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"Of a Piece with Their Habitations": Phanariots and Their Houses on the Phanar Waterfront

Namık Günay Erkal
Firuzan Melike Sümertaş

Abstract
This paper discusses the early modern houses on Phanar's extramural waterfront, one of Ottoman Istanbul's main Greek Orthodox neighborhoods, located on the northwest of the walled city on the Golden Horn. Focusing on their emergence and transformation within their own context, this study aims to achieve an in-depth reading of these residences. The transformation of the waterfront settlement around Phanar, from fisher houses in the sixteenth century to the mansions of the rising mercantile elite of the Orthodox Christian community and then of boyars and hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia (referred to as Phanariots after the neighborhood) in the "long" eighteenth century, constitutes the backbone of the study. The centripetal role of the relocation of the Greek Orthodox patriarchate to Phanar in the seventeenth century in the larger story of the emergence and transformation of the neighborhood in general and of the waterfront in particular is key. Special emphasis is given to the formal aspects of the Phanariot houses, which have been reconstructed through a close analysis of sources. It is argued that, while the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century houses in Phanar displayed a unique bipartite construction which combined masonry and timber, when the houses were later "canonized" in the early twentieth century, they had an incomplete presentation, distinguishing the masonry parts and dismissing the timber half. This bipartite scheme in the early modern period suggests connections to not only their materiality but also their functionality, plot pattern, and relation to the immediate urban context including the Golden Horn.

In addition to their formal and urban aspects, these houses were peculiar in that they were frequently conceptualized as the inconspicuous, even "invisible," houses of the Phanariots, a phenomenon which can be traced in the eyewitness accounts. Thus, we attempt to reconstruct the material form of the houses of Phanar as a way to understand the social and political form that they forged for themselves in the Ottoman Empire. The "demise" of Phanar and its transformation into a nostalgic neighborhood of a distant Greek past, both in Istanbul and in Greece, also constitutes a significant endnote.

Keywords: Phanar, Golden Horn, Phanariots, Ottoman Greek Orthodox, early modern residence

"Konaklarıyla Yekpare": Fenerli Beyler ve Fener Sahilindeki Evleri

Özet
Bu makale Osmanlı İstanbulu'nun önemli Rum mahallelerinden Fener'in sur dışı Haliç sahilinde yer alan erken modern yalı evlerini konu alır. Evleri kendi bağlamları içinde, ortaya çıkışları ve dönüşümlerine odaklanarak, derinlemesine okumayı hedefler. Çalışmanın bel kemiğini Haliç'in Fener kıyılarındaki sahil yerleşiminin, on altıncı yüzyılda balıkçı evlerinden, "uzun" on sekizinci yüzyılda Ortodoks-Hıristiyan cemaatinin önce ticaret eliti, ardından Eflak ve Boğdan'ın boyar ve hospodarları olarak yükselen ve mahalleye referansla Fenerliler olarak adlandırılan seçkinlerinin konaklarına dönüşmesi oluşturur. Rum-Ortodoks Patrikhanesi'nin Fener'e taşınmasının, mahallenin ve özellikle su kıyısının ortaya çıkması ve dönüşmesindeki merkezi rolü de vurgulanmaktadır.

Fenerli Beylerin evlerinin mevcut ve gelişmekte olan ikincil literatürün yanı sıra döneme ait görgü tanıklıkları ve kaynakların yakından incelenmesiyle ortaya çıkarılan biçimsel yönlerine özel bir vurgu yapılır. Yazının temel savı on dokuzuncu yüzyılda Fener evleri mimarlık tarihi kanonuna alınırken, bunun kârgir kısımları üzerinden natamam bir temsil olduğu ve ahşap yarısını dışarıda bıraktığıdır. Yığma taş ve ahşap bölümlere sahip evlerin iki parçalı şeması, malzemeleri, işlevleri, parsel düzeni ve Haliç de dâhil olmak üzere yakın kentsel bağlamla ilişkileri değerlendirilir. Bu evler, biçimsel ve kentsel yönlerinin yanı sıra, görgü tanıklıklarından izlenebilecek bir olgu olarak, Fenerlilerin görünmeyen evleri olarak kavramsallaştırılmıştır. Fener'in söylenegelen "gözden düşüşü" ve hem İstanbul'da hem de Yunanistan'da, Fener'in uzak Rum geçmişinin nostalji nesnesine dönüşmesi de bu makalenin araştırma odağının önemli bir bölümünü oluşturur.

Anahtar kelimeler: Fener, Haliç, Fenerliler, Osmanlı Rumları, erken modern konut dokusu

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Figure 1: Two Phanar houses or "Camhane," conservation works of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Photograph: Firuzan Melike Sümertaş, 2022.

Recently, early modern masonry houses on the Phanar (Fener) waterfront have once again become the focus of interest, both in the public and academic arenas. Consider, for instance, the recent conservation projects conducted by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (İBB) concerning five of the remaining seven extant structures (fig. 1).[1] Unlike the earlier intramural Fener-Balat projects planned on the neighborhood scale, the Phanar house projects on the Golden Horn waterfront are developed by separate professional teams.[2] While valuable information has been revealed on each conserved building—shared by İBB officials on social media regularly—the chance to reinterpret these houses as a historical typology and on an urban scale from neighborhood to the Golden Horn has so far been overlooked.[3]

In the academic sphere, there is also emerging literature within the last decade that revisits certain themes concerning the early modern context of the built environment in Istanbul,

1 Four of the five conservation projects that we could locate the credentials for are: Cibali Stone Room Project (2082/40 plot), by Özer and Ülger Architects and conservation expert Emrah Köşkeroğlu; Masonry Building Project (2262/4 plot), by Tümaş Türk, Selda Baltacı Architects, conservation expert Başak Tongal; The Women's Library (2304/95 plot), by Bimtaş and Koop Mimarlık, Yusuf Burak Dolu; and Camhane (2304/96 plot), by Konak Mimarlık, conservation expert Cem Eriş. Restitution and restoration projects for the Tur-i Sina Metochion Library were prepared by Nilsen İnşaat.

2 Urban landscape projects for Phanar waterfront are developed by the two first-award-winner teams of the recent competition by İBB. For the region between Unkapanı and Phanar Gate: FREA Architects; from Phanar Gate to Balat: Ervin Garip Architects. For a critique of former projects on Fener-Balat area, see Mesut Dinler and Neriman Şahin, "Fener ve Balat'ın Dönüşümü Üzerine: Üç Vizyon / Üç Dönem / Üç Ayrı 'Koruma Anlayışı,'" *TÜBA–KED* 14 (2016): 223–224.

3 Léon De Beylié and Cornelius Gurlitt are the two main sources providing architectural documentation of the Phanar waterfront houses in the early 1900s. See Léon Marie E. de Beylié, *L'habitation Byzantine* (Grenoble: Falque & Perrin, 1903); Cornelius Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Masmuth, 1912). Since the 1980s, architectural documentation of the houses was produced mainly by researchers from Mimar Sinan Fine Art University and Istanbul Technical University. See Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Turkish Houses: Ottoman Period*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Türkiye Anıt ve Çevre Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı, 1982); Gülen Yamaner, "Eski Haliç Yerleşme Bölgesi, Fener Mahallesi ve Fener Evleri üzerine Koruma Amaçlı Çalışma" (master's thesis, Istanbul Technical University, 1982); Haluk Sezgin, "Les Maisons en Pierre de Fener," in *Armos: Timētikos Tomos ston Kathēgētē N. K. Moutsopoulo* (Thessaloniki: Artistotle University of Thessaloniki, 1991), 3:1597–1629; Mevlüde Rüstemoğlu Kaptı, "İstanbul'da 19. Yüzyıl Sivil Kargir Mimarinin Korunması için Fener Bölgesi Örneğinde bir Yöntem Geliştirilmesi" (PhD diss., Mimar Sinan University, 1998); Aygün Ayman, "Fener'deki 17. Yüzyıl Kargir Mimarinin İrdelenmesi ve Ayios Yeorgios Metokhi Kütüphanesi Örneğinde Günümüze Uyarlanabilecek Bir Rehabilitasyon Önerisi" (master's thesis, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, 2006); Duygu Acar, "Tur-i Sina (Balatkapı Ioannes Prodromos Metokhion) Kilisesi Koruma Projesi" (PhD diss., Istanbul Technical University, 2012). Throughout the twentieth century, there has been emerging literature on Phanar houses in Greek as well. See Aleksandros Massavetas, *Diadromes sto Phanari ton Balata kai tis Vlachernes* (Istanbul: İstos, 2013); Savvas Tsilenis, "Hē Architektonikē Eikona tou Phanariou," in "Hē diamorfosē tou chōrou stēn Kōnstantinoupolē: O rolos tōn omoyenōn architektonōn sto theutero miso tou 19ou aiōna (1878–1908)" (PhD diss., Athens Polytechnical School, 2009), chap. 13. For earlier studies, see Nikos Moutsopoulos, "Hē Architektonikē proexochē sta palia Phanariōtika Spitia," in *Hē Architektonikē proexochē to Sachnisi, Symvolē stē melete tēs Ellēnikēs Katoikias* (Thessaloniki: Macedonian Studies, 1988), 298–318.

which touches upon the issues that relate to the Phanar houses and have the potential to add to our limited knowledge, such as architectural and urban history topics, from the Ottoman Baroque to urban catastrophes, residential architecture, urban codes, and libraries.[4]

Perhaps, most significant is the recent reappraisal of the Phanariots, the Orthodox Christian elites of early modern Istanbul named after the neighborhood of Phanar who were the owners and/or residents of these houses, predominantly during their "long" eighteenth century reign. As 2021 was the bicentennial anniversary of 1821, the Greek War of Independence and the consequent fall of the Phanariots from power vis-à-vis the Ottoman State have been discussed extensively. The position and related power of the Phanariots constituted one of the controversial issues of the mainstream national historiographical trends both in Greece and Turkey.[5] Revisiting the 1821 context with its manifold aspects also raised questions related to their "hometown" and neighborhood. Scholars such as Christine Philliou have already discussed and conceptualized the Phanariot elite and their networks as "houses"—an allegory connecting their physical and sociopolitical presence in the capital city and the empire.[6] However, the houses themselves, which were the tangible witnesses and manifestations of the significant change that these Orthodox Christian elite experienced in early modern Istanbul, remain largely unexamined.

Accordingly, in this article, we aim to bring together the fragmentary knowledge that exists in contemporary sources and secondary scholarship on the houses of the extramural Phanar waterfront, with an eye to their emergence and transformation over the centuries of Ottoman rule. By focusing on the existing and emergent secondary literature as well as the eyewitness accounts and state documents from the period, we aim to question and to a certain extent offer a conceptualization of "the masonry houses" on the waterfront of Phanar.[7]

The Early Phase: Fisher Houses from Unkapanı to Balat

Phanar waterfront houses were located on the northwestern edge of the walled city of Constantinople, below the fifth and sixth hills, by the inner section of the Golden Horn and neighboring the Blachernai Palace district. This roughly one-and-a-half-kilometer shore in front of the maritime fortifications was subject to constant change following the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans.[8] Around the late 1450s, the Pammakaristos Church, on the sixth hill overlooking Phanar and Balat, became the seat of the Ecumenical Orthodox patriarchate, in the vicinity of which the Orthodox population's political, economic, and spiritual center would emerge.[9] Dimitrie Cantemir (1673–1723), a resident of the neighborhood, accurately

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4 Shirine Hamadeh and Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, eds., *A Companion to Early Modern Istanbul* (Leiden: Brill, 2021); Ünver Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque: The Architectural Refashioning of Eighteenth-Century Istanbul* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019); Yavuz Sezer, "The Architecture of Bibliophilia: Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Libraries" (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2016).

5 This was also the case in Romania due to the role of "Phanariots" in the Danubian principalities during the "long eighteenth century." For recent and novel, revisionist perspectives on the history of Phanariots within the Ottoman Empire, see Christine Philliou, *Biography of an Empire: Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Şükrü Ilıcak, "A Radical Rethinking of Empire: Ottoman State and Society during the Greek War of Independence 1821–1826" (PhD Diss., Harvard University, 2011); Ali Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2016); Şükrü Ilıcak, ed., *Those Infidel Greeks: The Greek War of Independence through Ottoman Archival Documents*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2021); Molly Greene, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 1453 to 1768: The Ottoman Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015).

6 Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, 5–37.

7 This article puts forward the results of preliminary research on the Phanar shore, which will eventually lead to a larger project to be exhibited at Koç University, Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations (ANAMED) in collaboration with other partner institutions.

8 Due to Constantinople's fall to the crusaders in 1204 by a maritime assault on the fortifications at the Petri Gate, it is generally considered that the extramural shore around Phanar was narrow in the Byzantine period. Manuēl Gedeōn emphasized this as an explanation for the impossibility of Byzantine origins for the waterfront masonry houses in Phanar, contrary to the thesis of de Beylié. See de Beylié, *L'habitation Byzantine*, 8.

9 A legal precedent, shared by sources in different languages, recorded that Phanar was among the neighborhoods that had surrendered to the Ottomans during the 1453 siege, allowing the Christians in the area to keep some of their communal properties. See Hasan Çolak, "Co-existence and Conflict Between Muslims and Non-Muslims in the 16th Century Ottoman Istanbul" (master's thesis, Bilkent University, 2008). For Mehmed II's attempts to repopulate the city, see Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 17. Phanar did not emerge as an economic power center immediately. In the first century of Ottoman rule, the economic center, and where the wealthy preferred to live, was the Galata district. Phanar was the religious center and after the early sixteenth century, the Greek Orthodox

described that the sixteenth-century palaces of Wallachian and Moldavian vassal princes of Orthodox Christian origins, for instance, were not situated on the waterfront in Phanar, but on two sides of Pammakaristos in two valleys: Boğdan Saray on the west and Vlah Saray on the east.[10] The (Yavuz) Selim I Mosque, on the other hand, constructed in the 1520s by Süleyman (r. 1520–1566) and oriented towards the Imperial Arsenal that Selim had expanded, established a Muslim presence over Phanar. During the rule of Selim I (r. 1512–1520), a new gate had already been constructed on the seawalls, called the New Gate (Yeni Ayakapı; Yeni Kapı), near the existing gates of Cibali, Ayakapı, Petri, and Phanar.[11]

Immediately after the conquest of Istanbul, the extramural shore between these gates was assigned to the Hagia Sophia Mosque foundation and comprised rental plots on which properties could be built. Until the end of the sixteenth century, these plots were mainly reserved for humble houses serving the age-old fishing tradition of the area.[12] The shoals seasonally entering the Golden Horn by Bosporus currents were washed up to the area from Unkapanı to Balat where it was possible to pull fish with nets from the shore.[13] The fisher houses and fishing around Phanar, traced in documents from the earlier periods of the Ottoman rule, indicates the continuity of such an urban pattern from the Byzantine era. However, some of the owners and occupants of the fisher houses could have been among the city's new inhabitants who had migrated as a result of Mehmed II's repopulation policies: predominantly Greek Orthodox communities, including Turkish-speaking Christians, but also Armenians and Jews. Pierre Gilles described in the mid-sixteenth century that half of a typical fisher house on the Phanar waterfront was on land while the other half extended over the water supported by pillars that formed a boathouse. The man would go fishing by boat while the woman of the house could pull the nets directly from their windows by a device he calls a "*hypoke*," in other words, a moving pole holding a net.[14] Gilles' is no ordinary account; he mentions the fisher houses in Phanar while searching for antique and Byzantine Constantinople. He notes an old vernacular tradition but does not observe any other monumental residential building on the Phanar waterfront.

In the early sixteenth-century Hagia Sophia foundation registers, 177 plots are noted near the street along the fortifications from the Fishers Market in Unkapanı to Balat.[15] The average dimensions of a plot were 11.5 m in length (toward the sea) and 6.5 m in width. While the Byzantine fortifications represent the first urban archaeological reference for the Phanar waterfront site, the second reference includes the property lines of the fisher house plots recorded in these sixteenth-century registers (fig. 2.1). The total extension of the fisher house plots was over 1300 meters. If the width of the landing stage squares by the city gates are added to this sum, it can be assumed that the whole distance between Unkapanı and Balat was occupied by attached fisher houses.

Figure 2: Phanar extramural waterfront sections from the sixteenth century to the present day.
Non-scale schematic drawing: Namık Erkal, 2022.

2.1 Fisher houses, sixteenth century, approximate dimensions according to 1519 Hagia Sophia Mosque registers.

2.2 Phanar waterfront houses, typical section according to court registers, second half of seventeenth century.

2.3: Phanar waterfront house with masonry and timber sections, early nineteenth century.

2.4: Phanar masonry wing within industrial buildings, from late nineteenth century until the 1980s.

2.5: Phanar masonry wing in between transportation roads and parks.

voivodes of Moldavia and Wallachia settled there. Greene, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks*, 98.

10 Dimitrie Cantemir, *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire*, trans. N. Tindal (London: James, John, and Paul Knapton, 1734), 105, n17.

11 For a short history of Phanar, see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, "Fener Nahiyesi," *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Koçu Yayınları, 1971), 10:5640–5641; Jak Deleon, *Ancient Districts on the Golden Horn* (Istanbul: Gözlem, 1992).

12 For fisheries on the Golden Horn dating to antiquity, see Mehmet Fatih Yavuz, *Byzantion: Byzas'tan Constantinus'a Antik İstanbul* (Istanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2014), 116–124.

13 In the period of Mehmed II, trading rights of this fishery were institutionalized into a tax-farm, and many fisher houses were constructed in the area (it is very likely that some similar structures had already existed in the Byzantine period). Wooden elevated fish traps (*dalyan*) typical to Istanbul survived until the late nineteenth century. A better comparison for the Phanar fisher houses is the example of the houses on the Kumkapı waterfront, which survived until the mid-twentieth century and can be seen in postcards and photographs of Ara Güler. Güler, *Kumkapı Balıkçıları 1952* (Istanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2010).

14 Petrus Gyllius, *İstanbul Boğazı*, trans. Erendiz Özbayoğlu (Istanbul: Eren, 2000), 65. An anonymous individual, once a galley slave, tells in his memoirs that women were catching fish from their windows on the shores across the Imperial Arsenal. See Fuad Carım, ed. and trans., *Pedro'nun Zorunlu İstanbul Seyahati: 16. Yüzyıl'da Türkler'e Esir Düşen Bir İspanyol'un Anıları* (Istanbul: Güncel, 2002). The *hypoche* that Gilles mentions may be the same as *epochai*. See Efi Ragia, "The Circulation, Distribution and Consumption of Marine Products in Byzantium: Some Considerations," *Journal of Maritime Archaeology* 13, no. 3 (December 2018): 449–466.

15 For a translation of the 1519 register, see Ulviye Baş, "Ayasofya Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri" (master's thesis, Marmara University, 2002), 122–131. Evliya Çelebi describes the shore from Unkapanı to Balat with its fish markets on city gate squares and its taverns but it should be noted that in Evliya's work there is not much on Phanar. Evliyâ Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, eds. Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman, Robert Dankoff, and Orhan Şaik Gökyay (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996).

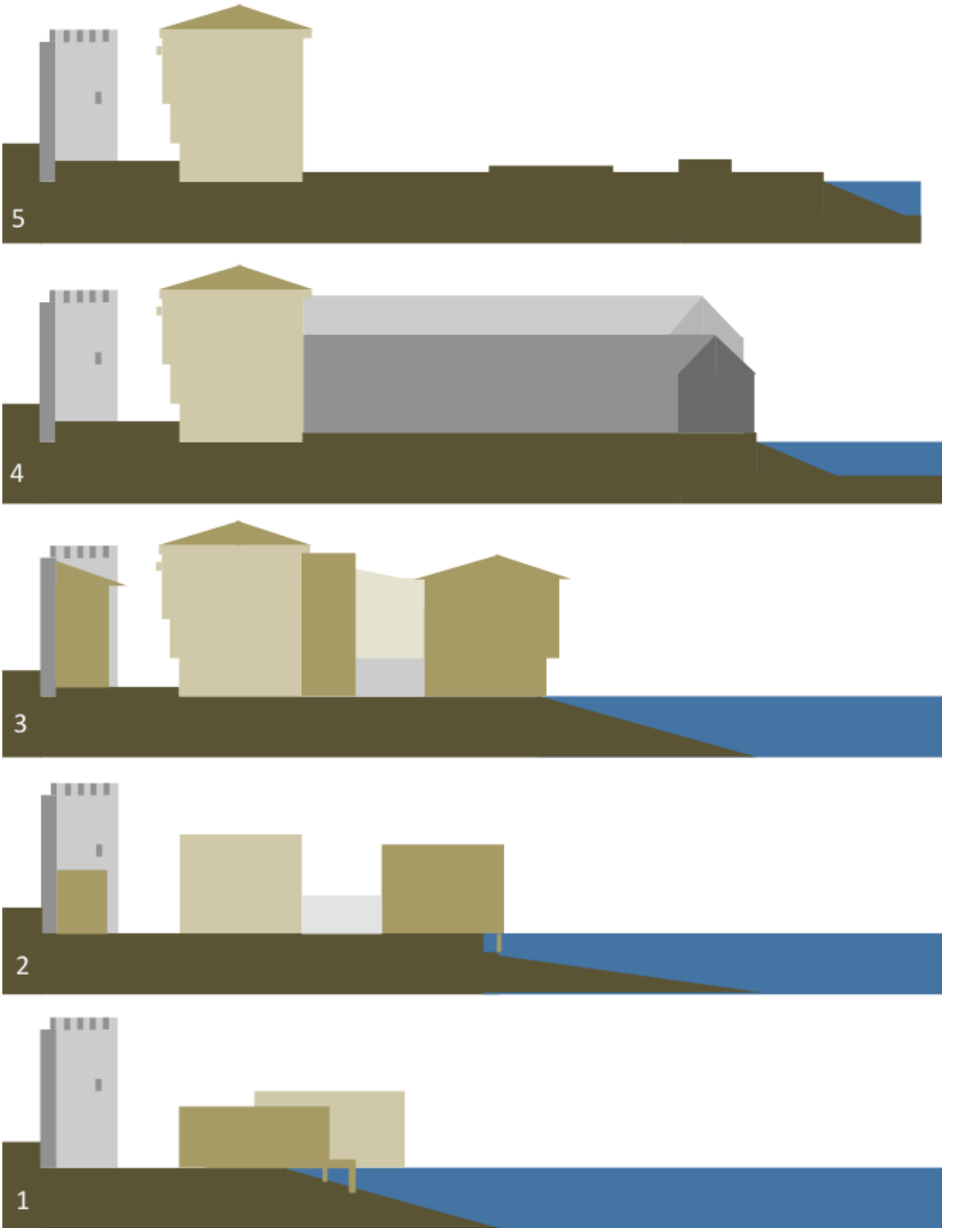
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Figure 3: Dense building fabric on the extramural shore between Unkapanı and Ayvansaray. Matrakçı Nasuh view of Istanbul, 1536-1537, detail. Istanbul University Library.

The fisher house settlement pattern with its one-and-a-half-kilometer extent was unique in the city, and this pattern is present in visual representations of the area in the sixteenth century, most notably in Matrakçı Nasuh's 1536–1537 view (fig. 3). Nasuh depicted an extramural fabric of overlapped white single-story buildings on the Phanar and Balat waterfront, in a very different style than the rest of the view; in particular, the Galata extramural shore is marked by singular buildings.[16] Similarly, Lorichs' view from 1559 displays an uninterrupted narrow fabric of buildings, some over pillars (although their architecture is fictional), between the city gates from Unkapanı to Ayvansaray.[17]

In 1578, Stephan Gerlach, a German Lutheran theologian, visited the Saint Nicholas Church (Aya Nikola) outside of Ayakapı and the adjacent priest's house. He noticed that the church was hidden from view between the city walls and the waterfront houses.[18] The priest's house that Gerlach appreciated was formed of timber structure rooms with high ceilings built over a masonry ground level. The main hall had a nice chimney, gilded decorations, low windows with wooden shutters, and smaller stained glass top windows. What is described is not a masonry building but rather a typical pre-nineteenth-century timber structure of an Istanbul house.[19] Saint Nicholas Church is standing today with a masonry lodgment building replacing and distinct from the one described by Gerlach; an example of the changes that occurred in Phanar architecture over the following two centuries.

16 Kafescioğlu, "Representing the City," in *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 143–177; Kafescioğlu, "Sokağın, Meydanın, Şehirlilerin Resmi: On Altıncı Yüzyıl Sonu İstanbul'unda Mekan Pratikleri ve Görselliğin Dönüşümü," *YILLIK: Annual of Istanbul Studies* 1 (2019): 7–19.

17 For an analysis of the Lorichs's panorama, see Nigel Westbrook, Kenneth Rainsbury Dark, and Rene van Meeuwen, "Constructing Melchior Lorichs's Panorama of Constantinople," *SAH* 69, no. 1 (March 2010): 62–87.

18 Gerlach noted that they went to Aya Nikola since the Phanar Gate was closed at night and so it was the only church where it was possible to attend the night sermon. Stephan Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü, 1577–78*, trans. Türkis Noyan, (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi), 2 vols. 2:751–754.

19 For the sixteenth century Istanbul residential architecture, see Stefanos Yerasimos, "16. Yüzyılda İstanbul Evleri," in *Soframız Nur Hanemiz Mamur: Osmanlı Maddi Kültüründe Yemek ve Barınak*, eds. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph Neumann (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006), 307–332.

The period after the confiscation of the Pammakaristos Church by Murad III (r. 1574–1595) and its conversion to the Fethiye Mosque, which was followed by the transfer of the patriarchate to Petrion Castle around the turn of the seventeenth century, was a significant turning point for the seaside as well. The Orthodox population and their power base, surrounding the former patriarchate at Pammakaristos, had moved towards the waterfront. By this point, the voivodes no longer accommodated the former palaces; a point that is open to further research. The Wallachian Palace, for example, was partially transformed into the *metochion* (an ecclesiastical dependency) of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.[20]

The seventeenth century was particularly significant for the Greek-speaking Orthodox community of Phanar. During their social rise—realized due to their maritime connections with Western Europe—they established colonies on the banks of the Mediterranean Sea. The Greek presence and influence in Wallachia and Moldavia also increased in this period from the position of the voivode's delegate (*baş kapıkahyası*) in Istanbul to offices in the principalities and trading relations from the provinces to the capital city.[21] The influence of the Greek Orthodox Church was also augmented with monastic holdings in these principalities.

It was around this period that most of the younger generations of these Greek Orthodox families acquired a European education, mastered European languages, and hence were exposed to the significant intellectual discussions around Europe.[22] In particular, due to the existence of Greek colonies around the Italian peninsula, certain Italian cities such as Bologna and Padua, with their educational institutions, and Venice, which would later become the center of Greek publishing, became extremely important for the establishment of these connections.[23] These cities were the hubs of intellectual encounters within the Ottoman Greek and European intellectual circles.[24] The result was the expansion of these merchants' prominent roles within the Greek Orthodox community as intellectual leaders as well as their ascendancy within the Ottoman administrative structure due to their increasing contact with the West and their growing capability of foreign languages.[25] They first became dragomans (imperial translators) at the Ottoman court.[26] Under the Köprülü vizierate, the first Greek Orthodox dragoman was Panayotis Nikousios (1613–1673) and his protégé Alexandros Mavrocordatos (also known as İskerletzâde İskender, 1641–1709). Due to their loyal service to the Ottoman court, their descendants would later be given the title of the Hospodar/Voivode (*Bey* in Turkish; *Hegemon* in Greek) of Moldavia and Wallachia and enjoy the princeship of the Danubian principalities after the Romanian aristocratic dynasties. Nikolas Mavrocordatos (1670–1730), son of Alexandros, was the first in this lineage.[27]

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20 Skarlatos Byzantios, *Constantinople: A Topographical, Archaeological & Historical Description of the Celebrated Metropolis & Her Environs on Both Sides of the Golden Horn & the Bosphorus, from Most Ancient Times to the Present, Adorned with Many & Diverse Illustrations, as well as Topographical & Chronological Tables Essential for Elucidating Byzantine History*, vol. 1, trans. Haris Theodorelis-Rigas (Istanbul: İstos 2019), 774 -775. However, the last remnant of the palace was a Byzantine chapel, was which was dedicated to St. Nicholas. See Nicholas Melvani, "The Bogdan Saray, Istanbul," *Mapping Eastern Europe*, eds. M. A. Rossi and A. I. Sullivan, accessed September 27, 2022, https://mappingeasterneurope.princeton.edu.

21 Manuēl Gedeōn, *Phanariōtai meta tous Phanariōtas* (Istanbul: Patrikhane Matbaası,1920), 12; Nicolae Iorga, *Byzance aprés Byzance* (Bucharest: L'institut l'études byzantines, 1935); Christos G. Patrinelis, "The Phanariots before 1821," *Balkan Studies* 42, no. 1 (2001): 182; Mehmet Ali Ekrem, *Romen Kaynak ve Eserlerinde Türk Tarihi, I: Kronikler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1993).

22 This, according to Paschalis Kitromilides, was the first contact of the Ottoman Greeks and the reestablishment of intellectual ties with the West since the end of the Byzantine Empire in the fifteenth century. Paschalis Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution: The Making of Modern Greece* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 26.

23 Such as the very famous case of Alexander Mavrocordatos and his doctoral dissertation on blood circulation at the University of Padua. Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 29-30. Kitromilides cites C. S. Bartsocas, "Alexander Mavrocordatos (1641–1709): Physician and Statesman," *Journal of the History of Medicine* 28 (1973): 392–395. For further details on the medical training of Mavrocordatos, see Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, 10.

24 Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 26, 55–56.

25 Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, xx–xxi; Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 29; Zeynep Sözen, *Fenerli Beyler: 110 Yılın Hikayesi* (Istanbul: Aybay, 2000); James Dallaway, *Constantinople, Ancient and Modern with Excursions to the Shores and Islands of the Archipelago and to the Troad* (London: T. Bensley, 1797), 98–105.

26 In this position, the dragomans acted in a similar way to the minister of foreign affairs. Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 29.

27 After the appointment of Nikolas Mavrocordatos in 1709, only one Romanian family ascended to the throne of the seats of Moldavia and Wallachia. Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 54.

These Greek-speaking Orthodox hospodars of the late seventeenth century and onwards were named as Phanariots after their residential quarter, Phanar, on the Golden Horn. However, neither Phanar as a neighborhood, nor Phanariots as a group of officers within the Ottoman administration, had clear-cut boundaries. The rather blurry definitions of these terms are due to the vague boundaries of the district which was formed of several neighborhoods; for instance, there is no clear division between Phanar and Balat, or between Phanar and Cibali.[28] Similar to the blurry neighborhood borders, the identities of the Phanariots were also fluid. Although they had been residing in Phanar for a few generations, they were mostly migrants from different parts of the empire. Moreover, as Philliou has outlined, the Phanariot identity was much more widespread and elusive than a handful of families as it is widely accepted.[29] It was, on the one hand, merged with Greek Orthodox language and culture; while on the other hand, those associated with Phanariots and their retinues came from different ethnic backgrounds, such as Romanian, Levantine Italian, Greek, Albanian, etc. Their families grew through marriage and political alliances. For instance, the "Greeks" who resided in Phanar, and the "indigenous," including the Moldavian and Wallachian noble (*boyar*) families, were often related by marriage. Between 1709 and 1821, the hospodarate was shared by a circle of ten or twelve families (Mavrocordatos, Ghika, Rakovitza, Kallimachi, Karadza, Soutsos, Rosetos, Ypsilantis, Mourouzis, Mavroyeni, Handzeri, Aryiropoulos, and Aristarchi) and twenty more families were part of the larger influential faction.[30] Yet, despite their ambiguous backgrounds, the index of a Phanariot is in a way "transnational" and the Hellenized identity is mostly visible through the achievement of the Greek language.[31]

Around the leadership of the Phanariots—who had earned their authority due to their proximity to both the patriarchate and the Ottoman administration—gathered a network of power.[32] As Philliou outlines, the office of the Phanariots was a hierarchical structure with the voivodes as the head of a network of social, economic, and geographical nodes connecting not only the Danubian principalities but also some cities on the Mediterranean to the Ottoman capital.[33] It was a transregional network. With reference to certain documents indicating the perspective of the Ottoman ruling elite towards the Phanariots, Philliou indicates that there was an understanding of the Phanariots as officers/functionaries, who were capable of living in the foreign lands (i.e., lands of the Christians) for a long period.

Having a house (and ultimately household) in Phanar and occupying the hospodarate were tied to one another. The hospodar was assigned a post in a house on the Phanar waterfront and such was the symbolic meaning of this residence that a retired hospodar could not remain in the same house but instead would have to retreat to another dwelling on the Bosporus. This fact is quite vividly described by Nicolas Soutzos, whose retired hospodar father had retreated to Arnavutköy and when he was reappointed as hospodar, the family went to their house in Phanar and stayed there during the two-month-long preparation.[34] Owning a house in Phanar was a political investment that many wealthy Phanariots did not spare. Zallony, the anti-Phanariot and a contributor to their "bad" fame, observed that "when they [boyars] are back in Constantinople, as they all bring more or less wealth, they begin to build in particular, or to buy, a superb house, that they furnish with all the oriental magnificence and European elegance."[35]

Thus, this is one answer to the question of why the wealthy Phanariots chose to settle on this waterfront in the first place.[36] There were inconveniences like orientation to the north,

28 The extramural waterfront where most of the Greek Orthodox population resided were within the borders of four neighborhoods, from east to west: Seferikoz, Gül Camii, Abdi Subaşı, and Karabaş.
29 Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, 8–18.
30 Patrinelis, "The Phanariots before 1821," 181.
31 Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, 17. Gedeōn defined them as either "Ellēnogenous" (Greek-born) or "Ellēnodidaktou" (Greek-educated). Gedeōn, *Phanariōtai*, 11.
32 Gedeōn, *Phanariōtai*, 6.
33 Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, 15.
34 Nicolas Soutzos, *Mémoires du Prince Nicolas Soutzo: Grand-Logothète de Moldavie 1798–1871* (Vienna: Gerold, 1899), 26.
35 Marc-Philippe Zallony, *Essai sur les Fanariotes* (Marseille: Antoine Ricard, 1824), 225–226.
36 Masonry houses in Phanar existed both inside and outside the Golden Horn fortifications. The ones inside the fortifications probably started to be built earlier than the waterfront masonry houses. However, when the Phanariots

dampness, and humidity, which were the basis for the hearsay that the name Phanar originated from *fena-yer* in Turkish,[37] literally translating as "awful place." However, this "awful place" was also the reason for the existence of these wealthy residents. Phanariots, essentially traders and related to the maritime world, were inhabiting the Istanbul harbor at an equal position to, and directly across from, the Imperial Arsenal and other port functions.

The Phanar Waterfront in the Phanariot Century

Two Armenian Istanbulite authors, writing a century apart, Eremya Çelebi Kömürciyan and Sarkis Sarraf Hovhannesyan, in the format of a boat trip tracing the Golden Horn shore from east to west, couple perfectly to portray the transformations on the shore from late seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth.[38] While Eremya notes the Fish House (Balıkhane) in Unkapanı, Sarkis declares that it was transferred to Galata Eski Yağkapanı, meaning that the houses on the Phanar shore had displaced almost all the old fisher houses and their trade. Both authors mention that the Greek Orthodox houses began at the Cibali Gate mixed with a few Jewish dwellings and concluded in a similar demographic pattern in Balat.[39] Eremya states that from the Phanar Gate towards Balat were the houses of Wallachian and Moldavian voivodes, which had a view of the fortifications on the street side and were themselves a spectacle to the passersby. While at the same location Sarkis mentions some ruined houses belonging to the former Wallachian and Moldavian princes, he describes a larger expanse of the residences of the wealthy Greek Orthodox Christian community and the Phanariot hospodar families from Ayakapı to Balat by the gates of Phanar, Petri, and Yeni Ayakapı. The slaughterhouse and wax candle makers on the Ayakapı waterfront, noted in Eremya's account, were no longer there at the time of Sarkis; a nuisance removed from a now more respectable district. The Tur-i Sina Metochion was the western border with Jewish Balat, which, Sarkis tells us, was restored by the initiative of the Moscow envoy, at the time of Eremya.[40] The residence of the same *metochion* is defined in many sources as having been inherited partially from the first Phanariot Grand Dragoman Nicousios' house, which was later restored in the eighteenth century as the church's residence.[41] Its interior, drawn by William Henry Bartlett in the 1830s, entitled "A Turkish Apartment in Fanar," is preserved in a decaying state, constituting one of the few and grandest Phanar waterfront houses conserved in situ (fig. 4, 5).[42]

Contrary to the accounts of Eremya or Sarkis, we do not encounter many details in the works of Greek authors on Phanar and in particular its seaside urban texture. For instance, the eighteenth-century text *Vosporomachia* (*Quarrel of the Bosporus*),[43] a work in verse (around 4,000 verses) by Signor Gaspard Ludwig Momartz, dragoman of the Austrian em-

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are defined as the larger network who were in close contact with the Ottoman administration as dragomans, boyars, and hospodars, their houses were the residences on the extramural waterfront.

37 Even in the mid-twentieth century, this is repeated in the literature on Phanar. See Charitōnos Misaēlidēs, *To Istoriko Phanari Kōnstantinoupoleōs Kata ton 19 kai 20 Aiōna* (Athens: Rossolatou, 1965), 1.

38 Eremya Çelebi Kömürciyan, İstanbul Tarihi: *XVII. Asırda İstanbul*, ed. and trans. Hrand Andeasyan, 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Eren, 1988), 19–20; Sarkis Sarraf Hovhannesyan, *Payitaht İstanbul'un Tarihçesi*, trans. Elmon Hançer (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), 22–23; Cemal Kafadar, "Eremya Çelebi Kömürciyan'ın Kamera Öncesi Kamerası," in *Altyazı'nın Gayrı Resmi ve Resimli Türkiye Sinema Sözlüğü*, special issue, *Altyazı* 150 (June–September, 2015): 78–79.

39 Towards Balat there were also few Armenian houses. Hovhannesyan, himself, was from Balat.

40 There is a document on the restoration of the church by the initiative of the Moscovite ambassador in the judicial court records from 1685–1686. The document notes that the rooms facing the street are in ruins and that the properties of Furrier Pavli and Yorgaki are near the property. Bab Mahkemesi, register no:46 (H. 1096–1097 / M. 1685–1686), 19:453.

41 Nicousios also founded a church in Crete after the Ottoman conquest dedicated to the same monastery; Damien Janos, "Panaiotis Nicousios and Alexander Mavrocordatos: The Rise of the Phanariots and the Office of the Grand Dragoman in the Ottoman Administration in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century," in *Archivum Ottomanicum* 23 (2005/2006): 177–196. Gedeōn, an expert on Phanariots, did not directly refer to Nicousios' residence as adjacent to the *metochion* but inhabiting near it. Gedeon, *Phanariōtai*, 13.

42 Julia Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus* (London: George Virtue, 1838), 125. The residence of Sinai Metochion is currently at a very precarious condition and needs urgent restoration.

43 Senior Momars, *Vosporomachia* (Venice: 1792 [1766]). This source narrates the "struggle of East and West for the beauty of Constantinople, by personifying the Asian and European shores of the Bosporus as two sisters in contest." Savvas Tsilenis and Kallirroi Dafna, "Senyor Momars'ın Vosporomachia Adlı Yunanca Şiirinde Türkçe Kelimeler ve 18. Yüzyıl İstanbul Tasviri," trans. Arzu Eker Roditakis, in *Osmanlı İstanbulu V: V. Uluslararası Osmanlı İstanbulu Sempozyumu Bildirileri, 19–21 Mayıs 2017*, eds. F. M. Emecen, A. Akyıldız, and E. S. Gürkan (Istanbul: 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi, 2018), 69–96; Tsilenis and Dafna, "Oi Tourkogeneis lexeis sto stichourgēma tēs Bosporomachias kai ē chrēsē tous se keimena tou 18 aiōna," in *Synghrona Themata* 38 (2016): 116–135; Albrecht Berger, "Die Bosporomachia des Senior Momars," in *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie: Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur,* ed. Lars M. Hoffmann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 7:749–776.

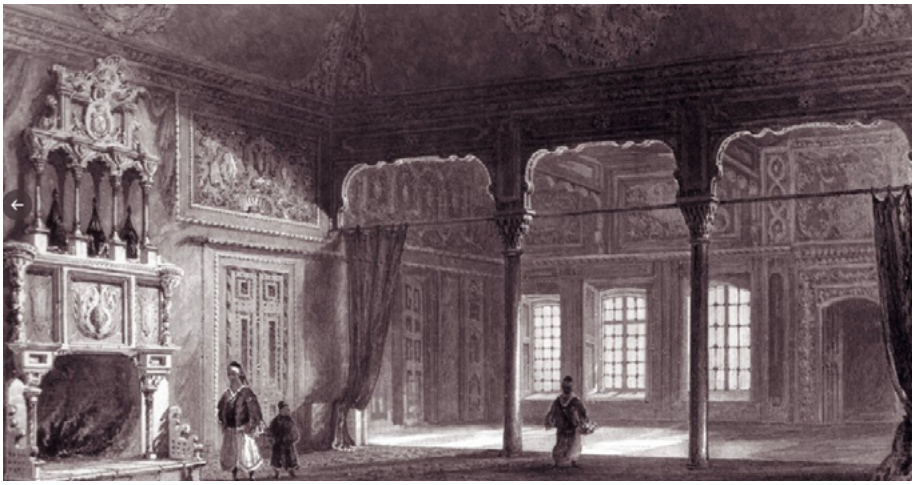

Figure 4: Residence of Sinai Monastery Metochion, 1830s. W. H. Bartlett, "A Turkish Apartment in Phanar" (Pardoe, *Beauties of the Bosphorus*, 125).

Figure 5: Residence of Sinai Monastery Metochion. Photograph: Firuzan Melike Sümertaş, 2022.

bassy to Constantinople, had few references to the neighborhood, such as the "Bogdan-sarayi" which is described as "surrounded by the Turks."[44]

From Eremya to Sarkis, throughout the eighteenth century, the transformation which had already begun on the extended Phanar waterfront accelerated and created a dynamic showcase of the rivalry between notable Greek archons for positions in the Ottoman court and the hospodarate as well high offices in the Church.[45] Houses were exchanged, expanded, shrunk,

44 "Tourkotrigirismeno." Momars, *Vosporomachia*, 11.

45 Blancard, in his book on Mavroyeni family, mentions a specific case: a rival of Nicholas Mavroyeni (hospodar of Wallachia [1786–1790] and the famed character of Thomas Hope's *Anastasius the Greek*), Bedros Petraki Çelebi who was a Greek goldsmith and a favorite of Mustafa III (r. 1757–1774). The sultan, when he would go to Friday prayer at the Selim I Mosque (an unexpected choice for the eighteenth century), would pass by Petraki's house. The house of Petraki was immediately after the Petri Gate, in the direction towards Phanar Gate, and was bought by Mavroyeni after Petraki's execution. Théodore Blancard, *Les Mavroyéni, historie d'Orient (de 1700 à nos jours)* (Paris: Ernst Leroux, 1909), 1:156–170.

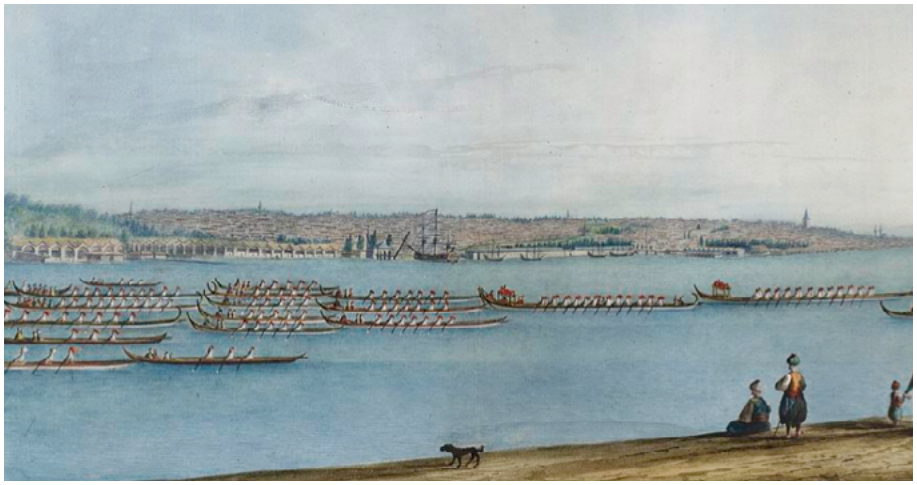

Figure 6: View from the Phanar shore towards the Imperial Arsenal. Clara Barthold Mayer, "View of the Imperial Arsenal during the Passage of the Sultan," late eighteenth century. Suna and İnan Kıraç Foundation (SVIKV), PM, Orientalist Paintings Collection.

fell in ruin, and rebuilt. One family could possess more than one house for investment purposes or by inheritance. Even if a Phanariot fell into disfavor and his properties were confiscated, his family could inherit the house or it could be bought by another Phanariot.[46] The emergence of the Phanar waterfront occurred similar to the Venetian Grand Canal, where patrician trader families had rivaled for political power for centuries.[47]

The houses faced the Imperial Arsenal (under the watchful gaze of the Admiralty and the officials) and Istanbul's harbor, to which, as Philliou points out, their owners were affiliated in multiple ways as statesmen, dragomans, ship owners, merchants, and masters of provisioning.[48] The Phanar waterfront was also a strategic location which, at times, could be used as a place of ceremony and pleasurable views. The imperial spectacles on the Golden Horn, such as the festivities depicted in Vehbi's *Sûrnâme*, were visible from some Phanar houses as much as they were from the Arsenal Palace, Aynalıkavak.[49] Phanariots' houses were themselves part of state ceremonial, specifically during the hospodars' appointment ceremonies performed by an entourage of boyars, kaimakams, and janissaries. These four-day-long ceremonies that were transferred from the Romanian voivodes to the Phanariot hospodars—depicted by many, such as Cantemir, Zallony, Nicolas Soutzos, and Dionysios Photeinos—were partially staged on water, starting from or concluding at the vizier's landing stage, and partially on Phanar Street, during the hospodar's procession on horseback.[50]

In her drawing, Clara Barthold Mayer captures a sultanic procession (of Abdülhamid I or Selim III) from Phanar's shore towards the Imperial Arsenal (fig. 6).[51] Head gardeners (*bostancıbaşı*) kept registers of all the properties on the waterfront for the sultan's inspection during these processions, establishing an important source on the Phanar waterfront inhabitants in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.[52] In the list, Phanariots

46 The case of Sarraf Dimitri is an exemplary one; his family could keep his Phanar house after the confiscation of other valuables. Ertan Ünlü, "18. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Merkez-Taşra Bağlamında Sarrafların İlişki Ağları: Bir Sosyal Ağ Analiz Yöntemi Denemesi" (PhD diss., Ankara University, 2020), 216–228.

47 Deborah Howard, *The Architectural History of Venice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981); Richard Goy, *The House of Gold: Building a Palace in Medieval Venice* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

48 Philliou, *Biography of an Empire,* 8.

49 Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, *The 1720 Imperial Circumcision Celebrations in Istanbul: Festivity and Representation in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2021). Balıkhane Nazırı (Fishmarket Minister) Ali Rıza Bey states for the nineteenth century that the poorer populations watched the promenades of the wealthy from the landing stage square around Phanar, which was called the *Bitli* Kağıthane (Kağıthane of the fleas).

50 Dionysios Photeinos. *Historia tes Palai Dakias ta nyn Transylvanias, Wallachias, kai Moldavias ek diaphoron palaion kai neon syngrapheon syneranistheisa para Dionysiou Photeinou*, 3 vols. (Vienna: Typ. Io.Varthol. Svekiou, 1818–1819), cited in Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, 22–23. Interestingly, no visual representation of these ceremonies is available now; see the following section.

51 Clara Berthold Mayer's picture is in the Pera Museum collection and was part of a 2011 exhibition on Mayers' views in the Istanbul Research Institute. See *Impressions from Afar: 18th-Century İstanbul in the Paintings of Clara and Luigi Mayer*, curated by Ekrem Işın, Istanbul Research Institute, March 23–September 15, 2011.

52 The information here is based on the Bostancıbaşı registers of 1815–1816. Cahit Kayra and Erol Üyepazarlı, *II. Mah-*

are defined by their area of trade rather than by official titles, the sole exception being the current hospodar and boyars who were acknowledged specifically. The listed professions include architects, grocers, jewelers, clothiers, carpenters, furriers, physicians, watchmakers, goldsmiths, and notables of the church. In the register from 1815, there are over 130 properties between Unkapanı and Balat, which shows that between the early sixteenth century and the early nineteenth, the number of the properties on the extramural land declined from over 170 to 130 (fig. 2.3). This change in the number of the plots is a relatively small variation on a one-and-a-half-kilometer distance considering a transformation from fisher houses to wealthy residences. The space for the larger plots would have been partially provided by the infill extensions into the harbor.[53]

The Greek Revolution, beginning in 1821 and followed by the establishment of the independent Greek state in 1830, constituted a significant rupture within the history of the Phanariots and resulted in their immediate demise.[54] They lost their prominent position in the Ottoman administration and this loss of power in turn brought about the dissolution of their network. Their properties were confiscated, and some left the Ottoman Empire with their families and moved to other centers of the Orthodox diaspora such as Odessa or to the nascent Greek state, while others were exiled to different parts of the empire. However, the economic conditions of the new state were not comparable to their well-connected networks in Constantinople. Accordingly, many of the tradesmen, such as the famous-to-be Zarifi family, returned to the city.[55] Some were restored to their position by the 1830s—such as Stephanos Vogorides, advisor of Mahmud II and governor of Samos—while some continued to try to preserve their properties against all odds—like Smaragda Mavroyeni, the mother of Spiridon Mavroyeni Pasha, who later became a minister of the Ottoman state.[56] Later decades of the nineteenth century witnessed the rise of the Greek Orthodox elite once again within the Ottoman administrative and economical structures. Although these returnees once again settled in Phanar at first, and as a neighborhood it remained intact, at least for one more century, throughout the second half of the nineteenth century Beyoğlu and Pera rose as the new neighborhood of the emerging elites of the Greek Orthodox community. The empty houses in Phanar, on the other hand, at first hosted migrants from across the empire and were later replaced one by one with new industrial structures.[57]

A House with Two Wings

Having traced the arc of development and transformation in the Phanariot settlement, we shall now move on to consider the architecture of the Phanariot waterfront houses. We can trace the urban transformation in Phanar along the waterfront in the seventeenth century in the judicial court records (*kadı sicilleri*) which corresponds with both the increasing influence of the Greek patriarchate in the empire and the rise of the Greek-speaking Orthodox elites in Ottoman administration, although it predates their ascendancy to the hospodarate initiated by Nikolaos Mavrocordatos.[58] Additionally, it is in these records that

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mud'un İstanbulu: Bostancı Sicilleri (Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1992).

53 In the Kauffer and Le Chevalier map, from the late eighteenth century, there is slightly less infill from Unkapanı to Cibali Gate, and from there to Balat, rather equal to more infill. Seyyid Hasan's Suyolu Map marks the same differentiation and specifically shows a denser fabric from Cibali to Phanar Gate. Ayşe Kubilay, *Maps of Istanbul, 1422–1922* (Istanbul: Denizler, 2010); Kazım Çeçen, *II. Bayezid Suyolu Haritaları* (Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1997).

54 The Phanariots in a way paved the path leading to the Greek Enlightenment, which eventually turned into a national awakening and ended with the Greek War of Independence. It was under their rule that the principalities became centers of Greek diaspora where Enlightenment ideals were channeled through. In particular, Bucharest and Jassy became major cultural centers of Enlightenment discussions. However, around the late eighteenth century, the criticism risen within the Enlightenment debates directed at the Phanariots, and questioning the authority of the Phanariots within the Greek community, also became an existential part of the Greek Revolution. Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 233; Zallony, *Essai Sur les Fanariotes*.

55 The safe return of the Greeks to Istanbul was due to the political climate following the Edirne Treaty signed between Imperial Russia and the Ottoman Empire in 1829, which also acknowledged the establishment of the Greek state.

56 Phanariots' loss of property was a common theme alongside with their vanity and pride after 1821 among the Western travelers. See M. Michaud, *Correspondence d'Orient* (Paris: Ducollet, 1834), 12–15.

57 Yorgo Zarifi, *Hatıralarım Kaybolan Bir Dünya, İstanbul 1800–1920*, trans. Karin Skotiniyadis (Istanbul: Literatür Yayıncılık, 2005), 18.

58 Karen Leal refers to the same court records for a discussion on the Phanar houses in the seventeenth century, but mainly concerning the intramural sections. She questions whether the Phanar waterfront was a place where the poor lived, as in the case of Balat. See Karen Leal, "Communal Matters" in *A Companion to Early Modern Istanbul*, ed. Shirine

the replacement of the former fisher dwellings with a new type of house can be detected. All twenty houses on the waterfront that are reported with property details, from the 1650s to 1730, have four sides defined by neighboring plots on two lateral sides, a façade on the public street (*tarîk-i âmm*), and the sea (*sâhil-i bahr/deryâ*) on the rear. More than half of the documented houses have a specific bipartite site plan layout forming two main residential wings; one extending towards the public street side and one towards the sea.[59] In most cases, there is a courtyard between the two wings.[60] Few houses retain the old fishing tradition by having fishnets and wooden elevated fish traps (*dalyan*); however, in many structures there are boathouses (*kayıkhane*s). In the mentioned type, the wings of the buildings are nearly identical: two floors are noted, and there are similar numbers of rooms, sofas, passages, and even services (kitchens, lavatories) on both wings. There was a running water source in most of the houses—a sign of wealth. In only two houses in Ayakapı, the neighboring properties of goldsmith Sultanaşa, son of Sinan, and of Hıristo and Diko, were the two residential wing schemes designated as *dahiliyye* and *hariciyye*,[61] which defined the private and public domains of the houses in the Ottoman judicial terms.[62] In summary, in most of the properties, when there was a wing on the streetside there also was an equal structure on the waterside (fig. 2.2).

We know from modern sources, such as Gedeōn, de Beylié, and Gurlitt, that some of the masonry sections of Phanar waterfront houses had inscriptions dating to the mid-seventeenth century and present architectural features of the same period, while some were built and/or altered and restored in the eighteenth century.[63] In general, these houses had three-storied masonry wings on the streetside (fig. 7, 8). This suggests that the emergence of the bipartite house scheme and masonry houses were concurrent. However, concerning the houses on the extended Phanar waterfront, the court records do not provide any information on the material of the building components, which they might have by noting *kârgir* (brick and stone masonry) or, better, *taş oda* (stone room). The only special remark is *kebîr* (large). Additionally, there is only one property, listed in the 1703 registers, that has the note of *vustani*, meaning a middle floor, indicating that the property was three-storied.[64]

Even if they cannot be validated from a single source, the bipartite house with a masonry wing along the street in Phanar is a late seventeenth-century phenomenon. Why did the Phanariots begin to build such houses? Gülru Necipoğlu points to the late seventeenth-century decrees on the enforcement of firesafe masonry houses in Istanbul, similar to the houses in Damascus, Aleppo, and some in Anatolia; however, these measures mostly failed.[65] Between 1679 and 1680, there are records of two houses burnt in fires in Phanar, probably after

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Hamadeh and Çiğdem Kafescioğlu (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 363–393. However, when other waterfront quarters near Phanar, where the Greek Orthodox lived, are taken into consideration, a prosperous population is observable in the court records.

59 There were also some structures attached to the fortifications on the other side of the main street, smaller in scale, and without a bipartite arrangement. These properties were sometimes used for the services of the main house across the street, such as stables.

60 In the pattern observed by Hatice Gökçen Özkaya, the sixteenth century court registers note "*muhavvata*" for walled courtyards that is replaced by "*avlu*" in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century properties. See Hatice Gökçen Özkaya, "İstanbul'da On Yedinci Yüzyıl Evlerinde Yaşama Mekânları," *YILLIK: Annual of Istanbul Studies* 1 (2019): 46, n. 4.

61 For Sultanaşa's case, see Istanbul Court, register no:12 (H. 1073–1074 / M. 1663–1664), 16:685, verdict: 919. For Hıristo and Diko's case, see Istanbul Court, register no:12 (H. 1073–1074 / M. 1663–1664), 16:417, verdict 493. The larger mansions with *dahiliye* and *hariciye* sections usually had large courtyards limited by and separated by walls; in the case of Phanar waterfront houses and their plot sizes, the bipartite house scheme does not seem to be related to large walled courtyards. For the *dahiliyye* and *hariciyye* sections of Istanbul houses in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, see Uğur Tanyeli, "Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Metropolünde Konutun 'Reel' Tarihi: Bir Standart Saptama Denemesi," in *Prof. Doğan Kuban'a Armağan*, ed. Zeynep Ahunbay, Deniz Mazlum, and Kutgün Eyüpgiller (Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1996), 57–71; Hatice Gökçen Özkaya, "Rethinking about Ottoman Houses: Cases of Five Houses with Dahiliye-Hariciye Sections from the 18th century," *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 35, no. 1 (2018): 243–262.

62 However, it is interesting that in Hristo and Nikolaki's house, it is the waterside that is defined as the public wing, a feature that is also observed in the judiciary court registers of some waterfront houses on the Bosporus. Ertan Ünlü mentions that in the confiscation documents of Sarraf Dimitraki, his house in Phanar neighborhood is defined as with *dahiliyye* and *hariciyye*. Ünlü, "18. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Merkez-Taşra Bağlamında Sarrafların İlişki Ağları," 217–218.

63 De Beylié mentions an inscription dating to 1676 in the house numbered as 302. De Beylié, *L'habitation Byzantine*, 13. Gurlitt notes another house (number 272) that had an inscription dating to 1656. Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, 2:14. We would like to thank Anna Luib and Sophia Hörmannsdorfer for their kind help in reading Gurlitt.

64 Hatice Gökçen Özkaya, *18. Yüzyılda İstanbul Evleri: Mimarlık, Rant, Konfor, Mahremiyet* (Istanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2016).

65 Gülru Necipoğlu, "Volatile Urban Landscapes between Mythical Space and Time," in *A Companion to Early Modern Istanbul*, 224.

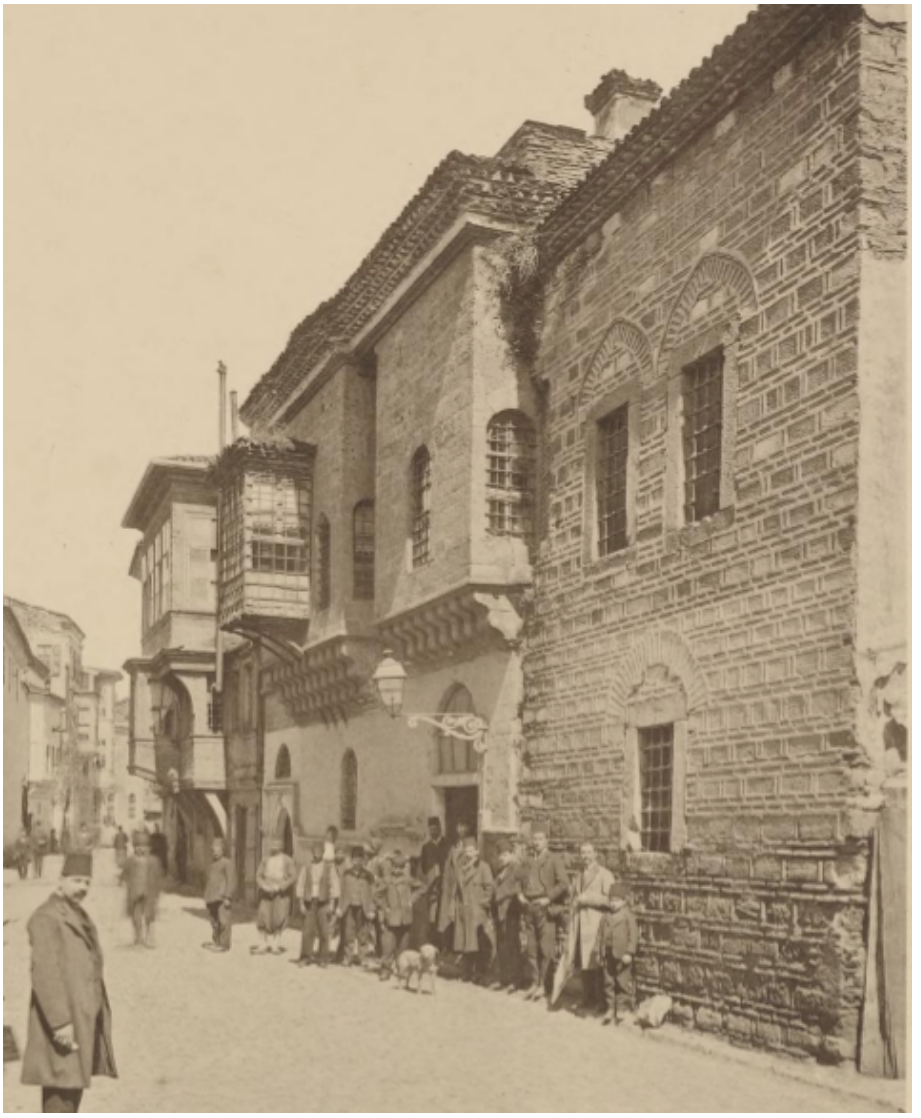

Figure 7: Two adjacent Phanar masonry houses, no. 175–176 (Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, vol. 1, plate LXXIX 13s).

Figure 8: A street with attached Phanar masonry houses, no. 270 and 272 (De Beylié, *L'habitation Byzantine*, plate V).

Figure 9: Büyük Yeni Khan (Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, vol. 1, plate LXXVI 13h).

the 1679 fire mentioned by İncicyan.[66] Could the masonry wings' emergence in Phanar in the second half of the seventeenth century be a demonstration of these enforced measures or other factors? Or, if we were to ask a rather speculative question, were the Phanariots using these measures to construct their property in masonry for the reasons elaborated below?

Masonry residential wings of the houses on the Phanar waterfront emerged simultaneously with similar examples of the so-called masonry rooms, *taş odalar*, in Ottoman architecture—constructed as part of primary schools, libraries, and khans and vizirial mansions—the numbers of which increased after the mid-seventeenth century (fig. 9).[67] Maurice Cerasi points to the specificity of the case of Phanar houses: "The emergence of a rich merchant class [. . .] left a conspicuous typological heritage through their stone masonry houses, a link

66 Incicyan mentions that 1500 houses had burnt. G. (Ghukas) Injijian, *Description du Bosphore*, trans. Francois Martin (Paris: J. B. Sajou 1813), 8.

67 The formal resemblance between the masonry residential units, specifically Phanar houses, and public buildings has been developed by Gurlitt in *Baukunst* in the early twentieth century and has since been widely accepted and continued. For example, see Doğan Kuban, "Westernization: Baroque Istanbul," in *Istanbul, an Urban History: Byzantion, Constantinopolis, Istanbul* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010), Chapter 33.

Figure 10: Attached masonry wings towards Sinai Monastery Metochion, Balat waterfront, Pervititch Insurance maps, detail, 1929. Salt Research.

between public stone architecture and private residential timber architecture."[68] Yet, two related factors further distinguish Phanar masonry wings, which cannot be fully explained by Cerasi's assertion: first, these wings tended to follow an urban row pattern of attached properties, forming a continuous street façade, and second, they were built on the least favorable ground.

Regarding the second point, the shores of the Golden Horn have always been geologically weak; any infill would be washed away by the currents (a natural occurrence which cleaned the harbor that the Westerners admired), making it difficult to build monumental structures on its coast and almost impossible to include underground sections.[69] Ünver Rüstem mentions the challenges of having a residential masonry construction in eighteenth-century

68 Maurice Cerasi, "İstanbul 1620–1750: Change and Tradition," in *The City in the Islamic World*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Antillio Petruccioli, and André Raymond (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 481. For another evaluation of the Ottoman houses by the same author, see Maurice Cerasi "The Formation of Ottoman House Types: A Comparative Study in Interaction with Neighboring Cultures," *Muqarnas* 15 (1998): 116–156.

69 Almost all the mosques in the extramural area are elevated over masonry magazines. There are very few monumental structures in this area. Even in the late nineteenth century it was a constructional challenge to have a stone embankment. Many structures had structural problems over time, such as tilting. See Namık Erkal, "Haliç Extra-Mural Zone: A Spatio-Temporal Framework for Understanding the Architecture of the Istanbul City Frontier" (PhD diss., Middle East Technical University, 2001).

Istanbul and poses the French embassy's building as an example where the architect wanted to construct in masonry but had to turn to timber construction due to difficulties of recruiting a construction group and financial considerations.[70] In the case of the masonry wings in Phanar, the weakness of the ground should have made the building cost more than a masonry room constructed elsewhere. The masonry wings here would be constructed over the foundations of fisher houses, with their plot dimensions probably forming baselines. A new foundation formed of long wooden piles in the Venetian manner would have had to be constructed.[71] The Phanariots were exceptional in early modern Istanbul to singularly afford a masonry wing on weak ground and collectively build a stone neighborhood.

There seems to be a limit of expansion obeyed by all masonry wings, secured by keeping a certain distance from the streetside (fig. 10).[72] Geological conditions required that the wings on the waterfront had to be light timber frame constructions. It was simply not pragmatic to use masonry for the parts of these houses facing the water, and architects and builders would have had to go out of their way to realize this form. Following Cerasi, the link between masonry buildings and the timber house structure was, in fact, taking place in Phanar, in the assemblage of masonry and timber of the bipartite property. In the following section, we will analyze the peculiarities of the original hybrid building type in detail.

One final point here is that the rise of the Phanariots also coincided with the rise of non-Muslim architects outside the imperial corps of architects.[73] According to court registers, a Simyon Kalfa resided outside the Phanar Gate in 1758; this may be the same architect associated with the construction of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque.[74] The larger practice of the Greek architects in Istanbul and their expertise and virtuosity would have impacted the architecture of their main quarter, Phanar.

An Invisible House

Before delving into the architectural features of the waterfront houses of Phanar in the age of Phanariots, their contemporary representations, which reveal many obstacles regarding the intentions of the household and the architecture of the house, should be evaluated. Some picturesque views from the period depicted the now-lost architecture of the greater Golden Horn waterfront houses (*yalı*s) and palaces from the time of the Phanariots. Defterdar, Eyüp, Bahariye, Karaağaç, Sütlüce, and Aynalıkavak shores were pictured both from sea level, from the perspective of a boat, and from above, high over the hills.[75] The Bosporus waterfront was more often and clearly depicted, including the residences of Phanariots in Arnavutköy, Kuruçeşme, and Tarabya. However, very few, similar sea-level views of houses from the extended Phanar waterfront, from Cibali to Balat, exist. This shore was only represented as part of larger panoramic drawings, made from a distance, indicating that this neighborhood was not the main focus.[76] As the houses on the shores of Phanar were not

70 Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque,* 49–54.
71 George Zarifi, the grandson of the famous banker George Zarifi, particularly underlines the difficulty of constructing these masonry structures on the Phanar shore due to the soft ground, and also acknowledges that the structures were supported with piles. Zarifi, *Hatıralarım*, 17. For pile foundations and pile foundations on waterfront sites in Ottoman architecture, see Gülsün Tanyeli, *"Hiçbir Üstâd Böyle Kâr Etmemiştir": Osmanlı İnşaat Teknolojisi Tarihi* (Istanbul: Akın Nalça Kitapları, 2017), 86–96. Tanyeli gives examples from extramural sites such as Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Mosque and the Admiralty in the Imperial Arsenal. There are economic and technical differences between building on infill by the shore and building directly on the sea. She states that a great number of piles were necessary for such a construction, which was an expensive production.
72 The physical limits for the construction of Phanar waterfront houses' masonry wings can be observed from the ones that survived until the drafting of Jacques Pervititich's insurance maps. Maps for the Unkapanı-Balat section dates to 1928. See İlhan Tekeli and Murat Güvenç, eds., *Istanbul in the Insurance Maps* of Jacques *Pervititch* (Istanbul: İstanbul Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000).
73 Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque*, 46–49.
74 The court case is about the debt of Simyon Kalfa to a blacksmith. Rumeli Sadâreti Mahkemesi, register no: 272 (H. 1171–1172 / M. 1758), 74:91.
75 Tülay Artan, "Architecture as a Theater of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus" (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1989).
76 The Le Bruyn panorama, an important late seventeenth-century visual source, does not provide site-specific data on Phanar shores, other than generic building masses in front of the fortification. The same is valid for the von Gudenus view. The G. Rossini panorama painting, by camera obscura, which is in a private collection today, gives detailed

part of the Istanbul picturesque before the age of photography, neither were they included afterwards. Considering how often the houses of Phanariot hospodars, boyars, and merchants were detailed in the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Western accounts, it is surprising that they were left out of the visual frame. This is true both for the waterfront and the main street of Phanar along the fortifications. There are a few drawings depicting the interiors of the houses, but only as blurred backgrounds for their spectacular owners, and mostly displaying furniture.[77]

The eighteenth century was, as Shirine Hamadeh points out, a time when the Ottoman court and elites began to display their pleasure, wealth, and manners more openly by building elaborate and publicly visible residences along the Bosporus, the Golden Horn, and the Kağıthane (Sweet Waters of Europe) promenades.[78] Phanar and the invisibility of its houses illustrates a stark contrast with this attitude. The Greek Orthodox elites displayed their wealth more openly in their Bosporus residences in Kuruçeşme, Arnavutköy, and Tarabya, but in their homes on the Phanar waterfront, they diverged from the main eighteenth century Istanbul trend. Such a contrary position reveals a great deal about the Phanariots and their households, but also creates a challenge for us in representing their houses.

The observed invisibility of these houses, both in Ottoman and Western terms, can be explained in several ways. Phanar was situated across from the Imperial Arsenal (Tersâne-i Âmire), which was a two-kilometer-long blind zone, set apart from the everyday life of the city, restricting views of the neighborhoods on the opposite bank.[79] The arsenal opened onto the inner harbor (unlike its Venetian counterpart that is closed off by high walls from all sides), acting as a harbor pool for navy ships. This area was jealously guarded and outsider views were met with suspicion. Nevertheless, this section of the Golden Horn, and its calm waters, constituted a grand canal connecting the greater city to the Eyüp district and Kağıthane's favored promenades; boats of all classes swiftly rowed along past Phanar. In memories of Antoine Galland from 1672, he mentions that the French ambassador Charles-Marie-François Olier, passing Phanar by boat, gazed at the house of the Voivode of Moldavia (maybe Antoine Popeşti but probably Grigore Ghica in his second term), and commented that "the paints of which only would have cost more than twelve thousand ecus."[80] The French ambassador's gaze from the inner harbor is a rare documented one.[81] Some visitors found the waterfront formed of the Phanariot residences simply unassuming, unattractive, and not picturesque; similar comments were also made for the patriarchate. Antoine Castellan, one of the few visitors to give an impression from the harbor side, noted in 1820 that these houses lacked presence and appearance.[82] He, like some other Westerners, also suggested that this reserved look was a protection strategy, a camouflage, against the imperial gaze of the sultan and the Ottoman court who suspected the Phanariots and their legendary wealth.[83]

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topographical evidence. The most significant source is Henry Aston Barker's panorama from 1800. See Namık Erkal, "Tam Zamanında Gözlerinizin Önünde: Londra Panoramalarında İstanbul Sergileri 1," *Toplumsal Tarih* 170 (February 2008): 40–47.

77 For example, the anonymous painting showing a Greek or an Armenian wealthy family in the Victoria and Albert Museum collection, dated to the mid-eighteenth century. Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque*, 85.

78 Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008).

79 There are few distant prospects from the back of the Imperial Arsenal and Okmeydanı, such as van Aalst's view from the early sixteenth century and a view by Mayer from the eighteenth century.

80 Antoine Galland, *Journal pendant son séjour à Constantinople, 1672–1673* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1881), 78–79. In some Turkish versions of this paragraph, it was incorrectly translated that the ambassador saw the voivode's more than 12000 paintings.

81 Even the visitors who took the boat to Phanar rarely mentioned the houses from the waterside. Julia Pardoe, who provided very valuable information on Phanariot house interiors and the domestic manners of the Istanbulite Greeks by the 1830s, was silent about the waterside façades of the houses while describing the ten minute boat trip with her father from the Kasımpaşa landing stage to Phanar. Julia Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan: Domestic Manners of Turks in 1836* (London: Henry Colburn, 1837), 65–86, 157–170.

82 Antoine-Laurent Castellan, *Lettres sur la Morée, l'Hellespont et Constantinople* (Paris: Nepveu, 1820), 2: 169.

83 Gedeōn mentions that the Phanariots had to hide their wealth from the state. Gedeōn, *Phanariōtai*, 8. This view is also shared by Kitromilides. According to him, due to the critical and skillful balance of the position of the grand dragoman, as the foreign minister of the Ottoman state, he is required not to have an alternative public life. Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 31.

The celebrated passage from Thomas Hope's *Anastasius, Or, Memoirs of a Greek* deserves quoting in length for our purposes here:

> It was with difficulty that I could collect my scattered senses when the time came to step down into the nut-shell, all azure and gold, which waited to convey the Drogueman's suite to the Fanar, where, with other principal Greeks, Mavroyeni had his residence. Each stroke of the oar, after we had pushed off from the ship, made our light caick glide by some new palace more splendid than those which preceded it; and every fresh edifice I beheld, grander in appearance than the former, was immediately set down in my mind as my master's habitation. I began to feel uneasy when I perceived that we had passed the handsomest district, and were advancing towards a less showy quarter. My pangs increased as we were made to step ashore on a mean-looking quay, and to turn into a narrow dirty lane, and I attained the acme of my dismay, when, we arrived opposite a house of a dark and dingy hue, apparently crumbling to pieces with age and neglect, I was told that there lived the lord Mavroyeni. At first, I tried to persuade myself that my companions were joking; but, too soon assured they only spoke the truth, I entered with a fainting heart. A new surprise awaited me within. *That mean fir-wood case*, of such forbidding exterior, contained rooms furnished in all the splendour of eastern magnificence . . . and soon I found that this dismal outside appearance was an homage paid by the cunning of the Greek gentry, to the fanaticism of the Turkish mob, impatient of whatever may in Christians, savour of luxury and ostentation. *The persons of the Fanariote grandees were of a piece with their habitations.* Within doors, sinking under the weight of rich furs, costly shawls, jewels, and trinkets, they went forth into the streets wrapped in coarse, and dingy, and often thread-bare clothing.[84]

Neither from the sea nor from the street was the house a beautiful sight to behold, but a visual sign for the Phanariot subaltern existence instead. The Phanariots were "of a piece with their habitations," or one with their dwellings. By "fir-wood case," the author would have been referencing not only the waterfront timber sections on the waterfront façade, but the whole building, which was a safe to hide the wealth within.[85] If concealing the appearance from surveillance was tactical, as Anastasius was told, the Phanariots had proved very successful, at least against the Western gaze. Ottoman state officials, for their part, did have access to the houses during recurring confiscations.[86] The details provided in the reports reveal more information on the movable items, which are more impressive than the houses themselves, confirming Hope's description.

While the observed invisibility of the residential seaside of Phanar continued into the mid-nineteenth century, Phanar Street, formed of masonry façades, began to appear in Western sources. One of the first touristic guides on Istanbul, published by John Murray and dated to 1840, noted that "Fanar where the patriarch and principal Greek families reside, are all included in Stamboul [i.e., the historical walled city]. Almost all the private houses in this quarter stand within an area, and they are more oriental in their construction than those of the suburbs."[87] Phanar Sreet along the Byzantine fortifications and its stone façades had become an authentic and romantic scene for the dramatic depictions of the Phanariots' rise and fall. One of the most dramatic descriptions of the streetscape was written by the celebrated French author Théophile Gautier and was later adopted by other authors. Gautier depicted Phanar Street after Balat and contrasted the two neighborhoods. Phanar was "a kind of Westend" and had a pleasing architectural composition with masonry houses displaying medieval characteristics and defending a noble past.[88] For most of the

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84 Thomas Hope, *Anastasius, Or, the Memoirs of a Greek* (London: John Murray, 1820), 3 vols, 1:69-70; emphasis added by the authors. Thomas Hope, who not only wrote *Anastasius* but also produced realist depictions of Istanbul, left no visual depictions of Phanar as far as this research could find. See Fani-Maria Tsigakou and Mina Moraitou, eds. *Thomas Hope Drawings of Ottoman Istanbul* (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2016).

85 At least one of the houses of Mavroyeni in Phanar, the one he acquired after Bedros Petraki's properties were confiscated, is known. Blancard, *Les Mavroyéni*, 2 vols. 1:182.

86 Ertan Ünlü, "18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Eliti Bir Darphane Sarrafının Muhallefatı: Bedros Nam-ı Diğer Petraki," *OTAM* 43 (2018): 281–317.

87 *Handbook for Travelers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor and Constantinople*. (London: John Murray, 1840), 157. In different editions of the guide the same description was preserved until the 1890s, *Handbook for Travelers in Turkey in Asia including Constantinople*, 4th ed. (London: John Murray, 1878), 67.

88 Gautier contrasted Phanar with the perishable architecture of the Jewish neighborhood Balat, a kind of "cour des Miracles" (in analogy to Paris' infamous squatter neighborhood). Théopile Gautier, *Constantinople* (Paris: Michel

Westerners, Phanar Street was a nostalgic place frozen in time, full of agony but proud and highborn. A significant exception is Julia Pardoe's writings on Phanar households from the 1830s, providing details of religious festival celebrations and balls, are among rare Western accounts of a vivid life.[89]

Similarly, the observed invisibility of the residential seaside of Phanar was also a theme in the antiquarian literature in Greek, mostly works by authors who themselves come from the Phanariot culture. Similar to Senyor Momars and his *Vosporomachia*, the nineteenth-century Greek texts on the urban context of Istanbul also lack a focus on Phanar as a particular site of importance, particularly when compared to the attention given to prominent buildings, such as churches, or to major events.

Among these authors was Patriarch Konstantios I, who was born in the neighborhood and had lived during the peak of the political and intellectual power of the Phanariots. Residing in Phanar, in the aforementioned *metochion* of Sinai, he was an eyewitness of the neighborhood before its rapid transformation in the later nineteenth century and onwards.[90] However, he does not include a detailed description of the neighborhood in his book on the history of Constantinople, titled *Kōnstantinias Palaia te kai Neōtera ētoi Perigrafē Kōnstantinoupoleōs*, beginning from its early publication in 1820, right before the Greek Revolution, nor does he mention a change in the short section on the Phanariot court ceremony that took place in the Church of Saint John the Baptist.[91]

According to Skarlatos Byzantios, another offspring of the Phanariot intellectual culture, born in Jassy, Moldavia, in 1797, a prominent historian of the city in the mid-nineteenth century, it is rather the "old" neighborhood in which resided the once-prominent Phanariots, besides many other communal structures including the older wooden Great School of Nation (known as the Red School today). He follows the model of Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, and his encyclopedic compilation on Istanbul, and focuses mainly on the monumental structures of the neighborhood—the gates, churches, and mosques—and does not give much information about the residential quarter.[92] However, differing from Hammer-Purgstall, he mentions a disclaimer about the Phanariots and underlines their importance within the history of the Greeks.[93]

Among the works of the nineteenth-century Constantinopolitan Greek scholars, a significant place is occupied by Alexander Paspatēs. Yet, his main reference to Phanar is only when he is evaluating the city according to its "ill-sites," among which he gives Phanar a significant place. The late-nineteenth-century demise of Phanar, and its neighbor Balat, and the "humidity" of these neighborhoods, became a significant theme in the urban critical texts.[94] Paspatēs was one of the earliest scholars to criticize the region:

Levy Freres, 1853), 234–235.

89 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*, 65–86, 157–170.

90 Aristoklēs states that he was the archbishop of Sinai and was residing in the *metochion* when the 1821 Revolution began. Following the events, Kōnstantios left his residence and moved to Antigoni (Burgaz) Island. T. M. Aristoklēs, *Kōnstantinou A' tou apo Sinaiou Aoidimou Patriarchou Kōnstantinoupoleōs tou Vyzantiou viographia kai syngraphai hai elassones ekklēsiastikai kai philologikai, kai tines epistolai tou autou: exedothēsan meta parartēmatos, adeia kai enkrisei tēs tou Christou Megalēs Ekklēsias* (Istanbul: Proodou, 1866), 7. This is also mentioned in Haris Theodorelis-Rigas and Firuzan Melike Sümertaş, "Archaeology as Epic: Language, Transmission and Politics in the Different Editions of Patriarch Konstantios I's *Konstantinias*" in *Following the Traces of Turkish-Speaking Christians*, ed. Evangelia Balta (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 2021), 110.

91 Konstantios, *Kōnstantinias Palaia te kai Neōtera ētoi Perigrafē Kōnstantinoupoleōs* (Venice: Panos Theodosiou, 1820), 110; Konstantios, *Kōnstantinias Palaia te kai Neōtera ētoi Perigrafē Kōnstantinoupoleōs* (Istanbul: Dimitrios Paspallis, 1844), 142.

92 Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, trans. Senail Özkan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2011).

93 Skarlatos Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 772. Byzantios's approach to the Phanariots was not in line with his contemporary Greek historians. His overall approach in his three-volume work to the Ottoman context returned immediate, harsh criticism from the Athenian intellectual circles. For a detailed discussion, see Firuzan Melike Sümertaş, "From Antiquarianism to Urban Archaeology: Transformation of Research on 'Old' Istanbul throughout the Nineteenth Century" (PhD diss. Boğaziçi University, 2021), 122–123.

94 The conceptualization of the "demise of Phanar" could be traced in the memoirs of the "neo-Phanariots." One such example is Yorgo Zarifi, *Hatıralarım*, 18–19.

Figure 11: View of Phanar landing stage from the Golden Horn, postcard, ca. 1900. IBB Atatürk Library Postcard Collection, Krt. 014322.

> With all this, Phanar, even today, is humid compared to other parts of the city. The high walls of Petrikapi, Agiotafos, block in many places the free outflow of the wind. Many times, even in these hours of summer, when the rest of Constantinople is very dry, Fanari; in many places, is muddy and humid. Many houses, even those that cling to the walls, emit an unpleasant odor of moisture. Except for the seaside houses, belonging to archbishops and sometimes proud Phanariots, most of the others are small and very dark, so common today in all around the city.[95]

In his book on the Byzantine layer of the city, on the other hand, he does not mention the surroundings of the Byzantine churches in Phanar, such as Mouchliotissa, failing to provide a contemporary view of the neighborhood.[96] By the time Paspatēs was criticizing Phanar, the Greeks of the Ottoman Empire were once more on the rise within the Ottoman Empire. The Greek Orthodox of Constantinople rose in the higher echelons of Ottoman capital transformed their economic capacities in the financial sector.[97] The new Greek elite were named after their ancestors as "neo-Phanariots." However, this time, they preferred to leave the centuries-old neighborhood of Phanar and resettle in the new neighborhoods of Pera.[98] The focus on these neo-Phanariots created an image of Phanar left to its destiny. However, due to migration from Asia Minor, Phanar was once again inhabited by the Greeks of humble origins.[99] Thus, a new era for Phanar began.

The later nineteenth century also witnessed a gradual change in the Phanar waterfront houses' pictorial invisibility; in this period, a few photographs were taken from the Golden Horn and more from the streetside. The street views of stone houses across the fortifications began to appear among Istanbul's generic images. Yet, it was only after the construction of two new monumental structures that Phanar became photogenic from the Golden Horn side: the new building of the Great School of the Nation on the hill (usually mistaken with the patriarchate) and the Bulgarian Church on the shore (fig. 11). During the nineteenth-century urban transformations of the Golden Horn waterfront, Phanar houses were disassembled in both spatial and temporal terms; the masonry wings survived but no longer evolved, while the timber wings were rebuilt, stylistically changed, or simply disappeared.

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95 Alexander G. Paspatēs, *Hypomnēma peri tou Graikikou Nosokomeiou tōn Hepta Pyrgōn* (Athens: L. D. Vēlaras, 1862), 65.
96 Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai: Topographikai kai historikai meta pleistōneikonōn* (Istanbul: A. Koromēla, 1877), 388–389.
97 Gedeōn, *Phanariōtai*, 16–18.
98 Zarifi, "İkamet Değişikliği," in *Hatıralarım*, 113–116; Zarifi, "Pera'daki Ev," in *Hatıralarım*, 117–121.
99 In a letter to Dimitri Mavroyeni Beg, Dimitri Zambaco Pacha (Abdülhamid II's physician) writes, "At the moment Phanar is settled by the Karamanlis, the Bakkals." Blancard, *Les Mavroyenis*, 2:518.

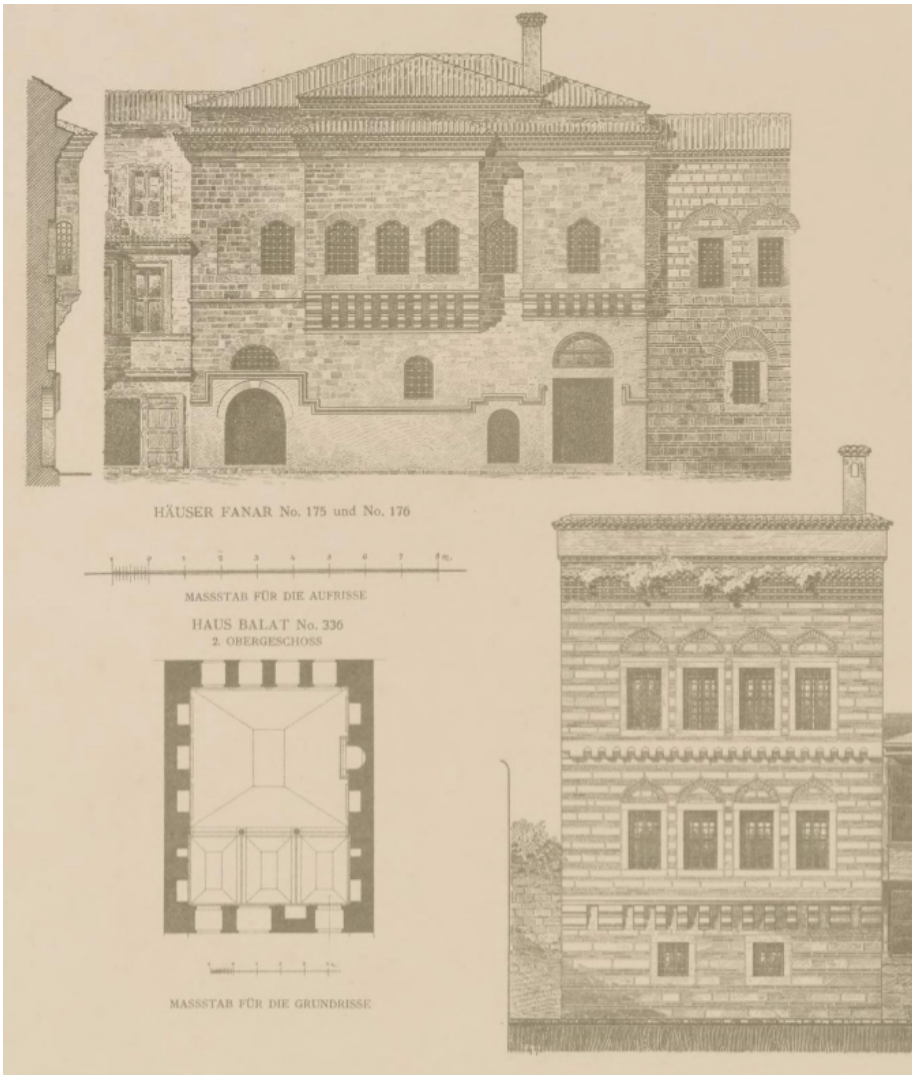


Figure 12: Façade drawing and plans of Phanar masonry wings, no. 175–176 and no. 336 (Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, vol. 1, plate LXXVIII 13r).

Tectonics of the Phanar Waterfront House[100]

On the Street: Masonry Façade

The first feature of Phanar waterfront houses encountered were the masonry street façades, which were more diverse than they seemed at first glance (fig. 12, 13). The variations and repetitions in building masses, materials, and stylistic features might provide some clues on the period of construction or the ambitions of their patrons. First, the floor numbers changed from two to four, three stories being the standard. The first floors could form a mezzanine above the ground floor or as a proper complete floor observable from the outside. Second, in the most basic examples, the façade was formed of a single surface with alternating stone and brick courses (*almaşık*), some of which were relief jointed.[101] On this type of surface, windows were framed by round or pointed brick arches with stone window

100 What follows is a demonstration of the peculiarities of the Phanar houses in their own context from the street to the waterfront. Such a display is based on the textual and visual original material produced in the nineteenth and twentieth century as well as the recent restoration projects. There are around twenty houses, or, more specifically, masonry wings, that are known from the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century sources.

101 For the wall construction techniques mentioned here, see Tanyeli, *Hiç Bir Üstâd*, 94–99.

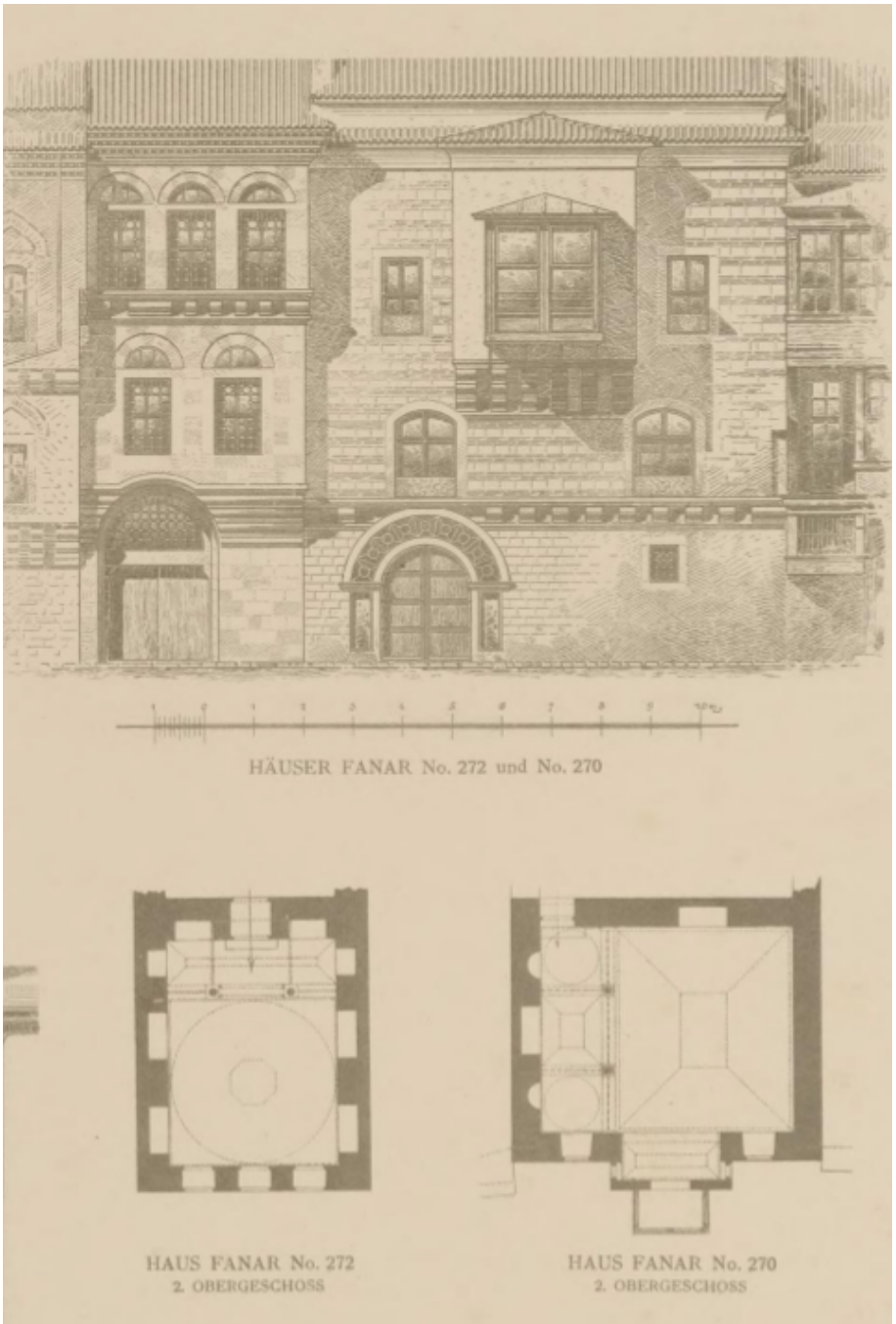


Figure 13: Façade drawing and plans of Phanar masonry wings, no. 270, 272 (Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, vol. 1, plate LXXVIII 13r).

frames or solely by the arched top of a stone window frame.[102] There are also examples of structures with a cut stone ground floor and alternating upper floors. In a more complex type of alternating walls, some part or the whole of the upper story projected over a series of stone corbels. In some cases, each floor could have projections, while in other cases, projections were only included on the highest floor. Projections might have been formed at very slight angles, following the line of the main street, and creating a distinguishable façade elaboration. Corbelling techniques and their profiles were exquisite. According to the number of projections, corbels ranged from one-tiered to three-tiered. In the angled projections,

102 Local sandstone known as *küfeki taşı* was used in façades. Sezgin, "Les Maisons en Pierre de Fener," 1628.

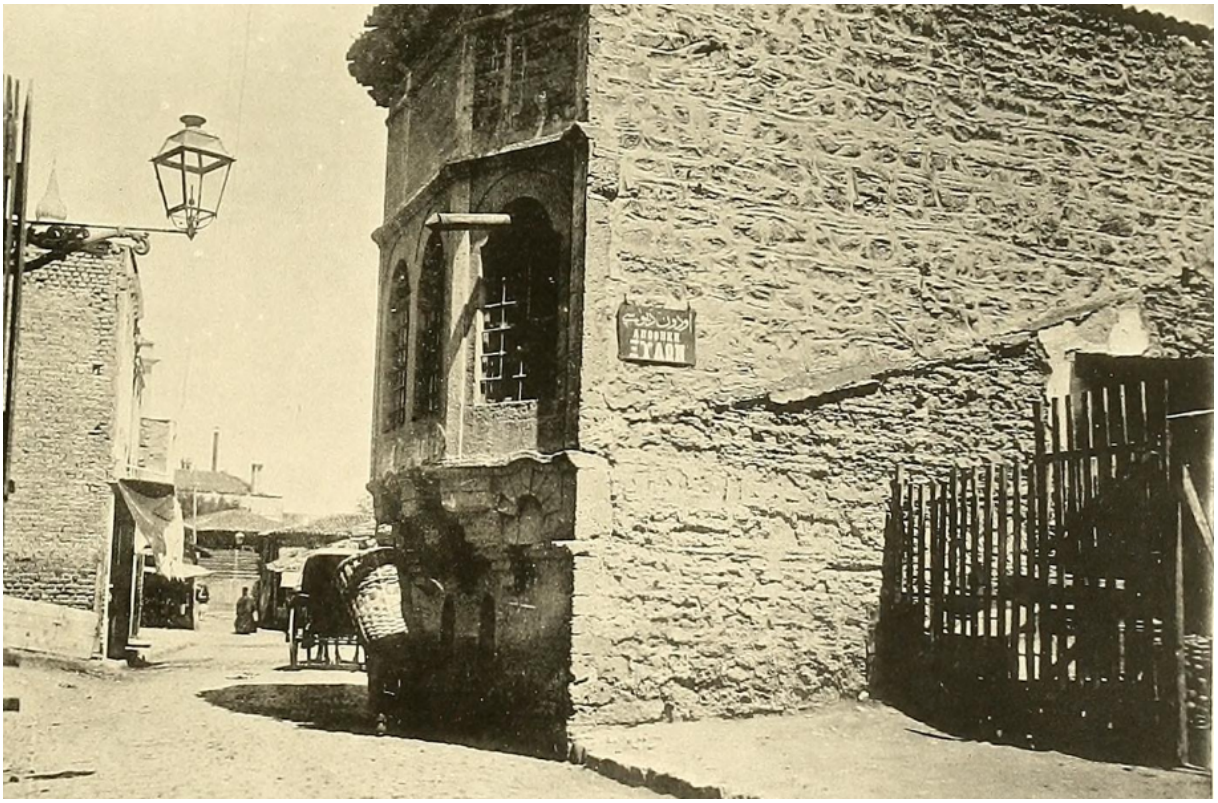


Figure 14: A masonry wing with Baroque façade features, dated 1777 (De Beylié, *L'habitation Byzantine*, plate 8).

the number of tiers of corbels decreased in fine gradation. A more distinguished façade type comprised all the noted façade features from jointless cut stone elements. In this type the window arches are usually semi-circular. Another variation of a cut stone façade, probably chronologically the last, was formed of curved projections. The curved façade was in accord with their baroque interiors (fig. 14). As the wealth of the Phanariots increased, the façade techniques became more outstanding.

Main gates were specifically articulated in most of the houses, formed of round arches and integrated into the façade by molds or cutouts. In many cases, when the houses did not have front yards, the uppermost part of the gate arch was left open by decorated iron grills in order to provide light for the passage or alley that connected the entrance to a courtyard. Main doors and shutters were metal. There were few openings on the ground level and iron grills on all windows. In most houses, there was one metal cage-like element projecting over the street, a watching post, which was an extension of the inside sofa—an element in Istanbul unique to the Phanar houses' masonry wings.

It might not be possible to ascertain exactly what percentage of the Phanar plots had masonry wings and how many of these masonry parts were attached, but the majority of the known examples were attached properties, which increased the stability of the tower-like buildings. The masonry room units multiplied in attached properties created a larger scale, similar to the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Khans and large libraries such as Yeni Khan and Hekimoğlu Library (fig. 9). Furthermore, the row of masonry wings duplicated the existing city walls as a continuous masonry mass across the narrow street . When Theophile Gautier could still designate Phanar as *quartier de pierre* (the stone neighborhood) in the 1850s (even after some of the structures had already disappeared), he was referring to the streetscape of attached masonry façades.[103]

103 Gautier, *Constantinople*, 234–235.

While some properties were not masonry on the street front, with the inclusion of the first story walls or simple garden walls, a continuous stone barrier was created, enclosing all the accesses to the waterfront with the exception of public squares across city gates. Such a barrier might be the reason for the humidity issue of Phanar Street, mentioned by so many observers, and one of the factors behind the street-level change. In late-nineteenth-century photographs, all ground floors of the existing Phanar houses are submerged at the street level. The ones preserved in situ display the same problem, which might also be related to the submergence of the masonry wings due their weight.

Phanar houses had pitched roofs with brick tiles joined to the façade with a brick sawtooth cornice known as the *kirpi saçak* (from *tuladan kirpi*, or brick hedgehog) in Ottoman architecture, which was enforced by the city officials for protection against fires.[104] In Phanar, however, different applications of the hedgehog cornice coincided: in many cases, there was a lower cornice as part of the flat façade and then a second, higher one at the connection with the pitched roof (fig. 12, 13, 15, 16). This type of double cornice is not observed in other masonry buildings from the same period, for example, in Galata. Could this distinction have been made to conceal the high top floor from the street and thereby fit the appearance to a height restriction? Or could these two sets of the hedgehog cornices point to two different stages of construction and permissions from two different periods? In either case, many of the houses were higher than the norms, hiding a prestigious hall with a domed ceiling.

Under the Dome: Inside the Masonry Wing

Houses with a masonry wing were indeed a significant investment and a commodity in itself. They have been interpreted, by contemporaries of the period as well as modern historians, as insurance to protect valuables against recurring urban fires and possible confiscation and looting (when the hospodar or boyars fell into disfavor, their properties became vulnerable). In this regard, the masonry wing was a safe, a treasury.[105] The Phanariot hospodars and dragomans were also bibliophiles, who, in Yavuz Sezer's words, had even influenced the grand viziers with their multilingual literary culture.[106] As it was the case in some greater houses in early modern Istanbul, masonry wings in Phanar could constitute private libraries. The masonry wing, specifically the main hall on the top floor, was a *divanhâne* (an audience room). It was not only hospodars but also boyars and hospodar delegates (*kapıkahya*) who could use their main halls as a representational space.[107] The same hall could also function as a reception room: a literary saloon or a type of ballroom. Regarding the former, Phanariot women should also be mentioned as having their own literary circles.[108] In all these uses, the masonry wing had the properties of a *hariciyye*, in judicial terms, a public part of a greater house.[109]

104 Necipoğlu, "Volatile Urban Landscapes," 214.

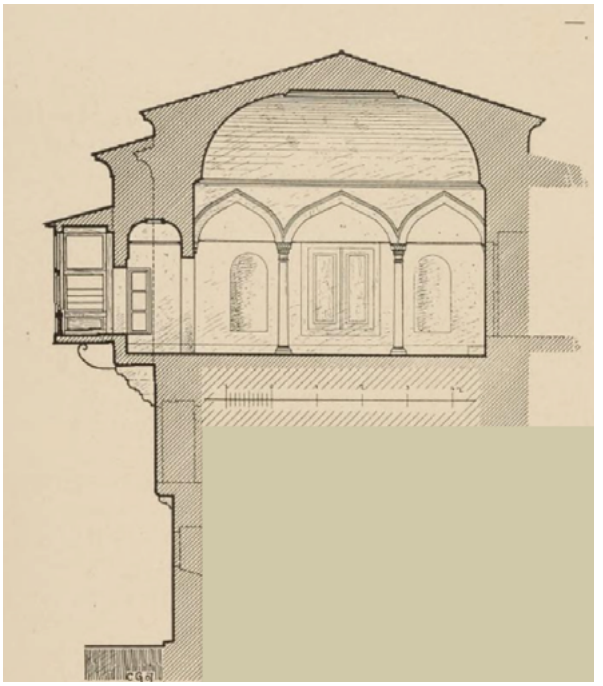
105 The legal case from 1703 of Hospodar Konstantin Duka's mother "Domine [*Domna* is the title given to the wife of the Hospodar, originating from Latin] Anaştaşya," Tabize's daughter, who had a debt to Yako son of Orham, the dragoman of the British embassy, can be referred to here. Anaştaşya resided in the extramural section of Abdi Subaşı neighborhood (possibly in the same house that Galland's ambassador had observed) and her astonishing jewelry collection of gold and diamonds were listed for confiscation, an act that she was saved from at the last minute. See Istanbul court register no: 22 (H. 1107–1108 / M. 1695–1697), 57:626, 628, 630.

106 Sezer, "The Architecture of Bibliophilia," 43. Ünver Rüstem has traced the impact of French books on architecture on the eighteenth-century architecture in the Topkapı Palace library through Phanariots' confiscated books. Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque*, 88–89. For the book collections and purchases of the Phanariot hospodars in Wallachia and Moldovia, see; Constanta Vintila, *Changing Subjects, Moving Objects: Status, Mobility and Social Transformation in Southeastern Europe, 1700-1850* (Leiden: Brill, 2022), chapter 1.

107 In Wallachia and Moldavia, the Phanariots had their thrones, but the benediction in Istanbul seems to be restricted to the ceremonies which took place in the patriarchate.

108 Iakōvou Dragatsēs refers to the "*Phanariotissa*" as poets having literary salons. Iaōvou Dragatsēs, *To Phanari kai ai Phanariaotissa* (Athens: Arnaki, 1930). Pardoe depicts a ball in 1836 taking place in a Phanar house. Pardoe, *City of Sultans*, 65–86.

109 In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, in some surviving houses, the families solely inhabited the masonry wing. In those cases, the former reception spaces might have been used as bedrooms or dining rooms.



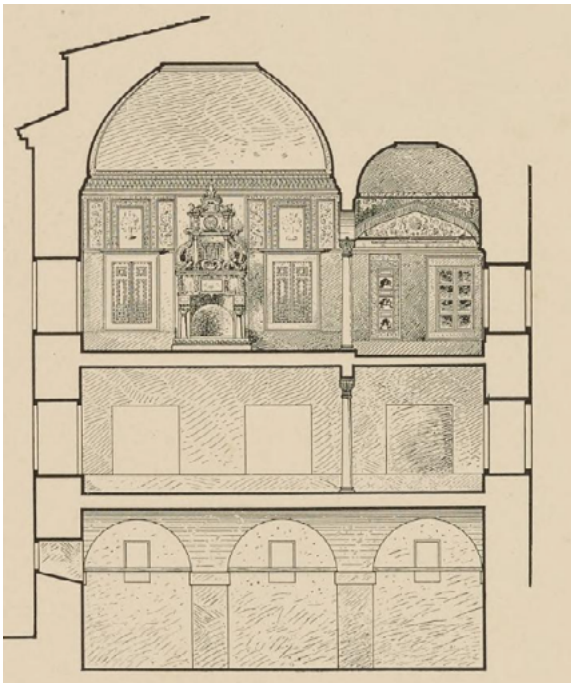


Figure 15: Partial section of house no. 270, masonry wing (Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, vol. 2, 55).

Figure 16: Section of house no. 336, masonry wing (Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, vol. 2, 55).

The masonry wing on the street front had a standard ideal scheme that was articulated in various scales from monumental to miniature (fig. 15, 16). The entrance level was formed by the passage between the gate and the courtyard and included vaulted magazines for services and storage. In cases where the property had more than two levels, there was a magazine or a full floor over the ground floor, which was usually the repetition of the space above but with lower ceilings. These intermediary spaces were daily living rooms reserved for the family. The most important space was the top floor, which was generically formed by a single square or rectangular hall and one or more ancillary spaces around it (fig. 12, 13, 17, 18, 19). The ancillary spaces might function as antechambers separated from the hall with an arcade formed of two columns and a larger arch in the middle. The main hall was topped with a thin brick dome hidden under the timber pitched roof; the ancillary spaces were embellished by smaller domes or vaults. The columns and their capitals, as well as molds on the arches varied according to stylistic changes in Ottoman architecture from the seventeenth to nineteenth century. The walls were thick and niches and windows were designed as part of a continuous inner façade composition where, in some cases, stucco reliefs were placed. The shapes of the domes changed stylistically but also according to the spatial limitations: round domes with Turkish triangle dome rings and pendentives; cross vaulted domes, low or high; and round edges giving the impression of a dome.[110] The niches could store valuables, like books, and could have mother-of-pearl inlaid shutters. There were sofas around the walls with cushions of valuable fabrics. From the confiscation lists it can be understood that traditional types of sitting arrangements—like sofas and *tandır*s—and Western-types of furniture—gilded mirrors, chairs, and tables—were also interchangeably placed in the masonry wings and, probably, also in the other wings of the house. There were also exquisitely decorated fireplaces and coffee-cooking corners (fig. 4).[111] The domed hall and the additional rooms were oriented towards the street, usually lacking visual access to the Golden Horn, while there were, in fact, other spaces of the house facing onto water.

Overall, the spectacular examples of masonry wings, such as Tur-i Sina Metochion's residential section, were, in Sezer's words, "displaying the palatial aesthetics in a single building

110 For the construction of the domes; see, Tanyeli, "Hiç Bir Üstâd," 121–124.
111 The fireplace in the Sinai Metochion residence is preserved as depicted by Bartlett in the 1830s, however its decorations and shelves have been largely lost.

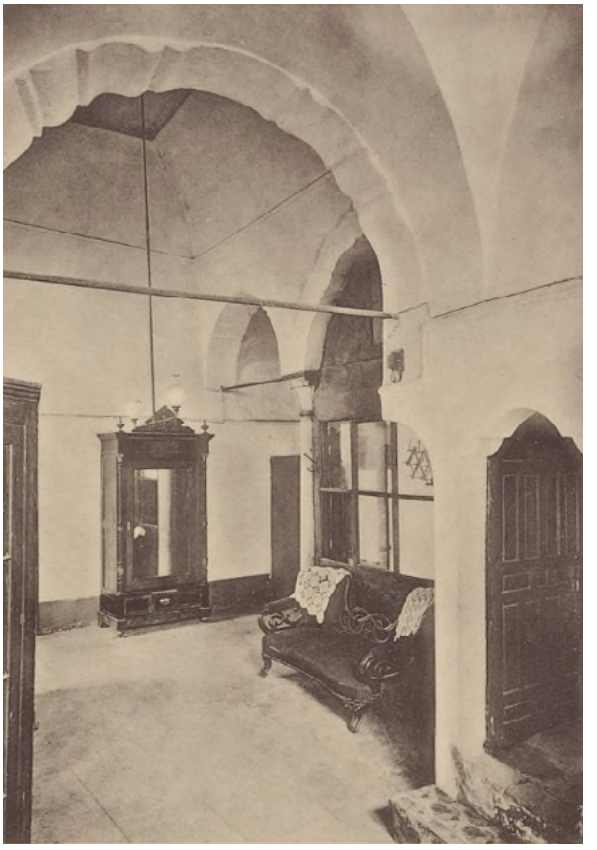


Figure 17: Interior of house no. 272 (Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, vol. 1, plate LXXVII 13q).

Figure 18: Interior of house no. 176 (Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, vol. 1, plate LXXVII 13q).

Figure 19: Interior of house no. 148 (Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, vol. 1, plate LXXVII 13q).

Figure 20: A small scale Phanar masonry wing with double hedgehog cornice. Photograph: Firuzan Melike Sümertaş, 2022.

or room,"[112] and they constituted *kâşane*s, similar to the masonry rooms seen in viziers and pasha residences. However, the application of the masonry wing in very small houses and in miniature scale in Phanar (such as the extant house attached to the fortifications by the Petri Gate and currently under restoration by the municipality) is equally significant. Whatever the scale the masonry wing of a Phanariot house, it displayed a certain ideal scheme with a type of dome on top (fig. 20).

By the Water: The Timber Wing

Cornelius Gurlitt is one of the few modern scholars to touch upon the timber structure wings of the Phanariots' houses in *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, one of the first books to cover the entire architectural history of Istanbul. He stated that the additions to the rear (waterside) were picturesque but very poor, technically speaking, mostly "in the very flimsy Turkish post-and-beam construction," describing the elements and joints. The staircases built in the same manner were later additions.[113] He recognized that the timber sections observed in 1905 were later additions and probably not from the time of the Phanariots. However, considering the building scheme, the timber structure wings were indeed dating to the period of Phanariot residency.

Returning to the early nineteenth century, the original timber wings were also noted as flimsy by observers. Testimony by Antoine Castellan, who stayed in the house of a hospodar in Phanar while making the portrait of a "little prince," is very significant in this respect, since his visit took place just one year before 1821, the beginning of the Greek War of Independence. Castellan arrived at the house from the sea and observed that "this part of Constantinople is situated towards the harbor and is very sad looking, the houses, made

112 Sezer, "The Architecture of Bibliophilia," 76.
113 Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, 2:14.

Figure 21: Backside of a masonry wing with portico and staircase, small residence near Sinai Monastery Metochion. Photograph: Firuzan Melike Sümertaş, 2022.

of timber, do not have any regularity and any presence."[114] The buildings were painted in obscure colors (noting the building color codes for non-Muslims) and had closed shutters so that the interiors were not visible. The sections near the waterfront protruded over the sea and were carried by piles forming a shelter for the boats. One could bring their "merchandise" directly from the harbor into the house through this boathouse.[115] This remark points to the mercantile character of the Phanariot household. The prince's residence was no different from that of the neighbors, its interior was no more magnificent than its exterior. The areas that Castellan had access to included an alley, very long corridors, obscure sections, and a dilapidated staircase, which took him to the little prince's room. The architecture of the room and its furniture was not impressive. Since he noted that he could see the fortifications from the windows, the room should have been in the masonry wing. In Castellan's description, the masonry and stone wings of the hospodar's house were interwoven and impossible to differentiate. The obscure sections described should be the rooms in between two open façades of the long plot. The stories of the masonry wing were accessed by a staircase, usually within the open courtyard accessed from the street (fig. 21).[116]

The panorama of Henry Aston Barker drawn from the Galata Tower in 1800, twenty years before Castellan's visit, is a distant but reliable depiction of the waterfront façades of houses from Cibali to Phanar (fig. 22, 23).[117] The houses, mainly attached properties, were directly built over the water on the harbor side, like proper *yalı*s. In some areas, two wings are ob-

114 Castellan, *Lettres sur la Morée*, 2:169–170.
115 Geoffrey Goodwin noted that, in the case of the Tur-i Sina Metochion residence, the waterfront wing constituted of a warehouse facing towards the waterfront: "[The grand saloon] runs the length of the house but is blind on the [Golden] Horn side, presumably because the back of the house served as a warehouse, the present employ of most of these mansions, and also the owner did not wish to look out upon the wharf or suffer the stench of the polluted water." Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 447–448. While not disregarding the possibility of a magazine ground floor by the waterfront for the merchandise of the Phanariot merchants, in a Venetian manner, the description of Goodwin is anachronic. The timber sections, the *dahiliyye*, also included some private family units.
116 Haluk Sezgin provides a small house drawing produced by Cem Başak that shows a complete plan of house from the street to the waterfront. The house has a courtyard, probably closed by a roof later, two staircases, and bipartite spatial distribution. Sezgin, "Les Maisons en Pierre de Fener," 1609.
117 Henry Aston Barker, *A Series of Eight Views Forming a Panorama of the Celebrated City of Constantinople and its Environs, Taken from the Town of Galata* (London: Thomas Palser, 1813); Namık Erkal, "Tam Zamanında Gözlerinizin Önünde," 40–47.

Figure 22: View from Cibali to Balat, Henry Aston Barker's panorama from the Galata Tower, 1800 (Barker, *A Series of Eight Views Forming a Panorama*, plate 4).

Figure 23: Detail from Henry Aston Barker's panorama from the Galata Tower, 1800 (Barker, *A Series of Eight Views Forming a Panorama*, plate 4).

servable; the rear wing on the street is higher than the waterside. Another visual source that depicts a bipartite dense building pattern on the Phanar waterfront in the early nineteenth century is the Seyyid Hasan waterway map. Hasan depicts each building part schematically with a separate pitched roof.[118]

Based on these details, it can be proposed that the Phanariots' houses and *yalı*s on the Bosporus might provide some clues for the timber frame wings in Phanar. The large Bosporus mansions—which were, like the Ypsilanti's, so prominent as to later become European states' summer embassies—were built on large gardens and were placed gracefully over the water in a horizontal spatial pattern.[119] However, unlike Phanariots' Bosporus houses, typical Phanar seaside plots had developed perpendicular to the water. Several plots could have even been merged, with the initial perpendicular structure of the plot defining the spatial layouts. The most comparative case from the Bosporus waterfront architecture for Phanar is the example of small *yalı*s in populated Bosporus village centers packed around the main landing stages; for the Greeks, these areas included Arnavutköy, Kuruçeşme, and Tarabya.[120]

In the nineteenth-century photographs, some gardens are observed in front of Phanar waterfront buildings.[121] These gardens were a rarity before the mid-nineteenth century and are not referred to in earlier sources (fig. 11). For the most part, open spaces were inner courtyards defined by high walls alongside the neighboring properties. Ultimately, the amount of infill increased due to the late nineteenth and twentieth-century industrialization (fig. 2.4,26).[122]

118 Kazım Çeçen, *II. Beyazid Suyolları Haritası*.
119 On Phanariots' Bosporus mansions, specifically Arnavutköy, see Esra Ansel, "Continuity and Change on the Bosphorus Shore: Arnavutköy before and after the Greek Revolution of 1821" (master's thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2016).
120 For the nineteenth-century photographs of Arnavutköy, Kuruçeşme, and Tarabya, see Sinan Genim, *From Konstantiniyye to Istanbul: Photographs of Rumeli Shore of the Bosphorus from the Mid-19th to 20th Century*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Istanbul Research Institute, 2011).
121 Zarifi who must have seen the neighborhood around the late nineteenth century, also mentions these gardens with fruit trees. Zarifi, *Hatıralarım*, 17.
122 Zarifi testifies as a child around the turn of the twentieth century that Phanar was already in disfavor for many former residents, who, after a fire or an earthquake, did not bother to repair the house but to sell it to a workshop owner. Zarifi, *Hatıralarım*, 18.

The timber fabric of the Phanar waterfront was largely affected by the 1856–1857 fire, when 200 buildings were devastated, and which became the final cause for many people to move out to more novel neighborhoods.[123] A panoramic photograph taken by officer Ali Rıza Bey in 1907 from the Selim I Mosque focusing on the Imperial Arsenal captured the forefront of Phanar, specifically the waterfront rebuilt after the fires and the remnants of the Phanariots' houses (fig. 24, 25).[124] The tight row plot pattern, the congestion of buildings on them, and bipartite house scheme, formed of a masonry and a timber section, seem to persist in that period. The masonry wings facing the Phanar Street, though diminished in their numbers, were the only tangible part left from the Phanariots' houses. This was the Phanar of Dr. Mordtmann, de Beylié, van Millingen, Gedeōn, Gurlitt, and Arseven.[125] This would be the Phanar waterfront house to be canonized as part of Istanbul's monumental architecture, fortunately prior to the decisions made for their destruction after the 1894 earthquake, the transformation of the Phanar waterfront by industrialization starting from Cibali, and street-enlargement projects throughout the first decades of the twentieth century.

What was canonized as the Phanar waterfront house is, however, an incomplete picture as it was based on the street front and solely comprised of the masonry sections. For many historians, looking towards the Byzantine connections, such as Dr. Mordtmann and de Beylié, the masonry façade was the Phanar house;[126] for others from the Ottoman architectural context, such as Sedad Hakkı Eldem, it was the preserved annex, the "stone room" of an insignificant timber residence. Can a house be defined without its missing half? Can the main entrance of a building be called an annex? The topic of the Phanar house has been overwhelmed by trials of art history categorizations for over a century.[127] While some comparative analysis debates are too frequently repeated (i.e., Byzantine, Genoese, Italian), there are comparative cases that have not been analyzed in detail yet—for example, the architectural encounters within the Phanariot network, such as the Aegean Islands, and their domains in Romania and Moldavia as well as tower houses (*burgaz*, *koula*) in the Balkans and Western Anatolia belonging to the Ottoman *ayan*s (local landed proprietors) and rich merchants.[128]

What we know today is that a kind of nostalgia towards social life and the associated "Greek culture" in Phanar began to emerge particularly in the later nineteenth century. A signifi-

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123 For a witness of the fire and how the masonry parts survived, see Marie Caroline Durand de Fontmagne, *Un Sejour a l'ambassade de France a Constantinople sous le second Empire* (Paris: Libraire Plon, 1902), 372–374. The impact of the fires in the urban transformation of the intramural section, such as the 1861 Phanar fire, is better known, see Melis Bilgiç, "Osmanlı Kentlerinde 19. Yüzyıldaki Dönüşümler: İstanbul Fener Örneği," *Meltem* 6 (2019): 49–74. The property registers from 1874 are extant for only the Seferikoz, Karabaş, and Tahta Minare neighborhoods, and the Phanar Street in Tahta Minare is not the main street on the extramural street but inside Phanar. Yücel Terzibaşoğlu and Alp Yücel Kaya, "Tahrir'den Kadastro'ya: 1874 İstanbul Emlak Tahriri ve Vergisi," *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar* 5 (2007): 9–58; Sibel Gürses Söğüt, "16. Yüzyıldan 19. Yüzyıla İstanbul Haneleri," *Türk İslam Medeniyeti Akademik Araştırmalar Dergisi* 16, no. 32 (2021): 311–336.

124 Nurhan Atasoy, *Photographs from the Yıldız Palace Albums: Souvenir of Istanbul* (Istanbul: Akkök, 2007), 342–325.

125 Dr. Mordtmann was claimed to be one of the figures that proposed a Byzantine origin for the masonry wings of Phanar houses. Although he was referred to by others, he appears not to have published on the topic. De Beylié mentions his name as a reference for the Byzantine influence theory in *L'habitation Byzantine*. Alexander van Millingen does not refer to the Phanar houses in his book on Constantinople's walls and adjoining sites, which might be taken as a proof that he does not see them as Byzantine heritage. Alexander van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites* (London: John Murray, 1899). Arseven, in his book on Byzantine Constantinople, mentions Phanar houses as *Bizans-kârî* (Byzantine-like) and interprets some features of Byzantine houses as a reflection on the Phanar ones. Celal Esad Arseven, *Eski İstanbul: Abidat ve Mebanisi* (Istanbul: Turing, 1989; Istanbul: Muhtar Halit Kütüphanesi, 1912), 188–192. Citations refer to the Turing edition.

126 Earlier foundational works from the nineteenth century do not mention Phanar masonry houses in their Byzantine architectural surveys. Charles Texier proposes a Byzantine origin for the commercial buildings and khans but not the Phanar houses. Charles Texier and Pullan Popplewell, *Architecture byzantine ou recueil des monuments premiers temps du christianisme* (Paris, 1864). Auguste Choisy states that the Byzantine masonry techniques were transferred to Ottoman architecture by way of Greek building masons. Choisy, *L'art de Batir Chez Les Byzantines* (Paris, 1883).

127 C. Joja, "Contributions to the Study of the Domestic Stone Architecture of Istanbul," *Revue des etudes sud-est européennes*, 11 (1973): 57–80. For a recent work on the same position, see Serena Acciai, "Developing Deroko's Theories: Looking for the 'Incunabula' of Byzantine Housing," *Serbian Architectural Journal* 11 (2019): 71–96.

128 Victor Stancu, "L'architecture dans les pays roumains à l'époque phanariote et les monuments représentatifs les plus importants de cette époque," *Symposium L'epoque Phanariote: 21–25 Octobre 1970* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1974), 265–294; Ayda Arel, "Pyrgos'tan Burgaz'a: Osmanlı Dünyasında Sivil Amaçlı Kuleler I: Erken Dönem ve Öncüller," in *Bir Allame-i Cihan: Stephanos Yerasimos*, ed. Edhem Eldem (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2012) 1:15–71.

Figure 24: Panorama of the Golden Horn from Selim I Mosque. Photograph: Lieutenant Colonel Ali Rıza Bey, 1907. Library of Congress Collection, Abdül Hamid Albums, LOT 9515, no. 1–4.

Figure 25: Detail from the panorama of the Golden Horn from Selim I Mosque. Photograph: Lieutenant Colonel Ali Rıza Bey, 1907. Library of Congress Collection, Abdül Hamid Albums, LOT 9515, no. 2.

cant name in this regard is Manuel Gedeōn (1851–1943), a scholar and the librarian of the patriarchate who was among the first Constantinopolitan authors to write about Phanar and its Phanariots. The first article by Gedeōn, which dates to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, historicizes the Phanariots, particularly the heads of the Phanariots circles, the princes of Wallachia and Moldavia.[129] The second one, which appeared in the press more than three decades after the first one, focuses instead on the life, culture, and, to a certain extent, the aftermath of Phanariots and the Phanar neighborhood.[130] As he begins the latter article by indicating a misdated plaque on the entrance of the Minēmosinē Club, Gedeōn underlines the vulnerability of the knowledge and loss of collective urban memory due to the rapid transformation of the neighborhood.[131]

This emerging nostalgia on Phanar moved to Greece when the Greeks of Phanar (or Constantinople in general) had to leave the city, not due to the population exchange but due to the unrest following the Greco-Turkish War in Anatolia in 1922 and the subsequent pursuit for homogenization of the Turkish Republic in its demographic and economic structure. Individuals such as Chariton Misaēlidēs, whose familial background was from Phanar, wrote their version of "Phanar."[132] Misaēlidēs depicts the later nineteenth century in Phanar, with its vivid cultural life, prominent inhabitants, contrary to the more well-known understanding of Phanar as the "left behind" neighborhood of the Greeks of Istanbul, resulting from the "neo-Phanariot" elite's preference of new settlements in Pera.

129 Manuēl Gedeōn, "Peri tēs Phanariōtikēs koinōnia mexri tōn arxōn tes evestōsēs ekatontaetēridos," *EFSK, Syngramma Periodikon* 21 (Constantinople: 1891): 55–71.
130 Gedeōn, *Phanariōtai.*
131 It is significant that, despite this awareness, Gedeōn does not give much information about the houses themselves, beyond the location of their family home along with some other families.
132 Misaēlidēs, *To Istoriko Phanari.*

Figure 26: Map of the Phanar waterfront from Cibali to the Bulgarian Church (Dağdelen, *Alman Mavileri*, vol. 3, map K10).

Beyond this "nostalgic literature" which continues into the second half of the twentieth century, it is difficult to trace "Phanar" or "Phanariot" built heritage (residences, etc.) as part of the main narrative within the architectural history of Greece, which is mostly based on the historicist debates of neoclassicism versus neobyzantinism in the nineteenth century.[133] The established perspective on the built environment of "Greek Istanbul," on the other hand, focuses mostly on Pera, where one might trace "Greekness" to the identity of an architect, patron, artist, or resident of a building. Named after the Phanariots, the neo-Phanariot built environment of Pera received much more attention than their initial counterparts.[134]

In Lieu of a Conclusion

> If none of them are very decorative on the outside, we must remember that the house of a medieval Greek in Stamboul was very literally his castle. Some of the houses originally contained no stairs at all, unless secret ones. Besides the stone house stood a wooden one which contained the stairs, and each floor of the two houses communicated by a narrow passage and two or three heavy iron doors. In case of fire or massacre the inmates betook themselves to the top floor of their stone house and barricaded their iron doors until the coast was clear. Occasionally it was so clear that no wooden house and no stairs were left. But you will never suspect from outside what pillars and arches, what monumental fireplaces, what plaster mouldings, what marquetry of mother-of-pearls, what details of painting and gilding and carving those top floors hide.[135]

133 Dēmētrēs Philippidēs, *Neohellēnikē Architektonikē, Architektonikē Theōria kai Praxē (1830–1980) san Antanaklasē tōn Ideologikōn Epilogōn tēs Neoellēnikēs Koulturas* (Athens: Melissa, 1984).
134 Tsilenis, *Hē diamorfosē toe chōrou stēn Kōnstantinoúpolē*; Vasilis Colonas, *Greek Architects in the Ottoman Empire, 19th–20th Centuries*, trans. Chris Markham (Athens: Olkos, 2005); Hasan Kuruyazıcı, and Eva Şarlak, eds., *Batılılaşan İstanbul'un Rum Mimarları / Hoi Rōmioi architektones tēs Polēs stēn periodo tou ekdytikismou* (Istanbul: Zografyon Lisesi Mezunları Derneği, 2010).
135 Harrison Griswold Dwight, *Constantinople, Old and New* (London: Longsman, 1915), 134.

Harrison Griswold Dwight's description of the Phanariot house written in 1915, likely nourished by the interest shown on these buildings in the two decades preceding him by Istanbulite Greeks, Europeans, and other Ottomans, is based on a medieval barbican idea underlining the defensive function. Left without the timber frame half, in most cases, the masonry wing became a frozen image of the Phanariots' various dramas. One can imagine how the household would have escaped to the safety of the masonry block during large fires; how the lady of the house locked the door to hide as many valuables and as much cash as possible from the confiscators at the gate; or how, in the 1821 massacre, similar scenes of destruction would have been witnessed in many houses simultaneously. Putting aside the tales of agony and treasure, Dwight's account is one of the best descriptions of the Phanariot bipartite house scheme and the dependence of each wing of the house on the other.

Phanariots' houses were not the only houses to possess masonry wings in early modern Istanbul. Nor they were the only timber frame structure waterfront mansions on the Golden Horn. However, Phanariots' houses were unique in their assemblage of the masonry rooms with the timber frame (*yalı*), creating a syncretic typology. They were also unique in form, at least partially, producing a one-and-a-half-kilometer street of masonry houses, a masonry quarter, outside Galata and Pera. Moreover, the Phanariots' houses were also the product of a unique urban process: from the fisher houses to merchant and hospodar palaces, and then from a declining residential quarter to an industrial zone dismantling the remnants of the past. Whatever its parts, Phanariots' houses possessed an originality that came with its context and historical process. Therefore, there is indeed a "Phanariot house." As Thomas Hope's Anastasius said, the Phanariots' houses were like their donors, the Phanariots, inhabiting many controversial positions at the same time. After the bicentennial of their fall, and as we have come to a point of understanding the Phanariots within Ottoman history, with their multiple origins, we might now point to the originality of their households and their Phanar mansions within Istanbul's architectural and urban history.

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