

# **Changing Societies & Personalities**, 2022

**Vol. 6. No. 2**. pp. 380-413

https://doi.org/10.15826/csp.2022.6.2.181

# **ARTICLE**

# The Transformation of Tobacco Factories and Depots in İstanbul Waterfront

Esen Gökçe Özdamar Tekirdağ Namık Kemal University, Turkey

#### **ABSTRACT**

Since the 17th century, tobacco has been an important economic resource and a source of employment for hundreds of thousands of people both in the Ottoman Empire and throughout the Republic period. It has been an important source of employment, especially for the low-income female population. Tobacco control and management were given to the French Régie Company within the framework of the capitulations given to the French in the Ottoman Period, and subsequently the Tekel (Inhisarlar) administration in the Republic Period, also caused many social events. Tobacco, which entered the Ottoman lands in the 17th century, was banned several times over time for various reasons, as in many societies, and many people were punished. Monopoly management of tobacco as Tekel (İnhisar) was accepted for the first time in 1862, to centralize its production in 1861 and control tobacco smuggling and production. Since the 19th century, tobacco factories and warehouses have been built in districts of İstanbul such as Cibali. Üsküdar, and Kabatas, and sometimes they have been temporarily in existing historical buildings. With the development of tobacco production and factories, these buildings, which served different purposes until the 1980s, were later abandoned, some of them were demolished due to urban growth and development, and some of them have survived to the present day by transformation through restoration and renovation. Therefore, this article focuses on the transformation of tobacco factories and warehouses in the coastal areas of Istanbul as an industrial heritage.

#### **KEYWORDS**

tobacco factory, tobacco depot, İstanbul waterfront, architectural heritage, renovation

Received 8 June 2021 Accepted 20 May 2022 Published online 11 July 2022 © 2022 Esen Gökçe Özdamar gokceozdamar@hotmail.com gokceozdamar@gmail.com

#### Introduction

In the history of İstanbul, there has been a close relationship between the coastal regions and the history of industrial buildings, especially the tobacco industry. Since the 17th century, tobacco has been an important economic resource and a source of employment for hundreds of thousands of people both in the Ottoman Empire and throughout the Republic period (Georgeon, 2000, p. 179). Tobacco factories also played an important role in the economic development and employment of the Ottoman Period and the Republic. Besides this, tobacco has been an important source of income for women, especially in families with financial difficulties (Özemre, 2007a, p. 41). Tobacco factories and depots take an important place in the industrial heritage of Turkey and especially Istanbul, since they were economically viable until the 1980s. They were also included in the olfactory memory of İstanbul. As A.Y. Özemre (2007a) points out, for those who passed by the factory and warehouses of the Tekel (İnhisarlar) administration on the waterfront in Üsküdar, which produced tobacco from 1935 to 1985, the building became important as a memory of the pure smell of tobacco leaves that burned the throat and the workers' siren was heard (Özemre, 2007b, p. 66; Özemre, 2007a, p. 151).

In his İstanbul Ansiklopedisi (the Istanbul Encyclopedia), Resad Ekrem Kocu (1966) recounts the stories of istanbul and states that the habit of smoking tobacco in the Ottoman Empire began in the early 17th century during the reign of Sultan Ahmed I. This habit spread to all parts of society, including the son of Sultan Ahmed IV. Tobacco was banned during the reign of Sultan Murad, and offenders of the law were executed as a punishment (p. 4133). It is also written that tobacco use has become widespread especially among women. Many European painters, who were interested in Harem life, depicted women lying down and smoking hookah or stick (p. 4134) (Figure 1). Sticks were used from coffeehouses to houses and hammams and were kept in cabinets called *çubukluk* (stick holder) for the use of guests or customers. These sticks, which were ceremonially removed by the stick maker, were first continued by cubuk ağaları (stick aghas) and subsequently by firing. These were then placed in a silver or brass takatuka (a kind of ashtray) and given to the guests (p. 4135) (Figure 2). In this period, the production of snuff as a pleasurable substance was under the rule of Tekel and it was forbidden to bring snuff from outside. Tobacco was mostly used by ordinary people, and snuff was used by literate people. There were 94 snuff shops in Galata and Üsküdar in Istanbul between 1855 and 1860 and the sale of snuff was prohibited elsewhere (Kocu, 1968, p. 5121).

In the Ottoman Empire, tobacco became an important source of income for people in the 17th century and from this century on and made the Ottoman state an important tobacco exporter (Demir, 2019, p. 420). Tobacco production and processing were governed and directed by the state until the *Tobacco Monopoly* [Tütün Tekeli] was established in 1862, and the *Tobacco Régie Company* [Tütün Reji Şirketi] was established in 1884 and started tobacco business, cigarette factories in various regions (Kurt et al., 2016, p. 272).

Figure 1

J.-B. Vanmour. (1714). Femme Turque qui Fume sur le Sopha
[Turkish Woman Smoking on the Sofa].



Note. Engraving. Source: Vanmour, J.-B. (1714, p. 45).

**Figure 2**A. I. Melling et al. (1819). Interieur d'un Café Public, sur la Place de Tophane [Interior of a Public Cafe, on Tophane Square].



Note. Engraving. Source: Melling et al., (1819, p. 50).

Since istanbul is a coastal city and has water resources, many industrial buildings have been in these coastal areas to benefit from the water, such as transportation (Doğan, 2013, p. 515). Tobacco factories and tobacco warehouses were established in coastal areas and nearby places throughout the city from the 1880s and increased after the 1800s with the development of industrialization. This article also focuses on the transformation of tobacco factories as an industrial heritage.

# Industrial Buildings in the Late Ottoman Empire and Republican Era in Istanbul Waterfront

The history of İstanbul's industrial heritage goes back to the 1450s. Three years before the conquest of İstanbul, the first paper mill established in the Byzantine period in the 1450s was chosen to benefit from the rivers in the region and to provide energy from the surrounding mills (Doğan, 2013, p. 515), as the first industrial enterprises in the Golden Horn region after the conquest in 1453. There are *Tersane-i Amire* (Imperial Arsenal) and *Tophane-i Amire* (Imperial Armory) where cannons were poured. The armory was also established in the coastal areas in order to provide a connection with the port in order to meet the raw material and fuel needs (Doğaner, 1993, p. 76).

Coastal areas, on the other hand, became one of the important workshops of Istanbul in in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, with the development of shipbuilding (Doğaner, 1993, p. 76). That the Golden Horn, which is the inland sea, is a calm and sheltered port, and that it provides access to the Marmara Sea and other seas, has been a factor in the establishment of industrial facilities in these regions. According to Eyice (1950), *Tersane-i Amire* was built on the foundations of a shipyard built on the northern shore of the Golden Horn during the Byzantine Period (as cited in Köksal, 2005, p. 28). From the 16<sup>th</sup> century, shipyards and small workshops were established on the shore of the Golden Horn, from Azapkapı towards the west (Doğan, 2013, p. 515).

In the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, different branches of the industry emerged in İstanbul, and tanneries were established around Yedikule-Kazlıçeşme as factories that needed water, and these facilities supplied water from the Küçüksu Stream. In the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, military factories that did not need water were next to barracks, or close to the palace (Köksal, 2005, p. 24). While industrial facilities were on the coast until the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, open wide fields, gardens and fewer residential areas and especially out-of-town areas were preferred for the construction of factories. Likewise, the waterfront has been preferred both as a transportation and energy source. As the transportation network developed in urban areas between the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, new industrial facilities were established in these regions (p. 28). After the industrial revolution, most of the industrial structures built by the state and private sector in the Ottoman Empire, especially in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, were located in coastal areas and other non-residential areas (p. xviiii).

In the Republican era, the Golden Horn was an important place for industrialization because it was designated as an industrial zone by Henri Prost in the 1936 istanbul plan. However, Zeynep Çelik (1998) mentions, "industrial growth

from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century on both shores of Golden Horn transformed the traditional urban layout and social structure of the city and led to the deterioration of the historic neighborhoods" (as cited in Günay & Dökmeci, 2012, p. 215). According to Ökçün (1997), "at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, 55% of the industrial enterprises in the territory of the Ottoman Empire were in İstanbul" (as cited in Köksal & Ahunbay, 2006, p. 126)¹.

Many buildings in the city, which have been a modern architectural heritage since the 1980s, were demolished in accordance with the growth of the city and the decision to take the industry out of the city in the 1990s. Decisions for demolition may be to move, for example, from the Vakko Merter factory built in the 1960s because of the decision of the company to move on its own or, as Günay and Dökmeci (2012) stated, the example of Sütlüce Slaughterhouse, historical industrial facilities were demolished for the reconstruction of larger complexes (p. 220). In the 2000s, industrial heritage has been understood better and, in this context, many successful applications and transformations have taken place, especially in Istanbul (Cahantimur et al., 2010, p. 243). As Cahantimur et al. (2010) stated, since the awareness of sustainable development has not been fully developed in the revitalization of old industrial sites, there are many successful examples in terms of "renewal of the physical fabric and the active economical use of the buildings together with their surroundings" (p. 243) does not include and integrate the sustainability approach as in the transformation of the old gunpowder factory in Bakırköy into a cultural center; the old Mint Buildings to the İstanbul Museum; transforms the old fez factory (Feshane-i Amire) into the International Fair and Congress Center and the Silahtarağa power plant into a building complex for cultural facilities such as the Energy Museum, art galleries, and Bilgi University.

## Tobacco Factories and Depots in Istanbul

# Tobacco Culture and Development of Tobacco Industry in the Ottoman Empire

It is stated in various sources that tobacco was brought to İstanbul for the first time in 1600–1601 by British, Italian, and Spanish sailors and merchants in the Ottoman Empire, it was spread in 1605, and tobacco was called *duhan-ı bed-bûy* (smelly smoke). İbrahim Peçevi (1574–1649?), in his book *Târih-i Peçevî* (1864), stated that the British sold tobacco because "it was good for some diseases and th[ose] people with pleasure got used to it so that even the notables of science and statesmen were addicted to tobacco" (as cited in Fulin, 2019, p. 47; see also Türkiye'de tütünün tarihçesi, n.d.). It has been recorded that tobacco cultivation was carried

Industrial buildings, the number of which reached 256 in the 19th century and decreased to 43 today, are waiting to be taken under protection as architectural, historical, and technological heritage. Today, 12 of the remaining 43 industrial complexes are in the Golden Horn. The transformation of historic industrial facilities within the context of the project includes museum complexes such as Rahmi Koç Industrial Museum, Silahtarağa Energy Museum, education centers (Kadir Has University, Bilgi University), and culture centers (Sütlüce Slaughterhouse, Feshane) (Köksal & Ahunbay, 2006, p. 126).

out in Macedonia, Yenice, and Karacaali and in the Aegean Region in the Ottoman Empire in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1918, the country gained priority as an important source of income until 1922 (Yurtoğlu, 2018, p. 105; see also Türkiye'de tütünün tarihçesi, n.d.).

In 1554, the first coffee house in Istanbul was opened in Tahtakale, and this place also became a place where people meet with tobacco as well as coffee "demolished the coffeehouses on the pretext of the fire that broke out in Cibali and imposed a tobacco ban" and "even though fires or religious debates were shown as the reason for the ban", "coffeehouses, administrations, and administrators were criticized both in Europe and in Ottoman Empire" (Türkiye'de tütünün tarihçesi, n.d.). In this context, many smokers were killed in a secret place (Fulin, 2019, p. 50). Tobacco was released in 1646. In addition to customs duties on tobacco imports in 1678 and 1686, taxes began to be collected from tobacco sales. Tobacco taxes were increased in order to cover the expenses of the military station established in 1826 and to reduce the burden on the treasury in wars. In the following period, tobacco imports were banned in 1861, and Monopoly, which held the monopoly of tobacco, was accepted for the first time in 1862 (Türkiye'de tütünün tarihçesi, n.d.).

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were tobacco factories outside of İstanbul: Cibali, Izmir tobacco factory, Samsun, Adana, Damascus, and Aleppo (Gürdamar, 2019, p. 65). *Tütün* [Tobacco], an economic, agricultural, professional magazine, which was firstly published at the end of the 1930s, is an important publication that conveys the developments in tobacco in Turkish and French and abroad, as well as agricultural control methods.

In 1881, the right to operate the tobacco monopoly obtained for 10 years by the Rüsûm-ı Sitte İdaresi [Rüsûm-ı Sitte Administration] financed by the Ottoman Bank and Galata Bankers was left to the Duyûn-ı Umûmiye İdaresi [Ottoman Public Debt Administration] in order to collect the Ottoman foreign debts (Türkiye'de tütünün tarihçesi, n.d). Régie was tasked by the administration with collecting tobacco taxes and dividing the proceeds between itself, the administration, and the Ottoman government, and had a "monopoly of the rights to oversee tobacco cultivation, purchase tobacco, and process tobacco sold in Turkey" (Georgeon, 2000, p. 179). With a specification made in 1883, the Administration transferred the business monopoly of tobaccos to a French capital-dominated company under the name of Memalik-i Osmaniye Duhanları Müşterekü'l Menfaa Reji Şirketi [Société de la Régie Co-intéressée des Tabacs de l'Empire Ottoman, Memaliki Osmaniye Duhanları Joint Interest Régie Company] for 30 years (Türkiye'de tütünün tarihçesi, n.d.; Koçu & Akbay, 1965, p. 3553).

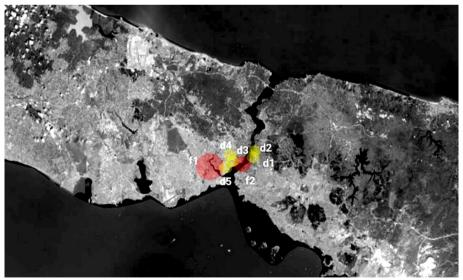
In this process, reactions to the *Régie* Administration rose and *Régie*'s Kolcu organization of 7,000 people, comprising Anatolian youth, tortured the public to prevent tobacco smuggling, and tens of thousands of people lost their lives in armed conflicts (Türkiye'de tütünün tarihçesi, n.d.). Another reason for the hostility towards the *Régie*, as quoted by F. Georgeon (2000), is that this administration is accused of "employing too many non-Muslims", condemning "the harsh (and also ineffective) methods they used to suppress tobacco smuggling", and that the dividend paid to the government was too high. It became a "symbol of European imperialism" that

did not care about the interests of the Turkish economy and state has caused many people to hold grudges (p.180).

According to A.Y. Özemre (2007b), the institutional name for the concessions made by the French to tobacco during the capitulations was *Régie* Administration. After the capitulations were abolished, the management of tobacco passed to the State Monopoly Administration, which was a national organization, and this organization would later be named *Tekel* (p. 54). With a decision taken after the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, tobacco was taken under a state monopoly within the framework of the national economy after *Milli Mücadele* [the War of Independence], and all the assets of the *Régie* were transferred to the Ottoman Empire. In 1925, all actions against the state and tobacco were initiated under the law. *Tekel* organized tobacco and other monopoly products in order to provide more economic benefits. Then, tobacco workshops and cigarette factories built and used during the *Régie* period were restructured and made more equipped and functional (Koçu & Akbay, 1965, p. 3553; Yurtoğlu, 2018, p. 105).

In the years following the Republic, many factories and depots were built permanently in the coastal areas of Istanbul; some of them used existing buildings, and some of these buildings were demolished and rebuilt. These existing buildings have been transformed into different facilities, such as educational centres, arts, and cultural venues, office buildings, or a printing house (Figure 3).

Figure 3
Tobacco Factories and Depots (Both Existing and Demolished) in İstanbul



Note. Tobacco factories and depots (both existing and demolished) in İstanbul: F1 – Cibali tobacco and cigarette factory. F2 – Üsküdar Şemsipaşa tobacco factory and depot. D1 – Paşalimanı tobacco depot. D2 – Nemlizade tobacco depot. D3 – Beşiktaş Astro tobacco warehouse. D4 – Akev tobacco depot and administration building. D5 – Ekemen tobacco warehouse.

Source: İstanbul Şehir haritası [İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality city map], (2021e).

# The Transformation of Tobacco Factories and Depots on Istanbul Waterfront

#### Cibali Tobacco and Cigarette Factory (1884)

Cibali Tobacco Factory, one of the most important factories of the Ottoman Empire and the largest tobacco factory in İstanbul was established in 1884 with the establishment of Tobacco *Régie* (Rezan Has Museum, 2021). It is one of the rare workplaces in Istanbul where workmanship is passed down from generation to generation (Cibali tütün fabrikası, 1994, p. 429). Cibali Tobacco Factory has an important role in Turkey's labor history, especially focusing on women's participation and labor force participation (Rezan Has Museum, 2021).

According to archival records, the building was designed by Hovsep Aznavur and Alexandre Vallaury on behalf of the *Régie* Administration on the foundations of a cistern that played an important role in meeting the water needs of İstanbul during the Byzantine Period. After the tobacco collected from different regions of Anatolia was stored, it was transported from the warehouse to the factory in bales, and the leaves were sorted, mixed with different leaves to obtain a blend, then packaged or sent to the cigarette packaging (Rezan Has Museum, 2021; Asbagh, 2018, p. 205).

The location of the factory, which was chosen as Cibali² on the shore of the Golden Horn, provided an advantage in terms of transportation, especially since the most important and cheapest means of transportation at that time was maritime (Haliç, 1994, pp. 501–508; Balsoy, 2009, p. 56). On the other hand, as Koçu and Akbay (1965) stated, another important reason for choosing the Cibali region for the location of the factory is the low-income group. Tobacco workshops, which could employ workers in the factory at that time, were gathered in a place known as Tobacco Customs (p. 3553). According to Balsoy (2009), although Cibali had a non-Muslim population, almost all of the female workers working in the factory were Jewish or Greek. The proof that there are girls is the fact that in the cosmopolitan nature of the Ottoman population in the 1900s, Muslim, Jewish, and Greek workers all worked together, shared the same grievances, and organized protests to overcome them (p. 56).

Cibali Tobacco Factory was operated by a French company for 40 years (Koçu & Akbay, 1965, p. 3553). The factory has become an institution that has provided a significant social and economic changes in the Cibali region and the country. Most of the country's tobacco, cigarettes, pipes, cigars, and snuff needs were met by the factory (Yurtoğlu, 2018, p. 100). Besides 2,162 workers, 1,500 of whom were women and 662 men, there was a fire brigade of 16 people. The factory was defined as a small town with a population of almost 2,500, with its factories, hospital, groceries, school, fire brigades, sports organizations, syndicates, restaurants, etc., and the police force and civil servants (Koçu & Akbay, 1965, p. 3554). As of 1940, approximately 1500 employees of the factory lived near Cibali, Fener, and Fatih, but most of them were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cibali is the neighborhood near Haliç or the Golden Horn behind the old Byzantine walls. Cibali name derives from the commander Cebe Ali broke the fortification doors and entered the city (Koçu & Akbay, 1965, p. 3547). "The harbor of Cibali which had storerooms full of goods for Istanbul consumers was an active passageway for the goods imported from the port into the city. Cibali was an important trade center in Istanbul and it was always remembered for two issues: fire and tobacco; as there were so many fires happened in the neighborhood and it was the location of the tobacco factory (Cibali, 1994, p. 428; Haliç, 1994, pp. 501–508).

women. A kindergarten was opened for the children of women workers under the age of seven in the factory, as well as an operating room, laboratory, and pharmacy have been in the health department of the factory included in 1942 (Koçu & Akbay, 1965, p. 3553; Yurtoğlu, 2018, p. 101). It is assumed that male workers in the factory were experts, while women worked in unskilled jobs (Balsoy, 2009, p. 62). According to Besim Ömer, a medical doctor and a pioneering obstetrician in the Ottoman Empire, stating that the tobacco industry is one industry that is dangerous for pregnant women, and based on statistical data, "45 percent of women in the tobacco industry had suffered a miscarriage" because of the inhaling of the tobacco dust (Balsoy, 2009, p. 66).

Figure 4
Cibali Tobacco and Cigarette Factory after the Restoration<sup>3</sup>



Note. Source: İstanbul Şehir haritası [İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality city map], (2021b).

Figure 5
İmalathane Dühan Merkeziye Dersaadet [Tobacco Production Center of Dersaadet (alias İstanbul)]



Note. Source: İmalathane dühan merkeziye Dersaadet (n.d.). Courtesy of Rezan Has Museum.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The restoration realized by Mehmet Alper. "The project won the Architectural Heritage category of the Europa Nostra Prize 2003 as the best preserved building for preserving and keeping historical and cultural heritage alive" (Günay & Dökmeci, 2012, p. 218).

Figure 6
Tobacco Bales Arrived to the Factory



Note. Source: Tobacco bales arrived to the factory (n.d.). Courtesy of Rezan Has Museum.

**Figure 7**A Picture of the Establishment of the Bridge



Note. Source: A picture of the establishment of the bridge [Photograph] (n.d.). Courtesy of Rezan Has Museum.

**Figure 8**The Place of Tobacco Grinding Machines Called Havan



Note. Source: The place of tobacco grinding machines called havan (n.d.). Courtesy of Rezan Has Museum.

Figure 9
The Place to Put Tobacco in Packages. Cibali Tobacco and Cigarette Factory before the Restoration



Note. Source: The place to put tobacco in packages (n.d.). Courtesy of Rezan Has Museum.

**Figure 10**The Place Where Cigarettes are Made by Hand



Note. Source: The place where cigarettes are made by hand (n.d.). Courtesy of Rezan Has Museum.





Note. Source: Google, (2022a).

Figure 12
Cibali Tobacco and Cigarette Factory after the Restoration. Street View



Note. Source: Google map, (2022b).

The factory, which has been processing only tobacco for a long time since its establishment, started producing cigarettes in 1900. The factory, which met almost all the needs of İstanbul comprised 3 blocks (A, B, and C) with four floors on a large area of 8,300 m², with "dissembling and threshing works" in block A, "cigarette making and packaging work" in block B, "the manufacturing under the Directorate maintenance and administration departments" was in block C (Koçu & Akbay, 1965, p. 3553). The factory comprised eight sections, including separating, threshing, slaughtering, cigarette making, packaging, and shipping, as a clutch, cigarette package, tobacco package, and cleaning (Koçu & Akbay, 1965, p. 3553; Yurtoğlu, 2018, p. 100). Cibali Box Factory, which was next to the factory and operated as a small printing house in 1932, is also a company that produced boxes used in cigarette packaging later "with the addition of new facilities, it was transformed into a factory producing packaging and boxes next to the cigarette factory" (Koçu & Akbay, 1965, p. 3553). The cardboards were cut

into cigarette boxes and their pictures and writings were printed (Koçu & Akbay, 1965, p. 3553; Yurtoğlu, 2018, p. 101).

In 1925, the factory was taken over by *Tekel* and modern machines were brought to the factory in 1984 (Cibali tütün fabrikası, 1994, p. 429). "The factory edifice comprised several buildings that were linked to one another via courtyards or passageways" (Balsoy, 2009, p. 57). The building, which has a neoclassical style, "using brick, iron, and glass" and Marseille roof tiling, "cast-iron columns and steel beams, the INP used in laying brought from France" (Asbagh, 2018, p. 206). The façade of the building has been preserved, but its interior has been renewed (p. 207).

The factory was registered in 1987 (Cibali tütün fabrikasi, n.d.). It was repaired in 1999–2000, was later transformed into a private university, Kadir Has University, and was re-functioned as a university between 2000–2002, with the museum called Rezan Has Museum in the building's basement. During this restoration and renovation project, the remains of the Ottoman Bath and Byzantine Cistern were preserved. Later, an additional (block D) building was built and an additional floor in the middle of the building, which was built by *Tekel* in 1950, was demolished by Alper because of the lack of originality of the additional building. The structure, materials, original walls, or the structure of the building were preserved with some additional partitions (Asbagh, 2018, p. 206).

# Paşalimanı Tobacco Depot, Üsküdar, 1789

The building was originally built as a granary-depot in 1789 in Üsküdar. In 2005, the buildings were transformed into the İstanbul State Theatre Üsküdar Tekel Stage (İstanbul Devlet Tiyatroları Üsküdar Tekel Sahnesi), Theatre and Opera Hall.

According to historian İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı (1977), the building was constructed for "Selim III's warehouse structures built by the sea in order to keep food and grain. That there is a mill structure next to the warehouses of Konya means Paşalimanı Flour Factory with the mill structure. It shows that the flour milled here is stored in the warehouse structures. He stated that the building, which later passed under the administration of *Tekel*, was also used as a tobacco warehouse" (as cited in Kona, 2015, p. 58).

Figure 13
Paşalimanı Tobacco Depot



Note. Source: İstanbul Şehir haritası [İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality city map], (2021d).

Figure 14
Paşalimanı Tekel Building and Tobacco Warehouse in Üsküdar



Note. Source: Çalıkoğlu, (2020).

**Figure 15** *After the Restoration Process, Waterfront Facade* 



Note. Source: Yılmaz, (2019, p. 54).

Figure 16
Street View With The Waterfront, March, 2022 (Right Side)



Note. Source: Google, (2022c).





Note. Source: Google, (2022d).

Figure 18
After the Restoration Process, inside the Building



Note. Source: Üsküdar Tekel sahneleri, (n.d.).

The three gable-roofed buildings in the factory are used as the Headquarters of the İstanbul State Opera and Ballet and are also used as rehearsal rooms for the İstanbul State Opera and Ballet. The other warehouse building is used as the İstanbul State Theater Üsküdar Tekel Stage. Besides the theater performances, the İstanbul State Symphony Orchestra and the İstanbul State Turkish Folk Music Choir, the group rehearses in this building.

#### Tobacco Depot, Tophane, 1920s

The Tobacco Warehouse in Tophane was built in the 1920s to store and transfer tobacco because of its proximity to the Salipazari port. The building, comprising 1200 m² and 4 floors, continued to function as a warehouse until the 1950s, and in the following years, it was used only as a warehouse. The roof of the building was covered with wooden trusses, and the attic was used as an office (Tütün Deposu "Depo" Renovasyonu, n.d.). "Renovated by *Plan A Architecture*, facade walls are made of masonry bricks, floor carriers are reinforced concrete columns, beams, and all floor floors are built with wood. Additional steel beams were laid due to the scaling of the floors over time" (Tütün Deposu "Depo" Renovasyonu, n.d.). Since the İstanbul Biennial in 2005, the building was used for art exhibitions, and the building was renovated in 2008. In this reconstruction,

the "masonry walls of the building were reinforced with glass fiber bands", the wooden solid floors were overhauled, and the comfort of use in the building was ensured with heating, ventilation and cooling systems. Since 2009, it has been transformed into a center where cultural events, exhibitions, and workshops are held and there is an art gallery on the ground floor (Tütün Deposu "Depo" Renovasyonu, n.d.).

Figure 19
Tobacco Depot in Tophane,
Built in the 1920s



Note. Source: The Author, (2020).

Figure 20
Tobacco Depot in Tophane,
Built in the 1920s



Note. Source: The Author, (2020).

Figure 21
Tobacco Depot in Tophane



Note. Source: The Author, (2010).

#### Other Tobacco Depots

As Sayar (1955) mentioned, tobacco warehouses are places where "processed and unprocessed tobacco equivalents are subjected to permanent operations such as stacking in warehouses, transferring them at fermentation times according to the seasons, blending in processing halls and making them into equivalents" (p. 99).

In different periods, many other buildings in the coastal area of İstanbul were used as tobacco depots. An example of this is the Salt Repository (Tuz Ambarı) warehouse built in Kasımpaşa to serve a flour factory built in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the Ottoman Period, the gunpowder factory was used with different functions in different periods, along with the functions of the tobacco warehouse in the Republic Period. The building was registered in 2007 and later transformed into an advertising agency by the architects Erginoğlu and Çalışlar in 2008 (Büyükarslan & Güney, 2013).

On 1927 Pervititch maps, tobacco warehouses can be seen next to the Bezmialem Valide Sultan Mosque in Kabataş and across the highway. The *Régie* building is located next to the Ford Factory, which is located next to Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University (Cangül, 2014).

Another building used as a tobacco warehouse is the Esma Sultan Mansion (1875), designed by the famous Ottoman architect Sarkis Balyan in Ortaköy and built as a wedding gift to Princess Esma Sultan, the daughter of the Ottoman ruler Sultan Abdulaziz (Kona, 2015, p. 31). The building changed hands several times after the death of the princess. It served as a Greek school since 1918, and after the fire in the 1920s, the three-store brick mansion was used as a tobacco warehouse between 1926–1933 and then as a coal depot. After the dynasty was taken abroad with the proclamation of the Republic, the mansion was sold and purchased by the deputy in 1952. Later, the building was destroyed in a fire in 1977 and was restored and renovated in 2001 to function as a multi-purpose event venue.

# Nemlizade Tobacco Depot Paşalimanı, Üsküdar, 1923–1925

Nemlizade Tobacco Depot, which was built between 1922 and 1923 and completed in 1925, is the highest and most historical structure of the Bosphorus and is also known as the Şark Tobacco Depot. The 705 m² warehouse was built at the beginning of the 20th century as Şark Tobacco Warehouse, a reinforced concrete structure, designed by Architect Vedad Bey (Tek) in the First National Architectural style in 1923 for Tütüncü Kazım Emin Bey in the area that made a nose towards the sea where the mansion of Mehmed Mollazâde, one of the old sheikhs. As M.S. Genim (2012) mentions, "the building, which was re-sold in 1955, was restored ad transformed into an office building, and used as the headquarters of a private holding in 2004 after it was used by various institutions for different purposes" (as cited in Kona, 2015, p. 59; Nemlizade Tütün Deposu, 2021).

The building comprises a south-facing hall/workshop with a "U" plan scheme and a wellhole and elevator that provide vertical circulation on the middle axis of the plan. It is one of the first examples of reinforced concrete use and comprises the main carrier shell comprising reinforced concrete columns and beams, and an independent carcass system built with carrier beams and poles inside, in order

to provide the ventilation system required in tobacco warehouses for ventilation in tobacco storage. Each floor has workshops with a repeating plan scheme that serves to sort the tobacco and classify them according to its quality. The sheltered area obtained with a central courtyard in the south enabled tobacco to be stored without being affected by the winds from the sea. The elevator in which the load and the passenger are transported together was determined as one of the first applications of the period (Nemlizade Tütün Deposu, 2021).

Figure 22
Nemlizade Tobacco Depot (1923–1925)



Note. Source: Cangül, (2014).

Figure 23

Nemlizade Tobacco Depot building on the left side. On the right side, Paşalimanı
Tekel Building and Tobacco Warehouse is Visible. A Street View. July 2020



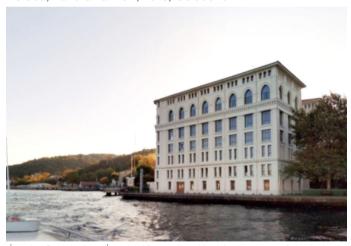
Note. Source: Google, (2020).

Figure 24
View from the Sea, 2019, October 9



Note. Source: İstanbul Şehir haritası [İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality city map], (2021f).

Figure 25
View from the Sea, Panorama View, 2019, October 9



Note. Source: İstanbul Şehir haritası [İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality city map], (2021g).

The building was evaluated as Vedad Tek's attempt at a new structure. The "main structure" of the building was constructed as a carcass shell woven by reinforced concrete columns and beams consisting of a hollow brick/concrete combination similar to the *Siegwart* system. "A large reinforced concrete shell was made, like a hollow box in which the tobacco can be freely placed inside the wooden grill system that provides ventilation" (Batur, 2009, p. 43).

#### Beşiktaş Astro Tobacco Warehouse, 1929

Beşiktaş Astro Tobacco Factory, built for tobacco production and storage on the Beşiktaş coast, was built by the Austrian firm *Austro-Turc Tobacco* in 1929 by Victor Adaman (1880–1948). As seen in Pervitich, the existing wooden mansion in this area was burned down and this tobacco shop was built. The architect of the building, V. Adaman, built a tobacco warehouse in Beşiktaş and Şemsipaşa tobacco warehouse in Üsküdar (Balmumcu, 1948, p. 47). Later, the building was demolished, rebuilt, with its facades preserved, and converted into a hotel in 2013.

Figure 26
Besiktas Astro Tobacco Warehouse, Map of 2006, Just Before the Demolition



Note. Source: İstanbul Şehir haritası [İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality city map], (2021a).

**Figure 27**Beşiktaş Astro tütün deposu [Beşiktaş Astro Tobacco Warehouse]



Note. Source: Beşiktaş Astro tütün deposu [Beşiktaş Astro tobacco warehouse], (n.d.).





Note. Source: Yusufoğlu & Pilehvarian, (2017, p. 258).

Figure 29 View from the Sea, 02.10.2019



Note. Source: İstanbul Şehir haritası [İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality city map], (2022b).

It is known that V. Adaman worked as an apprentice of the French Levantine architect, Alexandre Vallaury, for many important buildings in İstanbul. He worked on the project and construction of the Tobacco Warehouse in Beşiktaş. The building was used as a warehouse and later transformed into a TV factory, which continued until 1985. The building, which was abandoned between 1985 and 2005, was about to be demolished before it was bought by a holding which signed an agreement with a private hotel (Shangri-La Bosphorus, n.d.).

The immovable cultural property was accepted and registered as another with the decision of the Warehouse, Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board in 2005. The building was registered as an industrial heritage with its layout, "including the number of floors, floor levels, interior and exterior spatial organization, floor

heights that differ from the lower floor to the upper floor, together with all these features of the exterior facades" but the exterior of the building was destroyed overnight while it was converted into a hotel.

In 1936, Beşiktaş Aircraft Factory was turned into an aircraft factory/workshop and hangars as a facility established by businessman and entrepreneur Nuri Demirağ, following Henri Prost's 1936 plan, on the land next to the Astro Tobacco Depot. The first single-engine aircraft in Turkey and a twin-engine 6-seater passenger plane were built in 1938 (Yusufoğlu & Pilehvarian, 2017, pp. 255, 258, 259). These workshops, built in the international style, have later been turned into a maritime museum. The tobacco warehouse was used by a television company for a while.

## Üsküdar Şemsipaşa Tobacco Factory and Depot, Üsküdar, 1935

Üsküdar Şemsipaşa Tobacco Factory was built in 1935 by Victor Adaman. The location of the building is the mansion of Mehmed Ali Pasha (1813–1868), one of the *Kapudan Pashas* [Captain-i-Derya] during the reign of Sultan Abdulmecid Han. It consisted of three buildings: the tobacco warehouse, the tobacco processing building on the waterfront, and the lodging. A.Y. Özemre (2007b) mentioned in his book, *Hasretini çektiğim Üsküdar* [Üsküdar, which I miss], that "the public always referred to tobacco warehouses and tobacco processing places as *Régie* for a long time" (p. 54). The buildings, which were used as a monopoly tobacco processing and warehouse for many years, were demolished in 1985 due to the opening of the coastal road (Üsküdar'in Kaybolmuş Kültür Eserleri, 2020).

**Figure 30**Üsküdar Şemsipaşa Tütün Fabrikası [Üsküdar Şemsipaşa Tobacco Factory and Depot]



Note. Source: Üsküdar, (n.d.).

Figure 31 Üsküdar Şemsipaşa Tütün Fabrikası [Üsküdar Şemsipaşa Tobacco Factory and Depot]



Note. (İnce, M. Ç., & Yurdaçaliş, N. E., 2013).

# Akev Tobacco Depot and Administration Building, Beşiktaş, 1950

The warehouse of Akev Company in Beşiktaş is one of the largest warehouses built by private capital (Sayar, 1955, p. 99). Designed by the architect Zeki Sayar in 1950, the building is in a  $3600 \, \mathrm{m}^2$  area in the Beşiktaş coastal area (Sayar, 1955, p. 99). As a tobacco and processing house, "the building is more of a public building than a factory or warehouse building in terms of its location in the city, its relations with its surroundings, and the architectural order of its exterior" (İnan, 2015, p. 58). It comprises 3 warehouses, A, B, and C blocks, and an administration building.

Figure 32
Akev tütün deposu ve idare binası [Akev Tobacco Depot and Administration Building]



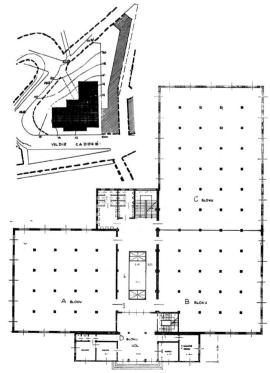
Note. Source: İstanbul Şehir haritası [İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality city map], (2022a).

Figure 33
Akev tütün deposu ve idare binası [Akev Tobacco Depot and Administration Building]<sup>4</sup>



Note. Source: Sayar, (1955, p. 99).

Figure 34
Site Plan and Ground Floor Plan



Note. Source: Sayar, (1955, pp. 100, 102).

The height of the ground floor is 3.60 meters, the height of the other warehouse floors is 2.70 meters, and the height of the  $4^{th}$  floor, where the processing halls are located, is 4.00 meters.

The repository is currently being used as a Nobel publishing house (Sayar, 1955, p. 100). Later, during the construction of Barbaros Boulevard, the building remained at the lower level of the road level because of the rise in the road elevation, which caused the building to reduce its architectural effect to a certain extent.

Figure 35 A Street View



Note. Source: Google, (2021a).

Figure 36 The Building from Later Periods



Note. Source: İnan & Cengizkan, (2015, p. 304). Note. Source: İnan & Cengizkan, (2015, p. 303).

Figure 37 A Street View



#### Ekemen Tobacco Warehouse and Tobacco Inn, Kabataş, 1952

The Ekemen Tobacco Warehouse and Tobacco Han were designed by Zeki Sayar in 1952 in the Fındıklı region.

These buildings, which are located close to each other on the coastline starting from Beşiktaş and extending to Fındıklı, are still standing today and used for different functions. Ekemen Tobacco Warehouse, located right next to *Tütün Han* (Tobacco Inn), has also been transformed into an office building, but it has lost its original architectural character to a large extent due to its exterior coating and additions. Since the plans and projects of these two structures are not published anywhere, it is very difficult to trace the changes they have undergone. (İnan, 2015, p. 58; İnan & Cengizkan, 2015, p. 305)

Figure 38

Ekemen Tobacco Warehouse and Tütün Inn



Note. Source: İstanbul Şehir haritası [İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality city map], (2021c).

Figure 39
Ekemen Tobacco Warehouse and Tütün Inn, 1952



Note. Source: İnan & Cengizkan, (2015, p. 306).

Figure 40
Ekemen Tobacco Warehouse after Transformation



Note. Source: İnan & Cengizkan, (2015, p. 307).

Figure 41
Ekemen Tobacco Inn
after Transformation



Note. Source: İnan & Cengizkan, (2015, p. 305).

Figure 42
Ekemen Tobacco Inn
after Transformation



Note. Source: İnan & Cengizkan, (2015, p. 305).

In summary, the transformation of these factories and warehouses began in the 1960s and 1970s with the relocation of industrial areas of large cities to sub-centers in the region or less developed countries. The reason for the decrease in profits because of the increase in production costs is the basis of these urban approaches. As T. Erbil mentions, the reflections of these processes and practices were observed as collapsed areas in the old locations of the industrial zones in the old city centers. Rehabilitation works on some elements of old industrial facilities and old industrial zones, "transforming elements of physical, economic and social environment by building new affluent housing and business projects for the new users and in some rare cases, social projects for the workers of former industrial areas" (Erbil, 2017, p. 45). Since the 1980s, industrial production in metropolises has shifted to the sector in urban planning projects. With this period, "the sub-urbanization tendency of middle-upper class residential areas has gradually decreased and new residential areas have been concentrated vertically towards in the old urban centers where especially the services and cultural activities are concentrated" (p. 45).

## **Final Words**

Since the establishment of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic, tobacco factories and warehouses, which played an important role in the economic development of Turkey, could not establish many relationships in terms of their function, like many industrial facilities of the period, in the coastal areas where they are usually located. They have a predominantly deaf façade in order not to be affected by the light, and it is seen that they are mysterious, few people can enter, and they are more disadvantageous compared to the transformation of other industrial facilities, except for the Cibali Tobacco Factory.

In this context, tobacco factories have become important buildings in the sense of providing economic employment, among other industrial structures; their relationship with the coastal areas and the transportation they have established, and the smell of society. These industrial facilities, which witnessed and are a part of regime changes such as social changes and the transition to the Republic, are gradually decreasing today or may be destroyed for various reasons, such as other cultural heritage examples. Today, when the access to coastal areas is decreasing, it becomes a more important issue for these structures to be transformed into cultural, artistic, and educational structures where they can use the interaction with the coast more efficiently in order for the structures to survive.

#### References

A picture of the establishment of the bridge [Photograph]. (n.d.). T.C. İnhisarlar İdaresi fotoğraf albümü, 1940 [T.R. Monopoly Administration photo album, 1940]. Rezan Has Museum Archives, İstanbul, Turkey.

Asbagh, N.B. (2018). The adaptive reuse of Cibali Tobacco Factory, Kadir Has University. In N. Kozak, H. Kılıç, M. Kozak, & A. Öztüren (Eds.), *Proceedings book of the 9<sup>th</sup> Conference for graduate research in tourism, 5–8 April 2018* (pp. 203–210). Gazimağusa, K.K.T.C.

Balmumcu, Ş. (1948). Victor Adaman 1880–1948. *Arkitekt*, 193–194, <a href="http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/2/149/1807.pdf">http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/2/149/1807.pdf</a>

Balsoy, G. (2009). Gendering Ottoman labor history: The Cibali Régie factory in the early twentieth century. *International Review of Social History*, 54, 45–68. https://doi.org/10.1017/S002085900999023X

Batur, A. (2009). Geç Osmanlı mimarlığında betonarme yapım tekniği [Reinforced concrete construction technique in late Ottoman Architecture]. *Mimarlıkta Malzeme*, 13, 39–44.

Beşiktaş Astro tütün deposu [Beşiktaş Astro tobacco warehouse] (Photograph). (n.d.). İstanbul'da 2.000 Osmanlı Yapısı. <a href="https://www.turanakinci.com/portfolio-view/besiktas-astro-tutun-deposu/">https://www.turanakinci.com/portfolio-view/besiktas-astro-tutun-deposu/</a>

Büyükarslan, B., & Güney, E.D. (2013). Endüstriyel miras yapılarının yeniden işlevlendirilme süreci ve İstanbul Tuz Ambarı örneği [Re-use process of industrial heritage building case: "Tuz Ambarı" in İstanbul]. Beykent Üniversitesi Fen ve Mühendislik Bilimleri Dergisi, 6(2), 31–58. https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/43827

Cahantimur, A.I., Öztürk, R.B., & Öztürk, A.C. (2010). Securing land for urban transformation through sustainable brownfield regeneration—the case of Eskişehir, Turkey. *Environment and Urbanization*, *22*(1), 241–258. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1177/0956247809362641">https://doi.org/10.1177/0956247809362641</a>

Çalıkoğlu, M.E. (2020). *Paşalimanı Tekel building and tobacco warehouse in Üsküdar* [Photograph]. SALT Research Archive. <a href="https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/206352">https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/206352</a>

Cangül, C. (2014, July 23). *Pervititch haritaları: Kadıköy, Üsküdar, Beşiktaş, Ortaköy, Beyoğlu, Şişli bölgeleri* [Pervititch maps: Kadıköy, Üsküdar, Beşiktaş, Ortaköy, Beyoğlu, Şişli regions]. Burada İstanbul Var. <a href="https://www.istanbulium.net/2014/07/pervititch-haritalar-kadikoy-uskudar.html">https://www.istanbulium.net/2014/07/pervititch-haritalar-kadikoy-uskudar.html</a>

Cibali. (1994). In *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*. Vol. 2, pp. 428–429. İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı.

Cibali tütün fabrikası [Cibali tobacco factory]. (1994). In *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 2, p. 429). İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı.

Demir, K. (2019). İkinci Meşrutiyet dönemi Osmanlı basınında tütün tarımı ve reji şirketi [Tobacco agriculture and Régie Company in the period of the II. Meşrutiyet (Constituonalism) in the Ottoman press]. *Balıkesir Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 22(41), 419–446. https://doi.org/10.31795/baunsobed.580791

Doğan, M. (2013). Geçmişten günümüzde İstanbul'da sanayileşme süreci ve son 10 yıllık gelişimi [Industrialization process in İstanbul from past to present and its development over the last decade]. *Marmara Geographical Review*, 27, 511–550. https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/marucog/issue/474/3914

Doğaner, S. (1993). İstanbul'da gemi inşa sanayi [Shipbuilding industry in İstanbul]. *Turkish Geographical Review*, 28, 65–114. <a href="https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/tcd/issue/21259/228193">https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/tcd/issue/21259/228193</a>

Erbil, T. (2017). Planning dilemmas in deindustrialization process in İstanbul. AlZ ITU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture, 14(2), 43–56. https://doi.org/10.5505/ituifa.2017.28291

Fulin, N. (2019). Osmanlı Devletinde yasaklanmış içecekler (1603–1807) [Prohibited drinks in the Ottoman Empire ((1603–1807)] (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Gaziantep University.

Georgeon, F. (2000). *Osmanlı-Türk modernleşmesi, 1900–1930, seçilmiş makaleler* [Ottoman-Turkish Modernization, 1900–1930, selected articles] (A. Berktay, Trans.). İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Google (2020, July). [Nemlizade Tobacco Depot building on the left side. On the right side, Paşalimanı Tekel building and tobacco warehouse is visible. Google Street View]. https://goo.gl/maps/aXaNP4dTAd7GgDYt9

Google. (2021a, April). [Barbaros Boulevard, 76. Google Street View]. https://goo.gl/maps/5nw2goVoQoF845FeA

Google. (2021b, April). [Barbaros Boulevard, 76. Google Street View, left side]. https://goo.gl/maps/5nw2goVoQoF845FeA

Google. (2022a). [Cibali tobacco and cigarette factory after the restoration. Google Street View]. <a href="https://www.google.com/maps/@41.0261587,28.9609375,2a,52.2y,218.25h,97.55t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1skMm\_bM\_mkbQ3nNb07Wvw9g!2e0!7i13312!8i6656">https://www.google.com/maps/@41.0261587,28.9609375,2a,52.2y,218.25h,97.55t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1skMm\_bM\_mkbQ3nNb07Wvw9g!2e0!7i13312!8i6656</a>

Google. (2022b). [Cibali tobacco and cigarette factory after the restoration. Google Street View]. https://goo.gl/maps/vfqCNohqFNC9Kr1x9

Google. (2022c). [Google Street View, with the waterfront, right side]. <a href="https://goo.gl/maps/mfPPDKzESkMLmmgA9">https://goo.gl/maps/mfPPDKzESkMLmmgA9</a>

Google. (2022d). [Google Street View, with the waterfront, left side]. https://goo.gl/maps/4qqEeZmrCr1dpdWz5

Günay, Z., & Dökmeci, V. (2012). Culture-led regeneration of İstanbul waterfront: Golden Horn Cultural Valley Project. *Cities*, *29*(4), 213–222. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2011.08.010">https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2011.08.010</a>

Gürdamar, E. (2019). *Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında tütün politikaları* [Tobacco policies in the early years of The Republic] (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). DSpace Repository. Malatya: İnönü University.

Haliç [Horn]. (1994). In *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* [The Encyclopedia of Istanbul, from past to present] (Vol. 3, pp. 501–508). İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı and Tarih Vakfı.

İmalathane dühan merkeziye Dersaadet (Tobacco production center of Dersaadet [alias of İstanbul]) [Photograph]. (n.d.). Photo album of the Régie Period signed by Guillaume Berggren, 1884. Rezan Has Museum Archives, İstanbul, Turkey.

İnan, A. D. (2015). Zeki Sayar'ın mimarlığı: Yapılar ve projeler [Architecture of Zeki Sayar: Structures and projects]. In A. Cengizkan, D. İnan, & N. M. Cengizkan (Eds.), TMOBB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, örgütlemek, belgelemek [TMOBB chamber of architects publications by Zeki Sayar and Arkitekt: Designing, organising, documenting] (pp. 51–58). Ankara: Mimarlar Odası.

İnan, D., & Cengizkan, N. M. (2015). Yapı ve proje kataloğu [Building and project catalog] In A. Cengizkan, D. İnan, & N. M. Cengizkan (Eds.), *TMOBB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları Zeki Sayar ve Arkitekt: Tasarlamak, örgütlemek, belgelemek* [TMOBB chamber of architects publications by Zeki Sayar and Arkitekt: Designing, organising, documenting] (pp. 227–331). Ankara: Mimarlar Odası.

İnce, M.Ç., & Yurdaçaliş, N.E. (2013). *Industrial buildings in İstanbul* (Report). Yeditepe University, Institute of Science and Engineering. <a href="https://www.factoryreloaded.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Research\_database.pdf">https://www.factoryreloaded.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Research\_database.pdf</a>

İstanbul Şehir Haritası [İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality city map]. (2021a). [Beşiktaş Astro tobacco warehouse, map from 2006, just before the demolition]. https://sehirharitasi.ibb.gov.tr/?lat=41.04038057937706&lon=29.00542706251144&zoom=18&title=bilgial&angle=132

İstanbul Şehir Haritası [İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality city map]. (2021b). https://sehirharitasi.ibb.gov.tr/?lat=41.02507444078907&lon=28.95901143550873&zoom=18&title=bilgial&angle=31

İstanbul Şehir Haritası [İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality city map]. (2021c). [Ekemen tobacco warehouse and tütün inn]. https://sehirharitasi.ibb.gov.tr/?lat=41.033137668506384&lon=28.991289138793945&zoom=18&title=bilgial&angle=92

İstanbul Şehir Haritası [İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality city map]. (2021d). [Paşalimanı Tobacco Depot]. https://sehirharitasi.ibb.gov.tr/?lat=41.0314102151998&lon=29.021654301322993&zoom=18&title=bilgial&angle=0

İstanbul Şehir Haritası [İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality city map]. (2021e). https://sehirharitasi.ibb.gov.tr/?lat=41.05657308746473&lon=29.045791625976555&zoom=18&title=bilgial&angle=0

İstanbul Şehir Haritası [İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality city map]. (2021f). [View from the sea, 09.10.2019]. https://sehirharitasi.ibb.gov.tr/?lat=41.03214423506509&lon=29.019924402236935&zoom=18&title=bilgial&angle=333

İstanbul Şehir Haritası [İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality city map]. (2021g). [View from the sea, panorama view, 09.10.2019]. https://sehirharitasi.ibb.gov.tr/?lat=41.031488682181276&lon=29.019312858581543&zoom=18&title=bilgial&angle=247

- İstanbul Şehir Haritası [İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality city map]. (2022a). [Akev Tobacco Depot and Administration Building]. https://sehirharitasi.ibb.gov.tr/?lat=41.045 253921948614&lon=29.007993936538696&zoom=18&title=bilgial&angle=221
- İstanbul Şehir Haritası [İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality city map]. (2022b). [View from the sea, 02.10.2019]. https://sehirharitasi.ibb.gov.tr/?lat=41.03950257062 155&lon=29.005770385265343&zoom=18&title=bilgial&angle=129
- Koçu, R.E. (1966). Çubuk [Tobacco pipe]. In *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* [The Encyclopedia of Istanbul] (Vol. 8, pp. 4133–4136). İstanbul: Koçu Yayınları.
- Koçu, R.E. (1968). Enfiye [Snuff]. In *İstanbul İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* [The Encyclopedia of Istanbul] (Vol. 9, pp. 5120–5121). İstanbul: Koçu Yayınları.
- Koçu, R.E., & Akbay, M.A. (1965). Cibali Tekel tütün-sigara fabrikası [Cibali Tekel tobacco- cigarette factory]. In *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* [The Encyclopedia of Istanbul] (Vol. 7, pp. 3553–3554).İstanbul: Neşriyat Kollektif Şirketi.
- Kona, S. (2015). *Paşalimanı un fabrikası ve yeniden işlevlendirme* [Paşalimanı flour factory and refunctioning] (Unpublished master's thesis). Maltepe University Institutional Repository.
- Köksal, G. (2005). İstanbul'daki endüstri mirası için koruma ve yeniden kullanım önerileri [Some proposals for the conservation and reuse of industrial heritage in İstanbul] (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). İstanbul Technical University.
- Köksal, T. G., & Ahunbay, Z. (2006). İstanbul'daki endüstri mirası için koruma ve yeniden kullanım önerileri [Some proposals for the conservation and reuse of industrial heritage in İstanbul]. *Itüdergisi/a mimarlık, planlama, tasarım, 5*(2), 125–136. <a href="http://www.itudergi.itu.edu.tr/index.php/itudergisi\_a/article/viewFile/891/811">http://www.itudergi.itu.edu.tr/index.php/itudergisi\_a/article/viewFile/891/811</a>
- Kurt, M., Kuzucu, K., Çakır, B., & Demir, K. (2016). 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı sanayileşmesi sürecinde kurulan devlet fabrikaları: Bir envanter çalışması [State factories established in the process of Ottoman industrialization in the XVIII century: an inventory study]. *OTAM*, 40, 245–277.
- Melling, A.I., Lacretelle, Ch., & Barbié du Bocage, J.D. (1819). *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore* [Picturesque journey of Constantinople and the shores of Bosphorus]. Internet Archive. <a href="https://archive.org/details/gri\_33125008739092/page/n49/mode/2up">https://archive.org/details/gri\_33125008739092/page/n49/mode/2up</a>
- *Nemlizade tütün deposu* [Nemlizade tobacco warehouse]. (2021, January 30). Kültür envanteri. <a href="https://kulturenvanteri.com/yer/nemlizade-tutun-deposu/#16/41.031315/29.020144">https://kulturenvanteri.com/yer/nemlizade-tutun-deposu/#16/41.031315/29.020144</a>
- Özemre, A.Y. (2007a). *Üsküdar ah Üsküdar* [Üsküdar oh Üsküdar]. İstanbul: Kubbealtı.
- Özemre, A.Y. (2007b). *Hasretini çektiğim Üsküdar* [Üsküdar, which I miss]. İstanbul: Kubbealtı.

Rezan Has Museum. (2021). Cibali tütün fabrikası [Cibali tobacco factory]. https://sanalgezinti.com/yeni/rezan-has-muzesi/index.html

Sayar, Z. (1955). Akev tütün deposu ve idare binası [Akev tobacco warehouse and administration building]. *Arkitekt*, 28, 99–103. <a href="http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/2/214/2932.pdf">http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/2/214/2932.pdf</a>

Shangri-La Bosphorus, Istanbul. (n.d.). Press Kit. <a href="http://www.shangri-la.com/uploadedFiles/Shangri-la\_Hotels/Istanbul,\_Shangri-La/press-room/press-kit/Shangri-La-Bosphorus-Istanbul-Press-Kit(1).pdf">http://www.shangri-la.com/uploadedFiles/Shangri-la\_Hotels/Istanbul,\_Shangri-La/press-room/press-kit/Shangri-La-Bosphorus-Istanbul-Press-Kit(1).pdf</a>

The place of tobacco grinding machines called havan [Photograph]. (n.d.). Photo album of the Régie Period signed by Guillaume Berggren, 1884. Rezan Has Museum Archives, İstanbul, Turkey.

The place to put tobacco in packages [Photograph]. (n.d.). Photo album of the Régie Period signed by Guillaume Berggren, 1884. Rezan Has Museum Archives, İstanbul, Turkey.

The place where cigarettes are made by hand [Photograph]. (n.d.). Photo album of the Régie Period signed by Guillaume Berggren, 1884. Rezan Has Museum Archives, İstanbul, Turkey.

*Tobacco bales arrived to the factory* [Photograph]. (n.d.). T. C. İnhisarlar İdaresi fotoğraf albümü, 1940 [T. R. Monopoly Administration photo album, 1940]. Rezan Has Museum Archives, İstanbul, Turkey.

*Tütün deposu "depo" renovasyonu* [Tobacco warehouse "warehouse" renovation]. (n.d.). Arkiv. http://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/tutun-deposu-depo-renovasyonu/1120

Türkiye'de tütünün tarihçesi [The history of tobacco in Turkey]. (n.d.) Tütün Eksperleri Derneği. <a href="http://www.tutuneksper.org.tr/tutun-bilgisi/turkiyede-tutun/turkiyede-tutunun-tarihcesi">http://www.tutuneksper.org.tr/tutun-bilgisi/turkiyede-tutun/turkiyede-tutunun-tarihcesi</a>

Üsküdar. (n.d.). İ.B.B. Atatürk Library Digital Archive and Search in E-Sources [Postcard]. Postcard Collection, Krt\_024883. http://ataturkkitapligi.ibb.gov.tr/yordambt/yordam.php?aDemirbas=Krt\_024883

Üsküdar'ın Kaybolmuş Kültür Eserleri. (2020, January 21). *Üsküdar'ın kaybolmus kultur eserleri 74* [Uskudar's lost cultural artifacts 74] [Image attached] [Status update]. Facebook<sup>5</sup>. <a href="https://www.facebook.com/465035476980877/">https://www.facebook.com/465035476980877/</a> posts/1509252192559195/

*Üsküdar Tekel sahneleri* [Üsküdar Tekel stages]. (n.d.). Akdağ Architecture. https://www.akdagmimarlik.com/tr/portfoy/uskudar-tekel-sahneleri

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Доступ к информационному ресурсу ограничен на основании Федерального закона от 27 июля 2006 года №149-ФЗ «Об информации, информационных технологиях и о защите информации».

Vanmour, J.-B. (1714). Femme Turque qui Fume sur le Sopha [Turkish woman smoking on the sofa] [Engraving]. Recueil de cent estampes representant differentes nations du Levant, gravées sur les tableaux peints d'après nature en 1707 & 1708, par les ordres de M. de Ferriol, ambassadeur du roi a la porte, et mis au jour en 1712 & 1713 par les soins de M. Le Hay [Collection of one hundred prints representing different nations of the Levant, engraved on paintings painted from nature in 1707 & 1708, by the orders of M. de Ferriol, ambassador of the king at the door, and brought to light in 1712 & 1713 by the care of M. Le Hay]. Chez Basan. https://archive.org/details/gri\_33125015119957/page/n42/mode/thumb

Yılmaz, B. (Ed.). (2019). *Projeler yapılar 4: Kültür yapıları* [Projects structures 4: Cultural buildings]. İstanbul: YEM.

Yurtoğlu, N. (2018). Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde tütün tekeli ve sigara fabrikalarının tarihsel gelişimi (1923–1950) [A historical development of Tobacco Monopoly and cigarette factories in the Republic of Turkey (1923–1950)]. *Akademik Tarih ve Düşünce Dergisi*, *5*(17), 81–116. https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/atdd/issue/40027/475958

Yusufoğlu, N.T., & Pilehvarian, N.K. (2017). Beşiktaş Tayyare Fabrikası (1936–1943) [Beşiktaş Aircraft Factory (1936–1943)]. *Megaron. Yildiz teknik üniversitesi mimarlik fakültesi e-dergisi, 12*(2), 249–262. <a href="https://doi.org/10.5505/megaron.2017.87004">https://doi.org/10.5505/megaron.2017.87004</a>