Institute, 1974; Esin Atıl, *Levni and Surname: The Story of An Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival*, Koçbank: İstanbul, 1999; Esin Atıl, *Suleymanname: The Illustrated History of Suleyman the Magnificent*, New York: National Gallery of Art, 1986.

difficult to translate their testimony into words. They may have been intended to communicate a message of their own.³

In fact, the artistic value of miniatures also should not be disregarded. Painters who could be accepted also as historians, are artists before all else.⁴ Because, miniatures have a pictorial language and a particular style and technique, they need to evaluate also in the context of artistic trends of the time. Lifeless objects of miniatures are the product of patterns and pictorial elements. Thus, these figures have been also deprived of explaining feelings. Hence, they do not reflect a reality surely, but rather a decorative visualization. For example, the Ottoman paintings of the sixteenth century have repeatable forms, and then, the appearance of women in the lower right corner did not refer merely women's remaining in the background and lower status due to gender. Rather, it is related with the artistic concept of the time, because, sideline appearance is not particular to the women in the paintings. Rather, depicting ordinary people in the below right corner was a typology in the tradition of *Surname* painting which takes sovereign at the center and around.

On the other hand, even if women have been visible; it is difficult to find a sign about their activities and feelings such as whether they enjoyed themselves. Are they only curious spectators? Or are they entertaining with the spectacles they watched? Since, the images themselves are

³ Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press 2001, p. 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

lacking psychological details, it is not easy to address these questions.⁵

Besides this, the restriction on imperial festival books as a major source about the festivals, also limits us to only one dimension of celebrations. In these state-sponsored festival books, documented both textually and visually, Ottoman dignitaries and special guests were usually portrayed at the center, and the festivities were depicted without touching events on the street level. In the miniatures of these works, a number of the ordinary spectators were depicted in the lower right corner. Indeed, unlike the *Surname-i Vehbi*, in all of the miniatures in the *Surname-i Hümayun*, ordinary people, men and women, are depicted in the lower right corner.

2. Women's Visibility in the Imperial Circumcision Festivals of 1582 and 1720

The *Surname-i Hümayun* (Imperial Festival Book) and *Cami'ül-Buhur der Mecalis-i Sur* (Gatherer of the Seas in the Gatherings of the Festival) of the well-known historian *Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali* (d. 1600) are two most important documents of imperial circumcision festival of 1582. In addition to two sources, there is also the second volume of the *Şehinşahname* of Lokman (d. 1601) that is also an account of 1582 Festival. These accounts of the festival are not only texts but also 437 miniature paintings illustrating *Surname* and 35 miniatures in the *Şehinşahname* of Lokman.

⁵ Doğan Kuban, "The Miniatures of *Surname-i Vehbi*," http://www.geocities.com/surnamei_vehbi/kuban.html, (15 May 2004).

Variety in the sources make it possible to analyze the festival from different perspectives. The three sources of the festival of 1582 approach the festival from quite different standing points. At first sight, in the *Cami'ül-Buhur*, Mustafa Ali constructs his narrative around a rather neat classification of celebrations and a meticulous description of state protocol, while in the *Surname*, the festivities and merrymaking that went along with it are recounted in the order in which they took place each day. On the other hand, the *Şehinşahname* of Lokman is somewhere between the *Surname-i Hümayun* and *Cami'ül-Buhur* of Mustafa Ali in its approach and tone.⁶

The differentiation in the approach and standing point has critical impact on the visibility of women in the festival. For example, the miniatures of *Surname-i Hümayun* were depicted by different painters and personal interests of the painters became determinative in the visibility of women. Some of them preferred to describe crowds, which are composed of men as crowds of the entire population. Hence, women are not seen among the crowds of spectators almost in the first half of miniatures of the *Surname-i Hümayun*. Women appear among the spectators for the first time on fol. 197b in the *Surname-i Hümayun* of 1582 Festival. But they become rather frequently visible in the later scenes, especially with their children as dependent on painters' choices.

⁶ Derin Terzioğlu, "The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582: An Interpretation," *Muğarnas, An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture* XII, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995, p. 84.

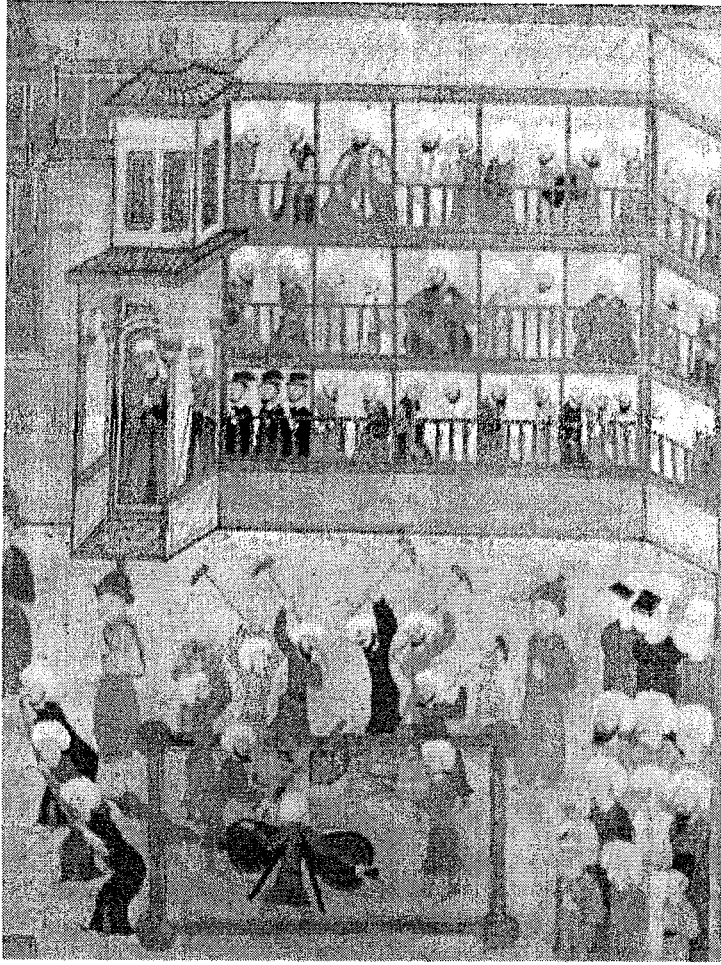


Figure III.I: Women's visibility in *Surname-i Hümayun* of 1582 Festival

Source : Nurhan Atasoy, *1582 Surname-i Hümayun: Düğün Kitabı*, Istanbul: Koçbank, 1997, p. 73.

In fact, the women's infrequently visibility and their depiction on the sidelines are not uncommon situations and stemmed from state policy regarding festival organization. As Haunolth points out, women were not allowed to enter the festival square, but congregated in the side streets to watch spectacles.⁷ In fact, in the miniatures of the *Surname-i Hümayun*, women were rarely seen among spectators in the festival square and they were always portrayed in the bottom right corner. In this context, what can the formal views of women in the paintings of the *Surname-i Hümayun* tell us? Can

⁷ Ibid., p. 94.

we learn about the experiences of women in public spaces from these images? Do those miniatures imply symbols of different social norms or different painting styles, or both?

As mentioned above, the value of miniatures as historical source is a tricky matter, but still the miniatures provide a visual record of women occupying physical space, dressed in some sort of clothing, performing tasks of one kind or another.⁸ Even women's absence or invisibility might tell something about their experiences in public life.⁹ In the case of *Surname* literature, women's sideline appearance or disappearance behind a screen from which they could not be seen¹⁰ or their unveiling may give us critical information about their social status, public experiences, gender segregation etc.

In general, women are not totally invisible in the miniatures of festival books. Rather, their depiction might have depended upon some circumstances. One of the cases is the *köçek* that was common for Ottoman males to take a woman's role

⁸ Nancy Micklewright, "Musicians and Dancing Girls: Images of Women in Ottoman Miniature Painting," *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern women in the Early Modern Era*, ed. by Madeline C. Zilfi, Leiden, New York: Brill, 1997, p. 165.

⁹ However, it should not be confused that women's visibility did not mean their good position in the society. This was a mistake which stemmed from having a modernist perspective while looking at a traditional society. See. Yvonne J. Seng, "Invisible Women: Residents of Early Sixteenth Century Istanbul," *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.

¹⁰ This practice usually was applied for women of the court and recorded in a number of miniatures of the sixteenth century. For example, women are visible looking out from grilled windows of Ibrahim Pasha Palace. The grilled windows allow them to watch festivities in acceptable degree of privacy. See, Nurhan Atasoy and Filiz Çağman, 1974, plate 21.

by dressing in female costume.¹¹ In the work of Mustafa Ali, it was also possible to see women in male attire. Dressed in male costume, a woman was in attendance at the festivities until a male spectator recognized her and reported her to the authorities. The woman was arrested, but she was released the next day when she explained that she was a virtuous woman and that her only motive had been to watch the festivities. She also explained in her defense that there were actually other women watching festivities and that she was guilty only in disguising herself as a man.¹² In this unusual record, it was perceived that, the woman was found guilty only because she disguised herself as a man. However, there is another critical question; why did this woman prefer to hide herself as a woman? It was known that women's visibility in public places always created a tension. In the case of festivals, there was not open prohibition about women's participation, but their presence in the festival square was not well received. In the case of disguised woman, she may not have been content with watching from the street and tried to enter to the festival square to watch spectacles from nearby. It was understood from her defense that women's watching the festivities were not prohibited.

In *Cami'ül-Buhur*, Mustafa Ali also narrates another interesting episode from the festival of 1582. A woman dressed like a man came to the square with a falcon in her hand and

¹¹ Nurhan Atasoy, "Scenes of Ottoman Women at Leisure," *Arts, Women and Scholars: Studies in Ottoman Society and Culture*, V. 2, eds. Sabine Prator and Christoph K. Neumann. Istanbul: Simurg, 2002, p. 392.

¹² Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Cami'ül-Buhur Der Mecalis-i Sur*, ed. Ali ztekin, Ankara: Turk Tarih Kurumu, 1996, p. 190-191.

declared herself to be an imperial falconer. The claim of parity by a woman with men met with no opposition and the female falconer was well received.¹³

A point that should draw attention here is the issue of how women were portrayed in the festivals as important as their visibility. In the miniatures of the *Surname-i Hümayun*, women appear unveiled, partly veiled and completely veiled. But careful examination of the original illustrations reveals that their faces were covered later.¹⁴ Indeed, in the survey of other contemporary images, women appear as unveiled.¹⁵ Nurhan Atasoy says that veiling might be seen as a new fashion developing under Arab impact.¹⁶ In an illustration from the second volume of *Şehinşahname* which records the funeral of *Nur Banu Sultān*, the valide sultan (d. 1583), there are a number of women whose faces are also observable but their dresses are appropriate for the street, among the mourners at the bottom of the page who wait the funeral entourage.¹⁷

The degree of control imposed on women and their visibility in the festival appears to have varied over the course of the time. There are differences between the festivals of 1582 and 1720 in terms of spatial organization, depiction of festivities and contends etc. And these differences also reflected to the depiction of women in the

¹³ Ibid., p. 190-191.

¹⁴ Derin Terzioğlu also confirms this view. See. Terzioğlu, p. 94.

¹⁵ In the two miniatures dated in 1581 and 1588, from *Şehname-i Selim Han* and *Hünername* respectively, women were portrayed as unveiled. See miniatures in Cemal Kafadar, "Tanzimat'tan Önce Selçuk ve Osmanlı Toplumunda Kadınlar," *Çağlar Boyu Anadolu'da Kadın: Anadolu Kadınının 9000 Yılı*, İstanbul: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Anıtlar ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, 1993, p. 195 and 197.

¹⁶ Atasoy, 1997, p. 130.

¹⁷ Atasoy and Çağman, 1974, plate 30.

miniatures of festivals due to the change in the relation between the rulers and ruled and social life. The festival of 1582 took place on a stage-like space. A pavilion was constructed for the sultan, the prince and the women of imperial harem and there was a clear separation between the dignitaries and commoners.

By the festival of 1720, however, the spectators were no longer separated from the performers. The events were held in a large, circular area in the Ok Meydanı, filled with the tents of Ottoman dignitaries and other important guests. Standing along the festival square and in the sides of streets, ordinary spectators were much closer to the performers and may have even found themselves in the midst of the various spectacles when the festivities spread outside. Beside that, in the *Surname-i Vehbi*, ordinary spectators were drawn to the center and portrayed in a left line not in the corner, while in the miniatures of *Surname-i Hümayun*, it seems rather a style to portray ordinary people including women in the lower right corner. In this context, it would be meaningful to ask what the reason is behind this little change in the depiction of commoners. Is it particular to only one painting? Or is it merely a change in artistic style? Or is it a sign of a changing relationship between the ruled and their rulers?



Figure III.II: Women's appearance in *Surname-i Vehbi* of 1720 Festival

Source : Esin Atıl, *Levni and Surname: The Story of An Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival*, Koçbank: İstanbul, 1999.

First of all, it should be remembered that *the Surname-i Vehbi* that is also an imperial festival book and does not illustrate events in the street side. Like the *Surname-i Hümayun* of 1582, it also takes festival as an imperial phenomenon, every element of which was arranged to be an expression of the abstract structure of imperial system. Therefore, it is very hard to guess that these miniatures are belonged to the Tulip Period, which was characterized with the life of pleasure. It was known that Ahmet III's court accelerated change by promoting a more secular public life, that were centered on leisure, and self-indulgence and

apparently expanding the range of women's appearances in public.¹⁸

Still, a small deviation from the *Surname* tradition in terms of depicting common populace in the *Surname-i Vehbi* may be read as a sign of change in social life as well as artistic style. But, going just on the *Surname-i Vehbi* will be insufficient and misleading. There are a number of contemporary miniatures apart from imperial festival book in the eighteenth century that make such a comparison possible. In the case of the sixteenth century, while most of the miniatures were in the state sponsored festival books that were prepared for the sultans and narrate the Ottoman legal world, in the eighteenth century, on the other hand, Ottoman miniatures were no longer favored only by the sultans. They were collected in private albums and focused on daily life, figures and flowers. For example, there is a great difference between the miniatures that are depicted for the *Surname-i Vehbi* and other miniatures of Levni prepared for private interests.¹⁹

Indeed, the miniatures of the eighteenth century present a striking departure in the subject matter from the court paintings of the sixteenth and to a lesser extent, the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century, there is a separate group of paintings, which allowed and apparently

¹⁸ Madeline C. Zilfi, "Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718-1730: The Tulip Era and Its Historiography," *Women, the Family and Divorce Laws in Islamic History*, Syracuse, 1996, p. 294.

¹⁹ Earlier works of Levni are primarily collections of single figures. In an album in Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H. 2164), there are 48 figures depicted by Levni in 1710-1720. See. Günsel Renda, *Batılılaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı 1700-1850*, Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1977, p. 35.

encouraged the representation of scenes that included, even focused on women as a result of introduction of new trends, new techniques and subjects.²⁰ One of them is the eighteenth century (1740s) copy of *Hamse of Atai* (Ataullah bin Yahya: 1583-1635/6).²¹ The miniatures, which were inserted into this copy, include erotic subjects. One of the miniatures depicted that a woman had punished her rascal son to be abandoned him by marrying off him with an old and ugly woman who had married and divorced time and again.²² What did this miniature mean for us? First of all, it is quite diverse from traditional miniature paintings of the sixteenth and seventeenth century in terms of subject matter. Beside two women's appearance, it renders a quite private story that is apart from ceremonious narratives of the palace. In the miniatures of the eighteenth century, the depiction of commoners, their experiences and urban life become much more observable. The Tulip Era had created a new secular public in which women are more visible. As Artan pointed out, these miniatures portray a third space that is the public of commoners (*amme-i halk*) spaced out from private and the State's public.²³

Abdullah Buhari, who was active in the 1730s and 1740s, is a well-known artist of the mid-eighteenth century and a good example of the aforementioned change. His paintings are

²⁰ Günsel Renda, "Searching for New Media in Eighteenth Century Ottoman Painting: Some Archival Documents as Sources," *Arts, Women and Scholars: Studies in Ottoman Society and Culture*, V. 2, eds. Sabine Präter and Christoph K. Neumann. İstanbul: Simurg, 2002, p. 451.

²¹ See miniatures in Artan, pp. 91-115.

²² See miniature in the first chapter of this thesis. This miniature of *Hamse-i Atai* was also utilized by Kafadar. See also Kafadar, 1993, p. 206.

²³ Artan, p. 92.

from the daily life of ordinary people. His particular interest in women also made him different from previous painters. He portrays various figure types and activities, showing a particular interest in women and daily life. In his miniatures, women were depicted in a variety of settings such as a woman looking out a window, bathing nude and smelling a flower.²⁴

Another important example that gives primary focus on women is the "*Hubanname and Zenanname*" of Fazıl Enderuni, dated in 1790s. In *Zenanname*, there are images of different sort, which show events in the lives of various women including a birth scene, a woman bathing and a view of women enjoying themselves in picnic, *mesire*. Having an opinion on the eighteenth century miniatures, still the questions presented by their content and style have not been addressed. Does women's appearance more often in the miniatures mean active participation in social life? What kind of relation is there between women's visibility in visual materials and their social life?

As a conclusion, most of the studies on the miniatures that have been done to date were interested in women's visibility or invisibility in the festivals. On the other hand, I argue that women's relation with the festivals has to be examined in a broader context in particular why they were visible or not, in what circumstances and how they were portrayed. In this context, I argue that it is an unnecessary attempt to necessarily find a particular place for women in

²⁴ Nancy Micklewright, p. 162.

the miniatures since the women's visibility and depiction in the paintings is quite similar to that of men. Here, social status is much more important than gender. Ordinary women were always depicted among ordinary men while upper class women were totally invisible and separated from men. Yet, the rare appearance of ordinary women as opposed to men and their depiction in relatively small numbers necessitate a different kind of explanation that takes into account the role of gender.

3. *Mesire*: An Urban Place for Leisure

Mesires as one of the outing spaces like festivals had an important place in urban daily life of Istanbul. For this study, *mesires* has a critical weight because they were one of the rare areas that make possible to watch women outside their homes. Women's outings to *mesires* have a long history. However, secondary literature on *mesire* and its consumption as a space by women is mainly focused on the nineteenth and partly on the eighteenth century. This interest was probably stemmed from availability and accessibility of primary sources. Especially, the nineteenth century was quite fertile in terms of both Ottoman archival sources and traveler accounts. On the other hand, sources on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' *mesire* tradition are quite limited. Some of these documents are traveler accounts, *fermans*, court records, chronicles and visual materials like miniatures.

In this part of the chapter, I will analyze mesires as a gendered space and its place in urban women's life in Istanbul. I will also question the eighteenth century's significance as a turning point regarding women's connection with public life with specific focus on whether women's appearance in *mesires* began in the eighteenth century.

Before the discussion of women's outings in mesires, it is necessary to understand the place and significance of mesires in urban life of Istanbul. Before going into detail, the examining of two terms, *mesire* and picnics, is significant. As a term, *mesire* is not synonym with picnic in early modern Istanbul context. In Ottoman sources, *mesire* was defined as a space [*ism-i mekan* of *seyr*], or *mesiregah* where people ride for amusement and excursion [*tenezzüh* and *teferrüc* are defined as acts related to *mesire*].²⁵ On the other hand, picnic as a term refers to both a space and an action.

More importantly, the *mesire* and the picnic are different in nature. *Mesires* were not escaping from noisy and polluted city life to the rural areas. These were concepts of the modern era, and running away from urban life was supposed to be an act associated with the picnics of today. Therefore, mesires were not physically separated from urban structure of Istanbul since the urban composition and nature were

²⁵"Nisvan taifesinden bazıları tenezzüh ve teferrüc bahanesi ile Üsküdar'dan Kısıklı, Bulgurlu, Çamlıca ve Merdivenköyü'ne..." 1165/1752, quoted from Reşat Ekrem Koçu, *Tarihimizde Garip Vakalar*, İstanbul: Varlık Yayınları, 1958, p. 63-73.

surpassing each other in the life-style of people in Istanbul. Mesires were a good example of this life style.²⁶

Mesires were quite at the center of urban life and a part of urban life itself. Eremya Çelebi K m rciyan writing in the seventeenth century talks about many beautiful gardens, melon fields and meadows in intramural Istanbul.²⁷ According to Evliya Çelebi, Istanbul has many *mesires*, park-like landscapes, such as as Atmeydanı, Ağa Çayırı in Silivrikapı, Yeni Bahçe in Topkapı, Baruthane in Haliç, Vefa and Fatih Mosque's around, Beyazid Mosque's square, and S laymaniye, Şehzade and Aya Sofya Mosque's squares.²⁸ As it was seen, these *mesires* were mostly associated with the most important mosques of Istanbul. Then, one can easily say that resting and entertaining could be connected with religious activities. Groups of men and women separately enjoy outings, sometimes combining them with a pious visit to the mausoleum of a saint.²⁹ For example, Ey p was an important *mesiregah* as well as being a center of inner pilgrimage. People from different *mahalles* of Istanbul had visited Ey p Sultan's tomb and mosque and afterwards spread out around the mosque to pass the time. In modern urban life, it might seem controversial. However, as Artan pointed out, in traditional Ottoman society of the early modern era, this was not strange. For the people of Istanbul,

²⁶ For relation between the nature, and urban space and urban architecture see. Maurice M. Cerasi, "18. Y zyıl Osmanlı Kenti," *Cogito*, Sayı 19, Yaz 1999, p. 207.

²⁷ Eremya Çelebi K m rciyan, *İstanbul Tarihi: XVII. Asırda İstanbul* İstanbul: Eren Kitabevi Yayınları, 1988, p. 2.

²⁸ Robert Mantran, *XVI. ve XVII. Y zyılda İstanbul'da G ndelik Hayat*, İstanbul: Eren, 1991, p. 216.

²⁹ Suraiya Faroqi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, London, New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2000, p. 182.

religiosity and sacredness were not separated from the worldly.³⁰

At the same time, *mesires* were officially defined as spaces in urban structure of early modern Istanbul. Due to their legal dimension, *mesires* have been under the direct control of the authorities. Especially, in the nineteenth century, there were lots of *tembihnames* in *varaka-i mahsusas* that were full of regulations related to the *mesire adabı*.³¹ Before the nineteenth century, even though there were no such kind of regulations, there were a number of decrees stipulating the proper manners in *mesires*, particularly for women.

Owing to their legality, *mesires* were not randomly selected spaces for entertaining. They had an established structure. Natural beauties like greenness, trees and a stream were primary elements of *mesires*. Yet, there are also institutions associated with a *mesire* like a fountain, a small mosque or *mescit*, a tomb, a mansion, a small palace etc. Among these, *mesires* called with *kasır* and *su kemerleri* were quite popular. *Mesires* were also authorized by the leading figures of the Palace through patronizing these institutions. For example, Ibrahim Pasha decided to build pools and *kasırs* in

³⁰ Tülay Artan, *Eyüp: Dün/Bugün, Sempozyum, 11-12 Aralık 1993*, İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1994, p. 106.

³¹ Two of these *varaka-ı mahsusas* were published. For *Tembihname* dated 1268/1852, see. Seval Akpınar, "İstanbul'da Mesire Yerleri ve 1852 Tarihli *Tembihname*," *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, v. 10, No. 55, Nisan 1972, İstanbul, pp. 10-12. For *Tembihname* dated 1861, see. Ali Rıza Bey, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul*, ed. Niyazi Ahmet Banoğlu, İstanbul, pp. 218-220.

Kağıthane. He preferred to construct these buildings among the high trees near to the Kağıthane stream.³²

4. *Mesire*: A Women's Place

The *mesire* was a space for the recreation of both women and men in the early modern era, but it was certainly more important in the daily lives of women. As one of the rare excuse for excursion, the *mesire* was an important space for women's sociability. In contrast to festivals, it provided particular forms of exchange between women while festivals offered only a passive entertaining through watching spectacles. They were active participants both in the preparation for *mesires* and entertaining themselves during the time period they passed together in *mesire* places.

Studying *mesire* as a space occupied by women in early modern Istanbul brings within awkward problems in terms of primary sources. Firstly, there is a scarcity of evidence dealing with the experiences of women in *mesires* before the eighteenth century. Both archival sources and traveler accounts had focused on the eighteenth century onwards. As a result of accumulation of sources on the eighteenth century, it was supposed that women were apparently expanding the range of their appearances in public. Indeed, it was accepted that eighteenth century, particularly Tulip Era, promoted a more secular public life and women of Istanbul became more visible

³² Ahmet Refik mentions Imrahor Kasrı *mesiresi* and other structures such as mosques, pools established in Kağıthane. See. Ahmet Refik, *Eski İstanbul*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1998, pp. 28-29.

in urban daily life.³³ In this manner, the following questions are very important: Did women really become more visible in public in the eighteenth century as they were never been? What kind of contribution did *mesires* make on women's appearance in social life?

Above all, why did primary sources accumulate from the eighteenth century onwards? The focus of sources on the eighteenth century might be explained from different perspectives. First of all, the palace began to show itself among public in *mesires*, mostly centered on leisure, self-indulgence and the entertainment of dynasty, making court life more ubiquitous and visible.³⁴ In this context, *mesires* were the spaces where the sultan and the leading figures of the palace were seen quite often. Court outings in *mesires* also included the women of the court and the wives of the upper class. Hence, these women who experimented with the old strictures became more visible and even touchable, as it had never been in the past.³⁵ Because of its relation to the Palace, the *mesire* might be taking its place in the written sources by attracting attention of authorities and travelers.

³³ For the general discussion of secularization of public in Tulip Era and its effects on women of Istanbul, see. Madeline C. Zilfi, 1996, pp. 290-303.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 294.

³⁵ Women of the court and upper class were always less visible than ordinary women. As it was mentioned above, women of the palace had watched festivities behind a cabin in which they were not seen, while common women were watching in the street side. Leslie Pierce, on the other hand, argues that upper class women were seeable but not touchable. She gives example of *hamam* visit of an upper class woman. Since, this woman were accompanied by her slaves around by having a wall of people, she is visible, but not touchable. See. Leslie Pierce, *Harem-i Hümayun: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Hükümlerlik ve Kadınlar*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998, p. 359.

Besides this, density of archival sources in the eighteenth century might be stemmed from increase in violations regarding to the use of *mesire* that necessitates surveillance of the authorities. Decrees from sixteenth and seventeenth century indicate that women's entertaining in *mesires* and various kinds of abuses of law in these spaces did not begin with that period. The phenomenon was chronic. In an archival document, dated 1171, the use of gardens in Edirnekapı as *mesire* by men and women was forbidden due to damage on vegetables.³⁶ Therefore, it can be said that there were always violations in the use of *mesires*, but these violations changed in nature and escalated in the eighteenth century. In addition to this argument, it was assumed that common women were always going out *mesires* even if it was not so regularly as in the eighteenth century.³⁷

Another important problem in the study of *mesires* is also related to the aforementioned explanation dealing with the centrality of the eighteenth century. That is, most of the sources dealing with *mesires* and women are about the excursion of upper class women. Hamadeh also talk about the public exposure of the palace. She argues that unlike the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, imperial elite did not

³⁶ Ahkam register 4/309/919, evail-i L Sene 1171/8-17 Haziran 1758, *İstanbul Ahkam Defterleri: İstanbul'da Sosyal Hayat I [İstanbul Külliyyatı IX]*, ed. by Ahmet Kal'a, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı İstanbul Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1997, pp. 139-140.

³⁷ For every *mesire*, a specific day was assigned and women were forbidden to go out *mesire* for specific days. According to a court record, dated 24 Muharrem 1195 / 20 Ocak 1781, women's outings to *mesires* around Üsküdar, Alibeyköyü, Sadabat, Karacağaç and Eyüp. Üsküdar Mahmenesi, S. 506, V. 82/b, 24 Muharrem 1195 / 20 January 1781 in Sadık Albayrak, *59 Orjinal Belge Işığında Osmanlı'da Sosyal Yapı ve İstanbul*, İstanbul: Kiptaş, 1998, pp. 70-71.

seclude themselves behind the walls. Thus, elite women became also more visible in *mesires* and private gardens as well.³⁸ The largest part of *fermans* and other kinds of archival documents were directed to the upper class women who had the opportunity to follow the fashion of non-Muslims, wear luxurious clothing and have wealth to ride with a carriage. In an archival document, dated 1138, it is stated that women learn to behave in improper manner in these spaces, and relations between husbands and wives broke down. According to the record, women were forbidden from going out to the *mesire* due to their luxurious consumption since they cause imitation of this fashion by middle class women. Women have forcibly taken spending money from their husbands, and if there was none to take, they sought to divorce, *talak*, on those grounds.³⁹

The miniatures depicting women's recreation in *mesires* were not representative of ordinary women's outings. From those miniatures, it is possible to think that *mesire* outings were particular to upper class women. For example, two miniature paintings, located in Berlin, exhibits women's entertainment in the open air.⁴⁰ The miniature is more representative of the time, Tulip era, rather than ordinary women. It depicts women around a river while entertaining themselves with playing and singing, sleeping. Their way of

³⁸ Shirine Hamadeh, "Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the "Inevitable" Question of Westernization," *JSAH*, Volume 63, Number 1, March 2004, pp. 42-43.

³⁹ Reşat Ekrem Koçu, p. 67.

⁴⁰ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst, inv. No. I. 28/75, pl. No. 4301 and No. I. 28/75, pl. No. 4302, quoted from Atasoy, 2002, pp. 396-397.

entertaining with music, their clothing and servants show that they were not ordinary women. As another example, the most famous miniature on *mesire* in *Zenanname* depicted upper class women resting at Kağıdhane at the edge of a stream, swinging, smoking and being entertained. From the clothing style of women, it was understood that these women had a high socio-economic status.

Still, the miniature paintings remain one of the most important sources dealing with women's experiences in *mesire* places due to the absence of sources. For example, they might be useful in illuminating the activities of women in these spaces. By going on the miniature paintings depicting women in *mesire* outings, women's ways of passing time can be seen as playing, dancing and singing, cooking and eating, sleeping, swinging. However, the women's manner of performing these activities and clothing bring to mind the question of credibility of these sources. For example, women's appearance in a miniature painting by Levni, three women are swinging in a swing, and another woman is shown climbing the tree. Her hair plaited into numerous braids that hang down her back. More interestingly, a woman has lain down on a carpet spread on the ground and put her head on a pillow.⁴¹ This specific miniature and other miniature paintings show that either these miniatures were the product of imagination or women's activities and clothing in *mesires* were remote from intrusiveness of the authorities. The presence of many decrees

⁴¹ The miniature was depicted by Levni and placed in the collection of Sadruddin Aga Khan. It was utilized by Atasoy. See Atasoy, 2002, p. 398.

dealing with mesire and regulating women's clothing and activities in outer spaces makes the latter argument impossible.⁴²

As it was the case in many other issues related to the experience of women, the subject of women's use of mesires as a public space has to be revealed up through prohibitions due to aforementioned violations. Even though *mesires* were secular and relatively free public spaces, they were always controlled by the authorities. In the early modern era, there were not aforementioned *tembihnames* declaring mesire rules collectively in one document. However, there are some regulations, warnings and prohibitions dependent upon some conditions. It can be surely said that most of archival sources about mesires are about violations by women. These violations can be also categorized as abuses in clothing, gender segregation and travel conditions.⁴³

What are the main motives behind the control of the state on public *mesires*? The authorities' regulations on *mesires* were based on regulating virtue in the society with the support of Islamic law. In this context, immorality constituted the main justification for the application of decrees. Contemporary regulations regarding women confirm such consideration. *Mesires* were conceived by authorities as spaces that threatened family life and institution of marriage through women's degradation. For "when these women got on and

⁴² Thus, these visual records like traveler accounts did not represent actual observation; rather they presented an imagined *mesire*.

⁴³ As in the case of aforementioned ferman, dated 1171/8-17 Haziran 1758 and related to the gardens in Edirnekapı, some decrees prohibit the use of gardens as *mesires*.

off swings, swaggering youths embraced them," and as if this were not indecent enough, once the women were on the swings, "laughing and singing all the while," their coats would fly open to reveal their underclothing up to their waistbands. While some of these women came to the parks with their husbands' permission, others, contrary to law and usage, came without such leave, claiming these were "general permission" (*izn-i am*).⁴⁴

The clothing of women in *mesires* was attracting direct attention of the authorities. In Ottoman society, clothing was an important symbol of social rank and religious identity. Especially for Muslim women, proper clothing and veiling were supposed to be a vital element of being chaste. Moreover, a Muslim woman was distinguished from a non-Muslim by her choice of modest clothing. From time to time, imperial edicts were issued to restrict the movement of women in *mesires* due to violations in clothing. For example, in an order issued on *Şevval* 1138, Muslim women were prohibited imitating the clothing of infidels, particularly their innovative accessories and headgear that violated the requirements proper attire.

Muslim women were to be prevented from wearing cloaks with large collars, long ribbons in their hair, and large kerchiefs. If they violated these restrictions in the streets and *mesires*, their clothes and collars were to be cut off out.

⁴⁴ The passage, wrote by Şemdanizade, was quoted from Zilfi, 1996, p. 293.

Moreover, the *imams* of the *mahalles* were ordered to threaten and harass those tailors.⁴⁵

The miniature in *Zenanname* describes women resting at Kağıthane at the edge of a stream, swinging, smoking and being entertained. Some of them wear colorful "ferace", the collars of which fall to the waist. The others have taken off their "ferace" and wear their usual clothes that are used in home. Their large shawls, which are tied round the waist and cover their hips, are knotted in front. The décolleté of their dresses is low and their breasts can be seen. Their veils are tied very loosely on their heads. Their hair, seen at the back from under the veil, is waist length. The miniature was proving violations that the women did not obey the *fermans* published by the Palace.

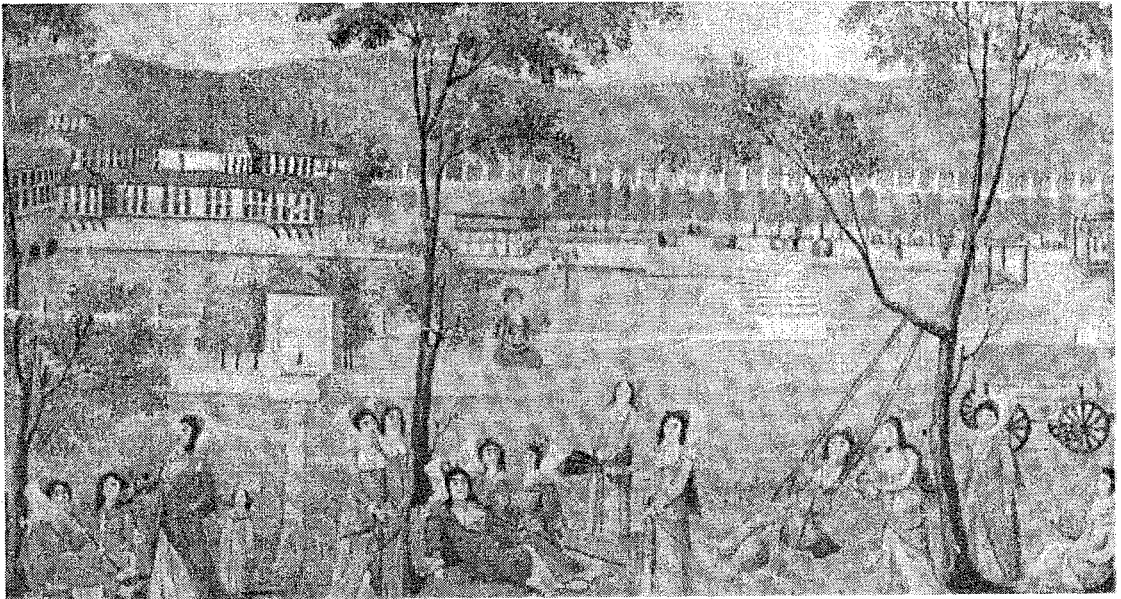


Figure III.III: Women's recreation in Kağıthane *mesire*
Source : *Zenanname*, İstanbul University Library, T. 5502, fol. 78a.

On the other hand, in some cases, regulations on women's clothing are also considered to be sumptuary laws.⁴⁶ According

⁴⁵ Reşat Ekrem Koçu, 1958, p. 67.

to this argument, official edicts did not remain restricted to the definition of dress code alone, but aimed at imposing control on women's public conduct.⁴⁷ However, making such a generalization might cause prejudice in the understanding and evaluating of sources. It should always be born in mind that authorities control on women mostly stemmed from various reasons such as applying *Sharia*, controlling women's public conduct and keeping people in their own status.

By law and custom, Muslim women were expected to be virtuous and untouched and unknown physically and personally by *namahrem*, any man not within the allowable degrees of familial intimacy. And, the surest guarantor against knowledge of outsider was segregation. And, the authority was responsible for this application outside the home through declaring restrictive sartorial decrees. The government considered intermingling of the sexes as the motivation of many evil actions.⁴⁸ Thus, women together with men were asked to use separate areas in *mesires* that were allocated for them and entertain themselves on the meadow in separate groups.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 29, 1997, pp. 403-425.

⁴⁷ See. Fariba Zarinebaf-Shar, "Women and Public Eye in Eighteenth-Century İstanbul," *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999, p. 315.

⁴⁸ For example, authorities saw a link between crime and intermingling of sexes. The rate of crime in İstanbul was obviously much higher than in other cities in the empire. Perhaps the growing violence against women, in particular, prompted the government to issue bans on their public appearance. See. Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, p. 320.

⁴⁹ Pardoe described Küçüküsu as one of the main entertainment spots where women are as comfortable as in their houses. She also noted that there was a dense cluster of trees covering the small area between women's area and Göksu stream. The back part of the trees was reserved for men. Burçak Evren and Dilek Girgin Can, *Yabancı*

Arrival in the *mesire* was as important as proper clothing and gender segregation. The Ottoman authorities strictly regulated women's travel. Women's travel to remote areas was dependent on some provision like having a *mahrem*, he is so closely related by blood that marriage with him forbidden. This practice was also supported by Islamic law that prohibited women's travel alone to remote areas in insecure conditions. Thus, women were occasionally banned from going to remote *mesires* which required getting into carriages.⁵⁰

To conclude, urban women of all classes were touched by the changes of the eighteenth century, albeit in varying degrees. The softening of attitudes regarding women's public appearance had a positive impact on the growing public visibility of women in Istanbul. In the long run, this helped enhance further their social standing. Yet, women could not participate in public entertainments and leisure-time pursuits in the way that men of the same class or means might. Nonetheless, festivals and picnics of their own were the main spaces where they participated in urban life.

Gezginler ve Osmanlı Kadını, İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1997, p. 47.

⁵⁰ Nisvan taifesinden bazıları tenezzüh ve teferrüc bahanesiyle Üsküdar'dan Kısıklı, Bulgurlu, Çamlıca ve Merdivenköyü'ne, bazıları dahi Boğaz'dan Tokad, Akbaba, Dereseki ve Uşa'ya aralabalarla gidip ve edeb ve hayayı atıp enva'ı şenaati irtikap ettikleri ihbar olundu. Bundan böyle kadınların arabalarla bu uzak mesirelere gitmeleri yasak edilmiştir. Gidenlerle, onları yasağa rağmen arabasına alıp götürecek arabacılar yakalandıkları gibi İstanbul'dan taşraya sürüleceklerdir. Reşat Ekrem Koçu, 1958, pp. 63-73.

Conclusion

In seeking to reveal women's everyday life in early modern Istanbul with particular focus on the use of space, I hoped to gain a closer understanding of women's urban experience. Taking gender as an analytical category,¹ I have investigated women's relationship with space through the use of domestic and outside domains. While studying these spaces, I was inspired by a hierarchy that took its form from women's familiarity and relation to the space. Beside that, the privacy of women had a critical weight in the explanation of the use of space by women.

This study, like many other current works, has shown that space in the Ottoman realm was by no means defined by a clear distinction of private and public spaces that brings about the injunction on veiling and segregation of sexes.² As I have discussed with specific reference to Tülay Artan, the eighteenth century experienced the emergence of a new public (*amme-i halk*) outside the state's definition of public, *amme*, and private, *hassa*.³ In this new public space, there is not a clear distinction between the public and private spaces and the inhabitants of the city, who were called *amme* and had formed a new arena for themselves in which they were not defined or identified with the instruments of the state.

¹ Louise A. Tilly, "Gender, Women's History, and Social History," *Social Science History*, Vol. 13, No.4, Winter 1989, pp. 439-77.

² Dina Rizk Khouri, "Drawing Boundaries and Defining Spaces: Women and Space in Ottoman Iraq," *Women, the Family and Divorce Laws in Islamic History*, ed. Amira Sonbol, Syracuse, 1996, p. 173.

³ Tülay Artan, "Mahremiyet Mahrumiyetin Resmi," *Defter* 20, Bahar-Yaz 1993, p. 92.

In dealing with the physical space, domestic space was the most familiar space by women. Through the analysis of *tereke* registers of women and of a different set of documents that deal with the actual division of space within the household revealed that conception of space was not defined only by consideration of privacy but by different factors such as social background, economic status, tradition, physical environment etc. For example, the use of interior of the house was partly defined by spatial form and physical design. In the same way, there was not linear correlation between the physical design and the practice of privacy as it was usually supposed. Beside that, privacy as a concept exposed a number of problematic. As a modern term, 'privacy' failed to explain the use of space in the early modern era. Rather, Ottoman terminology, revealed in archival sources dealing with the houses and household issues seemed to be more explanatory and meaningful.

In addition, I may suggest that the *tereke* registers are very useful sources in the examination of domestic space and its use by women. For example, the ownership of a clock in early modern Istanbul might be seen as a sign of high socio-economic status. Similarly, absence of chairs and tables in the probate inventories were the direct reflection of eating habits of the time. As I have said, the comparison of the *tereke* registers with the probate inventories of Europe may also provide a broader perspective in the evaluation of household goods for future studies.

Although the domestic space was accepted as a woman's domain, women's actions were not limited to household activities. The neighborhood played a significant role in women's daily life. Although it was a space outside the house, the neighborhood could be regarded as a semi-private space as an extension of the house. In the hierarchy which began from the inside of the house to the doorway and public realm of the city, the neighborhood had a very privileged status. It was neither private nor public in terms of its use by women. It was an important threshold from the house to the outer spaces. After all, I have shown that women were more advantageous in participating in the urban life through the neighborhood and its institutions such as public bath and local shops. As also argued, the neighborhood was an arena for women's network in the city.

I have also shown that there were other public and social spaces such as festivals and *mesires* outside the neighborhood. Even though these spaces were categorized as public spaces, women's relation with these spaces was in very different manners. It has been discussed that festivals were the organizations prepared by the state and women were only spectators like other ordinary men in these organizations. Therefore, women were only visible in the festivals rather than active participants. In contrast, *mesires* were public spaces for sociability of women. Like the public bath, women were able to express themselves in public through *mesires*.

In the use of both domestic and public spaces, gender-segregation was a strict rule. But it might not be seen as the

disadvantage of being women in the early modern context. Like men in the coffeehouses, women were entertaining themselves with their fellows in public baths and *mesires*. Thus, taking gender segregation as an obstacle in women's public conduct does not seem to be a proper way of explaining the urban experience of women.

This argument, however, inevitably contradicts the popular view based on traveler accounts. According to this view, Ottoman women did not play any considerable role in the consumption of the space outside the house owing to their seclusion and segregation. Accordingly, European painters depicted Muslim women in totally secluded areas such as in erotic scenes of the harem, the slave market and the public bath although they were unable to encounter women in these spaces.⁴ As a result, they wrote their imaginations and hearsay, rather than actual observation. Even if they had an opportunity to observe women as did Lady Montagu in the public bath, they were not able to give up their orientalizing gaze.

Strikingly, the orientating gaze of traveler accounts were often supported by imperial decrees dealing with women's appearance in the public. Here, a methodological problem arises as to how these sources can be used in the examination of women's everyday experience. Reading these texts as a mere reflection of practices seemed to be the main problem. On the other hand, a deep reading of these texts through a contextual analysis showed that the bans were not exclusively about

⁴ Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, "Women, Law, and Imperial Justice in Ottoman Istanbul in the Late Seventeenth Century," *Women, the Family and Divorce Laws in Islamic History*, ed. Amira Sonbol, Syracuse, 1996, p. 82.

women's presence in outer spaces. They also seemed to be the outcomes of authorities' attempts to maintain public order and manage everything under the control. Likewise, Quataert defines this attitude of the state regarding their subjects in the eighteenth century as "sumptuary laws."⁵

Beside that, authorities' regulations dealing with public conducts of subjects such as the regulation of outside clothing of women found a justification on the religious base. The terminology in the decrees including bans revealed that state saw itself as a principle responsible for the application of Islamic law. Therefore, the authorities often made reference to the Sharia when they decided to regulate the clothing of women in public.⁶

I have shown throughout this study that in the Ottoman urban setting, women's public experience was not necessarily defined by norms exposed in the legal law such as public-private differentiation and gender segregation. Although on the ideological level these norms were invoked whenever women transgressed their limits, considerable leverage was given to women that combined with certain socioeconomic factors and left many in control of their lives.⁷ Besides that, as I have

⁵ Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 29, 1997, pp. 403-425.

⁶ It has also been established that laws, in particular, those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which sought to control the movement of women, appear to have been applied more to prostitutes than to women as a whole. Still, it is possible to state that women's activities in public were accepted as an important obstacle to maintain the public order in the eyes of authorities. Therefore, it cannot be doubted that the physical space allocated to women was narrower than that allocated to men.

⁷ Zarinebaf-Shahr, p. 83.

argued for both the neighborhood and public spaces, the use and meanings ascribed to the space by women in the early modern era were not defined only by gender. The segregation of sexes and isolation of women were mainly related to the class phenomenon rather than gender. Therefore, social status seemed as important as gender in the examination of women's use of outer spaces. Still, women of all classes participated in urban social life at different levels and in different manners. For example, an upper class woman has been surrounded with her servants while she was going to public bath that reminds the walls of *harem*.⁸

Lastly, I may suggest that the public world of early modern women in Istanbul was both larger and much less menacing than we suppose. However, I have also argued that the women's sphere of action was by no means defined by the boundaries set up through religious-ideological norms, but by a set of factors such as social background, economic status, tradition, familial relations and physical conditions. Thus, I may suggest that aforementioned suggestion may also be criticized by later studies on "women and space in early modern era." I have experienced during this adventure that studying the urban experience of women in the early modern era necessitates a multi-dimensional inquiry with the support of contextual reading of the archival documents in comparison with western scholarship.

⁸ Leslie P. Pierce, *Harem-i Hümayun: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Hükümlerlik ve Kadınlar*, Tarih İstanbul: Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998, p. 359.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix I. A Selection of Probate Inventories

I.I. The Probate Inventory of Havva Hatun ibnet-i Beri Ali

Object	Number	Value
Yorgan yemeni	1	80
Döşek beledi	2	451
Yastık işleme	2	130
Yüz-i yastık	3	18
Minder beledi köhne	1	71
Kilim	2	181
Tencere	2	120
Leğen ma'a ibrik	1	71
Demir sini	1	150
Maşraba	1	27
Sahan köhne	3	122
Sahan sağır	1	15
Tas	3	45
Ayna	1	27
Arakiyye	1	37
Alaca kutu	1	28
Yeşil toka	1	35
Alaca kaftan	1	73
boğasi terlik	1	12
Alaca zibun	1	31
Döşek çarşafı	1	43
Baş tokası	4	20
Alaca don	1	30
Bohça işlem	2	41
Hamam kutusu	1	100
Hamam döşemesi	1	12
Kemha zibun	1	72
Alaca kaftan	1	250
Demirli sandık	1	67
Sini iskemlesi	1	10
Ferace mor çuka	1	1260
Yorgan çarşafı	2	151
Minder çarşafı	1	52
Şamdan	1	10
Ocak perdesi	1	14
Evreke	1	10
Mihr-i müeccel		500
Total		4452

Source: Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 136, V. 31/3, Evasit-i Rebiü'l-evvel 1028.

I.II. The Probate Inventory of Ümmü Gülsüm Hatun ibnet-i Hüseyin

Object	Number	Value
Yüz-i yasdık	1	1590
Gömlek cedid	8	2220
saç bağı ebad	10	2500
Kaliçe köhne	1	1000
Saçlık	1	4200
Yasdık burusa	2	860
Yasdık burusa	2	1060
Perde-i ocak	1	500
Minder ham yüz	2	1600
Minder yüzü	1	104
Döşek ham	1	1040
? ebad	10	4410
Döşek bursa	2	2960
hatim -----		1000
Küpe dahab	1	1000
Döşek ham	2	2200
?		400
Yasdık hurda	2	82
Kaftan atlas ma'a kürk tavşan		2400
sorguç	1	4750
Don seraser	1	755
Çakşir diz	1	196
Bohça münakkaş	1	570
Bohça	1	215
Atlas kaftan		1440
Atlas kaftan		1520
Sofra münakkaş	3	960
?		1615
Gömlek münakkaş	1	340
Gömlek	1	85
Makreme zibun münakkaş	12	1605
Sanduk	1	460
Gömlek	2	120
Sofra-i mum	1	12
Beyaz çarşeb	1	100
Atlas kaftan yün dökmesi	1	3600
Leğen örtüsü	1	1000

sim		
Minder	2	300
Yün yasdık minder	2	520
Sanduk	1	460
Duvar makremesi	1	205
Uçkur münakkaş	8	824
Yorgan seraser	1	8805
Pabuç	1	103
Gömlek münakkaş	1	215
Köhne kuşak sim	1	3295
Çarşeb münakkaş	1	800
Minder ----- sim	1	36
Çamaşır makreme	2	76
Kese ve kutu	3	150
Bohça	1	610
Mor kadife kaftan	1	2020
Müressa' kuşak	1	3850
Ayna müressa'	1	725
Bohça münakkaş	3	450
Sanduk	2	187
Don cedid	9	824
Bez zira	12	300
Beyaz ?	1	220
Arakiyye	3	230
Don münakkaş	2	340
Zibun seraser	1	422
Çakşir seraser	1	161
Zibun atlas	1	317
Ferace siyah	1	1065
Çarşeb münakkaş	1	1000
Yağlık	2	180
Makreme ma'a peçe	1	130
İncili	1	8200

kaftan		
Yorgan	10	815
Gömlek-i hamam ve döşeme		480
Peşkir	1	270
Peşkir dokuma	1	460
?	1	240
Dülbend-i çarşeb	10	135
Yasdık ham	3	390
Döşek ham	1	700
Yorgan başlığı	1	500
Çarşeb beyaz	1	150
Çarşeb beyaz	1	150
Döşek beledi	4	1000
Gılaf-1 yasdık	15	1120
Sahan	14	1000
Gılaf-1 minder	4	600
Gılaf-1 döşek	1	150
Tencere	2	150
Tencere derin	4	150
Sini bakır	1	300
Def'a sini bakır	1	300
Maşraba köhne	1	480
Tepsi	3	275
Bakraç	1	46
Kutu köhne	1	20

Şamdan	1	110
?	1	50
Kevkir	2	30
Tabe sağır	1	40
Fenar	1	60
Maşraba	1	60
?	1	30
Tabe kibar	10	100
Tas	3	140
Tepsi	2	180
Tas	1	100
Tas	1	40
Leğen-i hamam	1	205
Leğen-i kebir	1	550
Çarşeb	1	200
Şamdan	1	71
Küb ?	1	50
Leğen ve ibrik	1	305
Kaliçe	1	300
Cariye	1	9605
Çarşeb	1	200
Mihr-i müeccel müsebbit	1	12000
Mahalle-i mezburede vaki' olan haneden müteveffa-i mezbureye ait olan hisse		2092
Total		136584

Source: Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 137, V. 26/3, 22 Ramazan 1028.

I.III. The Probate Inventory of Ayşe Hatun bint-i Yusuf

Object	Number	Value
Ferace siyah	1	1540
süd mai kaftan atlas	1	1260
Kuşak sim	190 dirhem	2567
? Beyaz	1	140
Yorgan çatma	1	300
Gılaf-ı yasdık	2	120
Minder yüzü alaca	1	60
Yasdık yüzü	1	30
Peçe	1	100
Minder yüz alaca	1	80
Sahan	4	200
Minder yüzü	1	40
Gılaf-ı yasdık	2	172
Def'a minder yüzü	1	111
Leğen	1	140
Gılaf-ı minder	1	75
Sini bakır	1	170
Kaliçe köhne	1	215
Arakiye	1	162
Leğen-i hamam	1	235
Tencere ve paye	1	104
Kil kutusu	1	30
Gılaf-ı döşek	1	220
Zibun hare	1	346
Don münakkaş	1	60
Gılaf-ı döşek	1	121
Bohça	2	90
İbrik	1	120
Maşraba	1	47
Süd mai yen	1	130
Döşek	1	240
Yasdık burusa	3	90
Sanduk	1	160
Bilezik müsekkal (144)	17	2427
Total		11792

Source: Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 137, V. 12/3, Evasıt-ı Şevval, 1028.

I.IV. The Probate Inventory of Şemsu's-Sihha Hatun bint-i
Abdullah

Object	No.	Value
Yastık	1	30
Yastık	1	35
Gılaf-1 yastık	1	13
Güğüm	1	132
Sahan	3	150
Dolama	1	190
Yağlık	4	60
Makreme münakkaş	3	240
Atlas zibun	1	240
Kaftan-1 yeşil	1	500
Yastık	2	350
Makreme	2	30
Sandık	1	90
Tahta sandık	1	20
Küpe has	1	80
İncü bilezik	1	280
Beledi minder	1	90
Kaliçe	1	500
Arar köhne	1	62
Köhne don	1	15
Sandık	1	11
Velence sarı	1	230
Femar gömleği	1	150
Yastık bursa	1	530
Yastık	1	110
Tas	1	30
Yorgan	1	17
Döşek beledi	1	300
?	1	23
?	1	40
Makreme divar	2	45
Sarı atlas		470
Bohça	3	220
Minder-i ham	1	236
Sandık köhne	1	70
Hırdavat		20
Kutu	1	17
Alaca minder	1	90
Tencere	1	75
fanus	1	40
Kutu köhne	1	46

?	2	20
kaftan	1	402
Yastık	1	127
Çarşebe	2	40
Don	1	36
Çakşir	1	18
Yastık	1	16
Alaca kutu	1	40
Yastık	1	40
Leğen köhne	1	140
Tas	1	30
Tas	1	44
Hasır köhne	3	20
Kebe köhne	1	30
Kutu	1	31
Makreme münakkaş	1	46
Atlas	1	480
Yastık	1	170
Peştamal	1	30
Minder	1	60
Bakır sini	1	660
Saç ayak	3	12
İskemle	1	15
Arakiyye	1	80
Kemha kaftan	1	550
?	1	6
?	1	50
Çarşeb	1	66
İplik arşın	78	546
?	1	20
Seccade	1	200
Sandık	1	30
Maşa	1	70
Gılaf-1 döşek	1	140
Yastık	2	40
İbrik ma'a leğen	1	113
Bakraç	1	37
Ferace yeşil	1	110
Don gömlek	1	100
Nezkeb	5	220
Zibun	1	200
?	1	170
Minder bursa	1	150
Minder	1	70
Minder	1	13
Hamam legeni	1	150

İbrik	1	50
Maşraba	2	28
Ferace	1	40
Hırdavat	1	20
Sahan-ı İznik	1	15
Tabak-ı İznik	1	19
Makreme münakkaş	2	151
Kuşak	1	58
Bohça	1	60
Gılaf-ı döşek	1	170
Sini		90
Sini	3	90
Sini	1	36
Zibun	1	54
Küp-ü hamal	1	18
Yastık	1	15
Bohça	1	14
Ferace	1	71
Sah	1	50
Peşgir	1	54
Tur Kuşak	1	550
Hamam gömleği ve döşemesi	1	320
Döşek burusa	1	30
Yastık	1	47
Tencere	1	71
Yorgan seraser	1	1200
Sini	1	35
Tencere	1	30
Kevgir	1	24
Şamdan	1	67
Dülbent	1	30
Köhne yelek	1	7
Tas ma'a hırdavat	1	42
Sandık	1	15

Makreme	5	140
Kemha kaftan	1	690
Bohça	1	75
Mum asl		46
?	1	60
İpek dirhem	1	35
Bohça	1	15
Don ma'a gömlek	1	98
Kuşak	1	30
Çarşeb	1	23
Hırdavat	1	20
?	2	13
Yastık	1	30
Kilim köhne	1	40
Tencere	1	156
Maşraba	1	35
İbrik	1	120
Sini	1	30
Don zibun	1	50
Sini ağaç	1	16
Döşek		250
Mülk-i hare	1	700
Makreme uçkur	1	10
Makreme alaca	2	30
Kilim köhne	1	40
Dülbent döşek	1	40
Hamam tası	1	34
Ruba köhne	1	60
Çarşeb	1	32
Hasır	1	40
Hırdavat	1	20
Akçe-i nakdiye		1020
?		960
?	75	550
Total		22151

Source: Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 137, V. 28/1, gurre-i Rabi'ul-evvel 1029.

I.V. The Probate Inventory of Emine bint-i Mehmet

Object	Number	Value
Hatime yorgan		510
Def'a hatime yorgan		700
Yemeni yorgan		250
Beledi Döşek		190
Alaca minder		200
Alaca yastık		120
Munakkaş çarşeb		35
Döşek ham		70
Hatime yastık	3	450
Sarı atlas kaftan		860
Mor ferace		80
Atlas zibun		150
Kırmızı zibun		95
Bez zira	7	150
Bez zira	3	
Beyaz yekta		90
Minder-i çarşeb		65
Münakkaş makrebe	2	75
Nezkeb		30
Alaca makreme	4	60
Bohça	2	30
Yorgan başı		30
Beyaz çarşeb		120
Alaca yastık yüzü		30
Sağır peşkir		75

Yüz-i yastık	3	30
Çarşeb beyaz		65
Köhne yastık	1	100
Münakkaş minder		70
Alaca minder		20
Döşek kılıfı		40
Tencere		100
Bakraç		35
Tencere ma'a tabe		40
İbrik ma'a kevgir	2	110
Sahan	7	150
İplik zira	23	145
Yün ipi		30
İskemle kenar		50
Pabuç		48
Ayna		30
Yastık kılıfı	3	30
Alaca kutu		20
Feza küpe		300
Saç bağı	1	200
Hırdavat		
Altın zincir		400
Camuş		3300
Nısf-ı bağ		2000
Nikah		1000
Bakır sini		140
Total		16747

Source: Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 137, V. 36/3, 11 Şaban 1029.

I.VI. The Probate Inventory of Raziye Hatun

Object	Number	Value
Tabak		60
Bakraç		20
Yastık		42
Yüz yastığı		4
Kaftan		43
Çarşaf		32
Köhne minder		32
Gönlek		32
Kilim		56
Kemha kaftan		350
Yorgan		157
Baş makremesi		15
Bohça		5
?		15
Siyah kebe		90
Sahan	5	88
?		120
Minder		45
Alaca kaftan		67
Köhne güğüm		74
Alaca zibun		40
Arakiyye		32
Siyah kebe		30
Yastık kılıfı		30
Beyaz sade		51
Total		2430

Source: Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 137, V. 37/3, 20 Şaban 1029.

I.VII. The Probate Inventory of Rana bint-i Abdullah

Object	Number	Value
Hane der mahalle-i mezbure		90000
Yorgan		357
Yorgan yemeni		310
Yastık	3	330
Gılaf-1 yastık	1	57
Hamam tası	2	85
Kaliçe sağır	1	160
Yastık	3	110
Sini sağır	1	180
Tebisi tahta	1	45
Legen ma'a ibrik	1	320
Minder yüzi	2	114
Çarşeb	1	58
Çakşir	1	125
Kise legeni	1	300
Kuşak	2	215
Yeni çift	1	37
Köhne kice acem	1	150
Gılafı yastık	1	50
ham sarı yastık	1	140
Yorgan yemeni	2	215
Legen-i hamam	1	236
Boğasi zibun	1	73
Yastık ma'a makreme	1	112
Yeşil yekda	1	70
Sofra ve bohça	1	110
Çarşeb	1	70
Dülbend kuşak	1	122
Gömlek-i hamam	1	236
Döşeme köhne	1	37
Gömlek-i cedit	2	460
Bakır sini	1	420
Yorgan	1	170
Keçe Selanik	1	440
Gılaf-1	1	200

döşek		
sini sofrası	1	37
Tencere	1	144
Tas	3	102
Hamam gömleği ma'a makreme	1	272
Çarşeb	1	150
Peçe	1	30
Alaca kaftan	1	140
Çarşeb	2	132
Yastık yüzi	1	105
Münakkaş bohça	1	345
Gömlek ma'a don	1	200
Tas ve kil kutusu		37
Gılaf-1 yastık	1	47
Köhne kebe	1	85
Köhne yastık	1	70
Tencere	1	93
Gömlek-i cedit	2	390
Ferace mor	1	145
Döşeme köhne	1	70
Çarşeb	2	300
Sahan-1 İznik	6	43
Ham yastık	1	143
Yorgan ham	1	715
Gılaf-1 minder	1	100
Gılaf-1 yastık	1	141
Tencere	1	93
Şamdan	2	80
Mezdup	2	600
Ferace yeşil	1	600
Tesbih	1	20
Gömlek ma'a makreme	1	165
Yüz-i yastık münakkaş	4	400
Mezdup	1	300
Gömlek	1	170
Tabak yeşil	3	60
Tabak-1 İznik	6	80
Sahan İznik	5	40

Beledi döşek	1	275
Yorgan yeni	1	240
Gılaf-1 minder	1	122
Kaliçe-i azif	1	615
Leğen-i hamam sağır	1	90
Kevgir	2	42
Çarşeb	1	61
Bohça münakkaş	1	170
Kazan-1 kebir	1	1200
Yastık yüzi	2	116
Yüz-i yastık	2	226
Uçkur	1	130
Perde	1	2120
Yastık yüzi	1	60
Kutu	1	25
Minder köhne	1	150
Döşek biladi	1	370
Yorgan yeni	1	260
Gılaf-1 minder	1	100
Keçe	1	262
Bohça köhne	2	110
Makreme	1	60
Yen	2	130
Bohça	1	92
Seccade	1	370
Makreme münakkaş	3	150
Bohça münakkaş	1	130
Uçkur	3	110
Yüz-i yastık	1	50
Arakiyye	2	200
Kilim köhne	1	74
Keçe selanik	1	130
Seccade	1	90
Kutu	3	50
mikras	3	7
Yastık ham	2	270
Gılaf-1 minder	1	110
Seccade	1	150
Atlas kaftan	1	600
Perde yeni	1	300
Peşgir yeni	1	70
Çarşeb	2	235
Kaliçe köhne	1	290
Sahan	7	370

Tas ve bakraç	1	106
Hamam gömleği	1	130
Kemha kaftan	1	345
Makreme şami	3	70
Makreme münakkaş	2	400
Makreme münakkaş	4	300
Bohça münakkaş	1	350
Minder biladi	1	30
Köhne yorgan seraser	1	674
Kebe-i ?	1	270
Döşek kit'a	1	360
Kilim alaca	1	128
Demir tepsi sini	3	170
Beyaz yekda	1	157
Yastık yüzü	2	70
Yastık yüzü ham	2	460
Dülbent örtüsü	2	580
Ayna	1	215
Çarşeb beyaz	2	223
Bohça	2	98
Yastık	1	57
Gılaf-1 minder	1	82
Kilim köhne	1	90
Sahan ve sini	1	96
?	1	40
?	1	20
Sofra	1	191
Çarşeb	1	52
Çakşir diz	1	28
Don	3	135
Yastık yüzü	3	110
Yastık yüzü	1	60
Dülbent örtüsü	1	85
Hamam döşemesi	1	185
Yastık burusa	2	805
Bohça makreme	21	252
Duvar makremesi	3	310

Bohça münakkaş	2	750
Perde	1	200
Yastık	2	92
Kürdme serç	1	1100
İnci bilezik	1	2000
kürk zerdava	1	3015
Makreme-i zibun	3	275
Sandık	1	450
Def'a sandık	1	300
Kuşak sim	1	3100
Mai tabun hare	1	480
Tabun hare	1	386
Hare kaftan	1	1450
Kaftan	1	1000
Atlas kaftan	1	705
Bohça makreme	2	126
Atlas kaftan	1	1200
Peşkir-i yeni	1	70
Nezkeb	1	90
Sandık	1	200
Uçkur	1	49
Makreme ali	3	150
Hanım piri inci	2	280
Makreme dokuma	2	50
Küpe incili	1	800

Küpe zümrüd	1	610
Cariye-i penam zemane	1	10000
Yastık seraser	2	680
Bohça münakkaş	1	226
İnci (müsakkal)	34	6800
Der zimmet-i Fatıma		3000
Der zimmet-i babası		2200
Mihr-i müeccel		500
Altun bilezik müsakkal	38	5320
Şamdan	1	67
Hurda zümrüd	6	153
Mai don	1	204
Peşkir alaca	1	174
Don köhne	1	23
Seccade beyaz	1	323
Yastık yüzü münakkaş	2	315
Nakdiye		52650
Zevcinden intikal eden hisse		27000
Total		204546

Source: Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 137, V. 42/2, Evail-i Zilkade 1029.

I.VIII. The Probate Inventory of Şahzeman Hatun bint-i
Abdullah

Object	Number	Value
Mecmere	1	150
Harik kaftan	1	1370
Yeşil atlas kaftan	1	875
Atlas kaftan		1005
Velence	1	100
Kit'a kürk ve ?	1	1800
Borgani kaftan	1	130
Bilezik altun	1	3450
Yorgan	1	445
Yastık ham	1	715
Yastık	2	50
Yorgan ham	1	1200
Mehar sim	2	65
Yorgan	1	660
Yorgan	1	500
Yastık	2	71
Yastık	1	565
Küpe zümrüd	1	6300
Küpe ma'sub	2	1300
Yastık	2	800
Yorgan	1	500
Minder yüzi		260
Keçe	1	1100
Kuşağı-1 dübend	1	400
Kaftan-1 rehavir	1	1060
Minder çarşebi	1	330
Yastık sarı	2	600
Perde-i gök	1	240
Bohça	1	101
Mis'ad	1	300
Çakşir diz	1	355
Yen	2	220
Mis'ad	1	300
Atlas kürk	1	1225
Keçe ...	1	1200
Perde yeni	1	137
Keçe	1	700
Mifraş	3	300
Sandık	3	1125
Kaliçe	1	2000
Kaliçe	1	800
Döşek ham	1	620
Kuşak sim	1	3050
Zibun	1	300

serengez		
Meşin tahta	1	260
Yeşil atlas kaftan	1	650
?	2	80
Dülbent örtüsü	2	260
Atlas kaftan	2	1235
Perde yeni	1	350
Mis'ad	1	600
Atlas kaftan	1	2900
Tas	3	210
Hamam tası	1	70
Yüz-i yastık	4	140
Ferace siyah	1	1525
Perde ocak	1	100
Minder ham	1	200
Kaftan kit'a	1	530
Peşkir	1	216
Çarşeb	1	170
Zibun atlas	1	360
Bohça	1	120
Ferace	1	800
Mor gömlek	1	135
Gömlek	1	340
Tas	2	79
Tas	1	71
Saç ayak	6	64
Döşeme	1	280
Arakıye	1	252
Pabuç	1	37
Gılaf-1 minder 2	2	185
Gılaf-1 döşek	2	185
Sahan İznik	2	30
Tabak İznik	2	28
Kutu	2	280
Keçe	2	110
Bohça	1	180
Kutu	2	66
Peşkir	2	234
Yasdık mor	3	54
Makreme	3	50
Tencere	2	180
Leğen-i esbab	1	340
?	1	151
?	1	30
Keten ferace	1	80
Keten tab	1	15
Kaliçe	1	450
Yastık kılıf	2	70

Tabak	2	25
Kebe	1	120
Keçe	1	110
Sedef sandık	1	54
Tencere	1	128
Velence	1	120
Leğen	1	85
Kaliçe	1	250
Kebe köhne	1	32
Kebe köhne	1	21
Döşek biladi	1	161
Sandık	1	10
Sofra	1	180
Peşgir	1	27
Kuşak	1	35
Çakşir buğasi	1	57
Çarşeb	1	54
Sini bakır	1	180
Kazan	1	280
Orak	1	15
Yüz-i yastık	3	80
Kebe	1	80
Velence	1	60
Keçe	1	123
Fak'ur tabak ve kase	1	300
Keçe	1	12
Sandık	1	40
Atlas kürdme	1	320
Kürdme	1	141
Sahan kırık	6	40
Makreme	2	42
İskemle	1	20
Kevgir sahan	1	30
Gömlek	1	105
Tas kapağı	3	22
Tepsi	1	20
Sini ağaç	1	41
Makreme	1	17
Tabak	1	82
Makreme	1	27
Tami'van	1	250
Deri zar	1	86
Sandık	1	255
İplik arşın	20	250
Bez zira	10	300
Döşeme hamam	1	100
Çarşeb	1	90
Velence	1	200
Velence	1	200
Velence	2	430
Seccade	1	60

Kilim	1	40
Yastık	2	200
Yastık	2	220
Yastık	1	70
Leğeni hamam	1	291
Güğüm	1	180
Sini	2	86
Leğen ma'a ibrik	1	150
?	1	10
Şamdan	3	78
Bakraç	1	15
Bohça	1	145
Makreme	2	81
Makreme duvar	2	30
Çarşeb	1	41
Çarşeb	1	66
Makreme yeni	4	48
Velence	1	160
Velence	1	255
Velence	1	250
Velence	1	51
Kebe	1	32
Yastık	1	230
Yastık yüz	1	10
Güğüm	1	102
Maşraba	1	260
Harani	1	160
Hamam gömleği	1	136
Minder	1	28
Velence	1	258
Keçe	1	465
Yastık	1	115
Ehram	1	44
Sahan	10	1100
Tabe	2	45
Tencere	1	126
Tas-ı hoşaf	1	80
Tencere	2	320
Tepsi	1	140
Maşraba	1	47
Tas	1	46
Don yeni	1	49
Sini Bakır	1	250
?	1	6000
?	1	24000
?	2	1000
?	1	15000
?		5000
Total		111426

Source: Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 137, V. 52/2, Evasıt-1 Zilhicce 1029.

I. IX. The Probate Inventory of Dindane binti Mihal nam
Nasraniyye

Object	Number	Value
Köhne yemeni yasdık	1	140
Minder	1	80
Yorgan çarşebi	1	90
Alaca döşek	1	160
Müsta'mil alaca sandal yorgan	1	360
Yüz-i yasdık	2	100
Baş yadıđı yemeni		140
Köhne yorgan	1	30
Köhne yemeni yasık	1	360
Seccade		150
Köhne sincab nafesi kürk		240
Sarı riba müsta'mil serpuş		250
Köhne beyaz riba serpuş		120
Çiçekli kersud kaftan ma'a entari		720
Baş yasdık		100
Yeşil çuka serpuş	1	30
Kırmızı hane ferace	1	600
İstemlik	1	150
Sim kuşak ma'a kolan	30	640
İşleme çarşeb		200
Köhne kamis ma'a seravil		100
Köhne telli gömlek		100

Cedid işleme uçkur	2	150
İşleme makreme	2	150
Köhne beyaz selusi		30
Köhne seravil ma'a uçkur		60
Tahta sandık		120
Sim yüzük ve hırdavat		1000
Def'a tahta sandık		120
Altın bilezik müsekkal	12	3600
Köhne recber bab kaftanı		400
Köhne yeşil sandal kuşdırma		120
Entari		100
Köhne yasdık		100
Def'a yasdık		720
Köhne sandal yasdık		240
İşleme yüz yadıđı		100
Sahan	2	550
Karaca leğen ma'a ibrik		210
Karaca hamam leğeni		160
?		300
Tepsi		200
Ayaklı üçlü zümrüdlü küpe		800
Hırdavat-ı menzil		100
Total		13680

Source: Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 363, V. 62/4, 2 Safer 1132.

I.X. The Probate Inventory of Saliha bint-i Ahmed

Object	Number	Value
Müste'mil çuka ferace		700
Sandal entari	1	180
Köhne terlik		200
Müste'mil yemeni	2	51
Tas ma'a kahve ibriği		36
Beyaz köhne makreme	1	32
Köhne serpuş	2	78
Cedid hadil pabuç		78
Müste'mil kazr entari	1	220
Hırdavat sehas		40
Beyaz köhne entari		225
Def'a köhne entari	1	33
Def'a köhne peştamal	4	156
Köhne beyaz çekuli	2	110
Köhne havlu makreme	2	50
Cedid makreme	4	80
Leğen ibrik	1	241
Köhne sandık	1	25
Sini	2	75
Bez parçası		40
Sandal zira	3	126
Hırdavat sim		69
Sağır tencere	1	140
Tabe dest	1	60
Total		3524

Source: Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 374, V. 8/1, Muharrem 1138.

I.XI. The Probate Inventory of Musa binti Boğas Veled Esvader
nam Nasraniyye

Object	Number	Value
Üçer ayaklı zümrüd küpe ma'a askı		6000
Örme bilezik		5160
İncili istifan		3000
İncili serpuş		480
İnci kuşak		1440
Turuncu dibaye kaplı yılançı kakum kürk		3000
Siyah işleme kadişdirme ve entari		960
Ardın şahı kadişdirme		480
İşleme çarşeb ve bohça		300
Çatma yasdık		1200
İşleme yüz yasdık		180
Baş yemeni		70
Beyaz kaftan ve entari		400
Kabiz sincab nakase kürk		480
Sim sağır kuşak		300
Ayaklı sandık		150
Kil kutusu ve ta'lin ve cam tas		90
Hamam leğeni		360
Alaca döşek		300
Müsta'mil yemeni yorgan		180
Halike-i mezburenin zevci zimmetinde bekalık sehasından meblağ		4800
Total		33600

Source: Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 377, V. 27/6, 8 Zilhicce 1139.

I.XII. The Probate Inventory of Ayşe bint-i Abdullah

Object	Number	Value
Müste'mil yorgan	1	600
Köhne seccade ma'a hırdavat		170
Köhne hamam rihter		120
Köhne gömlek		37
Köhne sandal entari		21
Pabuç		65
Köhne yeşil ferace		505
Minder çarşebi		50
Def'a çarşeb		70
Köhne kuzu kürki		30
Köhne çintiyan		106
Köhne sandal çintiyan		100
Köhne boğasi entari		81
Köhne susi entari		59
Mai çuka kaplı köhne kürk		300
Köhne beyaz entari		70
Sağır sim kuşak		102
Sahan orta		380
Sağır leğen ma'a tencere		120
Orta sahan ma'a tas		140
Kebir tencere ma'a sağır tencere		500
Müste'mil beledi yastık	6	510
Müste'mil minder ma'a ehram	2	720
Köhne kaliçe		99
Der zimmeti ?		1200
Der zimmeti Fatıma usta		230
Der zimmeti sağır İsmail		360
Total		7145

Source: Üsküdar Mahkemesi, D. 386, V. 64/4, 29 Rabiü'l ahir, 1145.

Appendix II. A Selection of Court Registers

II.I. The order is about women's going out and waiting in kaymakçı shops around Eyüp.

Eyüb kadısına hüküm ki,

Mektub gönderüb Camii Kebir mahallesinde müceddeden bina olunan medrese-i şerif kurbunde ve mektebi şerif yanında vaki olan dükkanların ve etmekci fırınlarının ve bostanların ekserisinde kefere taifesi olub fısk ve fücür idüb kaval çalub horos depüb mahallenin şugulüne ve sülehanın tilavetine ve istimal-i ezani şerife mani ve kaymakçı dükkanlarına bazı nisa taifesi kaymak yemek bahanesiyle girüb oturub namahremler cem olub hilafı şer' vaz ve teaddileri vardır deyu Müslimler haber virdiklerin bildirmişsin. İmdi şer'i şerife muhalif bu asıl hususlar men ve ref' olunmak mühimmat-ı umuru şer'iyyededir. Bu babda ihmal caiz değildir. Buyurdum ki bu babda unat veçhile mukayyed olub dahi minbaad arz olunan kaymakçı dükkanlarında ve bostanlarda kefere taifesi kodırmayub cümlesini ihraç eyliyüb giderüb Müslimlere viresin. Ve kaymakçı dükkanlarına nisa taifesinden kaymak yemek bahanesiyle gelen nisa taifesin getirülmeyüb bu babda dahi dükkan sahiblerine muhkem tenbih ve tekid eyleyüb men ve ref eylesin. Bade't-tenbih giru bir dükkana nisa taifesi girüb dükkan sahibi men etmiye ol asıl dükkan sahibin getürdüb muhkem tedib eyleyüb emr-i şerifimin icrasında mücid ve mukdim olub ihmalden hazer eylesin. Bu husus hafiyeten görölse gerekdir. Şöyleki arz etdüğün huhuslar emr-i şerifim mucebince men ve ref olunmıya özrün makbul olmaz. Muateb olursun bilmiş olasın. Ana göre mukayyed olub dikkat ve ihtimamda dakika fevt etmiyesin.

Fi 23 Muharrem 981 / 1573

Source: Ahmet Refik, *Onucu Asr-ı Hicri'de İstanbul Hayatı (1495-1591)*, İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988, pp. 40-41.

II.II. The degree is about the application of gender segregation in boats, (peremes).

Vezir Mehmed paşa hazretlerine hüküm ki ve İstanbul ve Galata kadılarına,

Bundan akdem Boğazda işleyen peremeler üslubu sabıktan çıkub uzun ve ensüz olub ve yelken istimal eyleyüb ve avretleri rical ile mahlut idüb ziyade adem tahmil olunmağla gark olub nice nüfusun telefine sebep olub ve kadimden alınugelen akçeye kanaat etmeyüb bazı ehli ırz ademlerin ve nisa taifesinin ardlarınca seğirdüb ziyade akçe isteyüb şirretler ve envai naşayeste kelimat idüb teaddi etdiklerin peremeciler kethüdası ilam etdüğün zikrolunan hususların menine hükmü şerif virilmiş iken hâlâ ol emri şerifime muhalif oligelene mugayir ve ince ensüz peremeler istimal idüb ve rical ile nisayı mahlut alub ve yelken kullanub ve ziyade akçe isteyüb Müslümanlara teaddi etdükleri ilam olunmagin buyurdum ki, vardıkda bu babda gereği gibi mukayyed ulub oligelene muhalif ve emri şerifime mugayir ince ensüz peremeleri kat'a himayet etmeyüb kesüb ve paralıyub ve rical ile mahlut alan peremecileri muhkem tedib eyleyüb ve hükmü sabıkda tayin olunduğu üzre Muhtesib Çardağından Kasımpaşa ve Tophane ve Eyyubi Ensari ve gayri iskelelerden tayin olunandan ziyade akçe alub teaddi iden peremecileri ahz eyliyesin. Anun gibiler küreğe konulub gereği gibi haklarından geline. Şöyle ki bu emri şerife muhalif giru bir vaz olunduğu istima' oluna yalnız peremeciler olmayub kethüdalar bile olmak mukarrerdir. Ana göre kethüdalarına tenbih eyleyüb dikkat ve ihtimamda dakika fevt eylemiyesin.

Fi 24 Şaban 991 / 1583

Source: Ahmet Refik, *Onucu Asr-ı Hicri'de İstanbul Hayatı (1495-1591)*, İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988, pp. 41-42.

II.III. The decree is about allocation of specific days for
Muslims and non-Muslims and Muslim women's well-mannered
clothing in public bath.

İstanbul kadısı faziletli efendi,

Ehl-i islam rical ve nisaları ile Kefere ve Yehud taifesinin ricali ve avretleri hamamlarda cem' olmayup bundan akdem ferman-ı ali ile eyyam-ı mahsuse tayin olunmuş iken muraat olunmayup ferman-ı aliye mugayir hareketleri istima' ve men'i ve def'i iktiza etmekle fi-maba'd Kefere ve Yehud taifesinin rical ve avretlerine haftada Pazar ve Salı günlerin eyyam-ı mahsuse ta'yin ve sair eyyamda ehl-i islam rical ve nisaları ile hamamlara girmemek üzere hamamcılar kethüdası ve cümle hamamcılara tenbih edip bundan sonra mugayir-i ferman-ı ali hareket edenleri ahz ve te'dip için huzurunuz ihzar ve ehl-i islam nisalarının bazıları dahi setr-i avret etmeyüp peştemalların bıraktıkları istima' olunmağın nisa hamamcılarına dahi tenbih eyliyesiz ki hafiyeten yoklandırıldıkta her kimin hamamında keşf-i avret olunduğu ihbar olunur ise şer'an cezası tertib olunur. Ana göre habir ve agah eyleyesiz deyu.

Bab Mahkemesi

Sicil: 88, Varak: 96

13 şevval 1119 / 7 Ocak 1708

Source: Suha Umur, "Osmanlı Belgeleri Arasında Kadınlara Buyruklar," *Tarih ve Toplum*, Ekim 1988, V. 10, No. 58, pp. 205-206.

II. IV. The decree is about men's participation in five-time prayer regularly and women's clothing and shopping in public areas.

Haslar kadısı faziletli efendi,

Haslar ve tevabiinde vaki mahallatta sakin ehl-i İslam'dan bazıları mahallelerinde olan cevami' ve mesacide varmayıp taklil-i cemaata bais oldukları istima olunmakla imdi mahallatta sakin cemaat-ı müslimin cevami ve mesacide müdavemet ve vuk'at-ı hamsede eda-i salat-ı mefruzeye muvazebet edip hatunlarına bed renk ferace giydirmeyip peçe ile vecihlerin dahi gereği gibi setr ve başların eğri bağlamayıp adet-i kadim üzere bağlatıp çarşı ve pazarda eğer Müslim ve eğer kefer ve Yahudi dükkanlarında bey ve şira bahanesiyle oturtup meks etmelerine ruhsat vermeyip men' olunmak üzere mahallat imamları ve esnaf kethüdaları getürdüp muhkem tenbih ve tekid ve dekakin ashabına işae eylesiz. Emri maruf ve nehyi ani'l-münker vacibat-ı diniyyeden olmağla şöyleki hafiyeten tecessüs olunur, hılafına hareket edenler ahz olundukta muhkem haklarından gelinmek mukarrerdir. Ana göre habir ve agah ve mazmun-i münifin tefhim eylesiz deyü.

Eyüp Mahkemesi

Sicil: 12, Varak: 3/2

10 Safer 1121 / 22 Nisan 1709

Source: Sadık Albayrak, *Osmanlı'da Sosyal Yapı ve İstanbul*, İstanbul: Kiptaş, 1998, p. 63.

II. V. The decree is about women's proper clothing in public
baths.

İstanbul kadısı faziletli efendi,

Asitane-i saadette vaki' nisvan hamamlarının natır ve dellakları birkaç seneden beri kadimden istimal eyledikleri libasların tağyir ve ricale mahsus olan elbise istimaliyle ref'-i hicab edüp nice kimseleri idlal ve ifsad eylediklerinden ma'da sair nisvan dahi bunlara tebaiyyet ile ekseri tebdil-i came edüp deb-i kadimden hariç harekete cesaret etmeleriyle imdi fi-maba'd hamamlarda olan natır ve dellaklar kadimden nisvana mahsus ilbas istimal edüp hilafına tasaddi ederlerse cezaları tertib olunacağı kendülere tefhim için mahalle imamlarına muhkem tenbih ve tekid eyleyesiz deyu buyruldu.

Bab Mahkemesi

Sicil 150: Varak: 1

1143 /1730-31

Source: Suha Umur, "Osmanlı Belgeleri Arasında Kadınlara Buyruklar," *Tarih ve Toplum*, Ekim 1988, V. 10, No. 58, p. 206.

II. VI. The decree orders that women's going out from their houses were forbidden during three days of bairam.

İzzetli yeniçeri ağası ve faziletli istanbul kadısı efendi,

Eyyam-ı 1'yadda nisvan taifesinin taşra çıkup rical ile muhalataları şer'i şerife mugayir bir emr-i na mülayim olduğundan başka nice mefasid ve şenayi'e bais olmakla imdi inşallah-ı teala iyd-i şerifin iptidasından üçüncü günü tamamına değin nisvandan kat'a birisi hanelerinden taşra çıkmayıp ve cevami'i şerif havluları ve bazı mahallat aralarında beşik ve dolap ve bu misillü baziçe ve mülaabeye dair bir şeye rıza ve ruhsat gösterilmeyüp ve men'ü definde kemal mertebe dikkat-i tam ve ehl-i ırz olan nisvana ba'd-el-iyd taarruz olunmayıp lakin bi-edep ve fevahiş makulesinin ahz ü te'dibinde ve bundan akdem ferman olunduğu üzre kuyumcu ve acem ve yağlıkçı dükkanlarına varmayıp kendi hallerinde ırzları ile mukayyed olmaları hususuna ziyade sa'y ü ihtimam eylesun deyu buyruldu.

Bab Mahkemesi

Sicil: 154, Varak: 98

3 Ramazan 1143 / 12 March 1731

Source: Suha Umur, "Osmanlı Belgeleri Arasında Kadınlara Buyruklar," *Tarih ve Toplum*, Ekim 1988, V. 10, No. 58, p. 205.

II.VII. The decree is about prohibition of women from going
to mesires.

Hassa bostancı başıya hüküm ki,

Bifazlihi teala faslı behan bediülasarın hululünden naşi nisvan taifesinden bazıları tenezzüh ve teferrüc bahanesiyle Üsküdar'dan Kısıklı ve Burgurlu ve Çamlıca ve Nerdübanlı ve ol havaliye ve bazıları dahi Beykoz'dan Tokad ve Akbaba ve Derseki ve Yuşa' nam mahallere arabalar ile gidüb haliü'l-izar geştü gúzar ve envai fezahatü şenayii müstetbi' harakatı gayri marzıyyeye ictisar eyledikleri yekıynen inha ve ihbar olundığı cihetden men'ü defi rütbei nücubda olmağla imdi fima baad taifei nisvandand teferrüc ve tenezzüh bahanesiyle Üsküdar'dan Kısıklı ve Bulgurlu ve Çamlıca ve Nerdübanlı ve ol havaliye ve keزالık Beykoz'dan Tokad ve Akbaba ve Direseki ve Yuşa' ve etraf ve havalisine araba ve tarıykı ahar ile gitmeden men'i ekid ile men'ü ref ve tenbihi lazım gelenlere gereği gibi tenbih ve tefhime ihtimam ve dikkat ve ale'd-devam teftiş ve tefahhusda tekayyüdü tam eyleyüb hilafı ferman-ı ali harakete ictira eyleyenler ile arabacılarını ahzü te'dib ve ta'zir için huzurumuza irsal ve ihzara bezli vüs'ü kudret ve mikdarı zerre tekasül ve taksirden ittika ve mücanebet eylemen babında ferman-ı alişan sadır olmuştur.

Fi evail-i Receb 1165 / 1751

Source: Ahmet Refik, *Onikinci Asr-ı Hicri'de İstanbul Hayatı (1689-1785)*, İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988, pp. 174-175.

II. VIII. The decree is about women's going out bazaars and their clothing in public spaces. It orders that women were not allowed to go out without a necessity such as bath visit. They were also ordered to accompany with a *mahrem* of her when they were necessary to go out.

Galata kadısı faziletli efendi,

Tavaif-i nisvanın ale'l-husus şabe ve hasna olanlarının ihtira' olunan nev zuhur dikişli ve kebir yakalı sıkma ve bed renk ferace ve heyet-i faziha ile min gayr-i ictinab mecme'unas olan mahallerde meyan ve esvak ve pazarda halıu'l-izar ve geştü-güzar meks ve karar misillü etvar-ı nameşrua ve ef'al-i müstekime-i münkireden men ve zecirleri ehemmi muham-ı diniyyeden olmaktan naşi fi ma ba'd tavaif-i nisvan gayr-i zaruret esvak ve pazar ve mecmeu'n-nas mahallerde gezmeyip hanelerinde ikamet, mahremi olmayıp mesalih-i zaruriyeye ve hamam takarrubu ile taşraya çıkmaları lazım geldikte ehl-i ırz ziyende çıkıp maslahatını rüyet ve der-akab menziline ric'at eyleyip, nev zuhur dikişli ve kebir yakalı sıkma ve bed renk ferace ve hey'et-i faziha ile geştügüzardan men ve tehditler ve terzi esnafı dahi nev zuhur dikişli ve kebir yakalı ferace dikmekten içtinap eylemeli babında müekket ferman-ı ali sadır olmakla imdi, Mahmiye-i Galata ve mazafatında dahi fima-ba'd tavaif-i nisvanın min-gayri zaruret halıu'l-izar meyan ve esvak ve pazar ve mecmeu'n-nas olan mahallerde hılaf-ı merzi nev zuhur dikişli ve kebir yakalı sıkma bed renk ferace heyet-i faziha ile geştü-güzar ve meks ve karar eylemeyip hanelerinde ikamet ve mahremi olmayıp havaic-i zaruriye ve hamam takarrubu ile taşraya çıkmaları lazım geldikte ehl-i ırz zi-yende çıkıp maslahatım rüyet ve der-akab men-ziline ric'at eylemelerini mugayir-i emr-i ali vaz ve harekette bulunanları bila-eman lazım gelen te'dibat-ı layikaları icra kılınacağını ashab-ı buyuta ferden ve ferden cümlesine tehim ve te'kid eylemek üzere eimme-i mahallatı meclis-i şer'a ihzar ve keyfiyeti her birine ala-hiddetin ve hiddetin ifade ve tenbih ve terzi esnafında dahi fi ma ba'd mugayir-i kadim nevzuhur

dikişli, kebir yakalı bed renk ferace hayyatına cesaret eden olursa haber alındıkta yalnız dükkani setr ve tebdille iktifa olunmayıp mahall-i beideye nefy ve ta'zib olunacağını esnafa ifade ve ihafe eylemek üzere kethüdalarına bir hoşça tefhime müsaderet eylesiz deyü.

Tophane Mahkemesi

Sicil: 174, Varak: 1

20 Cemazie'l-evvel 1186 / 19 Ağustos 1772

Source: Sadık Albayrak, *Osmanlı'da Sosyal Yapı ve İstanbul*, İstanbul: Kiptaş, 1998, p. 67.

II. IX. The ban about women's going out *mesires* in certain parts of the city on Fridays.

İzzetli Bostancı-başı ağa,

Cuma günlerinde taife-i nisa Üsküdar ve havalisinde olan mesirelerde ve atel-husus Hünkar İskelesi ve Küçüksu ve Kağıthane ve Eyüp, Karaağaç ve havalilerinde olan seyr mahallerine kesret üzere gidip enva-ı fezahite cesaret eyledikleri ihbar olunmakla imdi, fi ma ba'd Cuma günlerinde Üsküdar ve havalisinde ve Alibeyköyünde ve Sadabat ve Karaağaç ve Eyyübu'l-Ensari ve sair zabt u rabtı uhde-i ihtimamında mefuz olan mahallerde vaki mesiregahlara seyirci mekulesi olan taife-i nisvan geştü-güzardan men olunmaları hususunu tarafınızdan tenbihi lazım gelenlere gereği gibi tenbih ve te'kide mübaderet ve siz dahi bu hususa ale'd-devam ihtimam veçhiyle nezaret eyleyesiz deyu buyruldu.

Üsküdar Mahkemesi

Sicil: 506, varak: 82/2

24 Muharrem 1195 / 20 Ocak 1781

Source: Sadık Albayrak, *Osmanlı'da Sosyal Yapı ve İstanbul*, İstanbul: Kiptaş, 1998, p. 71.

II.X. Women's going out market places without a reason of justification and walking around mesires were forbidden.

İstanbul Kadısı faziletli efendi,

Askeriye taifeleri hudut boyları ve sair memur oldukları mahallere azimetleri hasebiyle bu esnada kadınların maslahatsız sokak ve pazarlarda, Üsküdar ve Boğaziçi'nde ve sair mahallerde gezmekten men'leri hallerine dikkat, vakit ve halin gereğinden olmakla imdi, İstanbul'da bulunan mahalle imamlarını getirtip, yüzlerinde bu fermanı kıraat ile kadınların maslahatsız sokak ve pazarlarda gezmek, Üsküdar ve Boğaziçi'nde ve sair seyr mahallerine de gitmemek üzere her bir mahallesi ahalisine tek tek tenbih, fermana aykırı hareket eden olursa, yakalanıp cezalandırılacağını da kafalarına sokmalarını tefhime dikkat ve yüce fermanın infazına himmet eyleyesiniz diye buyuruldu.

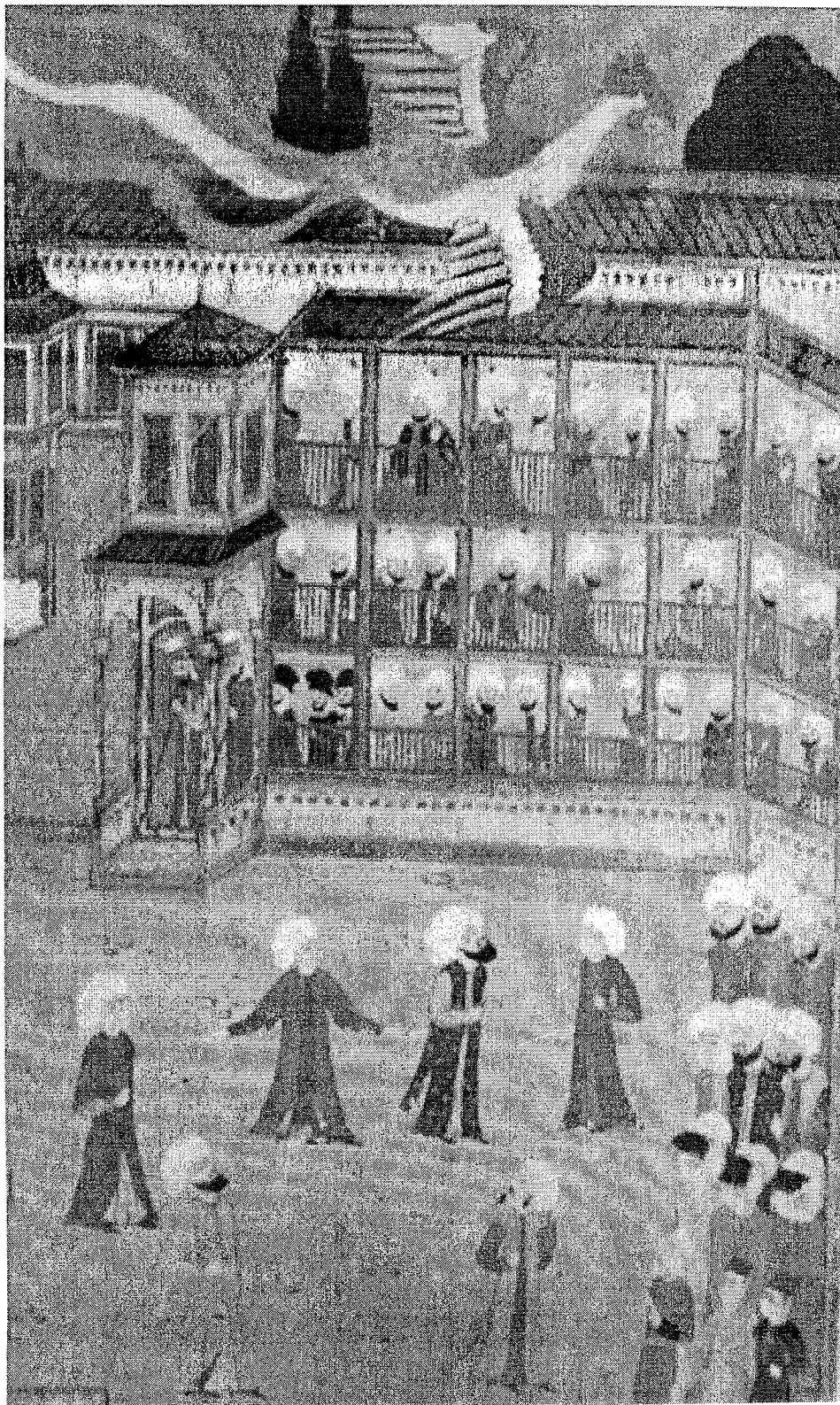
İstanbul Mahkemesi

Sicil: 65, Varak: 57

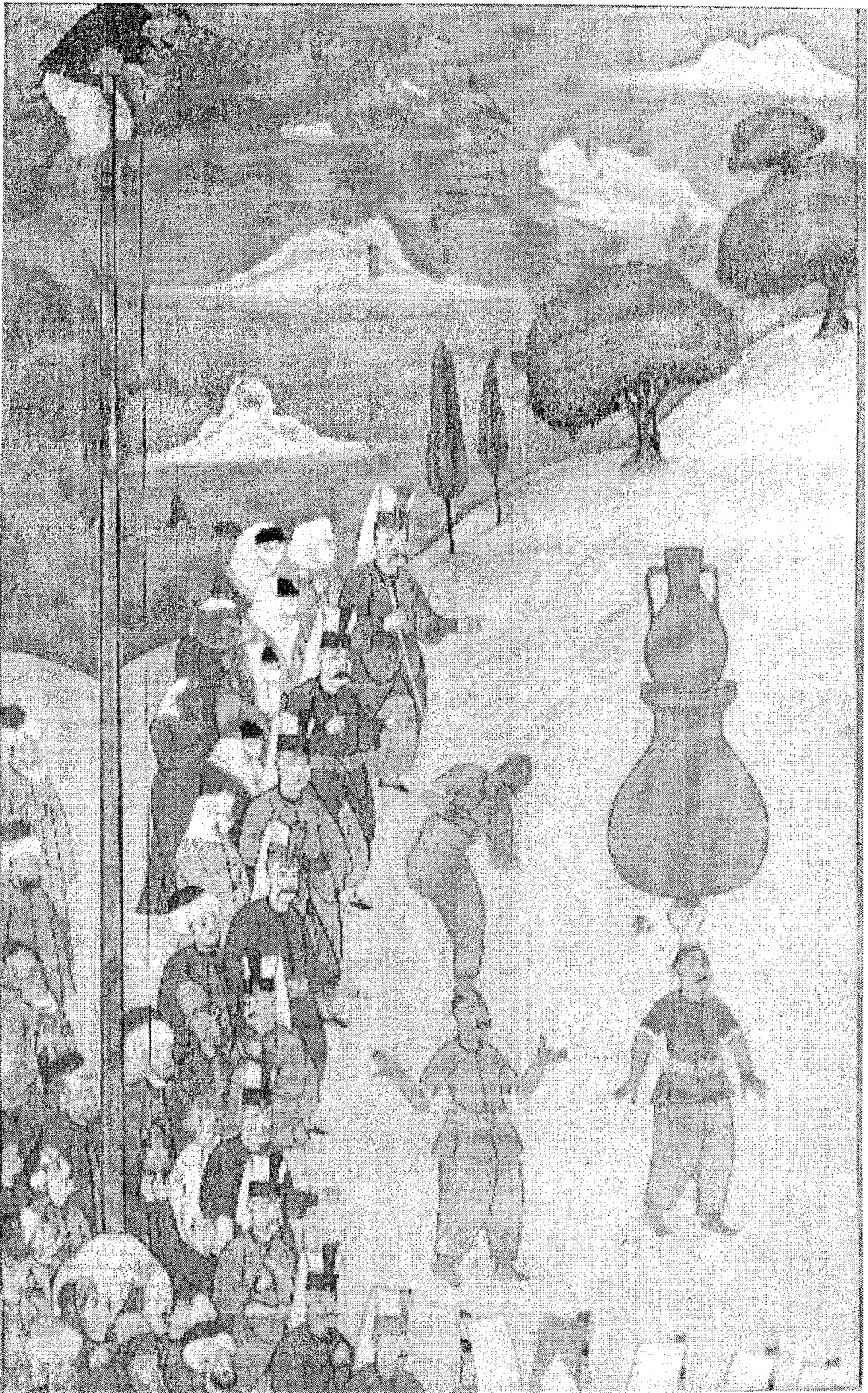
3 Zilhicce 1201 / Eylül 1787

Source: Sadık Albayrak, *Osmanlı'da Sosyal Yapı ve İstanbul*, İstanbul: Kiptaş, 1998, p. 139.

Appendix III. A Selection of Miniature Paintings



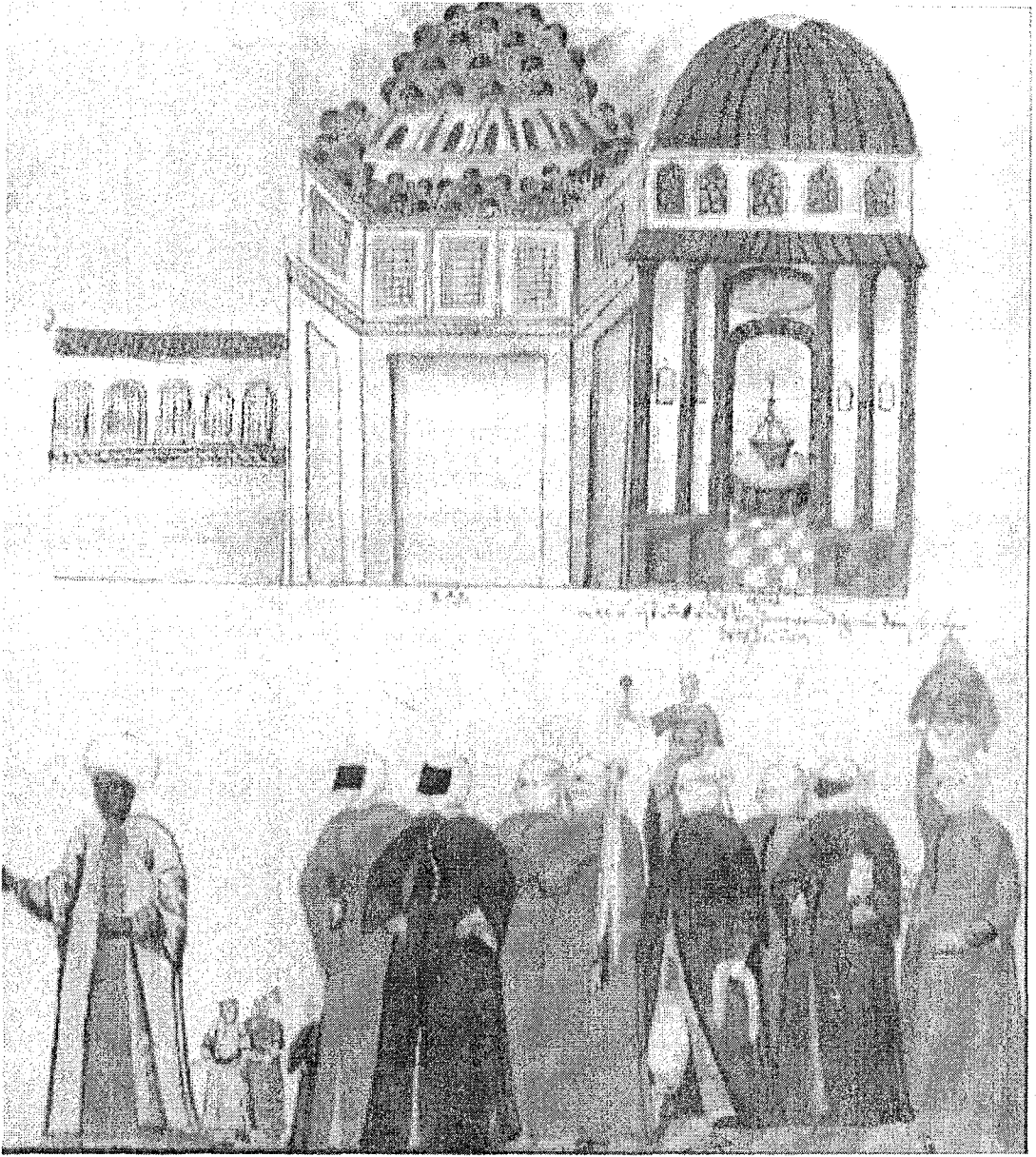
Source: Nurhan Atasoy, *1582 Surname-i Hümayun: Düğün Kitabı*, İstanbul: Koçbank, 1997, p. 75.



Source: Esin Atıl, *Levni and Surname: The Story of An Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival*, Koçbank: İstanbul, 1999, p. 174.



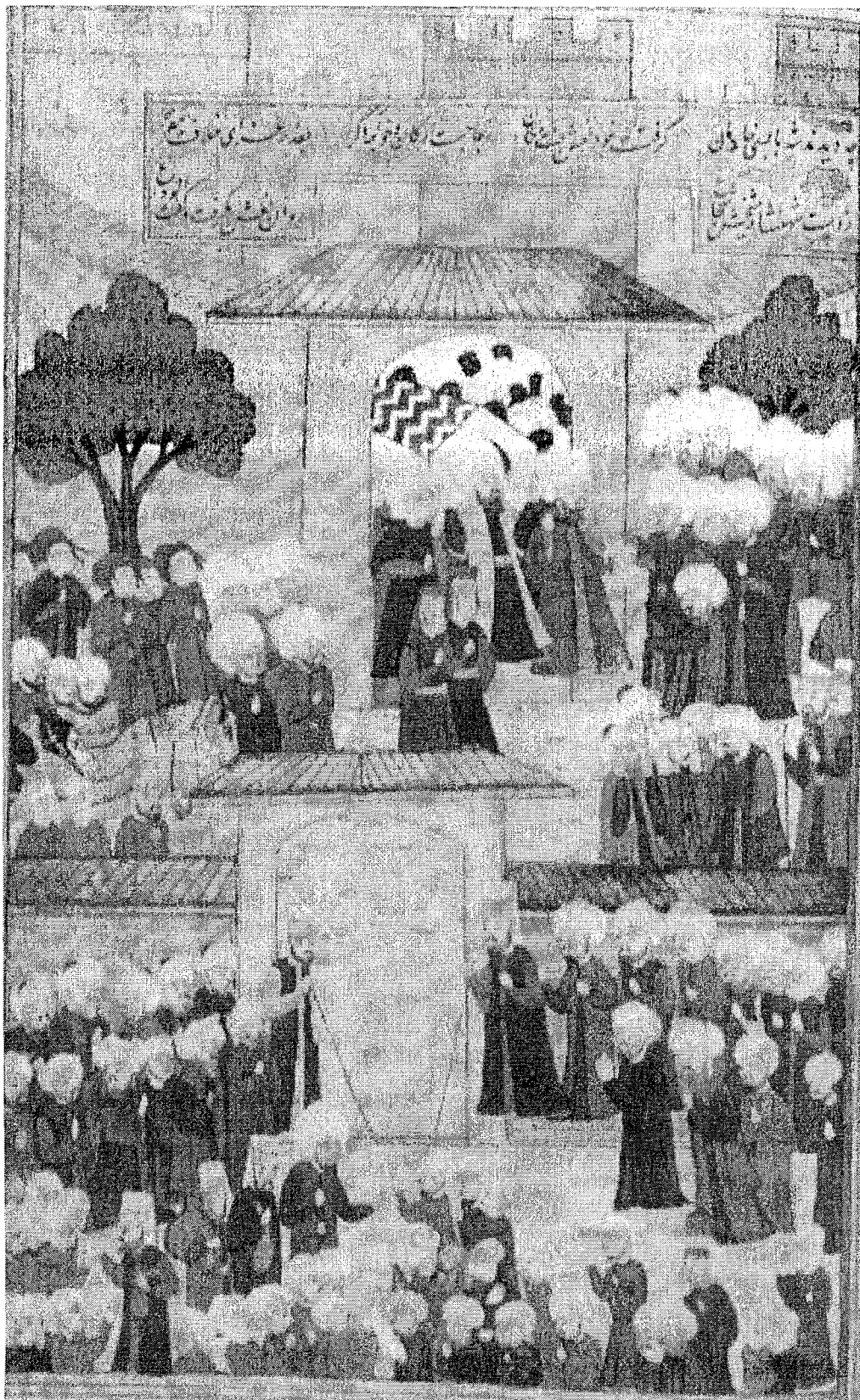
Source: Esin Atıl, *Levni and Surname: The Story of An Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival*, Koçbank: İstanbul, 1999, p. 195.



Source: Dresden; Metin And, *İstanbul: 16.yüzyılda Kent, Saray, Günlük Yaşam*, İstanbul: Akbank Kültür ve Sanat, 1993, p. 243.



Source: Kassel; Metin And, *İstanbul: 16.yüzyılda Kent, Saray, Günlük Yaşam*, İstanbul: Akbank Kültür ve Sanat, 1993, p. 247.



The Funeral Ceremony of Nurbanu Sultan

Source: Filiz Çağman and Nurhan Atasoy, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, İstanbul: Rcd Cultural Institute, 1974, plate 30.



Source: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst, inv. No. I. 28/75, pl. No. 4301; Nurhan Atasoy, "Scenes of Ottoman Women at Leisure," *Arts, women and scholars: Studies in Ottoman Society and Culture*, V. 2, eds. Sabine Präter, Christoph K. Neumann. İstanbul: Simurg, 2002, p. 396.



Source: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst, inv. No. I. 28/75, pl. No. 4302; Nurhan Atasoy, "Scenes of Ottoman Women at Leisure," *Arts, women and scholars: Studies in Ottoman Society and Culture*, V. 2, eds. Sabine Präter, Christoph K. Neumann. İstanbul: Simurg, 2002, p. 397.