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Westernization in Ottoman Culture and Built Environment

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Abstract: The time frame of this study corresponds to an era from the 14th century to the end of the Ottoman Empire. The westernization trends and changes in culture and architecture were faster and radical, particularly in the 18th and 19th centuries. The changes that the empire passed through reveal a need to handle new understandings attributed to education, social and political situations as a whole. This period also coincides with a period when the Ottoman Empire was questioned in a socio-political sense, and accordingly, change was inevitable. In this context, the radical change of the empire reveals the need to address the new meanings imposed on education, lifestyles, families, and women as a whole. The increasing economic and political relations between the Ottoman and Western world caused Ottoman society to change its shell socially and culturally. While early changes in culture and built environment were mostly political and military-based and limited to certain public buildings, later the changes spread to the whole society, particularly to those living in cities, which resulted in changes in lifestyles, housing, space organizations and interiors. One has to also realize that Istanbul, being one of the major centers for commerce, transportation, education, and administration in Europe, took a leading role in this process. Based on early written Ottoman texts and studies on the history and architectural history, a general overview of westernization will be made with reference to culture and built environment relations with specific emphasis on social changes in the society, family life and home interiors.

Keywords: Westernization, architectural history, Ottoman architecture, culture, Turkey

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INTRODUCTION

At the end of the 18th Century, the westernization process increased in society as well as in the built environment all around the Ottoman Empire, starting particularly in Istanbul. The increased relations with the West as well as the increased cultural diffusion led to a change in the structure of the Ottoman society, which is also reflected in architectural styles, particularly in important city centers. The changes in the environment included not only public buildings but also apartments and houses built in the city centers. The time frame of this study coincides with the period when the Ottoman Empire was on slippery ground, and extensive socio-political changes were occurring all around the empire. During the 19th century, the changes were experienced even more intensively in the Ottoman society and new meanings were attributed to family, women, education, lifestyle, housing culture, public life and architecture.

The aim of this study is to examine and understand how the westernization in spaces took place during this period

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by examining the texts about the Ottoman housing culture. While examining the changes in the society and Ottoman housing culture, it is also sought to find out how these changes can be put into a context in relation to changes in the history of architecture. It is seen that the ongoing studies on the subject are mainly based on the examples that have survived to the present day and include typological studies. This situation causes the historical diversity to be ignored in the Ottoman housing culture. The limited number of works based on Ottoman documents creates a gap in understanding the architectural movements and developing a theoretical framework for housing culture and the built environment. Therefore, while the housing culture related to the Westernization period is analyzed through the Ottoman texts, the texts put forward until now on the Ottoman housing culture are examined in relation to the methodologies and movements of architectural history reciprocally. In this paper, a methodological link between historiography and the "Turkish house" (or the Ottoman house) will also be discussed to establish a theoretical framework for Ottoman housing architecture using Ottoman texts on this topic.

WESTERNIZATION, SOCIAL-CULTURAL CHANGES AND ARCHITECTURE IN OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Westernization is the process of adopting ideas and behaviour that are typical of Europe rather than preserving the traditional and local ideas, meanings, customs, and behavioral patterns. According to Mardin (1983, 1991) westernization which started during Ottoman Empire and continued excessively with new dimensions during the Republic of Turkey refers to the approach of those, who want to take it as a model in all conditions. Although Westernization in the Ottoman Empire emerged in the 15th century, it began to show its effect mainly starting from the Tulip Era (1718-1730) under the reign of Ahmet III. During the reign of Selim III, Mahmut II, Abdülmecit and Abdulhamit II, the concrete effects of the current westernization asserted themselves on every ground, such as education, social life, customs, music, arts and architecture. In this connection, the Westernization adventure of the Ottoman Empire offers us a cross-section of different stages.

First Western influences during the Ottoman Empire are limited to more material culture, and it is the period between the 15th and 18th centuries. It is possible to think of the 15th century as the period when the transfers from the West began and is accepted as the period in which the infrastructure of the concept of modernization is prepared. Various cultural items taken from the West started to be assimilated by basing them in the traditional lines of the Ottoman Empire. Tanyeli (1996) evaluates early attempts in the cultural and historical context through the transfer of know-how and explains that numerous requirements that could not be met with traditional knowledge in this period were met through transfers. The author, who discusses various architectural transfers in his study, Western Effects in the Pre-Westernization Architecture (14.17th Century), examines the different relationship and influencing process with a flow of know-how in each period. According to Tanyeli (1993), the earliest known example of European influences in Anatoli might be the Sungurbey Mosque in Nide (14th Century), which has gothic features and that the entrance is covered with a ribbed vault and gothic windows with a tracery (stonework elements that support the glass in a Gothic window, Figure 1).



Figure 1 Sungurbey Mosque (Gabriel, 1931)

In the second half of the 15th century, during the reign of Fatih Sultan Mehmet (1452-1481), Ottoman architecture started to apply the fortification technology he learned from the West (Ferengi) with the transfer of foreign staff, which provided the flow of know-how. For example, as seen in Figure 2 and Figure 3, the star-shaped tower castle type of the newly developed star-shaped towered castle type in the West in the fortress constructions manifests itself in the structures like Yedikule and the first important architectural work of the Fatih period. Rumelihisar was a free Ottoman application of this new fortification construction technology learned from the West (Tanyeli, 1993).

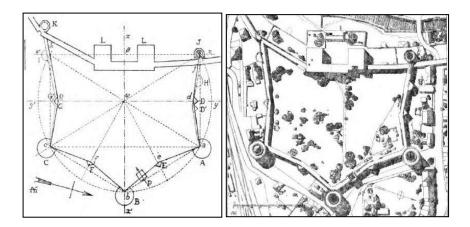


Figure 2 Yedikule (Gabriel, 1931)

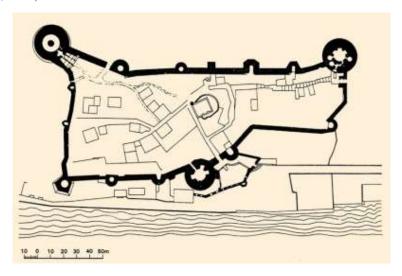


Figure 3 Rumelihisar (Gabriel, 1931)

A good example of the "know-how" flow during the reign of Fatih can be seen in Cihannuma Mansion at Edirne Palace (Figure 4). The building has characteristics of Romanesque and was constructed as a Tower Castle which can be found all over Europe. Tanyeli (1993) explains the relationship between art and architecture established with Italy as follows:

"A study on the morphogenetics of Cihannima suggests that the origins of the building that are not found in Turkish, Byzantine and Islamic traditions can be found in Italy. The form similarity between the villa architecture that occurred in Tuscany in the first half of the 15th century and Cihannuma should not be a coincidence. The extended upper floor with a roofed tower, which is a remnant of the defense function of the medieval seignior castle, was an integral component of the early Renaissance villa. However, this tradition does not exist in pre-Turkish Anatolia, nor in pre-Anatolian Turks. The fact that the main entrance is under the tower is also specific to Western models. The same judgment can be repeated for the terrace in front of the entrance and the staircase leading up to it. However, the structure, which is related to the West, or more precisely Tuscany, at the level of the main principle decisions from the design, reveals very different connections in terms of other characteristics. For example, the remnant standing from the mansion today shows that the walls were made with the typical Ottoman masonry of that time. The detailed and reliable survey of the door also proves to be an example of a typical Fatih age. When this information is added to the Persian name (Cihan-numa = showing the earth) that does not seem to be chosen randomly at all, it will be understood what kind of cultural connections and semantic references it faces here."

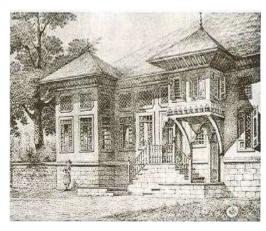




Figure 4 In Cihannuma Mansion at Edirne Palace (Kuban, 1982)

Another Western know-how is the bureaucrats use of the weapons and tools of Europe and the effort of bringing the military power of the Ottoman to the same level as the Westerners. In fact, an important first military know-how was the use of cannons invented by Hungarian Urban, which led to the fall of Byzantine. This approach, which started to gain weight, especially in the period of Ahmet III (1703-1730), is based on the reflections of the military power of the West on the Ottoman State. At the same time, the art of military education and technology of the West gained importance by bringing the art of press to the Ottoman Empire in the period of Ahmet III (Mardin, 1983). The establishment of Muzika-Yi Humayun instead of the abolished Mehterhane by Mahmut II on the grounds of reinstating the political order in the society paved in the way for the entrance of western band, western notation and style into the palace.

The great and original style of European art following the late Renaissance and Mannerism is Baroque. This style began in Italy and spread to other European countries, especially as an expression of the Catholic flood of the counter-reform era. The last stage of baroque Rococo, which developed in France, was very influential in the Ottoman Empire since the first Turkish ambassador to Europe was impressed by seeing it in Paris, and brought a collection of paintings containing the engravings of the decorative details. Hereby, Baroque-Rococo timeline in Europe was reversed as Rococo-Baroque timeline in the Ottoman Empire. Rococo begins in Istanbul for the first time with an acanthus frieze used on the Ahmet III Fountain facades. The first Baroque building contrary to the classical Ottoman style is the Nuruosmaniye Mosque (1755) which was completed 25 years after the Ahmet III fountain. In the 18th century, which is called as the Ottoman Baroque Age, Ottoman architecture was under the influence of the West. As a result of relations with Europe, traditional Ottoman art was replaced by works influenced by Western influences (Figure 5). Goods and artists brought from France started a new trend in Istanbul and caused the Baroque style to dominate. III. Osman kiosk in Topkap Palace, Laleli Mosque (1765), Nusretiye Mosque (1826) Grand Mecidiye Mosque (1854), Main Gate of Dolmabahce Palace (1856), and Naksidil Valide Sultan Tomb (1817) are the noteworthy examples of Ottoman Baroque Age.

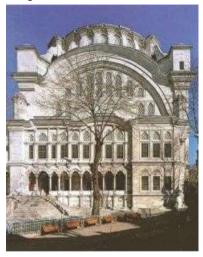




Figure 5 Nuruosmaniye Mosque (Kuban, 1982)

As elsewhere in Europe, the characteristics of the baroque architecture were implemented with some changes, such as the use of sculptures and decorations without human bodies due to the Islamic religion. Yet, apart from these, all characteristics of baroque style can be seen in Ottoman Baroque architecture. The golden baroque age in Ottoman Empire continued for a century, and later as in Europe, Neo-Classicism became the main style in the mid-19th century. The Archeology Museum (1883-1908) by Alexander Vallaury is the best example of neo-classic movement. Gaspare Fosatti, Antonia I. Melling, Krikor and Garabet Banyan are the most famous architects among the others who built important neoclassic buildings in Istanbul (Batur, 1994).

Starting from the 18th century, European commercial dominance in the empire also brought about political and social changes. Western governments started to back their respective companies in order to maintain economic dependencies in the Ottoman lands, and because political power was dependent on economic power, the delegates of trade companies acquired a great deal of power and became the official representatives of their countries. The Ottoman government acknowledged their new status and started to discuss diplomatic, political, commercial, and economic issues with them. Thus, the Ottoman state entered into an age of lively relationships with the Western European capitals and their representatives in the East. The Ottoman social system was also affected. Before the 18th century, Ottoman society contained two major classes, and a new stratification became necessary in the society. Therefore, the 18th century also marks the opening of the empire to the European non-material culture as well as European trade and politics (Ortayl, 2004). This opening will be more influential in the 19th century. For example, until 1867 no Ottoman sultan left the country except for the campaigns. The 47-day European journey that Sultan Abdülaziz made at that time is an important event in all Ottoman history.

As a result of all these developments, a new attitude is witnessed in the Ottoman thought system. The most important change is understanding and sympathy towards Western civilization, which began among reformist bureaucrats; accordingly, all kinds of acculturation have paved the way for the growing political and economic dependency between the Empire and the West (Inalck, 2008). The concept of acculturation has an important place in the westernization process. This concept is basically a society taking and adopting cultural elements of another community; hence, the enculturation from the West, which made advances in science and technology in the 17th century, and the Ottoman left behind it, resulted in the assimilation of the West not only with its weapons and material culture but also with its non-material culture (Inalck, 2008).

The Tanzimat Period (1839-1876) is an important milestone in administrative changes which are based on western configurations. Tanzimat was announced to give the Ottoman State a new order. Tanzimat rescript, also called liberal reforms, is the application of many administrative laws translated from French. In this context, the Tanzimat rescript has a basic law feature that resembles the French constitution (Inalck, 2008). As a result, during the Tanzimat period, socio-cultural changes can also be seen on the Ottoman intellectual as well as on the Ottoman woman and the Ottoman family structure. Therefore, it is possible to define this process as a period in which radical changes started within the context of the Ottoman woman and her family structure. Isn (2006) defines the Ottoman family, which gradually left behind the traditional lifestyle in the 19th century, as a multi-faceted socio-cultural relations model that embodies social change with its different dimensions. However, it is not adequate to say that these changes were limited to fashion, daily life, differentiation in consumption patterns, new likes, such as learning a foreign language or playing the piano (Ortayl, 2007). This situation can be defined as the radical changes of the Ottoman family in a sociological and cultural sense.

Two main factors and mentality changes during the Tanzimat period of 1839-1876 were effective in the spread of the idea of Westernization: The first private newspaper published in 1861 was seen as a revolutionary event in Turkish intellectual life; Accordingly, a public opinion emerged that adopted western ideas. Secondly, French intellectual life was adopted through new schools opened around the state. Thus, before the Constitutional Monarchy, the French revolution ideology spread among the intellectuals in all its lines (Inalck, 2008).

It is not still possible to talk about westernization in relation to the Ottoman housing culture in the 18th century. Until the Tanzimat period, the cultural elements of the western world continue to have a foreign character in Ottoman society. On the other hand, modernization shows its effect on the distinguished layer of Ottoman society. For example, Tokoz (1993), in his book titled "My Print Memories 1988-1914", conveys the Western culture that he witnessed at the Syrian Treasurer Süleyman Sadi Efendi's home in Salihiye, as follows:

"... His house was alafranga as called at that time. It was the first time I was sitting at the dining table covered with cloth, cutlery and plates, like the dining hall of the ship... Then, when I came to the working room of the deceased and saw the French books with pictures on a large table standing in the middle with a glass cupboard filled with books

there, my surprise and curiosity increased immensely." (Tokoz, 1993).

Orik (2011), in his book "Among Old Time Women", similarly mentions about the Western lifestyle adopted by an Ottoman family living in Izmir, who started to eat at the table and use cutlery. Yet, one of the family members remained true to the old style and continued to have his meal in the tray. Regarding this situation, Tanyeli (1996) emphasized that the first Western furniture in the "Ottoman house" was depicted in the residence of a Greek family of Istanbul, in a painting (late 18th or early 19th century) in the Victoria and Albert Museum, a marble-topped western furniture "console" behind a woman and her children (Figure 6).



Figure 6 The earliest depiction of Westernization in housing culture (Atil, Newton, & Searight, 1995)

In the Ottoman world, the cultural elements belonging to the West, which had foreign characteristics and meanings, started to change in the late 19th century. Moltke, a Prussian German General, in his Letters from Turkey, describes Ottoman Palace as:

"...The rooms we passed through were neither too big nor too luxurious. They were furnished in a European style. Chairs, armchairs, tables, mirrors, chandeliers and even stoves stand out. Everything is the same that you can see in the rich and tasteful people's houses of our cities" (Moltke, 1967).

Particularly, during the Mahmut II reign (1808-1839), some elements of the Western interiors began to gain new meanings, and the interior space defined by the frank artifacts became a cultural message in itself. In other words, western furniture and artifacts became a status element among the Ottoman elites. Piano and clocks are other examples of westernization trends in relation to housing culture. The piano became a symbol of the woman's educational level and was seen as an indicator of Westernizing society. This was not only the case in Istanbul but spread to all the cities in Anatolia up to Trabzon on the east. Similarly, the clock, whose function is to measure time, turned into a gift object that defines the social system members own hierarchical positions (Tanyeli, 2015).

As Mardin (1991) points, changes in social behavior and attitudes in many cases had superficial aspects, too. Instead of seeing Westernization as a philosophy or economic system, those who used superficial methods of morality, wannabe attitudes and pretension were criticized by the Tanzimat period authors. Ahmet Mithat's Felatun Bey, Recazizade's Bihruz and Ömer Seyfettin's Efruz characters can be given as examples.

During the Abdülhamit II reign (1876-1909), the Westernization trends gained speed and Western ideas internalized by larger groups in the society. The reason for this is partly due to the sultans taking west as a model. He followed his father Abdülmecit and uncle Abdülaziz in transforming society in every way. Secondly, the number of those who studied in newly opened schools, including universities, and spoke foreign languages increased (Faraqhi, 2012; Mardin, 1991). After 1870, this can be seen clearly in housing culture of the Ottoman palace and elites. The painting "Sarayda Beethoven" (Beethoven in the Palace) made by Abdülmecit in 1915 (showing himself also in the painting) is a good example of this (Figure 7). The bust of Beethoven is placed just below the painting of Ayvazovski, and the notes of Beethoven scattered on the floor are remarkable. At the same time, Abdulmecid Efendi, who joined the imperial family

playing, cello, violin, piano and as an audience, is accompanied. There is also an equestrian statue behind the woman who plays the piano. This is the statue of Sultan Abdulaziz, which is in Beylerbeyi Palace today. The space of the painting is the ground floor table of Abdülmecid Efendi Mansion in Usküdar.



Figure 7 Sarayda Beethoven painted by Abdülmecit (1915) (Atil et al., 1995)

On the other hand, with the revision of state administrative system at the end of the 19th century, modern city administrations were established not only in big cities such as Istanbul, Izmir and Thessaloniki but also in some small Anatolian cities (Faraqhi, 2012). This situation paved the way for the gradual transformation of the Ottoman family structure in rural areas. While the military and administrative structure of the West was transferred to the Ottoman State during the Tanzimat period, later it included cultural factors that define clothing, household goods, the use of money, the style of the houses, the relations between people, lifestyles, etc. Therefore, reflections of Westernization can be clearly seen in the social and cultural realms from this period to the Early Republic.

The 19th century also differs markedly compared to the periods that preceded it. The baroque style in the Ottoman architecture started to be replaced by the orientalist approach from 1860 onwards. It was a blend of neoclassical movement and oriental style almost eclectic since it also included certain characteristics of baroque style as well as Turkish House. The orientalist approach, which had its origins during the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz (1876-1909), served as a bridge during the transition to the First National Architecture period (Architecture of the Republican Period) and was replaced by a new style, Ottoman Revivalism (Inankur, 1997).

(Batur, 1994) defines orientalism as "a selective design approach that uses eastern forms and motifs in 19th-century architecture" and considers the orientalist structures of this period as "a successful integration of Ottoman forms into the rich orientalist repertoire". Similarly, Saner (1995) explains orientalism as "a component of the quest to express Ottoman identity in a contemporary architectural framework". Based on all statements, we can state that this period defines the transition process to modern society, paving the way for a new understanding of architecture and that the orientalist designs of foreign architects, such as Jasmund, Vallaury, D'Aronco, etc., had an important effect on this period. In fact, the blending of oriental and neoclassical styles can be seen in many palaces, mansions, religious, military and other public buildings starting the reign of Abdülaziz. Yet, we can also see the neoclassic style during this period (Figure 8).

Sirkeci Train Station designed by German architect Jasmund is an important example of orientalist architecture in the Ottoman world (Figure 9). Çelik (1998)described this building as new Islamic style and stated that Jasmund's aim was to find a symbol fort he last stops of Oriental Express and a symbol fort he images of the classic Ottoman Istanbul. (Kuban, 1982) goes further and points out that Jasmund's references for the Islamic Orientalism do not come from Ottoman past but Mamluk architecture. Yet, the building also has many French baroque style characteristics, too.



Figure 8 Darülfünun (1846-1863) (Fossati & Beaumont, 1852)



Figure 9 Sirkeci Train Station (1888-1890) Jasmund (Kuban, 1982)

The educational structures of this period also show orientalist and neo-classical (imperial) features. With Tanzimat, many middle schools "Rüdiye Mektebi" opened, which were the first Muslim schools that started to provide education for non-religious subjects and enable girls to study as well (Kuban, 1982; Ortayl, 2004). While there has been a significant increase in the number of schools providing education in a foreign language, the prevalence of French schools has started to gain weight (Figure 10). During II. Abdulhamit's reign (1876-1909), many high schools rüdiye were built in different styles like other structures of the period (Kuban, 1982).





Figure 10 French Schools in Istanbul. a) St. Benoit High School, b) St. Michel High School (Kuban, 1982)

Orientalist style also can be seen in the exteriors of the houses at the end of the 19th century (Figure 11). The orientalist approaches in the residences were mostly seen on the balconies, the cages above them, pergolas and in the design of towers and small onion-shaped domes (Saner, 1995).





Figure 11 Houses with oriental features (Saner, 1995)

WESTERNIZATION IN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND THE CHANGES IN SOCIETY

In order to understand the changes in the society, one has to also understand the changes in the educational system that occurred in the 19th century which later helped to create modern Turkish State out of a declining and socio-politically questioned empire. The radical changes of the empire also reveal the need to address the new meanings imposed on education, family and women as a whole.

As explained so far, the steps taken in modernization with the Tanzimat period gave way to the socio-cultural differentiation of the Ottoman world. As the most important of these steps, is the reforms organized by II. Mahmut in the Ottoman education system, which until that time was far behind the scientific and technical developments in Europe . The Ottoman education system, which did not include experiments, observations and researches, changed with the regulations of the Ministry of Education in 1868 and organized the textbooks to be taught in primary schools, such as "elifba", according to the methods of teaching, such as how to read easily and ordered to put pictures in the book (Kodaman, 1991). During Tanzimat, opportunities for girls to receive education start to accelerate and their cultural development was prioritized . Another initiative that improved girls education opportunity in secondary education is the opening of "inas rüdiyeleri" middle schools (Ortayl, 2007).

In this period, education for girls was mainly associated with the future of the family and society. The importance of education for women is clearly emphasized in newspapers and magazines during the II. Constitutional Period (1908). On the other hand, it has been discussed by intellectuals that the quality of these schools is very low and that there are unlimited methods to facilitate women's social life (Kurnaz, 1996). Based on these statements, it is possible to evaluate the ongoing change as the transition phase of Ottoman women to social life. In the ongoing timeframe, a

series of instructive textbooks were issued for this new educational system. These books help to provide an overview of women's transformation. (Tanyeli, 1996) explains these sources as going beyond placing some western objects and providing the reader with systematic "contemporary housing and living models" (Figure 12).



Figure 12 Modern housing concept with western furniture

This is the transition period of the woman to the social life in the Ottoman world, and it aimed to educate the girls according to the new common values. Likewise, Ahmed Mithat Efendi's book "Adab- Muaeret" dated 1894 brings new approaches to the standards of living. Many books followed his book on western-style housing culture and lifestyle. These included new norms of behaviour in restaurants, clubs, theaters, garden parties, tea parties, picnicking, dinners, visiting, masked ball, etc. Naturtally, westernization did not spread in a short time, and not even everyone in the family adapted new norms at once. This created a dual code in the society (Tanyeli, 1996). For example, in elifba school textbook, while the parents were depicted using armchairs and chairs, the elderly and the children were depicted as sitting on the cushions. Ortayl (2004) also emphasizes the importance of the book elifba, which shows the three generations of the big family together, and suggests that this book can be accepted as a reference for the study of the change in the Ottoman family structure.

The two books of Ahmed Cevad, "Kiraat-1 Nafia" published in 1911-12 and "Hayat ve Tabiat" published before the writing revolution, are other textbooks of the period. Both books offer a new way of housing life and culture that is shaped according to Western living standards (Figures 13 and 14). These books clearly contain indoor and outdoor drawings of French school books and try to adapt the cultural life of another society to its own (Tanyeli, 1996).

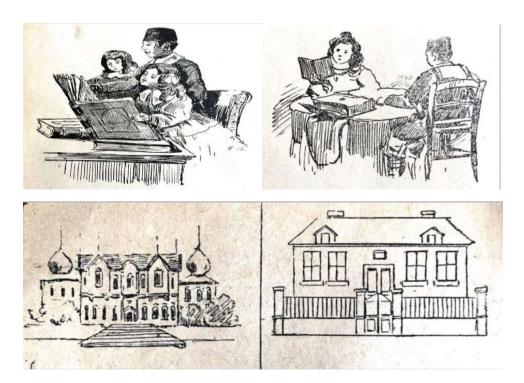


Figure 13 The study of the change in the Ottoman family structure

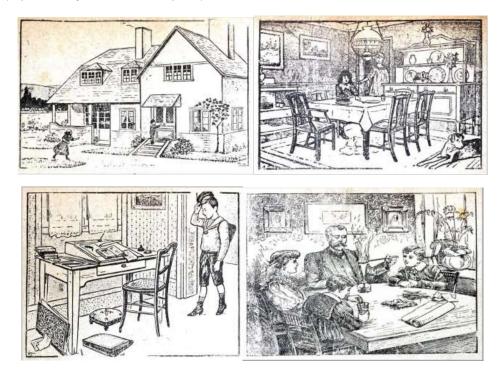


Figure 14 Western living standards

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Most of the studies on westernization in the Ottoman Empire are based on either architectural styles or just socio-cultural changes. This paper brings together the changes in the built environment and the socio-cultural factors as well as the relations between them. Along with the modernization process, many changes in the social structure of the society prepare the ground for cultural and social analysis. However, within the boundaries of this study, the westernization process was examined, particularly with reference to the built environment (external and interior) with

an emphasis on housing culture. Naturally, there was more mentioning about the ruling executives and elites, yet they were leading and guiding this process. As elsewhere, modernization as a symbol of high-status easily spread, and architecture and furnishings acted as a symbol of status (Tosun, 1998).

Studies on the Ottoman housing mainly focused on the plan typology and the relationship between the house and the user so far. On the other hand, although the modernization process started during the Ottoman Empire, this is often ignored by the society and is accepted as it started with the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923. This brings the judgment that transformations took place with the establishment of the Republic and underestimate the changes in the 18th and 19th centuries that shaped the built environment and society and made it possible to create a modern state after World War I. This also leads to the loading of non-historical meanings about Ottoman architecture and culture.

The Westernization adventure of the Ottomans offers us a section that includes different phases. It is also important to remind that the changes started with a material culture that is with architecture, buildings, furnishings, and other artifacts. Later, this process paved the way for new development in the Ottoman thought system and caused the cultural elements of the West to gain weight in the society. Westernization which started among the reformist bureaucrats, gradually escalated, to the Ottoman society and changed the traditional lifestyle into a multi-faceted socio-cultural relations model that embodied changes in different dimensions. It is not a correct approach to limit these changes to fashion, daily life, differentiation in consumption patterns, new likes such as learning a foreign language or playing the piano. This situation can be defined as the cracking of a shell in sociological and cultural terms. It is necessary to understand this process with a new perspective: The built environment and culture relations.

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