A MODE OF SPACE PRODUCTION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY:

ICADIYE NEIGHBORHOOD AS A CASE OF *İFRAZ*

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2021

A MODE OF SPACE PRODUCTION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: ICADIYE NEIGHBORHOOD AS A CASE OF *İFRAZ*

A thesis submitted to the

Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

History

by

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Boğaziçi University

2021

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İcadiye Neighborhood as a Case of İfraz

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ABSTRACT

This thesis deals with a specific method of space production which is called *ifraz*. *Ifraz* means dividing a larger piece of land into smaller, and this method may be implemented in various ways depending on the context. This study will focus on parceling empty suburban areas to commodify nature and sell and transform agricultural forests, gardens, and yards into built areas. I will briefly demonstrate the literature on urban history, land, property, and infrastructure to base my findings on ifraz and urbanization. Through a more extensive set of the archival scan, ifraz, in general, will be demonstrated as an intensified type of space production in the nineteenth century, accelerating significantly with the Tanzimat Edict. Then, a detailed analysis of Icadiye Neighborhood as the case study will present a specific model of urbanization via the commodification of empty suburban landscapes. Icadiye is also important in terms of being an Armenian neighborhood.

Both demonstrate specific features of nineteenth-century urbanization and the continuum of an urban sprawl dating back to the seventeenth century; Icadiye will contribute to the discussions on center/ periphery, urban/ suburban distinctions. In the general context, I will expand Islamic city conception and approaches detached from the dynamics of capitalism in urban historiography to raise new questions, and *ifraz* in a broader sense, has great potentials for further studies.

ÖZET

Bu tez ifraz şeklinde tanımlanan ve büyük bir toprak parçasının daha küçük parsellere bölünmesi şeklinde özetlenebilecek bir mekan üretim yöntemi üzerine odaklanmaktadır. Bu yöntemin farklı bağlam ve coğrafyalarda amacı ve sonucu farklılaşan uygulama biçimleri olmakla beraber bu çalışma bunlardan bir tanesi üzerinde duracaktır. İfrazın karşımıza çıkan kullanım biçimlerinden yaygın bir tanesi taşra/ çeper diyebileceğimiz alanlarda çoğunlukla tarım arazisi, orman, bağ, bahçe vb bölgelerin parçalanıp satılarak metalaştırılması ve imara açılmasıdır. Bu yöntemi detaylıca tartışabilmek adına kent tarihi, toprak mülkiyeti, altyapı gibi araştırma alanlarının literatürlerinden yola çıkarak öncelikle ifraza dair genel bir çerçeve çizilecek ve bu yöntemin on dokuzuncu yüzyılda özellikle, özellikle Tanzimat Fermanı sonrasında özel mülkiyetin önem kazandığı dönemde yoğunlaşması üzerinden bir arşiv araştırması sunulacaktır. Bu genel çerçeve üzerinden İcadiye Mahallesi örneği üzerine yapılan detaylı belge okuma ve analizi sonucunda çeperde bir tarım arazisinin ifraz yoluyla metalaşması ve altyapı inşası ile kentleşmesi incelenecektir.

Bu tezin önemli bir başka amacı ise İcadiye Mahallesi örneği üzerinden İslam Kenti kavramsallaştırmasına bir alternatif sunmaktır. Bir Ermeni Mahallesi olan İcadiye Mahallesi on yedinci yüzyılda temelleri atılan Uskudar Ermeni cemaatinin kentsel mekanda yayılmasının on dokuzuncu yüzyıl aşamasıdır. Bu tarihsel sürekliliğe de değinerek merkez/çeper ilişkisi tartışmalarına da bir katkı sunulacaktır. Genel bağlamda ifraz, kent/ kentleşme tarihinde çok önemli yeni bakış açıları sağlayabilecek bir başlık olması ve üzerine yapılan çalışmaların azlığı açısından önemlidir.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis was shaped in one of the seminar classes of Yaşar Tolga Cora on Armenian history when I realized the neighborhood I was living in was historically an Armenian settlement. Departing from that point, I was interested in working on Uskudar to reveal the Armenian community's presence as urban space actors and leading figures of space production. Through my research on Uskudar as an Armenian communal space, I discovered the Icadiye neighborhood demonstrating a typical gridal plan. I realized the absence of this suburban neighborhood, mainly ones in the Uskudar district in urban historiography. From that starting point, through our discussions with my advisors Ahmet Ersoy and Yaşar Tolga Cora, my research expanded into a survey on urbanization in the nineteenth century. Another seminar class of Çiğdem Kafescioglu gave me the chance to develop my thoughts on urban history beyond the center/ periphery dichotomy and also working on port cities in one of the seminar classes of Antonis Hadjikyriacou provided me a perspective of space based on relations of capital flows, land ownership, and social classes/ actors. In addition to those contributions, Turkish Ottoman seminars of İpek Hüner Cora encouraged me to learn the necessary language skills for my research. For an advanced reading of materials, I worked with Budak Kayabek for one year. Together we read all documents related to the Icadiye neighborhood in detail. This lengthy document reading process evolved the project constantly, and I am grateful to have that chance.

I am very thankful to my advisor for supporting me with my research, as I had so many hardships overlapping the period that I finished my thesis. In the first semester, Çiğdem Kafescioğlu had motivated me to continue when I felt confused and insecure about the possibility of accomplishing this process with a newborn

baby. All my instructors were very supportive during the lectures and thesis periods, which kept me on track against many ups and downs. I was enthusiastic and determined to start becoming a historian; however, as I am a full-time working mother, It would not be possible without their cooperation. Even the vast effects of pandemics, divorce, and becoming a single mother were more tolerable with them, and that way, I could sustain my will to finish the work I started.

In addition to my advisors, I want to thank Eda Güçlü and Mehmet Kentel for reading my thesis and contributed with their detailed comments. As they are experts on land history and urban history, their feedback was precious.

I am also fortunate to have my friends Emine Esra Nalbant, Hazal Özdemir, Ayşe Tuba Silahtar, Ekin Can Göksoy, Özge Nur Yıldırım, and Halil İbrahim Binici with whom we discussed our works, contributed to each other's thoughts and supported each other, especially in a hard time of pandemic and closure. Apart from that solidarity between us, as I am a student who returned to school after many years in my thirties, my friends always supported me with technical details. Especially Esra reminded me of all critical dates of submission, with her delicate friendship considering that I can miss something as I am working and taking care of a child. Regardless of it can be an unpopular acknowledgment, I want to thank all my friends I had met from social media, namely Twitter, as they were my support during the pandemics closure with my three-year-old at home. They followed the whole thesis process, and they encouraged me when I had thoughts of quitting and had many contributions by sharing the hard days. Especially my very best friends Ece Turhan and Özlem Demirçi convinced me many times not to give up on this process. They spent many hours on the phone to encourage me, and this was precious support. Also Ayşe Özdemir constantly reminded me the difficulties of being a working single

mom and supported me in a very precious way, so that I did not forget my own conditions and be hard on myself. This was very vital for me as academic work is usually makes people feel insufficient and depressive.

Also, my dear brother helped me to set up a daily routine with work and childcare. He was always there when I needed advice on emotional and technical support. Lastly, I want to thank my child, Ali Yağmur, who was with me when I first applied and has been my companion until now. With his smooth, gentle and cheerful character, he was the best friend I could imagine, and even though his existence was limiting my time to work on my thesis, emotionally, he was always my first and the greatest motivation to conduct this research love very much. I believe a mother who can fulfill her life is significant also for a child's peace.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis deals with the urbanization process of the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire from the perspective of *ifraz* (land division) and urban space production through the commodification of empty suburban lands. At first, a general overview of the land transactions and space transformations will be discussed on the large scale of the Empire. Then, an Armenian neighborhood called Icadiye in Uskudar, Istanbul, will be analyzed in detail as a case study that will provide an example of a specific mode of space production implemented via the *ifraz* method.

1.1 Discussions on urban historiography of ottoman Empire and literature review

In this thesis, I will try to introduce an approach different from the distinction between architectural and social historiography posed by Zeynep Çelik[1]. In my opinion, this kind of framing has its advantages in terms of focusing on the physical reality of space; however, space is a complex end product, and merging different layers of urban space in a narrative will provide a better understanding. I will also try to challenge the conception of the Islamic city, which is discussed in the work of Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters[2] , through widening the scope of urban historiography, especially into the context of Mediterranean City. This work discusses the problematic aspects of the Islamic City definition, which mainly roots back to Max Weber's analysis of the Christian city. This kind of approach frames non-European cities as frozen entities lacking social and economic dynamics and actors participating in the space. Islamic city ignores both the local, genuine

[1] Çelik, Z. 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul.
[2] Eldem et al. Doğu ile Batı Arasında Osmanlı Kenti: Halep, İzmir ve İstanbul.

dynamics and integrated aspects of those cities with the rest of the world. Eldem, Goffman, and Masters criticize the early counter works against Islamic cities in terms of focusing on the architectural forms to find out an Islamic architectural form and neglecting the social and economic ingredients of the space once more. They present discussions starting from the 1980s, especially with orientalism critics after Edward Said, demonstrating a deeper understanding of the space. Orientalism is essential in going beyond the west-east dichotomy to scrutinize the concept from a broader perspective than searching for a genuine city of Islam. However, history from the below approach is also essential to widen the perspective of researchers dealing with space.

Those important works contribute in terms of opening new questions and also leaving gaps in urban historiography. Alternative urban histories arose through all those questions, critics, and cracks from a non-western perspective dealing with the non-western cities from below, applying to local sources. Some examples such as Mehmet Kentsel's work on Pera and Terkos Water[3], On Barak's work on Alexandria[4], Karen A. Leal's work on Balat[5] , or Ina Baghdiantz-MacCabe's paper on New Julfa[6] provided my critical research perspectives in terms of asking more comprehensive questions to my material to find out connections between the material, infrastructural, social, legal and administrative aspects of urban space production. Faruk Tabak's discussion on port cities is also important to reconsider the Ottoman Empire as an insular space in the context of capitalism. Also, Yücel Terzibaşoğlu's studies make significant contributions to locating Ottoman

[3] Kentel. Doğanın "Kozmopolis"i: Terkos Suyolu Boyunca Kentliler, Köylüler ve Hayvanlar.
[4] Barak. Scrapping the Surface: the techno-politics of modern streets in turn-of-twentieth-century Alexandria.
[5] Leal. The Balat District of Istanbul: Multiethnicity on the Golden Horn.
[6] McCabe. Princely Suburb, Armenian Quarter or Christian Ghetto? The Suburban Setting of New Julfa in the Safavid Capital of Isfahan (1605-1722).

urbanization in parallel the land ownership transformation under the rise of capitalism in the nineteenth century. Nora Lafi's discussions on local actors concerning town planning procedures shed essential light on the center-periphery dichotomy[7]. Also, Paulina Andonova makes a critical remark to suggest that petitions are crucial sources for urban historiographers. Because urbanization processes are complex in terms of participants' complexity, only visual materials or legislation texts will not be enough to grasp the procedure[8]. Pierre Pinon's paper on parceling is a good introduction for widening the scope of urban analysis beyond larger-scale urban plans[9].

Remembering Lefebvre's triad of perceived, conceived, and lived space[10] , official documents convey the designed space mainly, which is called representations of space by Lefebvre. Mehmet Kentel also emphasizes this regarding the face values of the elite texts, maps, or façades[11]. His criticism relies on the emphasis of urban historiography on that kind of source, so the triad is lacking.

> Now let us consider for a moment any given space, any 'interval' provided that it is not empty. Such a space contains things yet is not itself a thing or material 'object.' Is it then a floating 'medium,' a simple abstraction, or a 'pure' form? No - precisely because it has content. We have already been led to the conclusion that any space implies, contains, and dissimulates social relationships -and this despite the fact that space is not a thing but rather a set of relations between things (objects and products).[12]

That point of view Lefebvre introduces towards space provides the historian the knowledge of spatial practice and the symbolic space, namely the lived and the perceived aspects of the space by the inhabitants, which will lead to a better

[7] Lafi et al. Local Elites and Italian Town-Planning Procedures in Early Colonial Tripoli 1911-1912.
[8] Andonova. Arzuhals as sources of the Ottoman land history.
[9] Pinon. The parceled city.
[10] Henri Lefebvre. The Production of Space. Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991.
[11] Kentel, K. Assembling 'Cosmopolitan' Pera: An Infrastructural History of Late Ottoman Istanbul.
[12] Henri Lefebvre. The Production of Space. Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991, 82-83.

understanding of the space itself[13]. Lefebvre also emphasizes the interconnectedness of all aspects of space. Parallel to the history below approach based on the Marxist tradition, Lefebvre's contribution is vital in avoiding being stuck in definitions such as Islamic City.

As urban historiography is a vast literature, I tried to base my discussion on various approaches benefiting from their contributions and questioning the gaps they left for further research. This thesis introduces the Armenian community as active participants and producers of their settlements and reveals inter-communal participation and state relations. From that perspective, Islamic City conception needs to be reconsidered, and materials related to land transactions of petitions indicating demands of the inhabitations of the urban space will provide a better picture of community and space relations. Covering space production in the frame of capitalism and modernization at the same time will also give more detailed narratives related to space. It will locate the Ottoman urbanization process in a general context rather than an isolated, frozen form.

> The liberal world view was inseparable from a vocabulary of European domination over non-European areas in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the twentieth century. This vocabulary represents the dichotomous perception of social reality, which characterized the liberal perspective, and echoes the spatial bifurcation between Europe (the West) and non-Europe (the East). European history is cast as the privileged domain of exchange of private property, of circumscribed state presence, and of the rule of law. Non-European history, by contrast, describes a sphere of stunted commercial development or economic stagnation, of despotic states, and of the absence of law.[14]

In this thesis, I will follow Huri İslamoğlu's aim to "go beyond the binary perception of the Eastern and Western histories"[15] and build on her critique of liberal world

[13] Henri Lefebvre. The Production of Space. Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991.
[14] İslamoğlu. "Property as a Contested Domain: A Reevaluation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858", 6.
[15] İslamoğlu. "Property as a Contested Domain: A Reevaluation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858"

view. I will try to discuss the absence of private property exchange, despotic state, and lack of law in the conception of the East and how this view dominates urban history. That framing she criticizes detaches urbanization from its relation with the capital, limits it to a state project without people's involvement, and restrain urbanization in the discourse of modernism, free of the evolution of capitalism. Mehmet Kentel, in his Ph.D. dissertation, criticizes the urban histories based on "sociability and stylistic narratives of architectural history" and the conceptualization of urban processes "as a symptom of nineteenth-century Ottoman modernity and cosmopolitanism." This symptom definition demonstrates the urban analysis's shortfall framing the process as a side effect of a mere discursive Westernization project.

Zeynep Çelik, in her analysis of nineteenth-century İstanbul, states that the city's population growth was in parallel with European urban centers[16]. In 1844, the overall population of İstanbul and its suburbs was 391.000, whereas, in 1856, it was 430.00, in 1878 it was 547.000 and in 1886 population rises to 547.000[17]. She comments that the Ottoman Empire's urban politics differed from European states to affect urban spaceless. According to the traditional urban historiography, the conflagration of Aksaray in 1866 marks an introduction of urban planning to the Empire. Those politics were considered as almost stylistic mimicry of European modern urban planning principles. At this point, in parallel to a population growth very similar to European capitals, how can it be possible that the urban space of Ottoman capital can spare itself from a similar change?

Urban history literature is mainly based on Islamic city conception, and the contribution of non-Islamic communities are neither ignored nor covered as minority

[16] Çelik, Z. 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul.
[17] Çelik, Z. 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul.

groups with no agency. Even in some cases, non-Islamic populations are associated with European groups in the discourse of potential foreigners. Some micro studies deal with the existence and contribution of non-Islamic citizens of the Ottoman Empire as actors of urban life from various aspects.

Yücel Terzibaşoğlu mentions that thousands of displaced and disposed of refugees in the streets of Istanbul were constant reminders of the massive land loss of the Empire, and those refugees were primarily peasants who had lost their lands, seeking shelter in the urban landscapes[18]. This population movement affected the Capital and led the Anatolian settlement geography to be reconstructed uniquely[19]. Terzibaşoğlu compares the Ottoman case with the European property transformation cases and places it in a more extensive land privatization context[20]. He emphasizes that the applications and regulations of the nineteenth century are too extensive to be bracketed in a conception like the "Tanzimat era." He conceptualizes the period as the first wave of privatization in a broader sense in terms of geography[21].

In the universal context of the development of capitalism, cadastral activities, or a more stylistic definition, "planning" is a tool of the commodification of space that functions to collect tax and fix land use rights. The assumed economic stagnation[22] of the East, namely the Ottoman Empire İslamoğlu points out, perhaps demonstrates itself mainly in the field of the urban economy. So the Empire's integration to capitalism is similar to Europe; however, historiography covers as a mere mimicry in a formal and discursive level. And this led to the conclusion that the

[18] Terzibaşoğlu, Y. "Land disputes and ethno-poltics: Northwestern Anatolia, 1872-1912."
[19] Terzibaşoğlu, "Y. Eleni Hatun'un zeytin bahçeleri: 19. Yüzyılda Anadolu'da mülkiyet hakları nasıl inşa edildi?"
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] İslamoğlu. "Property as a Contested Domain: A Reevaluation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858"

rise of capitalism, urbanization, and centralization did not affect Ottoman landscapes as their European counterparts.

In parallel with Terzibaşoğlu's effort to bring forward a materialistic approach as an alternative to the Tanzimat era discourse, Göksun Akyürek defines Tanzimat intellectuals and bureaucrats as the subjects with power to reproduce, supervise and utilize the Western discourse through constructing a set of knowledge as a tool of power[23]. According to Akyürek, the texts Tanzimat intellectual produced as a representation of the Western cities was strongly related to the way they perceive and could not perceive the European city realities[24]. They were framing their observations to transfer to the Ottoman atmosphere as a transformative suggestion. This critic is essential in terms of expanding the discussions on Ottoman historiography. Mundy and Smith suggest that historiography in the Turkish language, namely post-Republican, neglects the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries, constituting the backbone of Tanzimat legal reforms[25]. They state that this ignorance leads to a lack of continuity, and I believe the liberal agenda İslamoğlu frames necessitates that kind of a limited framing of the past to hinder the continuous rising of capitalism. So that "narrative of modernization with orientalist tones," as Mehmet Kentel defines[26], is too much related to the motive of hiding capitalism in the urban history, which is the very urban history itself. It is not a coincidence, as Neumann reminds us, that upper-class elites, bankers, *sarraf*s, and landowners were the actors who established the municipal organizations of the nineteenth century[27].

[23] Akyürek, Y. Bilgiyi Yeniden İnşa Etmek: Tanzimat Döneminde Mimarlık, Bilgi ve İktidar.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Mundy et al,. Modern Devlet'e Giden Yolda Mülk Siyaseti: Osmanlı Suriye'sinde Hukuk, Yönetim ve Üretim.
[26] Kentel. Assembling 'Cosmpolitan' Pera: An Infrastructural History of Late Ottoman İstanbul.
[27] Neumann. "Modernitelerin Çatışması Altıncı Daire-i Belediye, 1857-1912."

So one should carefully analyze the face value of Tanzimat texts by reminding oneself that they were intentionally constructed for the service of a political and simultaneously economic agenda. Whether the urban landscapes or even the suburbs and provinces can escape the effects of rising capitalist modernity, the discourses constructed in the texts should also be considered a new kind of break with the past. A sort of abstraction like the liberal discourse implements on the private property itself. The "technical rationality that aimed to create order by geometry"[28] will be located in a stylistic modernization tone rather than the commodification of land. This kind of narrative serves Tanzimat as an exception rather than a phase of modernist capitalism. It also helps to cover after-fire plans as a miraculous opportunity for Tanzimat elites –detached from their relations with capital and property- to implement their ideas on the city. In the end, it leads to the liberal abstraction of the urban space from the property and the web of power relations that produces space. From a reverse approach, Kentel warns against the lure of the building façades, documents, and maps. In terms of searching the material conditions of urbanization. That approach will also lead to elaborate the continuity, rupture, exception, or the norm from a more materialistic perspective rather than the mere discursive one[29]:

> True, struggle over the agricultural surplus waged among the peasantry, the local notables, and the central state was not a nineteenth-century novelty, as evidenced by the 16th-century examples- but the very nature and terms of that struggle, and the extent of the land claims, had been transformed by the nineteenth century.[30]

[28] Güçlü. "Urban Tanzimat and Corrupting Property: Women as Petitioners of Honor in Nineteenth Century İstanbul."
[29] Kentel. "Doğanın 'Kozmopolis'i: Terkos Suyolu Boyunca Kentliler, Köylüler ve Hayvanlar."
[30] Terzibaşoğlu. "Landlords, refugees, and nomads: Struggles for land around late-nineteenth century Ayvalık", 52.

As Terzibaşoğlu covers, both the continuity and the change are crucial to grasp the unique aspects of nineteenth-century urbanization. One should consider that it is an integral part of the flow of capitalism, and the urban land is emerging as an asset introduced to the market in this emerging stage. In that context, going beyond the eastern- western dichotomy is not sufficient, as it was mentioned that various misleading assumptions cover the urban historiography of the Ottoman Empire.

> If nationalisms in the rest of the world have to choose their imagined community from certain 'modular' forms already made available to them by Europe and Americas, what do they left to imagine? History, it would seem, has decreed that we in the postcolonial world shall only be perpetual consumers of modernity. Europe and Americas, the only true subjects of history, have thought out on our behalf not only the script of colonial enlightenment and postcolonial misery. Even our imaginations must remain forever colonized.[31]

Discourses of Tanzimat elites discussed above and the extensive usage of maps prepared by Europeans may have been a base for the Ottoman historians' sources to lead to an unintended colonizing effect in terms of conceptualizing the urbanization of the Empire in an isolated manner from the ground practices. In addition to the east-west dichotomy and the filter of Ottoman elites, as Pierre Pinon argues, European cities' urban history is also concentrated mainly on the general politics of urban development at the municipal and national levels[32]. He tries to discuss the concept of parceling as a private form of city planning and complains that it has never attracted the attention of historians of architecture and urbanism. This mode of space production has been widely applied since the sixteenth century in Europe; however, he mentions that studies are dealing with parceling of European historiography cover only the 'colonial' examples[33].

[31] Chatarjee. Whose Imagined Communities, 216.
[32] Pinon. "The Parceled City: Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century."
[33] Pinon. "The Parceled City: Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century."

Merging Chatarjee's very crucial point of "colonized imaginations" with Pinon's critic of the ignorance towards parceling as a tool of urban planning in a broader scale of urban historiography, one can have a perspective of traditional urban history itself is colonized by both the actual European colonialism and the modernist discourses detached from the capitalism -which is the very essence of the modernism- and have an idea of how liberal discourse itself was based. As Timothy Mitchell states, capital and infrastructure share a long history, and in the nineteenth century, their long-lasting relation gave rise to a new political and economic power. He reminds the connection of colonization and construction of urban infrastructure and the historical juxtaposition of modern banking and the expansion of finance capital through the very materiality of iron, steel, copper, lead, and concrete as construction materials[34].

Returning to the land issue in this critical point, Terzibaşoğlu draws attention to the refugee problem of the nineteenth century and the nomadic lives and common lands in the turmoil of empires developing policies to encourage sedentary lifestyle through transfer and transplantation of population groups or resettlement[35]. As Karl Marx states, the property was, in its essence was the monopoly of some people on earth, excluding the others and transforming the land into a financial form. He adds that even the water was monopolized as long as it was part and parcel of the land.[36] In this context, legal opinion was executed just like it would be in another context related to any other asset[37]. Apart from those pins, both infrastructure and the Tanzimat regulations were tools for colonizing the earth into private property, an investment circulating in the market.

[34] Mitchell. "Introduction: Life of Infrastructure."
[35] Terzibaşoğlu, Y. "Land disputes and ethno-poltics: Northwestern Anatolia, 1872-1912."
[36] Marx, Kapital, Vol.3
[37] Marx, Kapital, Vol.3.

> Each wave of human development seems to be set in motion by a new energy system, each requiring an infrastructure that reshapes collective life, connecting humans to a new technical grids and natural forces.[38]

So the liberal view hindering the property relations in urban history was not limited to the colonial gaze of the West through the east. Still, also it was shaping the very history of Europe itself, and in the Ottoman context, it was reproducing the exact mechanisms. Following this route, reconstructing the Ottoman urbanization narrative necessitates various layers of filters, first the western conceptualization of the eastern spatial history, second the Tanzimat discourses framing their very own geography, and the liberal approach to urbanization in an immense sense making the capital relations less visible. This kind of narrative can be achieved by discussing the changing modes of property and their effects on space production. And upon that kind of discussion, archival research should be conducted to reach the ground application of urban politics.

1.2 Methodology and sources

To construct an alternative approach to nineteenth-century urban production, I will first demonstrate a literature review on the history of property transformation. This review will also be essential to locate the urbanites in the story, to understand that "planning" urban space is not a practice conducted and implemented by an isolated group of elites. Still, it is a process including various actors having land claims. Then, I will apply to archival research on property transactions covering the vast geography of the Empire in the nineteenth century that led to the urbanization of the land. It will be a set of documents to create a general

[38] Mitchell. "Introduction: Life of Infrastructure."

frame to uncover a mechanism and the themes that established urban neighborhoods with methods unique for the nineteenth century.

My research on archives consists of petitions, state documents, namely correspondences between various participants/ actors of space production. A few cadastral maps will also be referred to to visualize the parceling method. I will refer to an inventory consisting of 590 documents demonstrating the transliterated summaries. This method of using only summaries that are found out as a result of searching the keyword "*parça parça*" which means "piece by piece" that is used for *ifraz*/ land division, will serve to obtain an overall perspective revealing a general pattern of land transformations, transactions and neighborhood establishment mechanism derived from parceling. These are mainly petitions related to dividing the land into plots and selling.

It should be noted that division of land through ifraz is a complex subject containing various mechanisms. However, I will focus on a specific case in the second corpus of my materials which will be zooming in into a particular neighborhood called İcadiye, which is located in Uskudar, İstanbul. Through the documents about İcadiye that I transliterated in detail, I will aim to analyze one case of transformation of suburban land into an urban ground.

1.3 Thesis outline

In the first chapter of my thesis, namely the introduction, I tried to discuss urban historiography in terms of contributions and gaps. I located my work in the general literature. Also, I briefly gave an idea of the primary sources I will benefit from to base my arguments and the main theoretical context I will dwell on.

In the second chapter of this thesis, I will briefly discuss the literature on land and property relations to combine with urban history. Both land transformation and infrastructure studies are crucial to framing urban research dealing with the details of space production in a broader sense. These subjects are the very basis of how urbanization occurs and how urban space takes shape through the contribution of inhabitants and decision-makers. Discussions on the bureaucracy of land and urbanization are also meaningful. Documents will be analyzed to reveal the complex flow of events and network of actors that leads to the urban space as an end product to be observed. What is physically seen may hinder the backstage production process, and narrating the same story will better understand urban historiography. After introducing this theoretical discussion, this second chapter will present archival research on land transformation and space production conducted through the ifraz (land division) method to base my detailed case study. I will give a general outlook on ifraz and then focus on a specific mode of implementation, namely division and selling of large pieces of suburban/ empty lands, primarily agricultural areas, gardens, yards, forests, etc., to produce new built environments.

In the third chapter of my thesis, remembering Terzibaşoğlu's remark on continuity, I will give information about Uskudar district in İstanbul as a background for my case study on nineteenth-century neighborhood establishment in İcadiye. This continuity is vital in terms of historical frame and will link center and suburban areas in urban expansion in the nineteenth century. Ifraz, in that kind of urban sprawl, is an essential tool and has many implementations, as I will demonstrate in my second chapter, and the Icadiye case is only one of them. As the connection between the broad set of documents and Icadiye will establish the general context, spatial history will help avoid isolating this case historically. It is essential to acknowledge the

settlement of the Armenian community in Uskudar in the seventeenth-century o understand that Icadiye is a vital example demonstrating important features of nineteenth-century urbanization. It is also the continuum of the urban sprawl process from the center to the periphery in time. In that context, this thesis aims to contribute to discussions and center/ suburban literature, and environmental historiography as the suburban areas are dominantly empty/ green areas. Ifraz is a vital keyword to expand the debate on commodification and urbanization of the natural environment.

In the fourth chapter of this thesis, I will zoom in on the details of the nineteenth-century neighborhood establishment process through a detailed transliteration and analysis of the document related to the Icadiye case. Petitions, state correspondences concerning actors such as landowners, inhabitants, state officers, etc., a complex network of relations will be revealed through that set of documents. This analysis will cover urbanized land and the establishment of physical and social infrastructure that transforms an "empty" space into a neighborhood. Icadiye is an essential case in terms of how ifraz can be implemented for the commodification of nature. Also, the narrative derived from the documents will introduce new questions against the conception of Islamic City, as Icadiye demonstrates the very active presence of the Armenian community in the process.

In the epilogue of my thesis, I will try to frame all my findings and discussions in a broader sense of questioning urban historiography rather than making a conclusion. I will ask questions that aim to connect capitalist urbanization's story even through the twenty-first century. *Ifraz* is an important theme to study in detail for further studies, especially in understanding how the suburban areas had been integrated into the urban land market. In a general sense, this thesis aims to introduce ifraz as a keyword of research in urban historiography that may

demonstrate various modes of urban space production in the nineteenth century. It is crucial to note that the division of land into smaller plots was not invented in this period; however, the density of materials starting from the Tanzimat Edict and the emphasis on private property is considered a base for my thesis. Even though it was an older method, the nineteenth-century implementation is worth considering

CHAPTER 2

REDEFINING THE NORM AND EXCEPTION:

THE "BACKSTAGE" OF URBANIZATION

Eda Güçlü states that the line between the absolute space entailed by the conception of private property and the social space is contested, and the tensions are reflected in the built environment[39]. This remark is intricately connected with the İslamoğlu's critic of liberal perspective detaching private property from the network of social relations[40].

> This conception implies that built environments reflect different modes of production. In a society that is increasingly becoming capitalist, the elements of the built environment assume a commodity form. That is to say that streets, for instance, as the basic layouts of a city, become commodities.[41]

Elaborating on that conception of the land, the buildings, and even the streets as commodities will open up a new perspective that will shed light on the biases mentioned in the introduction of the thesis regarding urban historiography. In this context, the conception of modern urbanization as an aesthetic mimicry of Europe and focus on urban center developments of post-fire projects will be scrutinized more detailed. In an age in which city planning was one of the most crucial tools of circulation and realization of the capital[42], property relations should be the ideal space for revealing the process of urbanization. So the focus on the distinct areas as the pilot cases of an intended formal modernization should be dissolved, and land

[39] Güçlü. Urban Tanzimat and Corrupting Property: Women as Petitioners of Honor in Nineteenth Century İstanbul.
[40] İslamoğlu. "Property as a Contested Domain: A Reevaluation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858"
[41] Güçlü. Urban Tanzimat and Corrupting Property: Women as Petitioners of Honor in Nineteenth Century İstanbul, 8
[42] Ibid.

covering the vast geography of the Empire should be studied through the direct information of the land itself.

As mentioned before, Pinon's comments on urban historiography open a new perspective to analyze urban space production. It is crucial to bring forward parceling as a method; however, his arguments are limited with the mainstream approach of urban historiography, mainly focusing on post-fire planning. Pinon lists twenty-three cases of parceling activity from Istanbul. Most of them are after-fire examples, and only a couple of them are out of the context of fire, and even those examples are renewals of the existing urban fabric. The parceling of Yenikapı is a typical example he gives, and eighteenth dating century, however only references are the Stolpe map of 1863 and the Kauffer Map. So he does not provide details related to that case. He touches upon the concept of expropriation of land for public use, which will be discussed in detail later in the thesis.

> The development of London in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, though based entirely on the subdivision of vast aristocratic properties through the long-term leases, has hardly been considered. In fact, parceling had been a private form of city planning that has never attracted the attention instead on the public politics of urban development at the municipal and national level.[43]

Pinon states that parceling had become the primary mode for producing the residential urban fabric[44] and repeats the established discourse of urban historiography by saying, "since fires led to the remodeling of the urban fabric, they too represented an active and direct agent of modern development."[45] He emphasizes that no other city has experienced so many fires in the nineteenth century and could have undertaken a comprehensive parceling strategy like İstanbul's.

[43] Pinon, The Parceled City: Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century, 45
[44] Ibid, 62.
[45] Ibid, 56.

Pinon's work draws attention to an ignored side of nineteenth-century modern urbanization even though he reproduces some arguments that need to be challenged. However, the most crucial questions and remarks are also included in his text:

> Parceling involves subdividing private property (whether patrimonial, expropriated, or acquired for speculation) into lots to be sold or rented. It is phenomenon that affects the entire urban environment or any environment that is to become urbanized, including agricultural land or marshland on the outskirts of a city, abandoned industrial or military sites, areas such as gardens suitable for development, vast properties belonging to impoverished aristocratic families, abandoned convents or monasteries, and so forth.[46]

First, assuming the fire as the mere milestone of urbanization is a critical point to scrutinize. Secondly, focus on İstanbul as the locus of the Empire's urban history should be challenged. The emphasis on minorities and foreigners in the capital as the main urbanization actors should also be questioned. To achieve a perspective that will be out of those reproduced claims, one should remember that urbanization is in the first place was related to property and capital.

In the very beginning of Pinon's article, he implies that kind of a search, however, probably due to his sources being maps and the legal regulations and texts of the Tanzimat bureaucrats, the fires as the leading actor, and the westernization as the stage of the urbanization as a modernization project rhetoric repeats itself. So I will utilize the mentioned quote to escape from the traditional narratives and sources, deviating from the modernization discourse towards the commodification of the land discussions. I will elaborate my findings based on the literature about the transformation of property, human and non-human actors of modern urbanization and frame my archival research to point out a specific space production mode, which I refer to as the "backstage" in the title of my chapter. My study will avoid the stage

[46] Pinon, The Parceled City: Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century, 45.

lights of colonialism, modernization, and liberal framing of urbanization to reverse this established understanding and bring the property, social actors, infrastructures, and social reinforcements to the front. The establishment of a modern neighborhood in an Empire in merging with universal capitalism will reveal itself on the documents related to property transactions.

İslamoğlu discusses property rights as "domains of resistance and contestation" and emphasizes the confrontation and negotiation of social actors[47]. As I mentioned concerning Pinon, I aim to cover the domain of property in terms of different actors and geographies of the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire through various examples to build a frame for a detailed case study. After setting the structure through a broader perspective, in my micro case, I will try to understand the mechanisms of that specific mode of space production and try to narrate a micro-history of confrontation and negotiation of social actors and state, as İslamoğlu defines. To see those mechanisms, petitions, and state responses to those petitions will be my primary resources.

Paulina Andonova states that *arzuhals*, meaning the petitions, display many layers of information related to legal, social, economic, and bureaucratic sides of the land history, which is the backbone of urban history[48]. According to her, those letters of complaints, demands, or objections serve as a basis for reconstructing Ottoman land history[49]. Her focus is on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, where cadastral recording tradition is less intense; however, it is also valid for the nineteenth century as the beginning of massive land documentation, which I will explain below. Even though the nineteenth century is marked with cadastral

[47] İslamoğlu. "Property as a Contested Domain: A Reevaluation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858"
[48] Andonova. "Arzuhals as Sources of the Ottoman Land History"
[49] Ibid.

activities, we should not forget that it was the beginning of a process when the primary, reliable, and detailed data remained to be the written documents. Alp Yücel Kaya and Yücel Terzibaşoğlu also suggest that in the second half of the nineteenth century, the state gave utmost importance to the cadastral surveys beginning with the establishment of the Tahrir-i Emlak Nezareti[50] in 1858, and pilot areas of implementation such as Bursa (1858), Yanya (1858) and Beirut (1862) and after the 1860s in İstanbul[51]. However, they also remind that mapping is an expensive process, and implementation of the recording was vastly on record books containing written data[52]. So it is true that the nineteenth century is the age of property and documentation, but it is a process under construction. This is why focusing on large-scale maps can lead one to focus on a very narrow part of urban history, which is, in my opinion, can be the reason why parceling was neglected, although it is a widely used technique.

To escape that lure, I will first discuss the changes in property relations, then combine different examples from different places of the Empire to set a framework that will question hegemonic discourses over spatial history. As mentioned before, this part of my archival study will not be based on a detailed document transliteration. Instead, it is a zoom-out to see parceling as a widely preferred method all over the Empire in the nineteenth century. Five hundred ninety summaries will represent a contribution to the 23 cases Pinon displays. I will argue that fires or "projects" were not the only actors or initiators of modern urbanization. Instead, they were exceptional but highlighted cases by both Tanzimat texts and also

[50] Tahrir-i Emlak Nezareti:
[51] Kaya et al. "Tahrir'den Kadastro'ya: 1874 İstanbul Emlak Tahriri ve Vergisi: 'Kadastro tabir olunur tahrir-i emlak'"
[52] Kaya et al. "Tahrir'den Kadastro'ya: 1874 İstanbul Emlak Tahriri ve Vergisi: 'Kadastro tabir olunur tahrir-i emlak'"

Ottoman historians. However, vast commodification of land and modernist capitalism were the main actors, hidden in the backstage –namely in the archive- through intentionally or unintentionally reproduced discourses on urbanization.

2.1 The age of property, recording, and dissolving of the land to an asset

> In the case of centralized states of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, where the efficacy of bureaucratic practices become the self-definition of states, public registration of life, including births and deaths, as well as property, were rituals of this nature.[53]

As mentioned before, the nineteenth century was the "age of property" in a general sense, and it is also the age of massive measuring and recording. Kaya and Terzibaşoğlu demonstrate the process of construction of a new regime of property through surveys and maps[54]. Starting with the establishment of Tahrir-i Emlak Nezareti[55] and the pilot applications, an experience on recording the urban land was gained, and this experience had been transformed to the text of Tahrir-i Nüfus ve Emlak Nizamnamesi[56] in 1860. Those regulations on cities and towns were expanded to the rural areas in 1866, and in 1864 Tuna province became a pilot area of a provincial Nizamname text. Then in 1867, finally a General Province Regulation[57] was written.

The primary purposes of those regulations were to record land and land ownership and define land value so that those surveys would be the base for the future transactions that will be the backbone of the privatization of land and the expansion of ways of tax extraction from the ground. For the capital city of Istanbul,

[53] İslamoğlu. "Property as a Contested Domain: A Reevaluation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858", 13.
[54] Kaya et al. "Tahrir'den Kadastro'ya: 1874 İstanbul Emlak Tahriri ve Vergisi: 'Kadastro tabir olunur tahrir-i emlak'"
[55] Tahrir-i Emlak Nezareti
[56] Tahrir-i Nüfus ve Emlak Nizamnamesi
[57] Genel Vilayet Nizamnamesi

the 1874 land register code[58] was crucial. With the 1839 Tanzimat Edict[59] and 1858 Land Code and those regulations mentioned above, one can see the process of nineteenth-century urbanization fits into a complex transition in the land and bureaucratic history of the Ottoman Empire[60].

Terzibaşoğlu defines a "universal" era of privatization wave from the eighteenth century to the nineteenth century. Allotting the land into plots or joining the smaller parcels into larger land pieces are two main tools of privatizing common or state lands[61]. According to Eda Güçlü, this transition of the land regime also includes the conception of waqf and mîrî lands in a way towards assimilating waqf property into mîrî category: "These changes aimed to increase agricultural production and enhance real estate values along with unlimited circulation of waqf and mîrî property in the economic sphere."[62]

She developed her MA research on analyzing *the icareteyn system, which is a long-term rent mechanism. She points out* the gradual development of private property through expanding the period of rents. The introduction of longer terms in renting waqf property is also related to the gradual centralization in waqf administration and the construction of modernity itself in property relations. Among the changes related to that transformations, she also mentions the expansion of inheritance rights[63].

[58] 1874 Land Register Code
[59] a liberal document indeed pointing out to the private property as İslamoğlu defines
[60] Kaya et al. "Tahrir'den Kadastro'ya: 1874 İstanbul Emlak Tahriri ve Vergisi: 'Kadastro tabir olunur tahrir-i emlak'"
[61] Terzibaşoğlu. "Eleni Hatun'un Zeytin Bahçeleri: 19. Yüzyılda Anadolu'da mülkiyet hakları nasıl inşa edildi?"
[62] Güçlü. Transformation of Waqf Property in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire.
[63] Ibid.

An example of the expansion of bureaucratic control over land is the 1858 regulation of the Sixth District Municipality of Galata and Pera[64], which cancels the imams and muhtars in rental management and paperwork authorizes the municipality and *Evkaf Nezareti*[65]. It transferred interpersonal relations on land issues to the *Evkaf Nezareti* to create central control over taxation[66]. Beforehand in 1826, *Evkaf-ı Hümâyûn Nezareti*[67] had been established with the intention of gain control over the waqfs[68]. To achieve that aim, the *Nezaret* replaced trustees who were the chief actors in waqf administration with state officials: "The expanding bureaucracy and deepening documentation within the body of the Nezaret mark the administrative and institutional constitution of a new waqf regime."[69]

İslamoğlu provides a critical perspective in scrutinizing the liberal discourse dominating the conception of the development of the private property. I will extend this to the history of urbanization in a broader context and argue that the dominant narrative follows the similar liberal path she points out[70]. Even though micro case studies are challenging that hegemonic perspective discourse over the urbanization of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century in the general context, there is still domination of some fallacies İslamoğlu mentions about private property.

> By confining this development to the "rational" responses of maximizing individuals engaged in exchange activities and to objectification of those responses in law, the liberal perspective abstracts private property from the power relations that were (and continue to be) constitutive of it.

[64] Kaya et al. "Tahrir'den Kadastro'ya: 1874 İstanbul Emlak Tahriri ve Vergisi: 'Kadastro tabir olunur tahrir-i emlak'"
[65] Evkaf Nezareti:
[66] Kaya et al. "Tahrir'den Kadastro'ya: 1874 İstanbul Emlak Tahriri ve Vergisi: 'Kadastro tabir olunur tahrir-i emlak'"
[67] Evkaf-ı Hümâyûn Nezareti
[68] Güçlü. Transformation of Waqf Property in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire.
[69] Güçlü. Transformation of Waqf Property in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire.
[70] İslamoğlu. "Property as a Contested Domain: A Reevaluation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858"

> Power relations, however, do not exist in isolation, but are part of historical contexts.[71]

In my opinion, the strong relation of two domains, property and urbanization, is the very motive behind that similarity of fallacy. So I will introduce some micro cases and my archival findings to build up a "map" of nineteenth-century urban narrative. My archival inventory will overlap private property and urbanization to discuss the urban unit of "mahalle" through a Marxist perspective.

Another problem İslamoğlu mentions is the institutional insularity in urban historiography. She uses the word "contingency" to refer to changing land regimes towards the free circulation of property[72]. She also emphasizes that conception of individual ownership led to a blurring of the context: "Individual ownership represented an abstraction of the property of the individual from the web of multiple entitlements to revenues from land and the diverse, shared claims over land use."[73]

Dwelling on those points, both in my general archival inventory and microanalysis, I will try to demonstrate that web of multiple entitlements and claims over land use. Then I will present how they affected the formation of a new urban space, a new kind of neighborhood constitution. In doing that, I will also try to challenge the institutional insularity problem by demonstrating the complex relations between various institutions engaged in the commodification of land. Also, I will cover the contingency concept by claiming that constructing a general frame of land transformations and transactions will lead us to a result that contingencies may be the pattern itself, once more questioning the exception and the norm. My effort is to

[71] İslamoğlu. "Property as a Contested Domain: A Reevaluation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858", 6-7.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid, 7.

uncover the different layers of operations of various scales in terms of space and sociality in the "age of the property."

> State practices were constitutive of relations of private ownership, which they ordered, classified, and defined. As such, these relations did not have an autonomous existence in a mystified sphere of the market or society outside of the orderings of the state.[74]

Another question is the standard negotiation argument as an alternative tool to reconstruct urban historiography rejecting the state-dominated perspective over the processes. The phrase "looking through the land" Yücel Terzibaşoğlu introduces is vital to change the mindset from state view to the social actors[75]. For instance, narratives are constructed upon the registrations, and just like the fires, those state documents set themselves as the initiator of a process. However, they are primarily produced in the middle of a turmoil of conflicts between many actors and classes. So the point Pinon makes is crucial to question the order of events, namely the de facto and de juro concerning the state and the landowner:

> Landowners never miss an opportunity to profit from their landholdings, and real estate investors exploit the chance to buy up cheap agricultural land and sell it at a much higher price. The possibility of easy and immediate profit turns owners into entrepreneurs: since this was favored by the public authority, for a long time it limited its function to the encounter- agement and control of private initiative. Public administration adopted the same method to increase land value, either directly or through registered intermediary agents.[76]

So looking through the level of the land, negations and conflicts arose not in a linear progressive and sequential manner. Also, the inclusion of actors into the urban narrative is tricky in terms of class conflicts. As mentioned before, about Neumann,[77] the municipality that implies the "localization" is the tool of very centralization. In

[74] İslamoğlu. "Property as a Contested Domain: A Reevaluation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858" 8.
[75] Terzibaşoğlu. "Eleni Hatun'un Zeytin Bahçeleri: 19. Yüzyılda Anadolu'da mülkiyet hakları nasıl inşa edildi?"
[76] Pinon. *"The Parceled City: Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century."*
[77] Neumann. "Modernitelerin Çatışması Altıncı Daire-i Belediye, 1857-1912."

contrast to the implication of the word local, it is mainly run by landowners and capitalists. This remark raises questions regarding the class aspects of negotiations and conflicts over land regarding economic and social capitals: Who can negotiate? Among the actors in the rivalry, who is most likely to define the new emerging structure? İslamoğlu's criticisms regarding liberal historiography also contain the alienation of the land from the web of social networks. Studies mostly following this critic constitute an essential corpus of microhistories.

> It entailed the legal constitution of land as a thing, alienable, disposable. Among other things, this presupposed the obliteration of the distinction between movable (goods) and immovable (land) property.[78]

In the context of the complexity of social and institutional networks, law and its relations with the religious discourses, capital and property associations, and institutional considerations are part and parcel of the web of power repeatedly mentioned. Antonis Hadjikyriacou states that customary law, which does not acknowledge the corporate entities but only individuals in alliance with the Islamic law, finds a way through the ambiguity of the term "custom" and through that looseness recognizes corporate entities in a manner that will fit the discourse of the individuality[79]. Also, Eda Güçlü, in her Ph.D. The thesis explains how capitalist modernity provides itself through the discourses of public good, justice, honor, etc., to the context of urban remediation. Through such concepts, even the conflicts with the Hanafi law can be exceeded utilizing the necessities of the public[80]. Those are also essential highlights in reading the documents to grasp the appropriations of the law by discourses for the sake of private property or capitalist urbanization.

[78] İslamoğlu. "Property as a Contested Domain: A Reevaluation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858"
[79] Hadjikyriacou. "Beyond the Millet Debate: Communal Representation in Pre-Tanzimat-Era Cyprus."
[80] Güçlü. Urban Tanzimat, Morality, and Property in the Nineteenth- Century İstanbul

> I have set myself the task of approaching (through sources which are often inadequate) the following questions. What occasioned the passage of the Act? Who were the 'Waltham Blacks'? Was the passage of the Act furthered by any identifiable lobby of special interests, or may it be considered as an act of Government tout court? To what functions was the Act (when passed) applied, and how did it take its place as part of the eighteenth-century code? Why was is so easy for the legislators of 1723 to write out this statue with blood?[81]

Those questions E.P. Thompson posed in his book Wigs and Hunters are very crucial in terms of urban history too[82]. It was discussed that urban history is mainly considered as a reaction to disasters such as fire or an earthquake or as an application of a preset agenda to mimic Western trends imported by state elites just for the sake of constructing an imperial image. Discussions on law and practice are meaningful in terms of the contribution of urbanites into the production of space and the tension between *de facto* and *de juro*. Questions Thompson arises may also be utilized by urban historians to demonstrate that law and application have complex relations shaped by the state and the other social actors, as I briefly touched. Ruth Kark also points out the relationship between *de facto* and *de juro,* claiming that de facto land privatization became de jure privatization[83].

> The development of the icâreteyn system from the sixteenth century onwards can also be reevaluated as the product of a pragmatist state in shaping laws and responsive to social and economic necessities. In other words, the state employed the icâreteyn system not at the expense of the rule that long-term leasing was non-şer'i, but by legalizing it based on necessity, usually resulting from fires. [84]

This quote from Eda Güçlü is essential in understanding that Ottoman Law was not a solid, merely religion-oriented one. Instead, it demonstrates intricate relations with the circulation of the capital and actors in that process. So one should ask the

[81] Thompson. Wigs and Hunters.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ruth. "Consequences of the Ottoman Land Law: Agrarian and Privatization Processes in Palestine, 1858-1918."
[84] Güçlü. Transformation of Waqf Property in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire.

fundamental question of "how it was implemented on the ground" to all juridical material under analysis. Like all fields of history, land and urban history is a very complex relationship. All state documents are only the stage of the many undercover operations and intentions that cannot be made discursively visible.

2.2 Escaping from the project and exception oriented discourses

Terzibaşoğlu mentions the phrase "privatization wave" in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a universal trend and gives the English case of *enclosure* and German case of *Teilung* and *Verkopplung* as examples of the land regime-changing methods[85]. In the Ottoman context, those concepts correspond to the terms ifraz and tevhid and are widely used as tools of property transformations for urban space production. As cases related to the *ifraz* and *tevhid* cover vast geography in the amount of land they affected and urbanized, studies dealing with the various modes of space production through those methods will open up new perspectives for spatial historiography. Post-fire applications are crucial in the understanding transformation of urban settings/ centers; however, for the suburban areas or empty landscapes especially *ifraz* is an essential keyword to trace. In this part, I will briefly cover some alternative narratives from literature, and then I will demonstrate my archival inquiry, as I touched upon previously.

> The property was no longer defined in relation to the revenues derived from land but in relation to the title to the land. This meant the end of multiplicity of claims on a single plot of land and the exclusion of many overlapping rights such as rights to passage, poaching, and grazing on a single plot, a transformation from multiple overlapping rights to individual rights. In parallel, the communal rights the nomads and the settled peasantry had on pastures, forests, and village commons, as well as the ill-defined proprietorship rights of the vakıf administrations on landed property were all in a process of erosion to the benefit of

[85] Terzibaşoğlu." Eleni Hatun'un Zeytin Bahçeleri: 19. Yüzyılda Anadolu'da mülkiyet hakları nasıl inşa edildi?"

> individual title a use, a transformation from communal to individual rights.[86]

There is a crucial difference between the different conditions *ifraz* and *tevhid* occurred and their different results. For instance, the case of Palestine demonstrates a transformation through *tevhid* and the creation of large land ownerships of urban effendis/ absentee landlords[87] . In contrast, the Anatolian story is mainly dominated by examples of ifraz that resulted in smaller, fragmented plots and ownership patterns. Yücel Terzibaşoğlu also emphasizes that the outcome of struggles on land varied according to the existing ways of land use and forms of property and the local balance of power[88]. Faruk Tabak mentions how small land ownerships had served as an obstacle for the colonial forces to penetrate and invade lands in the hinterland of Anatolia.[89] The case studies support his claim that uniting smaller land plots into large farms led the colonizers to become settlers more easily with collaboration with local upper classes having claims on those vast areas. From the perspectives of various historians, it is clear that the nineteenth century has created its unique modes of space production, and Ottoman Empire's integration into capitalism contains the privatization of land as an asset in the market. As the Empire covers vast geography demonstrating distinct characteristics, those methods vary in purpose, application, and outcomes.

In addition to discussion on law, capital, and bureaucracy, this period is marked with large migrations all over the country. Also, with rising documentation

[86] Terzibaşoğlu. "Landlords, Refugees and Nomads: Struggles for Land around Late-Nineteenth-Century Ayvalık."
[87] Ibid.
[88] Terzibaşoğlu. "Landlords, Refugees and Nomads: Struggles for Land around Late-Nineteenth-Century Ayvalık."
[89] Tabak. "Imperial rivalry and port-cities: a view from above"

and registration, "settlement" is an important issue, and this also reflects on the transformation of land usage patterns:

> For if the successive waves of immigrants changed the nature of the land conflicts, the new law and its categories altered the terms with which the conflict was fought and also affected the content of the various claims on land.[90]

Amid this turmoil of land transformation and migration, there were also unofficial ways of land usages. The cases of Kumkapı-Kadırga and Nişantaşı-Taşocağı demonstrates the settlement quest of immigrants in urban life who lack the necessary social networks[91]. The class-based aspect of negotiation overland with the state and the capacity of people to participate in owning the urban land as an asset is critical. There are records related to Jewish settlements in Uskudar Kuzguncuk[92]. Those settlements are mentioned as squatters, emphasizing the foul smell they cause for their surroundings[93]. In this part of the land story, people digging wells for their settlements become deviations from the modern discourse of infrastructure[94]. It should be noted that *ifraz* and *tevhid* or the post-fire regulations were directly related to the land ownership. So landless do not exist in the frame of *ifraz* and *tevhid* as they are tools of capitalism, and land ownership is the primary necessity of being the subject in that context.

To summarize the nineteenth-century environment in terms of land uses, one can grasp three general tendencies of space production:

- Turning various types of land categories into private property through parceling

[90] Terzibaşoğlu. "Landlords, Refugees and Nomads: Struggles for Land around Late-Nineteenth-Century Ayvalık."
[91] Yılgür. "19. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Teneke Mahalleler: Kumkapı- Kadırga ve Nişantaşı- Taşocağı Örnekleri."
[92] DH. MKT/ 1751-92. 29 Zilhicce 1307 (16 August, 1890)
[93] DH. MKT/ 1758- 28. 21 Muharrem 1308 (6 September, 1890)
[94] DH. MKT/ 1758- 41. 22 Muharrem 1308 (7 September, 1890)

- Transformation of miri or waqf lands to private property through uniting plots
- Claiming housing rights of the landless people over empty plots

So the existing literature provides a complex set of discussions and cases over land conflicts and transformations of the nineteenth century. Thus, I have tried to suggest some basic categories to frame this complexity. Now, I will try to locate my inventory of documents into that very rough framing attempt as one of the main methods of urbanization. In my last chapter, I will analyze this method in detail on one specific case. Still, my focus will be on parceling form. I will try to explain that it is a widely implemented phenomenon covering all necessary aspects of modernization such as infrastructure and social reinforcements and covered by the same discourse as discussed in detail.

2.3 An Inventory: İfraz as a tool of space production and urbanization in the nineteenth-century

Ottoman phrase for parceling is *ifraz* in legal terms; however, Thompson's question may be directed to the existence of *ifraz* applications even before it became an issue to be legally regulated. Before going into analysis, I have to explain the research process that led me to write my thesis on *ifraz* in the first place. It is crucial in terms of a methodological discussion because *ifraz* was not the starting point of the thesis. Still, it revealed itself as I was working on the narrative of establishing an Armenian neighborhood.

Icadiye, a trendy neighborhood with all facilities such as school, infrastructure, grid plan, and streets, was an agricultural area. And then, as it will be told in detail, the area became an urban neighborhood. The transformation was

through the method of *ifraz*, which means dividing land into lots. However, based on existing literature, I framed my archival findings as an exceptional case in the urbanization of İstanbul. In the process of trying to set a theoretical frame for my case study in the general context, the expressions in the documents resembled the transformation process of Feneryolu Neighborhood of Kadıköy, which I had worked on my first MA thesis[95]. This neighborhood was an area composed of wooden mansions and large yards and gardens. Then in the early twentieth century, the site had been divided into plots, which was the beginning point of an unending urbanization process. However, in 2013, in my archival research on the twentieth century, I had considered this transformation as an exception. In the minimal sources I had found, the plots' division was claimed to be the result of migration of the elites related to the palace due to political turmoil[96]. So this elite suburb was again floating in the sphere of exception.

Remembering the open question I had left in Feneryolu and following these clues in fragments, the very repetitive phrase of "parça parça" which implies "piece by piece" stroked my attention documents on Icadiye. After getting permission, the landowner divided the land into pieces and sold those "pieces" to the people who wanted to buy (*parça parça ifraz edilerek taliplerine füruhtu*). Then I decided to go after that phrase in the archive, and I searched the digital library without any period restriction. This kind of search aimed to catch both the continuity and the breaking point, and it came out that "*parça parça*" had never been used referring to land before 1839. Until that very significant turn in time, parça parça had transformed from an adjective defining traditional assets to a phrase related to the land becoming

[95] Arıkan. Transformation of the urban space and stratification in the housing stock: The case of Feneryolu Neighborhood.
[96] Ibid.

a commodity, a real estate. Ammunition (mühimmat), cereal (zahire), poll tax (cizye), debt (borç), bread (peksimad), wire (saf tel), money (para), paint (boya), the sum of money (mebaliğ), expenditure (masraf), wheat (buğday), rent (kira), subsistence (harcırah), revenue (irad), lead (kurşun) are keywords that are used with parça parça, meaning the sale of items piece by piece. Until 1839 no implication of land can be divided and sold in the market is mentioned in the archive. This absence doesn't mean that there was no application of parceling before 1839; however, it is clear that it was not applied in the manner of other assets that can be properties to be divided and sold. With the introduction of the Tanzimat Edict, the land was listed as a good that was split into pieces and circulated in the capitalist market.

Urbanization itself was the very tool for integration to capitalism of the Empire. Five hundred ninety documents were found in the digital Ottoman archive repeating "*parça parça*" for various types of land such as garden, yard, forest, mansion plot, swamps, farms, fields, military lands, and even the slippery lands filled with the waves of the sea were to divide and sell. Therefore the after-fire interventions and attempts for large-scale urban plans were only the tip of the iceberg. All types of land were under a rapid and continuous flow of *ifraz*, which was the backbone of nineteenth-century urbanization. Neither İcadiye nor Feneryolu was examples on their own. They were just two cases of the apparent typical pattern of how urban land had been produced out of any land that could be divided and sold, and the nineteenth-century neighborhoods had been constructed this way.

Yücel Terzibaşoğlu points out the difficulty of writing land history since "many of the files are incomplete, that is, one file contains information only on some part of a dispute, and it is in most cases impossible to go through the history of a

conflict from start to finish in one file."[97] However, regarding this set of documents, I am not after complete stories of specific cases. Instead, I am interested in a pattern that displays the mechanism of urbanization on a larger scale throughout the Empire in approximately 70 years, starting with 1839, Tanzimat Edict. So this nature of the archive does not constitute an obstacle for the scope of this chapter. The aim here is to see the transformation of land into a commodity and how modern space production with all aspects was embedded in the integration to capitalism of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century.

2.4 Selling the land piece by piece and commodification on the environment

In this part, I will go into a detailed analysis of the chart that 590 ifraz documents through some themes to provide my intended frame in the relation between modern urbanization and capitalism. First of all, I will demonstrate the main types of land under the target of this massive dividing and selling process.

This first document is about selling a vegetable garden (*bostan*) through division into plots, called "ifraz," as mentioned[98]. Proceeding from that moment, there are 590 entries, covering approximately 70 years span. Early records, almost until the 1880s, are primarily from various parts of İstanbul and gradually spreads towards provinces. In the documents, farms (*çiftlik arazisi*), fields (*tarla*), gardens (*bahçe*), vegetable gardens (*bostan*), police station (*karakolhane*), backhouse (*müştemilat*), forest (*orman*), terrain (*arazi*), vineyard (*bağ*), ruined vineyard (*harap bağ*), waqf terrain (*vakıf mahalleri*), waterside residence (*sahilhane arsası*), waqf garden (*vakıf bostanı*), public/state land (*mîrî arazi*), mountain terrain (*dağ mahalli*),

[97] Yücel. "'A very important requirement of social life:' Privatization of Land, Criminalization of Custom, and Land Disputes in Nineteenth Century Anatolia."
[98] HAT/ 682-33206- 1254-1839 (no date could be read)

candle production center (*mumhane arsası*), vacant land (*boş arazi*), graveyard (*kabristan*), private-registered land (*tapulu arazi*) and even as an extreme of case shore land occurred as a result of the waves (*deniz dalgaları sonucu meydana gelen arazi*) are mentioned as the types of lands that were divided into plots and sold.

Those documents are not merely denoting the parceling but they also reveal an important aspect of space production which is the establishment of a modern neighborhood as the ultimate aim of those transactions. Most of the summaries contain the aim of building construction (*ebniye inşa olunmak üzere*) which implies that those divisions are intended for construction. As most of the lands in question are agricultural lands, this is also a substantial environmental transformation. Some of them are related to the production of agricultural land but that kind of transformation doesn't dominate the main pattern: "Samsun ile Çarşamba arasındaki Gelemiş sazlığının ıslah edilip numune çiftliği yapılarak ziraate açılıp parça parça satılması."[99] It is essential to mention that there is the same pattern of parceling and producing more ownership on land, even in the form of that transaction.

Returning to the urbanization narrative of the documents, as I mentioned before, the tool of ifraz is utilized to transform land in terms of property and environmental interference, and social structuring. Those documents are the records of the birth of a nineteenth-century neighborhood production. Remembering Lefebvre's conception of space, this tool provides an effective tool to elaborate the abstract spaces into socially and physically constructed economic commodities. Going into detail of the 590 documents, main themes related to this concept of "*mahalle teşkili*" can be extracted:

1- Construction of sewage system and division of the cost to the land owners:

[99] ML. EEM/1209-5. 13 Teşrinievvel 1322 (26 November, 1906)

Bakırköy'de daha önce sahipleri tarafından yollar açılmadan parça parça satılan ve üzerine binalar yapılan arsaların lağım masraflarının ilk sahiplerinden alınmasının Şehremanti'ne bildirildiği[100]

2- Expropriation of land from the parceling to establish a road network

Sultan Bayezid Evkafı'ndan Ayastefanos karyesinde çeşitli kimseler olan ve yola bırakılacak yerler dışında kalan kısımlarının parça parça satılmasına karar verilen bağlar.[101]

3- Expropriation of land from the parceling in order to establish school

Osman ve Ohannes Beylerin Tarabya'daki arazilerini parça parça satarak mahalle oluşturdukları bu sebepler ayrılması gereken mektep yerinin harita üzerinde işaretlenmesi gerektiği. [102]

4- Expropriation of land from the parceling to establish place of worship

5- Expropriation of land from the parceling in order to establish police station

Defter emin-I esbak mütevaffa Hacı Yusuf Rıza evkafından olup Kuyumcu Agopa'a ait olan Kadıköy'ünde Kuşdili adlı mahallede bulunan bağının imar düzenlemesi yapılarak taliplerine parça parça satılmasına ruhsat verildiği ve bu bağın bir kısmına karakolhane yapılacağı.[103]

6- Mapping the transactions:

Makriköy'de, gediği Sultan Mahmud Han-ı sani Hazretleri ve zimmeti merhum Sadullah Efendi vakıflarından olan arazinin, parça parça olarak taliplerine satılmasına izin verildiği ve bunun için de haritasının Şehremaneti'ne gönerdildiği[104]

In addition to those categories, there are also records mentioning the fees expected for the municipal operations. Maps demanded to be represented to confirm the validity of the divisions and licenses for building constructions. Those issues are loaded with conflicts and discussions between landowners and state of in-between various state institutions. All these records represent a process of *de facto* and *de juro* constructing each other in a dialectical relationship, and the negotiations are continuous over the costs of space production.

[100] DH. UMVM/ 103-21. 20 Cemaziyelahir 1339 (1 March, 1921)
[101] A. MKT. MHM/468-82. 28 Şaban 1290 (21 November, 1873)
[102] MF. MKT/1165-35. 7 Muharrem 1329 (8 January, 1911)
[103] A. MKT. MHM/ 446-84. 5 Zilhicce 1289 (3 February, 1873)
[104] DH. MKT/ 691-33. 25 Muharrem 1321 (23 April, 1903)

An early document dated 1860 states that excess or deficient division of land between landowners should be appropriated during the division of vineyards, fields, and gardens. The issue of justice is a pervasive theme in the documents, whether related to the land area or the fees demanded by the official processes.

> Maksud Tarabyan'ın Erenköy Cisr-I Derbend isimli mahallede sahibi olduğu araziyi parça parça satarak mahalleye dönüştürmesinde kendisinden kanunsuz para taleb edildiğine dair müracaatının tahkiki.[105]

In this example, there is an objection to the fees related to the establishment of the neighborhood. There are also discussions on the expropriations and the ratios of the plot areas, the population of the district, and the area spared for the social functions, especially for schools[106]. In a document dated 1883, a regulation about the areas of school plots per neighborhood is suggested as editing in the Ebniye Nizamnamesi, probably due to the feedback from the actors in the process of land transactions.

When the land is mîrî type of land, it is seen that the expression "to be sold" is exchanged with "distribution." This difference is grasped however it should be studied in detail whether this sale and distribution implies different processes: "Bağdad vilayeti dahilinde dört muhtelif isimle dört kısma ayrılan mîrî arazinin parça parça ahaliye taksimi hakkında."[107]

As briefly analyzed over the 590 entries in the archive containing the phrase "parça parça," it is seen that parceling was not merely an operation to renewing old fabrics or after-fire areas. Indeed it was a tool to produce urban spaces out of "empty" landscapes of various types.

[105] DH. MKT/2301-20. 4 Şevval 1317 (5 February, 1900)
[106] I.MMS/ 74-3365.
[107] Y.A. RES/ 37-16. 20 Cemaziyelahir 1304 (11 August, 1906)

2.5 İcadiye as newly established settlement

To understand why the neighborhood is called İcadiye, I will use a different set of geographically unrelated documents to the case study itself. Numerous settlements are organizing, especially the migrant (*muhacir*) settlements, naming those settlements as İcadiye, which derives from the Arabic root vucûd (existence), implying the meaning of coming into existence. Word can be translated as invented, a new being coming into physical reality, and it is a crucial naming in terms of its relationship with migration. Not all newly established places were named İcadiye. Still, it is common usage in various geographies of the Empire, and also, as mentioned before, the micro case study of my research is a neighborhood called İcadiye. So I will utilize this to discuss the connection between *ifraz*, rising demand for smaller plots in urban landscapes, and migration.

Fulya Özkan states that in the nineteenth century, peasants' need for cash was a source of crisis, and the government's solution to that was promoting the commercialization of agriculture[108]. Provinces had to be more accessible through the extension of the road network. The state's two primary considerations were to extract resources from interior regions to create a market economy and increase state control over the larger Ottoman territory. However, this aim of unifying the imperial market led the Ottoman peasantry to lose their food supplies and become more vulnerable to famine.

> Thus, while roads were initially seen as a means of unifying the imperial market, and bringing prosperity and welfare to the Ottoman countryside, they also contributed to the decline in peasants' self-sufficiency.[109]

[108] Özkan. "Unification of the Market, Fragmentation of the People: Famine and Migration on the Trabzon-Bayezid Road in the Late Ottoman Empire."
[109] Ibid.

As a result of declining self-sufficiency, the roads aiming to control the provinces became a channel for the peasants to flow through the city centers to find new ways of coping with their struggle to earn a living.

> First and foremost, roads did not provide a one-way trip from the center to the frontiers. While they certainly improved the ability of the central government to infiltrate the local life of the provinces, the population of these provinces also used the same social space to leave the localities where life had become too difficult. Hence, the roads did not necessiarily enhance the capacity of the center to change the local, but also generated a venue for the local to affect the center, and provided mobility not only to state agents but also to many actors.[110]

For İstanbul, this leads to a population rise with many other migration waves, from 356.000 to 910.00 between 1844 and 1914. The mechanisms of overlaps between the migrants and the types of accommodation strategies in the city cannot be explained from one perspective; however, the rising demand for plots and housing must have a relationship with the crisis in the periphery.

In addition to this, it is also known that the Armenian peasantry was in crisis in the nineteenth century. The expansion of Armenian territory in İstanbul must be strongly related to that. My point from this brief introduction of agricultural crisis and migration suggests the idea of the connectedness of urbanization with the countryside. It is a well-known relationship, and it is important to repeat and emphasize that in the context of urbanization through parceling to have a mental map of the atmosphere that hundreds of petitions were written to divide extensive lands from various types of uses and property relations into small plots to build houses and establish neighborhoods. The word "*talipleri*" in the documents indicates a population flow that will demand the place. However, this is too large of a topic to

[110] Özkan. "Unification of the Market, Fragmentation of the People: Famine and Migration on the Trabzon-Bayezid Road in the Late Ottoman Empire."

discuss in detail here. For the scope of my research, it is only a reminder to understand that massive parceling was not context-free.

Before passing through my microanalysis of İcadiye, I will give the historical background of the geographic and social context of Uskudar being an Armenian district in terms of habitation and as a communal center. It is also essential to challenge the Islamic city conception to place other actors as the subjects, not the mere objects of space production processes. As Uskudar being a physical space that Armenians live and a communal center for the more comprehensive geography, the continuity is important to place the nineteenth-century mode of neighborhood production into that context. So, urbanization is continuous, adaptive to new conditions, and ruptures are fluid components of a more extensive process.

CHAPTER 3

EMERGENCE AND SPATIALIZATION OF ARMENIAN COMMUNITY IN USKUDAR

This chapter will briefly explain how Uskudar became an Armenian community center and how Armenians produced a settlement space since the seventeenth century, starting with one neighborhood and expanding from a center, creating the more extensive urban geography of Uskudar. This way, Icadiye, the case study of this thesis, will not be considered a detached, exclusive case. The historical continuity will also provide the spatial integrity of an urban sprawl process that ends with nineteenth-century neighborhoods.

> Our street led up to the Selamsiz market and down to the Greek and Armenian neighborhoods of Scutari. Our house was precisely between them. Our neighbors were wealthy, well-established families of craftsmen. The part of our street that led up to Selamsiz was lined with old houses that once belonged to the amiras. Their current residents traced their origins to a variety of towns and villages across Anatolia; withdrawing into their large, crumbling houses, these families led parsimonious lives and clung to the last remnants of their homes' former glory. Keeping to themselves, they grew old in these houses and, like vultures, shot sharp, suspicious glances at everyone around them. Some of these old families did not have the means to repair their rundown homes and abandoned them to live in their stables or servants' quarters. Very few children from those families lived to adulthood, but those who survived usually became coachmen, stable hands or doormen. One of them became a school caretaker, who led students to school with basket s full of food.[111]

Yesayan gives us a snapshot of Selamsız of Uskudar from the end of the nineteenth century. As today Selamsız is known to be an "old Armenian Neighborhood" without the "old Armenian community," Yesayan's image demonstrates how radical space change can be. Finbarr Barry Flood criticizes modern urban historiographers for assuming that the past is a universe where people and things had their proper places.

[111] Yesayan. The Gardens of Silahdar.

He states: “People and things have been mixed for a very long time, rarely conforming to the boundaries imposed on them.”[112] In contemporary politics, the urban space of Uskudar is very much associated with an Islamic character, which overshadows its historical background. As Al Sayyad emphasizes that the constructed-ness of identity is more important than its rootedness[113], thus I want to scrutinize Uskudar to challenge its contemporary perception in the twenty-first century. As doing this, my aim is not to take Yesayan’s narrative for granted. Instead, I will try to understand how the identity she assigns to Uskudar was constructed in time. How is a piece of city labeled as an Armenian neighborhood? What does an “old Armenian neighborhood” means? Perhaps rather than searching for an Armenian setting in Uskudar, it would be more proper to trace the transformation of space and communities related to political, demographic, and economic events.

> The history of space does not have to choose between 'processes' and 'structures,' change and invariability, events and institutions. Its periodizations, moreover, will differ from generally accepted ones. Naturally, the history of space should not be distanced in any way from the history of time (a history clearly distinct from all philosophical theories of time in general). The departure point for this history of space is not to be found in geographical descriptions of natural space, but rather in the study of natural rhythms, and of the modification of those rhythms and their inscription in space by means of human actions, especially work-related actions. It begins, then, with the spatio-temporal rhythms of nature as transformed by a social practice.[114]

As Lefevbre brilliantly elaborates, space is not dependent on time, so one should ask “when” and “how” to deal with the historiography of area. Although my departure point is “searching for an Armenian neighborhood,” my main attempt will be to

[112] Flood. “Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval “Hindu-Muslim” Encounter.”
[113] Alsayyad, “Hybrid Culture/Hybrid Urbanism: Pandora’s Box of the ‘Third Place’”

[114] Lefebvre. The Production of Space.

frame the "spatialization of Armenian community in a particular space in a particular period."

Uskudar was under constant transformation in time, and it once became a space inhabiting the Armenian community. This community appropriated that space until the Armenian Genocide in 1915 shattered Armenians' established lives in Ottoman realms. In 2019, although the church is still active and Armenians still survive as dispersed and diminished residents. To understand this process of emerging and vanishing, first I will try to construct an image of Uskudar in the sixteenth century before the Armenian community established their first neighborhoods called Yenimahalle and Selamsız. This periodization will be more precise by discussing the seventeenth-century transformations, but briefly referring to sixteenth-century documents will reveal a fundamental shift in the spatial and demographic organization at the turn of the century.

I analyzed Muhimme and Court registers and framed Uskudar from administrative, demographic, and spatial perspectives. After giving a sense of sixteenth-century Uskudar, I zoomed out. I tried to elaborate on political conflicts and demographic shifts of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that influenced the emergence of the Uskudar Armenian community. Mass migrations due to Celali Revolts, hardships of the Little Ice Age, and political rivalries in Istanbul will demonstrate the connections between various Ottoman Empire geographies. In that context, Uskudar will gain a unique character rather than a rural extension of the capital.

As I lack the necessary language skills in the Armenian language, I will refer to the translated works of Eremya Çelebi Kömürciyan, Ghukas Inciciyan, and Sarkis Sarraf Hovhannesyan to trace the emergence of the Armenian community as a

community organized itself in a particular space. I will refer to secondary sources that elaborated various Armenian sources to extend my discussion on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as the emergence and rising of the Uskudar Armenians as a community. This process lasts until 1915 despite periodic ruptures and projects itself on space. Yeni Mahalle and Selamsız extends through Bağlarbaşı and Icadiye in nineteenth century. It is a specific period in Uskudar's urban history marked with a demographic and spatial escalation of Western Armenians. This paper will elaborate on the early times of that particular period.

3.1 Uskudar in the sixteenth century before the *"Ermeni taifesi."*[115]

Baber Johansen discusses the concepts of town, city, suburb, and village concerning different law schools of Islam. Among various definitions of a town, he concludes that "a town should be a comprehensive social and political entity embracing various groups, rallying different factions into one community and uniting them under one leadership."[116] Also, he points out the existence of a representative of the state, who is the qadı in the context of the Ottoman realm in the early modern period. [117] It is crucial to discuss the position of that space before the changes to understand how Uskudar had been transformed.

Tarih-i Naima, a chronicle covering a period between 1566-1687, contains many passages related to Uskudar. The approach of this narrative to Uskudar, strongly through its position regarding the court and themes are based on military

[115] This definition emerges in the registers from 1579 to refer to the Armenians in Uskudar. Beforehand only few records mentions Armenians in more individual terms. Mostly construction workers are referred by the term which means "Armenian group/ community". This can be considered as a passage between individual Armenians through Armenian millet.
[116] Johansen. "The all-embracing town and its mosques: al-misr al gâmi'…,"
[117] Ibid.

actions and political conflicts[118]. As Mehmet Yaşar Ertaş focuses on Uskudar as a place of power and conflict, also he mentions its strong connections with Anatolia and Istanbul[119]. Ertaş emphasizes that Uskudar is an essential node of roads and an alternative imperial space, a prevalent theme in Naima. 1609 migration of court to Uskudar due to the shortage of goods coming through the port is only one of the various cases demonstrating court mobility between Uskudar and Istanbul[120]. In terms of trade and military actions, being a gate or a border are the most prominent and inevitable characteristics of Uskudar. However, this kind of framing excludes the very space itself, limiting it to its relations with other referential areas, which many historians consider more important.

According to Giulia Annalinda Neglia, urban historiography demonstrated a tendency to ignore the structural tendencies and different declinations of each city -as she calls "urban organism." The use of new sources gives an insight into cities as an alternative to the top-down approach and brings the unique experiences and processes of urban lives of Islamic cities[121].

In terms of elaborating Uskudar's history in its individuality, one should also challenge the very established weight of Istanbul above all other cities and the idea of control of the capital over the rest, which is a highly determining factor in urban historiography. Recent studies suggest that strict centrality was not what the Ottomans achieved; it was a fine-tuned, flexible, and surprisingly non-central urban policy[122]. In terms of administrative definition, Uskudar with Eyüp and Galata was

[118] Naima. Naima Tarihi: Ravzatü'l-Hüseyin fi hulasati ahbari'l-hafikeyn, 1128/ 1716.
[119] Ertaş. "Osmanlı Döneminde İktidar ve Mekan: 17. Yüzyılda Politik Bir Mekan Olarak Üsküdar."
[120] Ibid.
[121] Gaube, "Iranian Cities"
[122] Eldem. "İstanbul: İmparatorluk Payitahtından Periferileşmiş Bir Başkente."

one of the *Bilâd-ı Selâse*[123]. It was a concept referring to the three *mevleviyets*[124], meaning the highest-ranking qadı statues dependent on Istanbul[125]. So as reflected in Naima, Uskudar mainly was perceived concerning *the capital*. Yasemin Nemlioğlu Koca states that Uskudar was a spot to project maps of Istanbul as it was considered the city's gate[126]. However, one should question whether Uskudar was merely the border of Anatolia, the entrance to Istanbul, or one of the three units mentioned with Istanbul.

In the Tahrir records of 1546, it is again mentioned as kasaba.[127] However, in court registers from the early times on, Uskudar is mentioned as Nefs-i Uskudar[128], which according to Ahmet Güneş, is an ambiguous term implying a city[129]. Derek Keene defines cities as the densification of human contacts and skills necessary to develop complex manufactures, exchanges, and cultures[130]. Cities provide a place of refuge and also function as sites of authority. From those aspects, Uskudar fits into the definition of town and city. It is the node of trade roads, provides an extensive

[123] https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/bilad-i-selase
[124] https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/mevleviyet
[125] https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/istanbul-kadiligi
[126] Nemlioğlu Koca.. "Khyrsopolis, Scutari, Eskidar, Usgüdâr: Tarihi Haritalarda Üsküdar"
[127] Barkan, Ömer Lûtfi., and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi. İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrîr Defteri: 953 (1546) Târîhli. İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1970.
Registers from tahrir defter refers Uskudar as kasaba as in the case of that example: "Bağçe der kasabe-I Üsküdar be-nezd-I 'imaret-I Davud Paşa Hududi bağçe-I Hasan ve bağçe-i Hayruddin ve taarîk-I 'âm ve hâs zevcesi 'Âişe'ye ve 'atîkı Ahmed'e vakfetmiştir."
[128] İstanbul kadı sicilleri Üsküdar mahkemesi 1 numaralı sicil (H.919-927 / M. 1513-1521) / Bilgin Aydın, Ekrem Tak ; proje yönetmeni M. Akif Aydın ; ed. Coşkun Yılmaz. İstanbul : Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi (İSAM), 2008.
In the earliest records Uskudar is mentioned as nefs, as in the case of that example: "Oldur ki nefs-i Uskudar'da kendi husn-i ihtiyarlarıyla ekmekci nasb olunup darrada ve serrada daima şehre ekmek bulmağa iltizam edip uzerlerine Dellak Hızır b. Abdullah kethuda nasb olunup her gun işlemeğe multezim oldu. Ve sairleri iki gunde bir işlemeğe kabul eden bunlardır ki zikr olunur. Evranos ve Ali ve İsa bir gun işleyeler ve ertesi Elhac Abdullah ve Hacı ve Hacı Ali işleyeler, munavebe uzere. Daima ekmek bulmadıkları takdirde kānun uzere siyaset olunalar."
[129] Güneş, Ahmet. 16. Ve 17. Yüzyıllarda Üsküdar'ın mahalleleri ve nüfusu. Uluslararası Üsküdar sempozyumu I : 23-25 Kasım 2013, İstanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi. pp. 42-57.
[130] Keene, Derek. "Cities and Cultural Exchange," in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe* vol. 2: *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400-1700* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 3-27.

exchange of goods, houses both migrants and fugitives, and has had a qadı since the early sixteenth century.

So to understand Uskudar's unique position, documents from the 16th century may give better ideas. A section from the Muhimme Register of 1559 is about the people assigned for a specific job definition called "fundacı" It demands the qadı to inform the court about the numbers of people assigned from the villages Kuzguncuk, Istavroz, and Çenger[131]. Remembering the discussion of Johansen, qadı of Uskudar seems to be controlling a vast area containing various quarters, towns, suburbs. Muhimme registers also show how waqfs were significant in terms of relating to different geographies. Records from the 5th Muhimme book demonstrate that Uskudar was connected to Tekfurdağı, Çatalca, Kaferye, Dubrovnik, etc., in economic terms and providing necessary goods. These connections prove that more than being in control over its subunits, Uskudar had distinct relations with provinces. Many examples of Muhimmes contain orders to qadı to capture fugitives, levends, and slaves and deliver to Istanbul. As an excellent example of the sphere of the influence of qadı, a register from1560 orders the qadı not to give allowance to the people who are not authorized to sell salt in Tuzla[132]. This case is essential to demonstrate the extent of the borders of Uskudar as a town and how far the authority of the qadı reaches[133]. Also, the suburban areas of Uskudar are visible in that kind of record. Another record from 5.10.1565 (326) is about the grapes and control of wine production covers Maltepe, Kartal, and Darıca. It is striking to see that Uskudar court registers are dealing with a tremendous amount of villages, suburban areas, and quarters.

[131] Muhimme register from the 3rd book, number 571 from 04.12.1559
[132] Muhimme Register number 1013 from 16.06.1560
[133] Muhimme Register number 1013 from 16.06.1560

In many records, there is an ambiguity, whether Uskudar is a city on its own or is it a subunit (suburb) of Istanbul, the capital. It demonstrates the necessary functions of a town; however, being close to the capital and strong connection with the court blurs the difference. In that sense, it is worth considering the definition of "nefs-i Uskudar" in court registers. As *kasaba* in Muhimme and Tahrir books, court registers reveal a different conception of the same space with the term "nefs," implying a sense of a city.

Records in Court registers between 1513 and 1591 do not demonstrate a clear distinction between those spatial units in terms of activities such as agriculture, real estate sales, issues related to boundary violations, production, and exchange of goods. However, administratively both in Muhimmes and Court records, a spatial hierarchy was constructed. Thus, one should consider that state definitions may not overlap with the daily routines experienced in space and avoid ignoring the porosities inhabited in the studied cases.

From that aspect, the widely accepted definition of *mahalle* (quarter) as a well-defined unit containing defined groups of populations should not be taken for granted. Kafescioğlu reveals that documents of the fifteenth century suggest a cellular structure implying a division of quarters (mahallat); however, this cellularity seems to be on the minds of surveyors. She challenges the view of Inalcık[134] towards *mahalle* as the unit structured around a mosque through many examples that do not fit that definition. Many neighborhoods are named after a bath or a known person from that quarter. She also emphasizes that this definition established a hierarchy between religious structures and conceptualized a framework focusing on change and flexibility. The space reflected on legal documents may not correspond to the city's

[134] Kafescioğlu. "Istanbul Inhabited"

physical and social configurations. The physical and social boundaries of units tend to be amorphous, porous, and open to transformations[135].

Another biased category towards Ottoman urban space is the ethnic division it is claimed to inhabit. In her work on Balat, Karen Leal reminds that associating an ethnic identity with a particular space ignores the fact that various elements had influence on social, economic, cultural, demographic, and architectural significance of a district[136]. Even though many urban historians support the idea of a cellular structure implying that deported Muslim and non-Muslim communities had been settled separately to residential quarters defined by their religious structures, Kafescioğlu demonstrates that 1540 and 1454 poll-tax registers bring up a more heterogeneous spatial organization:

> The range of names one encounters in the waqf documents of the later fifteenth century within particular quarters shows that ethnic (and religious, linguistic, and cultural) homogeneity marked only some areas of the city at the time.

In many court records of Uskudar, the very same quarters contain Greek, Armenian and Muslim residents in interaction. However, those registers from the sixteenth century point out demography consisting of Greeks and Muslims dominating the space, and Armenians are seen only in few records, mainly in the caravanserai. Only in the later register from the end of the sixteenth century a new definition as "Ermeni taifası" emerged and became widely mentioned[137]. As Marc David Baer argues, it may be interpreted as the trigger point of the shift from Jews through Christians to serve critical positions in the palace[138]. The following parts of the chapter will discuss how the Armenian community was raised to be a millet with strong

[135] Ibid.
[136] Leal. "The Balat District of Istanbul: Multiethnicity of the Golden Horn"
[137] That term had been discussed in footnote number 5 through court registers.
[138] Baer. "The Great Fire of 1660 and the Islamization of Christian and Jewish Space in Istanbul."

connections with the court and how they built up their communities socially, politically, and spatially.

3.2 Collapse of Eastern Armenian spaces and appropriating Istanbul as the new homeland

> Foundations of Armenia had collapsed/ it was destroyed to the end/ had started in 1591/ had lasted until 1611/ many evil had been witnessed/ the world of Armenians had been wiped out.[139]

As mentioned before, in the early court records of Uskudar, only very few registers would mention Armenians. However, through the late 1sixteenth century, "Ermeni taifası" emerges. As it is also known for us today, Uskudar has a district with "old Armenian neighborhoods" then in between the late sixteenth century and nineteenth century, a shift in demography must have occurred.

Shapiro's Celali Revolts mark the end of the sixteenth century and early seventeenth-century Ottoman historians and Armenian colophones. They are instructive in terms of the social consequences of the events and give an idea about the drought, famine, and poverty due to the Little Ice Age. Ottoman historians are not very concerned with the conditions of the non-Muslim parts of the society; however, colophones open the door to that side of the rebellions and the climate change[140]. Shapiro refers to some pieces from those manuscripts from the early seventeenth century to demonstrate the Armenian community's hardships in Anatolia. Poet Azarya talked about the destroyed cities, demolished churches, and shattered crosses in the early seventeenth century.

[139] Shapiro. "17.Yüzyıl Osmanlı- Ermeni Sosyal ve Entelektüel Tarihine Aralanan Yeni Bir Pencere: Ermenice El Yazması Kolofonlar"
[140] Ibid.

Another example of Colophones from 1608 conveys events of cannibalism and insanity out of hunger. Shapiro warns the reader against the possibility of exaggerating the narratives; however, he emphasizes that those texts demonstrate the existence of extreme famine. He also mentions that there are stories of cannibalism in Arabic texts.[141] The piece quoted below dates back to 1608, and it's clearly understood that by then Eastern community had already migrated:

> When the lands of Ararat became desolate once more, a gang of thieves (called Celalis) arrived from the Turkish side and settled there and they committed many crimes against the [Armenian] people who were already left a few in number.[142]

In this context, Sultans, namely Ahmed I was important figures for the Anatolian Armenian community. Also Ottoman paşas, such as Kuyucu Murad Paşa, had become saviors from Celalis. Shapiro points out the irony of the source of this grand vizier's title, "Kuyucu," from his vast number of wells for the people he murdered. However, in the context of famine and conflict with Celalis, state representatives had been the supporter of the authors of colophones[143].

Colophones also reveal that Armenians fleeing from that environment was finding refugee in Istanbul. A certain Krikor from Kemah depicted the migration to Istanbul by thanking Kuyucu and Ahmed I: "They are now under the shadow of the king."

Those narratives give clues about the emerging relationships with the fleeing Armenian community and the Ottoman state. Those colophones from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries referred to West Anatolia as Greek homeland, and those lands were foreign. That migration was massive as it is mentioned in

[141] Shapiro. "17.Yüzyıl Osmanlı- Ermeni Sosyal ve Entelektüel Tarihine Aralanan Yeni Bir Pencere: Ermenice El Yazması Kolofonlar"
[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid.

Turkish sources as "büyük kaçgunluk dönemi"[144] and Armenians from East Anatolia had brought an intellectual life to Istanbul, which is marked by the trigger of the emergence of a Western Armenian community as stated by Shapiro:

> At about the same time in Eastern Anatolia and Cilicia, the Celali Revolts, war with Persia, famine, and –in general- the various political and environmental consequences of the "Little Ice Age" would lead to chaos and starvation, causing a mass migration in 1603-1607 from the eastern peripheries of the Ottoman Empire to more secure territories in Western Anatolia, Istanbul and Thrace.[145]

He suggests that the seventeenth century witnessed a progress in intellectual productivity compared to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and connects that to the transculturation with mass migration[146]. Also, Hagop Barsoumian states that the population of *Hocas,* the aristocratic community leaders of the Armenian community, rose in Istanbul after the sixteenth century[147]. Barsomuian mentions two *hocas* from Van called Alhas Hoca and Khaçadur Hoca. They had submitted a petition in 1671 to reduce taxes, which were very heavy for people and achieved to an extent. From that quotation, it is understood that through the end of the seventeenth-century Armenian community was more established and had a considerable influence on the court. However, Polina Ivanova quotes from an Armenian source called Nshanean by Eremia Kömürciyan that the seventeenth century witnessed crowds of orphans, widows, migrants, sick and urban poor left without communal protection. Eremia Çelebi was critical of the Armenians in comparison to the Jewish community's better understanding of caring for the poor and needy[148]:

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[144] Akdağ. Büyük Celâlî Karışıklıklarının Başlaması.
[145] Shapiro. "17.Yüzyıl Osmanlı- Ermeni Sosyal ve Entelektüel Tarihine Aralanan Yeni Bir Pencere: Ermenice El Yazması Kolofonlar"
[146] Shapiro. "17.Yüzyıl Osmanlı- Ermeni Sosyal ve Entelektüel Tarihine Aralanan Yeni Bir Pencere: Ermenice El Yazması Kolofonlar"
[147] Barsoumian. İstanbul'un Ermeni Amiralar Sınıfı.
[148] Ivanova. "Armenians in Urban Order and Disorder of Seventeenth-Century Istanbul"

> The example is telling because it demonstrates that the urban poor, visible in shared urban spaces, provided a point of comparison and competition between religious communities of Istanbul. Eremia defines the obligations of Armenian communal leadership by observing the actions of the Jewish counterpart and setting them as an example for Armenians to follow.[149]

Barsomuian's framing of the elite class of the Armenian community suggests that *Hocas*, which became *Çelebis* in the seventeenth century, had gained more influential positions. As a result, they had lost their "patriotic" sensations as their actions were strongly related to capital, so they became too attached to Turkish bureaucracy. The limits of the Ottoman State strictly bounded the capacity to rule the Armenian community leaders[150]. Eremya's narrative gives a voice from the lower classes and provides exciting information about Mehmeh IV's prohibitions related to public space. For example, Armenians were prohibited from post-funeral commemorative feasts at taverns, night ceremonies after weddings, etc. As a reaction to those limitations, the patriarch warned against the employment of Muslim and Jewish musicians for weddings:

> What is interesting is that the patriarch seems to have been more concerned not with what Armenians did at weddings per se but rather what they looked like in the eyes of others.This is further corroborated by his disapproval of public display of wealth.

According to Şenocak Jewish community was the intermediary between the Ottoman state and Venetian merchants. Thus when the relations between Ottomans and Venetians were strained, this also reflected the Jews of Istanbul. Their Muslim competitors were already critical against their domination in the textile and wheat trade. So their perceptions as the representatives of Venetians had a negative influence. Moreover, the growing popularity of the self-pro-claimed messiah called

[149] Ivanova, "Armenians in Urban Order and Disorder of Seventeenth-Century Istanbul"
[150] Barsoumian. İstanbul'un Ermeni Amiralar Sınıfı.

Sabbatai Sevi turned relations tenser towards the 1650s[151]. Ivanova's work also mentions Eremya Çelebi's conception of Shabbatai Zevi:

> […] he expresses overt distain of popular agitation ignited by messianic claims made by his contemporary, Jewish preacher Shabbatai Zevi, and his near contemporary, Naksibendi Seyh Mahmud Eremia symphatizes and identifies with the Jewish elders who rejected Shabbatai and tried to diduade commoners from being seduced by his charisma. His work in fact can be read as a cautionary tale against crowds falling for deceptive imposters and bringing shame upon *millet*.[152]

Ivanova's work demonstrates various forms of public existence of non-Muslim communities and inner and intra-community conflicts in the tense realm of the seventeenth century. She elaborates relations between groups and their associations with the state and demonstrates the struggle for survival and power in a critical period. It was also pressuring on Armenian authorities. People had the power to gather and demand intermediacy in their relations with the state, and community leaders had to compete for the poor to turn to another faith and impress by tales of miracles, such as the Zevi movement Eremya was a warning[153].

The Armenian community was also experiencing its split in the conflict between Eghiazar Aynaptsi and Hovhannes Mughnetsi for the leadership. Mughetsi was basing his power on his connection with the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin, and Eghiazar had popular support with him. This conflict had split the urban space[154] , and supporters of Eghiazar settled in Uskudar as Mughnetsi ordered him: "When you came to the city, you were received with honor, but now go! And if you don't go away, I will send you away forcibly. All of my city is with me!"[155]

[151] Şenocak. "Ottoman Women Builders: The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan"
[152] Ivanova, "Armenians in Urban Order and Disorder of Seventeenth-Century Istanbul"
[153] Ibid.
[154] I could'nt find further information related that conflict however It would reveal a lot about Armenians' relations with the city.
[155] Ivanova, "Armenians in Urban Order and Disorder of Seventeenth-Century Istanbul"

3.3 Emergence and rise of the Armenian community in Uskudar: Foundations

> Everyone escaped/ Scattered from country to country/Istanbul was full/ from there they spread through Poland.[156]

According to Edhem Eldem, a new trend of urbanization was taking off in the seventeenth century and accelerating in the eighteenth century, which is the expansion of the palace through Bosphorus, Uskudar, and Salacak. The number of waqfs founded by the Ottoman sultans and their families had already increased rapidly in the sixteenth century, and Uskudar had become an important place of new constructions already before this urbanization boom[157]. Yvonne J. Seng points out Suleyman's ascendance to the throne as Uskudar's emergence as the religious center which women's pious foundations mark. Most importantly, Mihrimah Sultan's mosque complex had marked the hills and shores of the town in 1557. At least nine complexes of religious architecture by women of the imperial household were added following Mihrimah. Women were also commissioning wells, fountains, schools, libraries, and lodges for timekeepers. Another important landmark was the imaret of Büyük Valide Sultan[158]. However, the increase in urban activity that Eldem mentions indicate different trends than the sixteenth-century imaret constructions.

As these trends became more evident in the 18th century, an "emancipation" from classical architecture and a period in which architecture and urban activity flourished came to the front[159]. Shirine Hamadeh suggests that the ruling elite and various men and women from the empire's households are endowed in many masjids, madrasas, schools, private and semi-private libraries, hundreds of fountains, and water dispensers. Those "landmarks" triggered the emergence of many

[156] Shapiro. "17.Yüzyıl Osmanlı- Ermeni Sosyal ve Entelektüel Tarihine Aralanan Yeni Bir Pencere: Ermenice El Yazması Kolofonlar"
[157] Veinstein. "The Ottoman Town (Fifteenth-Eighteenth Centuries)"
[158] Seng. "Invisible Women: Residents of Early Sixteenth Century Istanbul"
[159] Hamadeh. Şehr-i Sefa: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul.

neighborhoods and also provided their expansion. Also roads, roads, bridges, waterways, docks, city walls, and gates were under renewal[160].

The early eighteenth century also witnessed a rapid increase in the emergence of gardens, and palatial pavilions and centers were expanding through the villages from the centers of towns. Hamadeh conceptualizes that process as "the conquest of the Bosphorus"; however, early registers demonstrate Bosphorus was not a passive, empty fringe to be conquered. Uskudar was not conquered out of scratch. It was already integrated with Istanbul and Anatolia, and Thrace, as we have seen. Rather than "conquest," I would rather conceptualize what was happening through a considerable shift in the use of urban space.

Maurice points out that the state was not the only source of urban activity; waqfs, guilds, and higher echelons of society were already involved. However, through the eighteenth century *banilik* became looser regarding the hierarchies[161]. According to Hamadeh, the eighteenth century has also witnessed the loosening of boundaries between the ruling elite and subjects, which also projects into urban space. Due to the increasing accessibility of social and economic power of different layers of society, urban activity was more dispersed. The influence of people from the public was a rarely mentioned aspect of 18th century Istanbul urbanization[162], states Hamadeh[163]. Especially for Uskudar's Armenian community, this aspect is crucial in building up a community from the less visible population mentioned in

[160] Ibid.
[161] Cerasi. *Osmanlı Kent*: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda 18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Kent Uygarlığı ve Mimarisi.
[162] For further reading on an earlier case: Kafescioğlu, Çigdem. "Sokağın, Meydanın, Şehirlilerin Resmi: On Altıncı Yüzyıl Sonu İstanbul'unda Mekân Pratikleri ve Görselliğin Dönüşümü." YILLIK: Annual of Istanbul Studies 1 (2019): 7-43
[163] Hamadeh. Şehr-i Sefa: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul.

caravanserais of 16th century to a community well organized in space through churches and schools, monasteries, and even waterways and wells.

> "İki ermeni semti var burada
> İlk mahallenin adı Selamsız.
> Güzel ve süslü bir kilisesi
> Durur orada Surp Haç adına
> İkincisinin adı Yenimahalle
> Kilisesinin adı Surp Karabet
> Manastırı tam karşısında
> Ruhanileri bağlıdır Kudüse."[164]

Documents in the state archive give an idea about the general content, and I couldn't find any documents implying the constructions related to the Armenian community. In this thesis, I will be referring to the Armenian chroniclers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As Shapiro had mentioned, the new emerging Western Armenian community had also accelerated the literary production of Istanbul Armenians[165]. Eremya Çelebi Kömürciyan was born in Istanbul in 1637 as a child of an immigrant family from Kemah. He produced many works dealing with life in Istanbul. Still, I will refer to his "Istanbul in 17th century" to understand Uskudar's built environment through the eyes of a narrator from the Armenian community[166]. Yenimahalle was the first neighborhood mentioned concerning Armenians. In court registers, it appeared only in 1579[167] , and according to Eremya, it was a neighborhood of Turks and Armenians. Eremya mentions a church constructed by Vardapet Zakarya[168]. He also conveys the existence of vineyards mostly belonging to Armenians. He doesn't say Selamsız and the church of Surp Haç, which is

[164] İnciciyan. XIII. Asırda İstanbul.
[165] Shapiro. "17.Yüzyıl Osmanlı- Ermeni Sosyal ve Entelektüel Tarihine Aralanan Yeni Bir Pencere: Ermenice El Yazması Kolofonlar"
[166] Kömürciyan. İstanbul Tarihi: XII. Asırda İstanbul.
[167] İstanbul kadı sicilleri Üsküdar mahkemesi 51 numaralı sicil (H.987-988 / M. 1579-1580) "[…]Şuhudu'l-hal: el-Mezburun ve Memi b. Mustafa an karyeti Karamanlı, Halil b. Veli an mahalle-i Cedid, Hızır Bali b. Mahmud er-racil an karye-i Nerdubanlı, Mavrodi v. Andriye ve gayruhum mine'l-hazırin
[168] Kömürciyan. İstanbul Tarihi: XII. Asırda İstanbul.

interpreted as it didn't exist back then. The translator notes that Abraham from Balat was secretly a priest who was performing religious rituals at home[169]. Then it is suggested that he built the Surp Haç church in 1727. However, it is not clear why he was cautious about privacy, as Surp Karabet church existed already. Elmon Hançer conveys a folk story about the Muslim cemetery in-between two neighborhoods as an alternative explanation for constructing a new church very close to Surp Karapet[170]. In later sources, it would be mentioned that the house of Abraham was also recognized as the first church in the quarter.

In the notes section of Kömürciyan, Hrand Andreasyan mentions a source called "Topography of Istanbul" by Sarkis Tıbir, which I could not locate. According to Tıbir, the editor conveys, there was another small church before Surp Karabet. He claimed that the immigrant craftsmen built this from Van and Muş during the Nurbanu Sultan mosque complex construction between 1570 and 1579[171]. Those immigrants are considered to be the first Armenian residents of Uskudar. This first and earliest church is also claimed to have been constructed through an imperial decree. I couldn't find that document, but it would reveal important insight into the newly emerging community of Armenians in Uskudar with the state. The second Surp Karabet was rebuilt in 1727 by patriarch Golod Hovannes and burned down in the great fire of 1844. However, it was rebuilt by Motos and Apik Unciyan, as it exists today[172].

That second church became the milestone of a cultural community center. The first Armenian school for clergy was established in 1719-20. Also, a monastery

[169] Kömürciyan. İstanbul Tarihi: XII. Asırda İstanbul.
[170] Hançer. "Üsküdar Ermeni Cemaati Tarihinde Bir Gezinti"
[171] Kömürciyan. İstanbul Tarihi: XII. Asırda İstanbul.
[172] Hovhannesyan. Payiytaht İstanbul'un Tarihçesi.

for priests of Jerusalem existed near the church[173]. That monastery had a vineyard called "Vank's vineyard,"[174] which became the Bağlarbaşı district in the community's late eighteenth- early nineteenth-century urban expansion. Yeni mahalle and Selamsız were the core of that process through which the Armenian community in Uskudar had established itself. That would last until the establishment of Icadiye and flourish with more public buildings, even theaters[175]. Unfortunately, this expansion had been ruptured by the Armenian Genocide in 1915.

Another source I will refer to is P.G Inciciyan's "Istanbul in 18th century". İnciciyan conveys from Polonaise Simeon's observations suggesting that in 1608 there were five Armenian churches in Istanbul. As this source is in Armenian, I will be referring to Inciciyan. Simeon mentions that "local" Armenian households in Istanbul to be very few, which is 80 households. Also, According to the 1477 census, Istanbul's population was composed of %60 Muslims, %21.5 Greek Orthodox, %11 Jews, %2.6 Istanbulite Armenians, and %2.7 Karamanite Armenians and Greeks. For Galata %35 Muslims, %39 Greek Orthodox, %22 Europeans, and %4 Armenians[176]. So Armenians were also a tiny portion of the Istanbul population in the 15th century. However, Inciciyan adds that due to Celali rebellions, early seventeenth century numbers reached forty thousand households expanding through Galata and Uskudar. Although he suggests that in 1610 most of the immigrants had been sent back during the period of Kuyucu Murad Paşa, it is evident that the demographic situation of the Armenian community changed radically during that rupture[177].

[173] Hançer. "Üsküdar Ermeni Cemaati Tarihinde Bir Gezinti"
[174] İnciciyan. XIII. Asırda İstanbul.
[175] The theater in Icadiye is mentioned for various times in archive documents however I couldn't yet find a solid information related to that. It is out of the scope of that paper however I wanted to mark the extent of the expansion I am mentioning.
[176] Kafescioğlu. "Istanbul Inhabited"
[177] İnciciyan. XIII. Asırda İstanbul.

According to Inciciyan, there were two Armenian neighborhoods in the eighteenth century called Selamsız and Yeni Mahalle. Selamsız was around the church of Surp Haç, which had been constructed in the early 18th century. He also mentions an Armenian school that opened in 1797 and a waterworks established by Istanbul Patrciahate Naloğlu Hagop, who died in 1764. This waterway was repaired by a school teacher called Diyakos Mardiros in 1798. The second neighborhood was Yenimahalle, with the church called Surp Karabet. Inciciyan claims that this church was built in 1617 by the Istanbul patriarch Vardabet Zakarya from Van. He conveys the elders' stories, suggesting that this church was not the first in the area. According to the tellings, the old church was near the fountain on the opposite side of the new one. Vardabet Zakarya became the patriarch after the construction, in 1627 and he was buried in the Armenian cemetery in Uskudar. Both churches were repaired in 1727 in the reign of patriarch Golod Hovannes[178].

Inciciyan in his other piece called "Bosphorus Country Side (Boğaziçi Sayfiyeleri)" mentions Kuzguncuk in relation to the weaving ateliers of Armenians. It is also mentioned in Hovhanesyan's narrative as an innovation of Serkis Kalfa from Kayseri[179]. The claim is not proved, but it is more an urban legend. Hovhanesyan also mentions Yenimahalle and Selamsız. In addition to other descriptions, he mentions a waterway brought by patriarch Hagop Nalyan for the people of Selamsız. This waterway is claimed to have been repaired by the school teacher, Diyakos Mardiros, and he also built a fountain for the Surp Haç church. He also mentions the existence of the Greek district behind the church in Yenimahalle[180].

[178] İnciciyan. XIII. Asırda İstanbul.
[179] Hovhenassyan. Payiytaht İstanbul'un Tarihçesi.
[180] Ibid.

Those narratives give an idea about the Armenian communities' appropriation of Uskudar as their new settlement. They established their own communal space through the construction of monasteriessteries. However, the boundaries between communities were still porous, as in the example of the Greek quarter on the back of the Surp Karabet Church. In his case study over Rodoso, Shapiro states that early migrations had perhaps been exposed to a certain degree of assimilation and it took some time to be able to build neighborhoods[181]. As they are different cases, it is also valid for the Uskudar community that from individual visibilities in court registers, Uskudar became an important cultural center for the Armenian community.

> There are no going back to the fantasy that there were settled, coherent, and perfectly integrated national or ethnic communities once a time. To write convincing and accurate cultural analyses –not only of the troubled present but of centuries past- requires, to paraphrase Hamlet, more a chronicle of carnal, bloody, and unnatural acts than a story of inevitable progress from traceable origins.[182]

Zabel Yaseyan's memories of Uskudar referred to a period of Armenian community very well established in Uskudar. In 19th century, Yeni Mahalle and Selamsız expanded through Bağlarbaşı and İcadiye. One of the most important educational institutions, the School of Cemaran, was established in 1784. Also, in Icadiye, two more schools and even a boarding school of Cemaran had been opened in 1838[183]. From the construction workers staying in caravanserais, the community had built up a spatial enclave for themselves.

Insurance maps of Pervetitich prepared in the early 20th century had traces of Armenian community as the plot owners, and Street names are mainly Armenian.

[181] Shapiro. "17.Yüzyıl Osmanlı- Ermeni Sosyal ve Entelektüel Tarihine Aralanan Yeni Bir Pencere: Ermenice El Yazması Kolofonlar"
[182] Greenblatt. *"Cultural mobility, a manifesto"*

[183] Hançer. "Üsküdar Ermeni Cemaati Tarihinde Bir Gezinti"

As it is seen in the map above, area number 74 is Yenimahalle, and 71 is Selamsız. In time 75, 76, 78, and 79 had been settled by more Armenians, expanding the foundations of the first generations of Eastern Armenians.

So in this chapter, I briefly explored how "old Armenian quarters" were once the spaces that the immigrants from the provinces had appropriated. I wanted to zoom in and zoom out both geographically and temporally to demonstrate that space transformation is a multi-layered process influenced by various economic, political, and demographical shifts through the Armenian community's "emergence" and "vanishing" in the urban space of Uskudar. And before "vanishing," they were also active participants of the nineteenth-century space production processes, and İcadiye demonstrates a detailed case to understand land and ownership transformations and transactions, infrastructural and social networking introduced by modernity, and urban planning method through ifraz. As Uskudar is the suburban area of Istanbul, Icadiye is the suburban area of Uskudar. This layered approach is essential to widen the urban center-focused path to grasp the urbanization process in suburban areas. In that sense, the Feneryolu case was also the suburban area of Istanbul once, and in time it became the center it is today. Ifraz and production of urban space through the city's hinterland is an integral part of the urban growth and tracing the continuity in its histor

CHAPTER 4

ICADIYE NEIGHBORHOOD IN NINETEENTH: ESTABLISHMENT OF URBAN COMMUNITY THROUGH DIVISON OF LAND ON THE GRID AND THE INFRASTRUCTURE

In this chapter, dwelling on the discussions in the first chapter and the historical background of urbanization of Uskudar in the second chapter, I will elaborate on the issue of space production via the method of *ifraz* as a tool of neighborhood establishment through the example of Icadiye Neighborhood in Uskudar district of Istanbul. Through the detailed transliteration and analysis of various documents, I will elaborate on how a suburban agricultural land has been transformed into another kind of property available to construct a modern urban setting. This process will reveal many conflicts and negotiations of actors and help scrutinize the infrastructure issue, which is crucial to regulating the natural water sources, etc. In addition to physical aspects, I will briefly discuss the social infrastructure and try to discuss the vitality in terms of establishing a neighborhood.

As mentioned in the first chapter, the case of İcadiye is an excellent example of the changing land regime in the nineteenth century. Yücel Terzibaşoğlu points out the hierarchy between different documents in the archive and how they gain priority and weight in legal proceedings[184]. Mostly urban history is dominated by the comments on regulations and maps. Although these are important to understand the process, they capture moments from the lengthy procedures. It should be convenient to state that space is under construction in terms of legal legislation, ownership patterns, and physical actions.

[184] Terzibaşoğlu. "Land Disputes and Ethno-Politics: North-western Anatolia, 1877-1912."

> Pera Historiography, in line with drawing on other 'cosmopolitan' urbanites, has been marred by an over-reliance of the sources that exclusively dealt with the urban center, and an ober-attention to the architectural façade of the district. Studying the sources produced outside Pera, with an attentive eye to the peripheral arrangements, situates the district within a wider network of humans and non-humans.[185]

Mehmet Kentel points out that "State and/or company claims and policy justifications are usually taken at face value, and the discourse of modernization is accepted rather uncritically."[186] This notice should be considered to search for the not readily apparent aspects of urbanization.

> In the discursive imaginations of the Tanzimat men, the city was subjected to a new kind of abstraction that required a "break with the past." Urban space was exposed to a "technical rationality that aimed to create order by geometry.[187]

In addition, modern historiography is too much restricted with the discourse of the Tanzimat intellectual mindset, as Eda Güçlü also mentions. Mehmet Kentel reminds us that modern historiography ignored environmental and material thinking in his research on Pera. He criticizes the isolated conception of a district from its infrastructural connections between center and periphery, urban and rural, city and nature[188]. To cover the history of Icadiye through a similar perspective, I will apply it to various document types such as petitions, state correspondences, regulations, and maps. All those documents will be synthesized through a holistic understanding of establishing a neighborhood under the political, economic and social atmosphere of the nineteenth century.

I am dwelling on those critics and claim that Uskudar is also overshadowed by "İstanbul" in urban history and framed as merely a suburb of space for the court's

[185] Kentel. "Nature's 'Cosmopolis': Villagers, Engineers, and Animals along Terkos Waterworks in Late Nineteenth- Century İstanbul."
[186] Kentel. "Nature's 'Cosmopolis': Villagers, Engineers, and Animals along Terkos Waterworks in Late Nineteenth- Century İstanbul."
[187] Ibid.
[188] Ibid.

elites or important mosque complexes. However, as I tried to convey in the second chapter, Uskudar has its spatial development dynamics and history of urbanization. In this part, as I make İcadiye Neighborhood an example of a typical and widely implemented mode of space production all around the empire, I will also try to locate Uskudar in urban historiography more apparent than being a mute suburb.

I aim to search for the material, infrastructural, social, and economic dynamics of the birth of a nineteenth century type of neighborhood. I will expand my view from the abstraction of Tanzimat and the face value of prominent documents by digging into the details of land disputes, local demands or objections, and state replies. I will also try to expand the scope of my narrative of İcadiye through its relations with the surrounding geography, center, and natural environment as the construction of a neighborhood leaves its traces on a larger scale.

4.1 Spatial evolution of İcadiye neighborhood through the level of maps

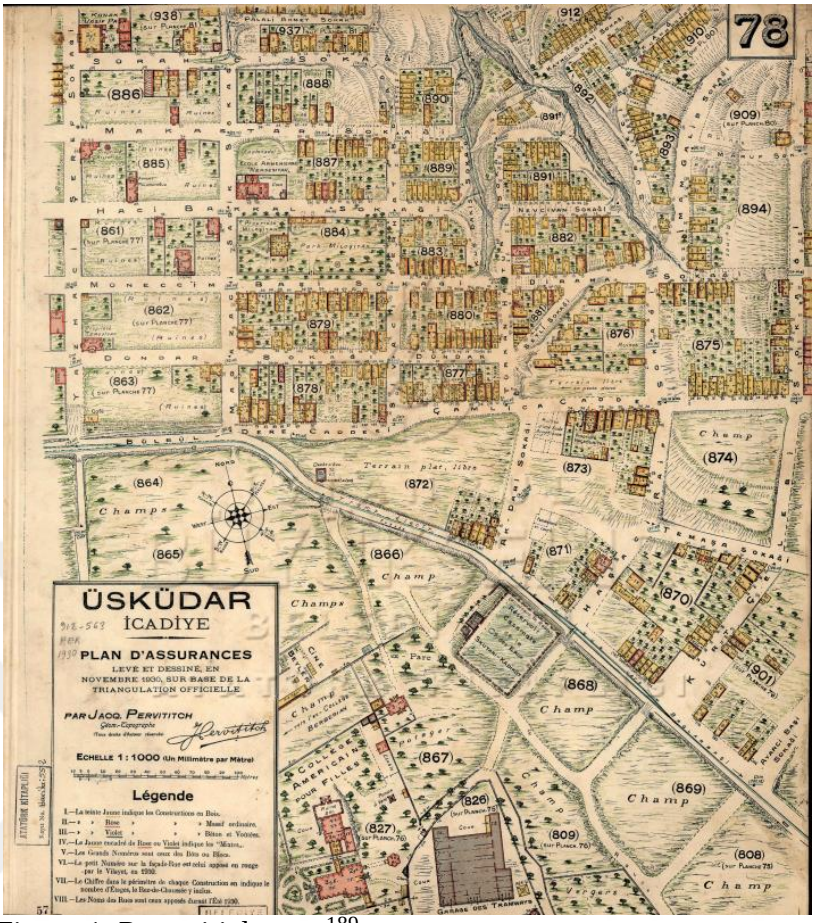


Figure 1. Pervetitich map [189]

The insurance maps of the Pervetitich İcadiye neighborhood were captured in the 1930s with its strict grid planned streets and plots. This map is a good starting point to elaborate the details of the process because it demonstrates both the urban character and the rural aspects of the area. Unlike the after-fire planned sites, which represent an urban image in the maps, the İcadiye map at this moment of its history gives the viewer the clue of a different process. We see the grid plan that makes us sure of introducing a modern urbanization tool into the area and we see the empty plots, gardens, and divided plots with an exact order of buildings. Another detail is the Park Miloşiyan, which indicates the intention of a public open space design and

[189] Pervetitich Map

the schools necessary for the neighborhood establishment, as I mentioned in the discussion of my first chapter.



Figure 2. Pervetitich map [190]

From the 1930 map, I will make a considerable jump through the beginning of the nineteenth century and take a look at the 1815 and 1821 maps[191]. Through a very rough analysis, which is the only possible thing one can do by looking at those early and undetailed maps, the İcadiye neighborhood seems to be a vacant area. The district is located on a river valley leading to Bosphorus, and this is also seen in the limited information those maps provide us.





Figure 3. 1815 city map [192]
Figure 4. 1921 city map [193]

[190] Pervetitich Map
[191] 1815 and 1921 city maps http://www.istanbulurbandatabase.com/
[192] 1815 city map http://www.istanbulurbandatabase.com/
[193] 1921 city map http://www.istanbulurbandatabase.com/





Figure 5. 1860-70 city map [194]
Figure 6. 1882 city map [195]

Then, the maps of the 1860s and 1882 give us information about some constructions, however very scattered[196]. Suspicion is necessary because the suburban areas are mostly not detailed studies as the center is more valuable for mapping activities; however, two different maps showing a similar pattern may indicate a period of a non-gridal phase of buildings in the area. As I approached the Pervetitich map of the 1930s, it can be commented as a frozen moment of the continuous spatial change process.

Unlike city maps, which are larger projects in scale in terms of the space they cover but looser ones in terms of the detail, those municipal maps of areal parceling reveal the background processes of the frozen captures of spaces. Also, as I mentioned before, suburban areas may risk being neglected or sketched roughly in large-scale maps, as they need too much finance and effort[197]. So even an intentionally rough and wrong representation must be considered commenting on the nineteenth-century maps, reminding that those documents are produced in a century

[194] 1860-70 city map http://www.istanbulurbandatabase.com/
[195] 1882 city map http://www.istanbulurbandatabase.com/
[196] http://www.istanbulurbandatabase.com/
[197] Kaya et al. "Tahrir'den Kadastro'ya: 1874 İstanbul Emlak Tahriri ve Vergisi: "Kadastro tabir olunur tahrir-i emlak"

of transition to cadastral surveying. The nineteenth century can be the age of the property and cadastral recording; however, this technical process came in one day. It was also elaborated in time, just like the spaces they represent.

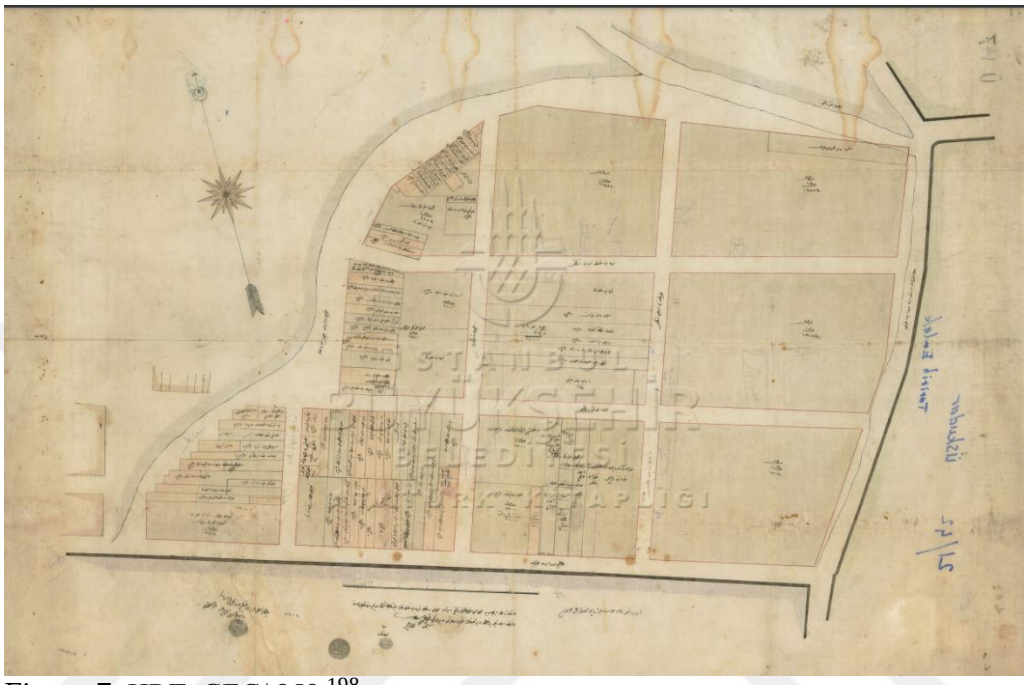


Figure 7. HRT. GEÇ/ 858 [198]

Map of 1873 is the document demonstrating parceling, and it gives information about the names of the users of the plots. I prefer the term "user" as I don't have the tapu records, and the map mentions the name of certain Karabet, as the owner of the area, who will be mentioned in detail in the coming parts of this chapter. In this map, we can grasp the construction of the grid that will be the base of the streets and building blocks and the plots that will be the base for the regular building pattern we had seen in the 1930 map.

[198] HRT. GEÇ/ 858



Figure 8. 1913-14 German Blues [199]

In the 1913-24 German map, we can observe the gridal streets and building blocks covering a larger area and the street names introduced and recorded. It doesn't mean that street names were given at that specific time; however, they are now recorded in the city maps. Also, the 1922 map demonstrates that surrounding areas are also designed in the gridal scheme, and one can trace back the flow of the river leading to the Bosphorus in the alignment of the grid, which will be one of the headlines of discussions of this chapter.

[199] 1913-14 German Blues, http://www.istanbulurbandatabase.com/

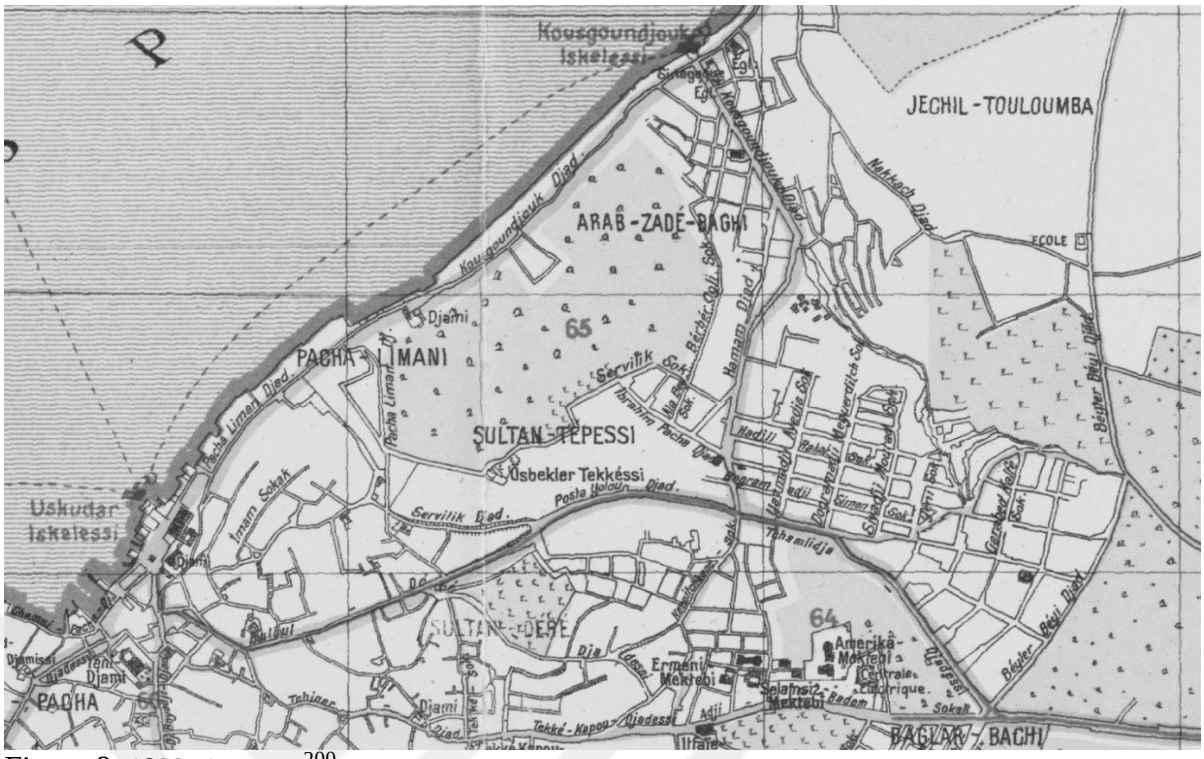


Figure 9. 1922 city map [200]

So, going back to the 1930 map, we can see the sequence of the captures of a space in time raises a lot of questions about how the space is produced in the course of urban history, and these questions are impossible to answer through the bird view recordings of a piece of land. Maps may provide much information, and they can also conceal many of them. Remembering the emphasis of Mehmet Kentel on the lure of the architectural façade to block the scope of urban history for a long time, the façade of the space represented in maps can lead to the same result. In this chapter, I will try to analyze the petitions of various social actors concerning diverse topics about the establishment of a neighborhood and the state responses to the process to reveal how state and different actors are participating in space production. To start my analysis, I will dig into the details of the documents associated with Figure 7, which demonstrates how the area was parceled and is the prominent example for my

[200] 1922 city map http://www.istanbulurbandatabase.com/

main goal, which is to cover ifraz as a method of space production in the nineteenth-century and how this process works.

4.2 Land conflict between Kirkor, Karabet, various waqfs, and the state as the "mediatory"

The area in Fig. 7 is a piece of İcadiye neighborhood, and it is the official recording of the process that I mentioned in the first chapter as *"parça parça ifraz edilerek taliplerine füruhtuna"*[201] which means the division of the land into plots to be sold to the possible owners.

As reading the documents and trying to construct a narrative out of them, the most challenging thing is to grasp the power relations. It is the crucial point of my thesis, which I also mentioned in the first chapter referring to arguments of Huri İslamoğlu and Yücel Terzibaşoğlu. Land disputes indeed reveal that the state or law is not isolated from the social actors, and people have the right to claim the land, yet how their claims will result is related to the power structures. İcadiye is a very revealing case because there is an ongoing tension between many actors claiming authority over one piece of land. All sides come up with different kinds of "evidence" to support their claim. When the bureaucratic process is followed, one can see that the content of the documents is not the only thing that matters, but there are hidden networks or agendas, which historians can only comment on.

This dispute leading to establishing the establishment of the İcadiye neighborhood happens between a particular businessman Karabet and mizancı Kirkor, and various waqfs. The nineteenth century is the turmoil of land ownership transition, and documents are challenging to read to follow that process. This

[201] For once I referred to the expression repeatedly used in the documents which is also the basis of my thesis.

hardship is not about the reader. It is directly related to the confusion of the state officers and land claimers because no actor is sure about the new status of ownerships, bureaucracy is also changing, and cadastral recording systems are newly introduced.

At the beginning of the history of İcadiye, Kirkor wrote a petition to *Meclis-i Vala*[202] on 16 October 1856, and this letter of complaint was directed to *Evkaf-ı Humayun Nezareti*[203] on 10 February 1857[204]. Kirkor claims that a piece of land belongs to himself that is transferred to him through the Waqf of Abdullah Ağa Waqf. The Waqf of Beşiktaş Church also claims this land, and the archives of Abdullah Ağa Waqf and another waqf called İvaz Fakih has not been checked to verify the records. He demands justice and equity in the investigation. There is another document written to Evkaf-I Hûmayun Nezareti on 7 December 1858. The author is not specific, but it seems to be the continuum of the state correspondences regarding the issue and mentions that Kirkor's land register given by the governor of the waqf (kaymakam-ı waqf Abdullatif Efendi) is a fake document and repeats Kirkor's demand for an investigation[205]. On 4 April 1858, Kirkor applied for his case once more, and in this petition, he mentions that his register documents are ignored

[202] MVL.185.33.1.1.2
[203] A.) MKT.NZD.213.44.1.1.2
[204] "Üsküdar'da İcadiye nam mahalde Yahudi meşatlığı ittisalinde kain İvaz Fakih vakf-ı şerifi müstagallatından ve kuyud-ı hakani üzere hudud-ı vakf dahilinde bulunan ba temessük-i vakf uhde-yi acizanemde bulunan (2) araziye bir taraftan müdahale icap etmez iken bundan akdem Karabet Kalfa bu mahal Abdullah ağa vakfı arazisiydi ve bu arazi ba ferman-ı ali istibdalen Beşiktaş Kilisesi vakfındandır diyerek (3) iddia ve evkaf-ı hümayun müfettişi faziletlü efendi huzurunda mürafaa olundukta eğer çi arazi-i mezkur an asıl Abdullah ağa vakfı idi Abdullah Ağa vakfının vakfiye ve kuyud-ı hakanisine müracaat (4) olunmak lazım gelmez miydi? Buralarını aramayarak ve İvaz Fakih vakfının vakfiyesine ve defterhane-i amireden mahreç hududnamesine bakmayarak hemen üç dört kişinin ihbarıyla bu mahal (5) Abdullah Ağa vakfı arazisiydi ve böyle biliriz deyü inha-i hilaf ile eda-yı şehadet eylediler ve bu şehadet ve ihbar üzerine işbu uhde-i acizanemde bulunan arazi elimden (6) çıkmak lazım gelecek bu veçhiyle mahall-i mezkur eğer çi İvaz Fakih vakfı olsun, ve gerek Abdullah Ağa Vakfından istibdalen Beşiktaş Kilisesi vakfı olsun, şu iki vakfın (7) birbirleriyle vukua gelen münazaalarından dolayı beş-altı yüz keselik malımın ve mülkümün elimden çıkması neden lazım geliyor?"

[205] Hr. MKT.295-1-1-2

due to the testimony of four people. His complaints about those people's claims of witnessing that this land belongs to Beşiktaş Church Waqf for forty-five years, adding that those people are utmost forty-five years old. He demands the surrender of his property to his charge and signs this petition as the owner of the mentioned land (Kirkor veiled-i Bedros, Millet-i Protestant, Mutasarrıf-i arazi-i mezkure kulları). Then on 12 January 1859, the case is taken over by Stephan, the proxy of the Protestant community (Stephan vekil-i millet-i Protestant), and he writes another petition to Meclis-i Vala straightforwardly depicting the process. He complains that Kirkor's register and the map have not been considered for the case, and also the records of İvaz Fakih Waqf and Abdullah Ağa Waqf were also ignored. Stephan asks for a commission to be established to resolve this conflict in justice for his client[206]. This petition was transferred between various state departments (I couldn't determine those specifically on the documents) on 25 January 1859 and 8 February 1859[207]. In the last record, it is mentioned that the register of Kirkor was certificated by Abdullatif Efendi four years ago in an illegal way. Even though this land was registered to Karabet Kalfa (ebniye-yi hümayun kalfası) by a specific state inspector called Refik Efendi, this document also mentions that Abdullatif Efendi had been removed from his duty due to that malpractice[208].

[206] MVL-818-129-1-1-2
[207] MVL.818-129-2-1-2
[208] "…tarlanın münazaası zuhuruyla muayene ve keşfinden sonra ol vakit müfettiş bulunan semahatlü refik efendi hazretleri huzurunda bit-tetkik terafularında tarla-yı mezkur merhum Abdullağa vakfı arazisi vasatında ve ebniye-yi hümayun kalfası Karabet Kalfanın Abdullağ Ağa vakfından ba sened tasarrufunda olduğu halde ba izn-i hümayun ve ba-hüccet-i şerriye ve ferman-ı ali istibdal ile karye-yi mezkurede inşa eylediği çeşmesi mühimmat içün vakfeylediği malum ül mikdar mahallin dahilinde olduğu ve kaymakam-ı merkumun ol veçhiyle sened verişi sahte idüğü tahakkuk ederek müşarünileyh tarafından olunan ilam üzerine evkaf muhasebesinden yazılan ilmühaberler muciplerince kaymakam-ı merkumun verdiği senedin kaydı terkin ve kendisi kaymakamlıktan ihraç kılınmış…"

Karabet Kalfa[209] is mentioned in another document, emphasizing his financial loss due to the dispute on this land with Kirkor[210]. This document was written to the ministry on 13 December 1859, implying the malpractice leading to the land register Kirkor claims. The introduction of the letter in December is significant in the process also by starting with the name of Karabet Kalfa with the definition of the owner of the mentioned land (Tüccardan Davidoğlu Karabet'in that-ı taahhüdünde bulunan)[211].

After this document, the Karabet-Kirkor dispute traces another dispute between the Uskudar residents and Karabet. In a crucial collective petition written on 20 May, 1866 people mention the very importance of that piece of land. It is located on the waterways and agricultural areas essential for the locals and refers to an edict that bans construction activities in that area[212]. The letter's demand implies that locals have information about Karabet Kalfa's plans for his property. They emphasize the priority and superiority of the benefits of the locals over Karabet Kalfa, defining him as "such a man." This expression can be commented as the clue of the negative impression Karabet Kalfa left on the people; however, we cannot trace further details about the motivations behind this dispute[213].

On September 6, 1868, the state evaluated this conflict, and for the first time, the intention of parceling the area to sell the land by Karabet was revealed[214]. This document is crucial in terms of various aspects regarding my aim to understand

[209] Even though Karabet Kalfa is mentioned as court architect and his relations with the court seems very strong also through commercial activities, his father is mentioned as David, so he is probably not Karabet Balyan. As Balyan family is also very active in the space production in Üsküdar and Karabet Kalfa Street in İcadiye is thought refer to Karabet Balyan, probably son of Karabet is a different person and this street is refering to him, as the owner and founder of İcadiye neighborhood.
[210] A-MKT-NZD-298-25-1-1-2
[211] A-MKT-NZD-298-25-1-1-2
[212] İ-SD-10-486
[213] İ-SD-10-486
[214] A.MKT.MHM.419.39.12

the mechanism behind establishing a neighborhood in nineteenth-century urbanization. The state acknowledges that land is located on essential waterways and is the water source for Paşalimanı and Sultan Tepesi. However, ignoring demands of the local public to ban construction, officers define methods to construct an infrastructure system to mediate water in a detailed manner as a condition of parceling the area[215]. Officers finish the document to send this response to Ebniye İdaresi, Su İdaresi, and the people who wrote the petition.

The most exciting part of the response is that it refers to the edict mentioned in the joint petition. It is related to another location; however, the scribe doesn't detail where this other location is[216]. This short response to the very long collective petition is probably manipulative and not right. Even though this is just a comment I reach from the document's language and the course of events, it is not a weak assumption, because Karabet Kalfa has strong relations with the court, and the case of Kirkor had been closed abruptly. This joint letter of complaint is also closed in one response on 28 August 1868[217] , and on 29 August 1868, Karabet Kalfa gets his license for construction[218].

> For the sake of completeness, it should also include water, etc., in the term land, in so far as it belongs to someone as an accessory to the land. Landed property is based on the monopoly by certain persons over definite portions of the globe, as exclusive spheres of their private will to the exclusion of all others.[219]

After a long process covering two significant conflicts, the state and the merchant with close relations resolve the conflict for their common benefit. Karabet gains monopoly over land and the water the land 'contains.' State achieved to delegate

[215] A.MKT.MHM.419.39.12
[216] A.MKT.MHM.419.39.12
[217] İ-SD-10-486-14-1
[218] İ-SD-10-486-14-1
[219] Marx. Capital, Vol 3.

establishment of a neighborhood infrastructure to a capitalist. In my opinion, in this mechanism of space production, the state has commissioned the capitalist merchant to construct the modern infrastructure and the neighborhood, and Karabet became a kind of subcontractor. We are not sure if Kirkor was right on his case, but his titles and Karabet's titles observed in the documents depict a clear economic and social capital hierarchy. So in a situation in which Kirkor has his Tapu, but Karabet's evidence is more obscure, or a joint letter of complaint is not regarded as a severe case to be evaluated. What should one think about the documents and the narrative based on Terzibaşoğlu's question of the priority and weight of documents in legal proceedings?

4.3 Demand for a church: A highly complicated land dispute

After six years of so-called resolution of the land conflict, on January 8, 1874[220], a document from the office of the Grand vizier (*Daire-i Sadaret-i Uzma*) reaches to *Divan-ı Hümayûn* about the necessity of a church for the neighborhood of İcadiye[221]. This document mentions the absence of a church in the said area inhabited by the Armenians. The deceased Nersesyan Kirkor is mentioned as the owner of the land, which is transferred to him from the waqf Cevri Usta. This document evaluates the issue with rejection, citing that this land is not proper for any place of worship[222].

On 25 December 1883, nine years after this document, another document is found in the archive with the signature "Meclis-i Cismani-yi Millet-i Ermeniyan"

[220] İ-DH-0164-083464-004

[221] "Meal-i takrir Üsküdar'da İcadiye nam mahalde Ermeni milletinin mabedleri olmadığından mahal mezkurda Saatçi Seghpos Sokağında kain millet-I merkumeden Nersesyan Kirkor'un hazinedar-ı hazret-i şehriyar-i esbak merhume Cevri Usta Vakfı'ndan mutasarrıf olduğu yirmi iki numerolu bir kıta arsanın mukataa-I zemine tahviliyle üzerine tulen otuz ve arzen on beş ve irtifaen yirmi zira olmak üzere bir bab kilise bina ve inşası hususu millet merkume tarafından istihram olduğu beyanıyla…"

[222] "…ve bu makule vakıf mahal üzerine her nevi mabed inşası caiz olmadığına binaen…"

addressing the *Adliye ve Mezahib Nezareti*[223]. It is a letter from the representative council of Armenian people that deals with the community's physical necessities and mentions that the İcadiye Armenian community has been benefiting from the churches in Kuzguncuk and Selami Ali neighborhoods. However, since the population has risen, a particular place of worship has become an essential need. This letter complains about the hardship of old or sick people having to reach the churches in other neighborhoods and convey the community's demand to construct a small wooden church, asking for a construction license.

This time, different than the 1874 case, an investigation for the demand begins[224]. On 28 January 1884, *Adliye ve Mezahib Nezareti* addressed the *Vergi Emaneti* (responsible for the tax registers), asking about the existing records and documents about the mentioned piece of land for a proper evaluation about the possibility of constructing the demanded church. On 15 May 1884, Vergi Emaneti wrote to Adliye ve Mezahib Nezareti that there are no records regarding the plot number 83 in the Tahrir defteri. As the said place is endowed to the waqf of Beşiktaş Meryem Ana Church by Karabet Kalfa, this investigation must be requested from that institution[225]. And Office of Sects (Mezahib Müdürlüğü) asks for the waqfiye and records of the mentioned area to the Armenian Patriciate on 24 May 1884[226]. The same documents contain a part that says a statement from the mentioned community (*cemiyet-i mezkure*) claiming that Karabet Kalfa endowed the plot to the Beşiktaş waqf with the condition of church construction[227].

[223] İ-DH-0164-083464-005
[224] It should be noted that the time gap between the first document and second document does not necessarily mean nothing happened in between. Those are the documents I could reach regarding the issue. Also the document of demand that initiated the first reply in 1874 is not framed in my thesis because I could not find a trace of the beginning before that reply. However the missing parts of the process may have been lost or not properly archived.
[225] İ-DH-0164-083464-006
[226] İ-DH-0164-083464-007
[227] İ-DH-0164-083464-007

On September 17, 1884, *Daire-i Sadaret-i Uzma* gave information about the Patricates's letter stating that the plot owner is Karabet Kalfa and is reserved for church construction[228]. However, the officer also adds that further investigation is necessary because, in the 1874 document, Nersesyan Kirkor is mentioned as the plot owner. So all of a sudden, the documents mentioned above are cited, and the officer reminded that it is still not replied to by the *Evkaf-ı Hümayun Nezareti*. The conflict between Abdullağa, Cevri Usta, İvaz Fakih, and Meryem Ana Church waqfs is brought forward again, even though the account of the Patriciate is mentioned. *Daire-i Sadaret-i Uzma* asks for the assignment of engineers from the 9th *Daire-i Belediye*. The decision would be finalized after the investigation of the *Şehremanet* and *Vergi Emaneti*.

About one month later, community members of İcadiye wrote a joint petition on November 16, 1884[229]. The authors are mainly artisans such as tailors, watchmakers, builders, painters, etc. They summarize their demand and the process up to date. In this petition, a new detail is the description of the plot's location regarding its adjacency to the property of Tomas and his wife, Anita. I mention this detail as a sign of settlement in the neighborhood. Then they convey information about the investigation held by the engineer Ahmet Efendi, inspector Mustafa Efendi, câbî –tax collector- of Cevri Usta waqf Eşref Efendi and câbî of Karabet Kalfa waqf Artin Efendi. The result of the investigation, according to the petition, is that the land belonged to Karabet Kalfa and had been endowed to Meryem Ana Church waqf. There is no obstacle to the construction of the church.

[228] İ-DH-0164-083464-008
[229] İ-DH-0164-083464-009

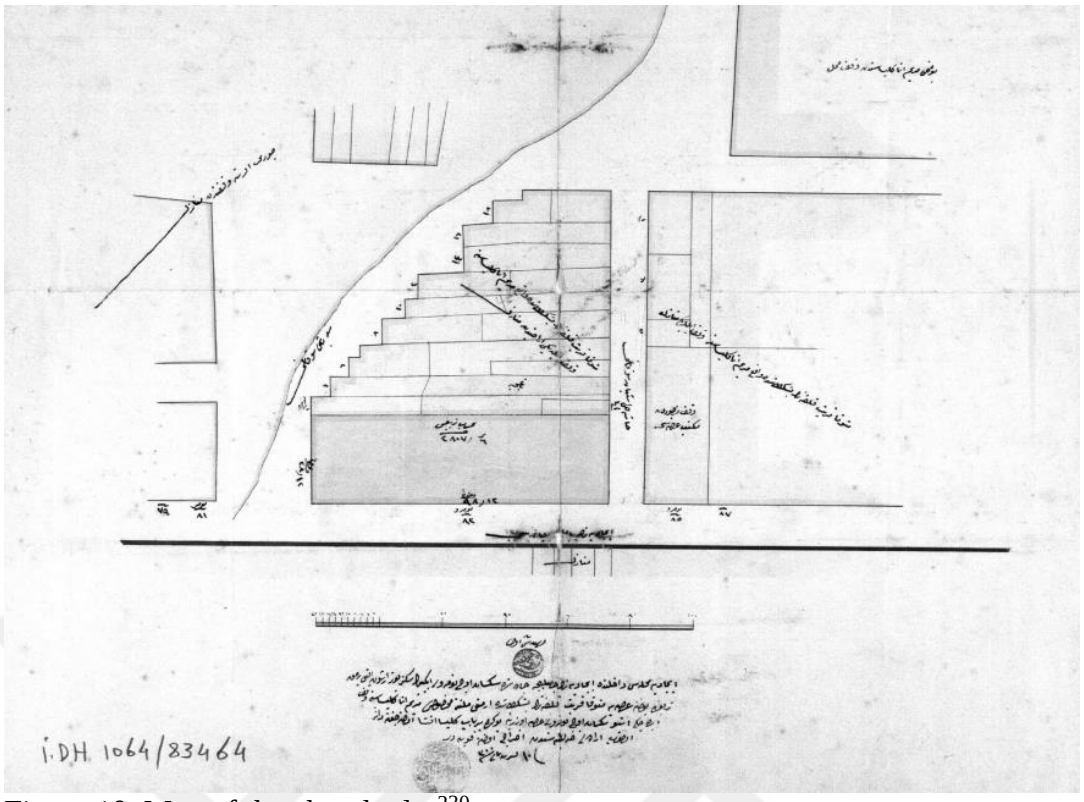


Figure 10. Map of the church plot[230]

The document by the author engineer Esseyid Ahmed dated November 22, 1884,[231] describes the location of the plot regarding the street names so we can see that streets are named and registered. Also, he refers to the church's project as "yapılacak kilisenin şekl-i heyeti" and this is related to the drawing in the archive registered with the same file code[232].

[230]Map of the church plot, İ-DH-0164-083464-001
[231] İ-DH-0164-083464-010
[232] İ-DH-0164-083464-002

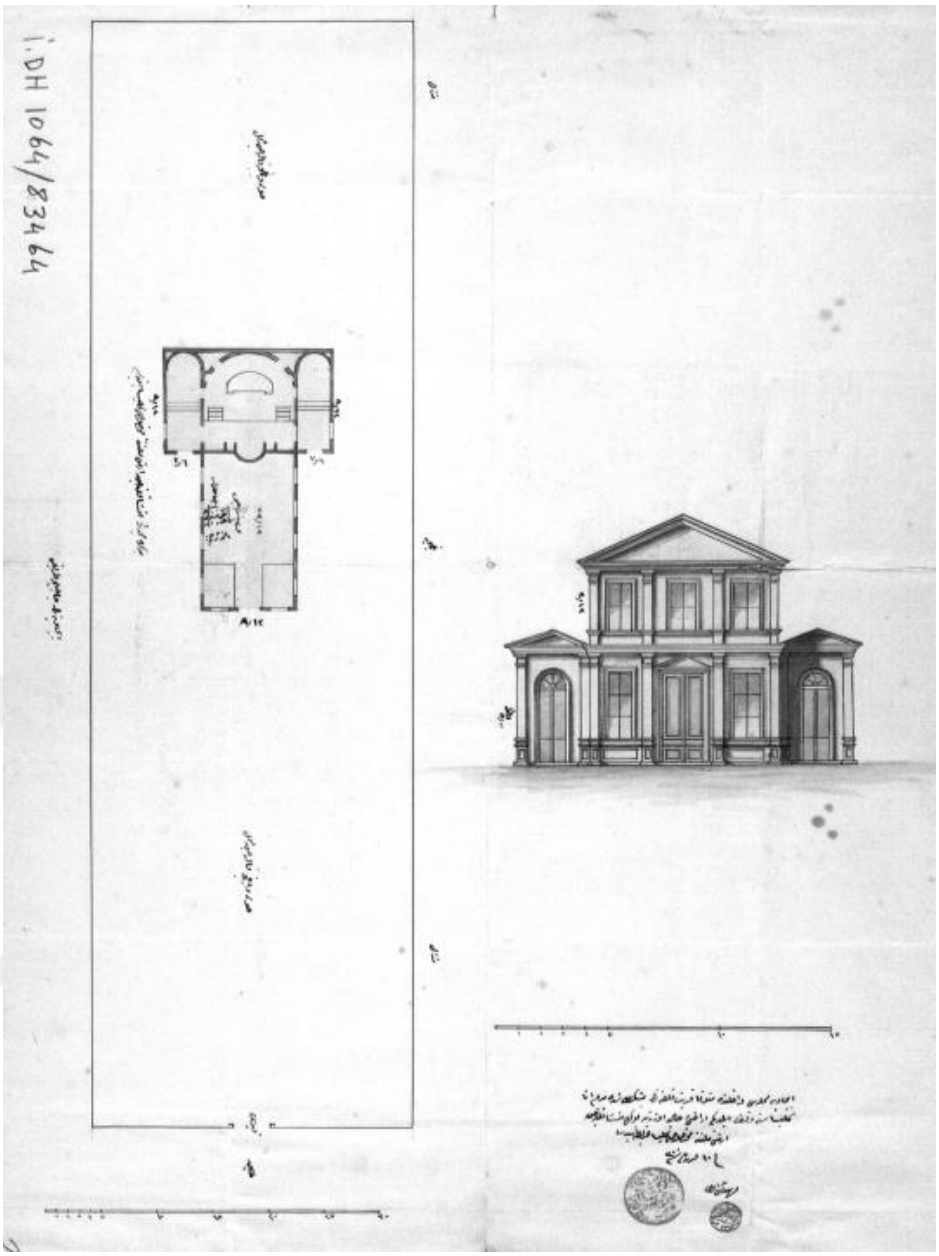


Figure 11. Plan and elevation of the church[233]

The same content was conveyed to the ninth Office of Municipality (*Dokuzuncu Darie-i Belediye*) on November 24, 1884[234] . Another document summarized this investigation on November 22, 1884. However, the addressed institution cannot be detected. Another paper was written by the *Hendesehane* (Engineering Office) on

[233] Plan and elevation of the church , İ-DH-0164-083464-002
[234] İ-DH-0164-083464-011

November 22, 1885, summarizing the investigation adding the detail of the parceling process into the story[235].

The convenience of the construction of the church has been investigated several times, approved in various correspondences. However, in the document dated January 14, 1886, *Divan-ı Hümayun* wrote a letter to *Daire-yi Sadaret-i Uzma* mentions even though *câbî*s of Cevri Usta waqf and Karabet Kalfa existed in the investigation, the *câbî*s of Abdullah Ağa and İvaz Fakih waqfs were absent[236]. This letter also emphasizes the insufficiency of the records demonstrating the process of Karabet Kalfa parceling the area. This way, *Divan-ı Hümayun* starts the investigation once more, asking for the existence of other *câbî*s. On January 26, 1886, *Mezahib Müdürlüğü* wrote to *Şehremaneti* about this issue[237] . In the document dated August 11, 1886, and signed as municipal Mazhar, it is stated that Abdullah Ağa waqf had been transferred (*istibdal*), and there is no need for further concern[238]. On November, 23, 1886[239] this issue was forwarded to *Evkaf-ı Hümayun Nezareti* by *Mezahib Müdürlüğü* and on May, 11, 1887 response about the issue is written by Divan-ı Hümayun[240]. There is a chaotic situation in tracing the documents and institutions. Probably some correspondences are missing, but this document on May 11, 1887, deals with the issue of the absence of two câbîs and states that waqfiye of Abdullah Ağa and İvaz Fakih waqf does not exist in their archive and matter should be asked to the *Defterhane-i Hakani Nezareti*[241]. Also, another waqf of Abdulhamid Han is

[235] İ-DH-0164-083464-012
[236] İ-DH-0164-083464-014
[237] İ-DH-0164-083464-015
[238] İ-DH-0164-083464-015
[239] İ-DH-0164-083464-018
[240] İ-DH-0164-083464-018
[241] İ-DH-0164-083464-018

mentioned, but the documents make it clear that this waqf has no land in the said area[242].

The issue of waqf property was asked to Vergi Emaneti on August 19, 1886,[243] by Mezahib Müdürlüğü, and the tax officer replied in ambiguity. In this document dated 16th November 1886, it is mentioned that there is neither any record of Abdulhamid Han waqf nor Meryem Ana Church waqf[244]. It is, however, clear that Abdullah Ağa and İvaz Fakih waqf are out of consideration. On May, 18, 1887 Adliye ve Mezahib Nezareti asks Defter-i Hakani nezareti and on June, 21 they confirmed that Abdullah Ağa and İvaz Fakih waqf are not registered[245]. Issue is once more delegated to Evkaf-ı Hümayun by Defter-i Hakani.

On December 6, 1887, Daire-i Sadaret-i Uzma conveyed a report to Divan-ı Hümayun stating that all necessary correspondences and investigations had been considered and conducted. It is convenient to construct the church in the mentioned plot[246]. There is also a table in the archive related to the said plot, and the documents associated with the table mention that this plot belonged to Nersesyan Kirkor[247]. This document is dated November 16, 1886, but the institutions are not detectable, and also, the issue cannot be followed on the main flow of the correspondences. Remembering Terzibaşoğlu's reminder of the scattered nature of the archive, we cannot conclude the result of the conflict far from this point. In my field research, there is neither a remnant of that church nor a memory. However, oral history with the elders had to be canceled due to the Covid-19 pandemic. So for this study in the existing conditions, I have to leave this part as an open question for further studies.

[242] İ-DH-0164-083464-018
[243] İ-DH-0164-083464-019
[244] İ-DH-0164-083464-019
[245] İ-DH-0164-083464-019
[246] İ-DH-0164-083464-021
[247] İ-DH-0164-083464-016

4. 4 Infrastructural and physical construction of a neighborhood

In the first two cases, I tried to cover the process of the birth of a neighborhood from the perspective of property relations. Even though the archive is scattered, it is possible to construct a narrative out of pieces. A flow of events should be framed to understand the conflictual relationship on land and how space production was shaped accordingly. The long story of complex correspondences reveals that the waqf property and privatization process overlaps and merges to confuse officers and create gaps for malpractices. May some of them be intentional corruption, but some are merely confusion due to the turmoil of land transfer mechanisms in the nineteenth century. Details of İcadiye case reveals the introduction of a new land regime and also the de facto/ de juro passages that Terzibaşoğlu and İslamoğlu mention[248]. This "under construction" mode of process on juridical and cadastral levels mirrors itself also in the physical production of space. In this part, I will try to mention documents covering various issues to see the neighborhood establishment's material side.

A document dated January 27, 1859, mentions the repair of the fountain belonging to the waqf of Cevri Usta by Avanis Kalfa for 18580,5 guruş and then adds the fountain's reservoir is damaged and had been contracted to the same Avanis Kalfa[249]. Avanis had to add iron girders and also install a brick basement under the fountain. The same document includes information about repairing the waterways of a mosque in Kadıköy, belonging to another waqf called Laleli. The cost of those repairs is expected to be out of the waqf treasury. On November 17, 1864, the İcadiye community objects against paying for the construction of the Çamlıca Caddesi and calls for a commission to investigate the situation[250]. The intuitions are

[248] İslamoğlu. "Property as a Contested Domain: A Reevaluation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858."
[249] MVL.818-5-1-2/ 27 Ocak 1859
[250] MVL.455-9-3-1-1/ 17 Ekim 1864

not clear, and the flow of the event cannot be followed as I could find only this piece of the document; however, we can guess that paying for the road construction is not a usual task for the people[251]. Also, the call for the commission is a widespread aspect of the cases in the period. Almost every occasion lacks specific know-how, so de facto and de juro again merge into each other.

In the Municipality letter dated July 1, 1894, a plot numbered 49, on Çamlıca Avenue –probably the one mentioned in the above document- is evaluated for the convenience of the building activities regarding the waterways[252]. Takohi had demolished the existing building in her plot and attempted to construct a new one. Ninth Office of Municipality (*Dokuzuncu Daire*) warns her about the property's closeness to the waterways. This warning stems from the complaint and appeal of the trustee of waterway Şeyh Talip Efendi. Upon his claim that construction should not be permitted there, an inspector (*umuriye müfettişi*) Rasim Bey and an examiner (*hendesehane mümeyyizi*) Şemsettin Bey and waterway officer (*su yolcu*) Tahsin Bey convey a physical examination concluding that there is a plunge (dalma) waterway 12 arşın (approximately 8 meters) under the ground. The mentioned building is located 42 arşın away from the plunge. According to those findings, if a sewer hole is excavated adjacent to the garden wall and both walls and ground of the gap are plastered with original English cement, Takohi may get permission for the process she has already done initiated.

The same document mentions a certain Sofik Seropyan and his wife, who demand to continue the construction activity. The trustee of waterways of Şeyh Şerif

[251] "Üsküdar'dan Çamlıca'ya inşa olunmakta olan tark masarifinden hisselerine ziyade akçe tevzi ve suret-, cebriyede tahsil olunmakta idüğünden dolayı bazı ifade ve istida-yı şamil İcadiye mahallesi ahalisi namına olarak ikta olunan arzuhal leffen irsal kılınmış olmağla keyfiyetin komisyon-ı mahsusunda bervech-i hakkaniyet rüyet ve tesviye buyurulması babında irade efendimdir."
[252] BEO-444-33283-1

Camii claims that the plot is within the border of the area referred to in ferman as not convenient for construction[253]. However, the document reveals that the process has started. There is also evidence for the existence of a building beforehand. And with the condition to transfer waterway through iron pipes that the owners of the land pay, the Seropyan family were allowed to finish what they started. However, the author marks that no further construction should be allowed other than finishing what they already started. Two more documents related to those two cases and the issue were also evaluated and licensed by *Daire-i Umur-i Dahiliye* (House of Interior Affairs)[254].

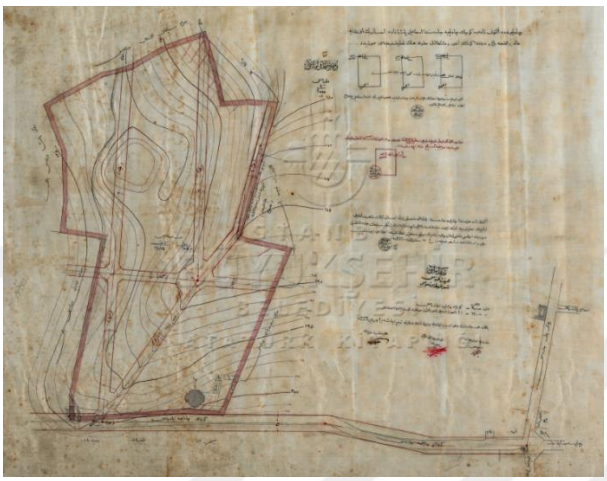
The Takohi and Sofik Seropyan cases indicate a different methodology other than the waqf-based waterway construction, which is more based on the property owner and the control of the municipality and the central state. It is a network that functions in a highly associated manner. The conflict of Çamlıca Avenue can be considered a resistance to the distribution of infrastructure to land owners. The ongoing process contains many examples of this dispute. In another document related to the avenue issue, for example, Interior Affairs Ministery mentions contracting out the construction works of the avenue and conveys that to the grand vizier[255]. This document dated April 14, 1906, which is forty-two years after the objection of the İcadiye community on the issue of the costs, the job of renewing the road and constructing sideways told to be handled through a process of contracting

[253] BEO-444-33283-1

[254] BEO-444-33283-1/ 29 July 1894: "…mezbure Takohi'nin yaptırmakta olduğu hane mütevellisi nezdindeki ferman-ı ali'de muharrer hudud-ı memnua haricinde bulunduğu ve bazı tedabir-i fenniye ittihazı halinde suyoluna bir güne mazarrat inas etmeyeceği anlaşıldığından zikr olunan hanenin inşasına ruhsat itası istizanı havi…"
"ebniyeler civarından mürur eden sulara mevad-ı ecnebiye-yi muzırra karıştırılmamak ve safiyetine halel getirmemek için mezkur su yollarının demir borularına tahviliyle masarifinin hisselerine göre müteallik bulunduğu ashab-ı emlakden istifası ve hudud-ı memnua dahilinde bademe inşaate ruhsat verilmemesi…"

[255] DH.MKT.1068.64.1/14 Nisan 1906

out by the responsible municipality[256]. Also, the interference of the Maliye Dairesi is mentioned in the document[257]. Road construction and parceling is a parallel process, and those maps above from the surrounding areas of İcadiye demonstrates the connectivity between infrastructure, property division, and urban planning:



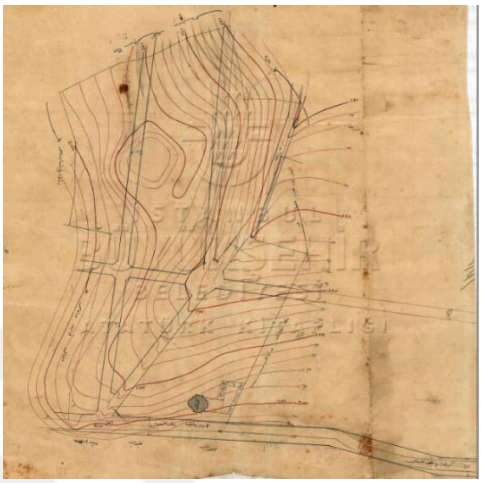


Figure 12. Çamlıca-Uskudar road and a parceling in Altunizade
Figure 13. Çamlıca- Uskudar road and a parceling in Küçük Çamlıca

Besides documents related to the infrastructure, there are official reports on the properties' real estate values and functions, and physical characteristics of the buildings. In the paper dated January 4, 1887, municipality officers mention a mansion belonging to a commander called İbrahim Paşa and an inspection regarding the tanner on the ground floor, which is illegal and evacuated[258]. In another report of the office of the grand vizier, there is a conflict over the valuation of the masonry bakery building of Aranik. His complaint is the irrational rising of the value of his property regarding the rental value locational value of the plot and the structure. This objection may be related to the taxation concerning the real estate's value. He claims

[256] "…sene-yi haliye inşaat ve tertibinden tesviyesiyle kaldırımın ihaleten inşası hususunun şehremaneti celilesine tebliği…"
[257] "…mezkur kaldırımın ihaleten inşası hususuna şura-yı devlet mailiye dairesi kararıyla…."
[258] Y.MTV.25-5-1-1/ 4th January 1887

that experts raised the value from 10.000 guruş to 25.000 guruş sharply. However, the commission decides on a value of 23.000 guruş emphasizing the 12 years old rental importance. We do not have details about the valuation mechanism or the exact property relationship to the rental situation. However, as Aranik claims, for six years, he made no exchange action and any addition. He has the ownership, and also urban rent is an issue that increases the value of real estate more than twice its value in 6 years.

In another case, a particular photographer, Arşakyan, wrote a petition to the state council (*Şura-yı Devlet Riyaseti*) regarding the valuation of his property on August 4, 1904[259]. His complaint is related to the differentiation of the functions and departments of the building[260]. He describes the property as partially two and partially three floors high. On December 5, 1904, and August 24, 1905, the same issue was repeatedly conveyed to Şura-yı Devlet Riyaseti by *Nezaret-i Umur-ı Maliye*. Probably Arşakyan wrote more than one petition to various institutions. In the latter, a report is mentioned that describes the property's situation in a detailed manner. This report notes that the owner resides in the property address, three rooms on the 2nd floor are properly plastered, there are two shops; one of them is used for coal dealing, and the other is used as firewood dealing. The second shop's door leading to the street is closed, and there is another door through the garden. Also, it is reported that the shop used as a photographer's studio was demolished, and this way, the downstairs of this shop could be used for the coal dealing. According to the report, this part is considered as *müştemilat* (backhouse) and should be valued.

[259] ŞD-3029-6-1-2/ 4 Ağustos 1904

[260] "…asıl haneyi teşkil eden iki katın birisi kısmen ikmal edilmesine nazaran buna tamam itibarıyla kıymet takdiri mugayır-i usul ve hakkaniyet ve mağduriyet-i çakeranemi mucıb olacağındantahkikat-ı mukteziye icrasıyla lazıme-i adaletin icra buyurulması…"

In the case of Arşakyan, the flow of documents and the institutions is very scattered and missing; however, there are still some points to comment on. First of all, it was evident that there is an ad hoc character of evaluation of the buildings and the image we can conclude from those reports is not clear. However, we can see a mixed-use of residence and commerce. Second, the differentiation of the functions matters both for the owner and the state, probably in terms of taxation and real estate value. State also considers the residency and ownership overlap, remembering Yücel Terzibaşoğlu's remark on centralizing the control over the rental system. It may give a hint for the surveillance of that issue[261]. And as the last point, the officers also detect the fine work phase of the construction, which is an essential step in modern occupancy permit licenses given by municipalities.

In all these documents related to the real estate value, the terms such as hakkaniyet, adil, etc., are widely used. Also, in most documents, there is a note revealing that submitting a document has a price that people have to pay. For example, on Arşakyan's petition's back page, we see that a donation of 20 kuruş for the Hamidiye Hicaz Railroad was paid, in addition to the five kuruş of legal stamp price. When considered with the objection of people to contribute to the road in accordance with the property ownership, in 1904, each petition is a donation for the more extensive infrastructure of the empire, and the voluntariness of this donation cannot be precisely known.

[261] Terzibaşoğlu. "Eleni Hatun'un Zeytin Bahçeleri: 19. Yüzyılda Anadolu'da mülkiyet hakları nasıl inşa edildi?"

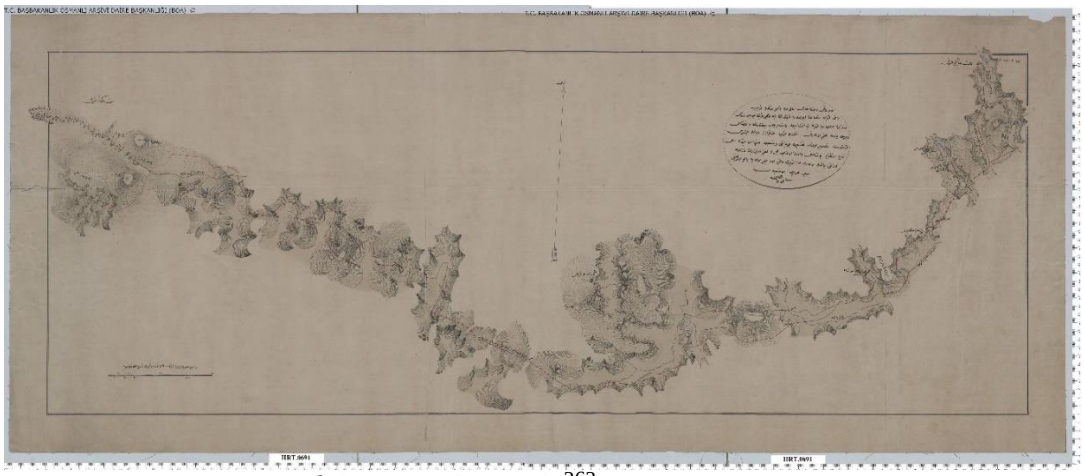


Figure 14. Waterways of the Anatolian side[262]

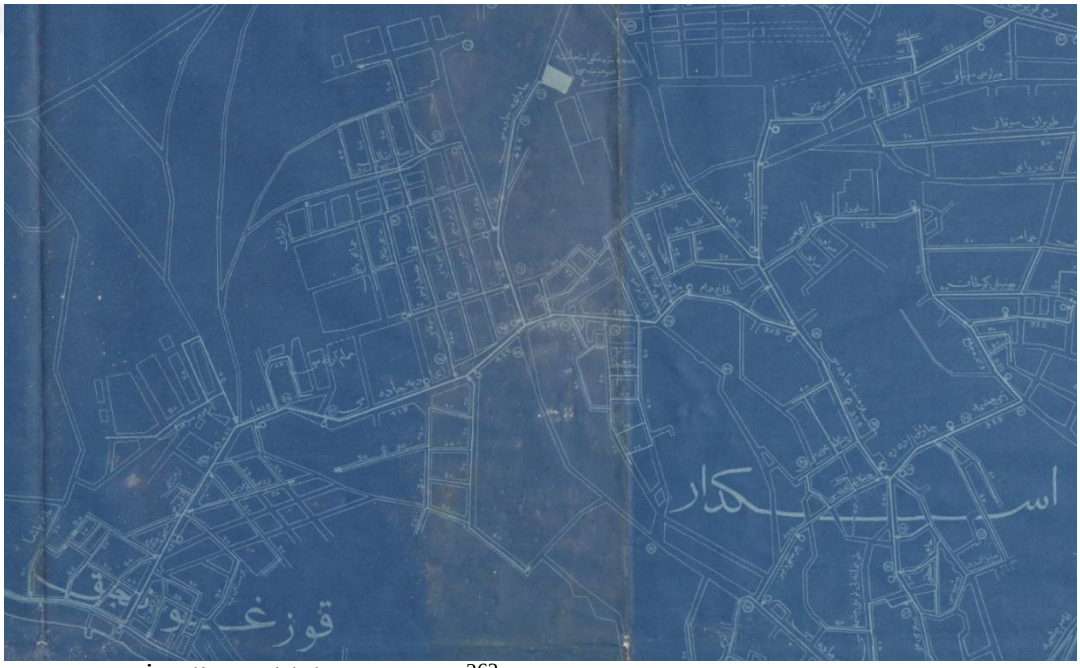


Figure 15. İcadiye gridal waterways[263]

Figure 12 demonstrates the overall view of the waterways in Uskudar and Figure 13 zooms into the district, including İcadiye and Kuzguncuk infrastructure. Those maps give the idea of the connectedness of the plot and neighborhood with a broad network of water. Each plot and building is shaped accordingly through necessities,

[262] HRT.0691
[263] PLK.p.02037

conflicts, evaluations, and negotiations. These relations represent a neighborhood's juridical, administrative and physical construction in complex relations with institutions, environment, natural resources, and community. In this process, necessities sometimes contradict, as it is most visible in the objection of the Uskudar community against the violation of water resources and green areas. However, as Eda Güçlü states, de juro is shaped by necessities and contradictions. Varios crucial demands can be passed by the discourse of justice associated with the land rights of individuals introduced by Tanzimat Fermanı[264].

So plot by plot, water is transferred to the infrastructure, and the terrain is shaped both underground and above ground in line with the real estate market of modern urbanization in the nineteenth century. Capitalism takes over the suburban land and transforms it from a resource feeding the community into a newly constructed modern neighborhood through land division. This natural resource is organized into a scattered character in parcels but in connection with its surrounding geography. We can comment that just like the dialectical transformation of local and central administrations feeding each other, parceling and large-scale urbanization leads through a change of the city landscape in a dialectical relation.

4. 5 Social infrastructure to create a community

Remembering the petition of the Meclis-i Cismani-yi Millet-i Ermeniyan on 25 December 1883, the council referred to the community's increasing population in İcadiye. It emphasized the need for a new church, as it is not sustainable for people to benefit from Kuzguncuk and Selami Ali churches. This remark is essential in indicating the formation of a neighborhood not only in an administrative sense but

[264] Güçlü. Transformation of Waqf Property in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire.

also in a collective sense, as a prayer house is an integral part of the daily life of a community. So people in İcadiye not only need roads, iron water pipes, and buildings, but they need social facilities to maintain their life in their district. It is not clear whether the church had been built in the demanded plot. However, a document dated 27 June 1889 addressed the Adliye ve Mezahib Nezareti about a church building damaged after a fire. There have been several fires in Uskudar around those years. One interview I could manage with an elder of the neighborhood recalls a memory of fire destruction and reconstruction in the area. Still, for the scope of this thesis, I will not go into detail about that issue. We cannot claim that this is the church in the plot that the council had demanded in 1883, but it can be concluded that the neighborhood has had a place of worship. The document reminds us that it is not permitted to construct or repair a church in de juro. The building exists de facto. So the officers mention that it is not clear to which community the church belongs and asks for further investigation about the issue. In 2021, we know that İcadiye doesn't have a church, and also there is no telling of a church in the shared memory of daily life –as far as I observed in the five years I lived in the neighborhood- but this document gives a clue that it has existed.

Another critical issue for building a community is the existence of schools. A couple of documents reveal the process behind the establishment of Armenian people in İcadiye neighborhood in the late 19th century. The earliest record I could find dates back to 7 August, written by *Divan-ı Hümayun* to Exterior Affairs Ministry (*Hariciye Nezareti*) and mentions that in İcadiye, a school for Armenian children doesn't exist[265]. Demand is constructing a masonry school building for boys and girls in a plot belonging to the mentioned community. The officer says a claim

[265] İ.HR.0252.014916.001.001

regarding the property ownership to q waqf and correspondence had occurred with *Evkaf Nezareti*. There is an earlier document from 31 July 1871[266] that probably imitates this flow, but it doesn't contain many details. On 12 September 1871,[267] *Hariciye Nezareti* commented that the plot was proper for the construction of the school. Still, the license would be given in condition that there would be separate classes, entrance doors, and toilets for boys and girls. This remark is attractive in how state view regarding the gendered usage of space shapes the physical production, and it is aligned with binary segregation. On 26 September 1871, the issue of waqf property comes front again[268]. One should read this flow of documents as a web of different actors dealing with varying aspects of the issue, so apparent linearity should not be expected. This document conveys the issue of property to *Evkaf-ı Hümayun Nezareti* once more and also repeats the conditions declared by *Maarif Nezareti*. In the last document found, presumably written by Evkaf Nezareti, the officer reports that the annual leasing contract over the land associated with the Cevri Usta Waqf should be denounced in exchange for the mentioned price after that the plot would be convenient for school construction. It happened on 1 February 1872, and the document reveals that transfer of property has not happened at once but is an ongoing process on every occasion regarding the necessities[269].

Another school application is from 29 March 1899, written by a certain Aranuhi bint Agop Astarcıyan (bint meaning daughter of) addressing the Public Education Ministry (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti*)[270]. She demands permission to establish a school for children between four and ten in the school for girls that

[266] İ.HR.0252.014916.001.001
[267] İ.HR.0252.014916.001.001
[268] İ.HR.0252.014916.001.001
[269] İ.HR.0252.014916.001.001
[270] MF.MKT.446.53.1.2

existed before. On 4 April 1899, an institution called "Inspection des Scholes non-Muslimes& Etrangeres" wrote about the demand of Aranuhi to the Municipality and the Office of Municipal Police, asking for an investigation on the appropriateness of the issue in terms of location and also politics[271]. There isn't any trace of how the case ended. Still, it is essential to see that when the issue is the education of Armenian children and most probably education in general, the intention and content are also a topic of central surveillance. Another essential detail of this case is that Aranuhi resides in Nişantaşı of Beyoğlu District. One can comment that just like the nodes of the physical infrastructure are connected to a larger network, a community in a city is also a node of a larger sociability, such as the Armenian community, rather than being an isolated space in itself. Remembering the relationship between Terkos and Beyoğlu that Mehmet Kentel mentions, urbanization, and all its issues provide portals to see various levels of connections in space.

The last document I will refer to about schools is not dated in the archive; however, it contains essential details, so I will briefly mention them. It is written to Bab-ı Ali, but we don't know the author; however, it is related to Bedros Zeki Efendi's demands. He is a well-known Ottoman literature master, and he applies to establish two schools for girls in İcadiye. In this document, we see that officer emphasizes specific issues that define the state's concerns for proper education space. First of all, remembering the political appropriateness, curriculum, and educational staff is evaluated through central control. In addition to that, the physical attributes mentioned are being steady and spacious enough for a school, and the location and inner spatial partition are considered. Expressions such as "*cereyan-ı havaya müsait*", "*mevki ve taksimatınca mektep ittihazına elverişli*" or "*metanetçe ve*

[271] MF.MKT.446.53.1.2

hıfz üz sıhhaca bir gûne mahzuru olmadığı" are templates related to those headlines and the important point here is that one hundred children is expected to get education in the schools. So one can understand the different concerns compared to the *hane*s (houses) in terms of the degree of publicity of the building function.

After school, I will briefly mention the Şevki Efendi Theather in İcadiye, which is described to be located on the Posta road, presumably the İcadiye-Bağlarbaşı Avenue now. There are three cases related to the theatre. The first document dated 9 November 1907[272] is a draft written on the play that will serve as a donation for the Füyuzat-ı Hamidiye School in Uskudar. It is not a specifically Armenian school, so it can be concluded that the theater is not distinctly serving that community. However, the report from 31st May 1909 is about a play performed by Papazyan Campaign and will serve as a donation to the community in Adana[273]. As it is just after the Adana Massacres, it would be proper to guess that the gift is to help the Armenian community that was harmed by the rampage. The officer demanded control of the play's content by the Municipal Police Office, and they replied that content is proper, but the play should be only for the male audience. In the last document dated 9 November 1907 municipal police officer gives information to U governor (*mutasarrıf*) about a play called "lezaiz- aşk." Officer states that it was announced in the Tercüman-ı Hakikat newspaper, and it was going to be played for women on Friday and men on Sunday. It is indicated that the content is not proper for Islamic belief, and the issue is delegated to the censorship commission. Also noted is that there should be a cage for women to participate as an audience. Remembering the case of binary segregation of space in schools, it is clear that the state has a concern to establish a set of rules regarding public space. This gender bias

[272] ZB-393-124
[273] ZB-395-36

is not that valid in terms of property-related cases or candidates for school trustees. Still, when it comes to benefiting from public space, it becomes an important headline.

The last issue about the social aspect of the neighborhood establishment is about a beer garden license application by Marko veled-i Petro (meaning son of Petro). On 27 March 1909, mayor Hazım demanded an investigation to *Zabtiye Nezareti* about the appropriateness of Marko's demand[274]. In another letter on 10th April written to Police Council, it is mentioned that the place in question is merely a cottage and its façades are open. This situation is not convenient for alcohol sales and opposes the *Müskirat Nizamnamesi* (Regulation regarded Alcohol)[275]. This document suggests wooden fencing covering the place of alcohol sales. On 12 April 1909 Çinili Police Office, it was reported that the applicant perfectly constructed the fencing in the current investigation. On top of that, he transformed the cottage into a pavilion with glass walls[276]. On 5 May 1909, Municipal Police declared no obstacle about Marko's beer garden place, and a license was confirmed[277].

I tried to trace how a neighborhood became a fully functional space under the necessities of its era in terms of physical and social infrastructure. It is crucial to see that almost half a century passes as the iron pipes are placed, children are schooled, and people have their drinks in a beer garden. The basis of all this story is the property transfer of a natural, suburban landscape and its transformation into an urban neighborhood parcel by parcel in due time.

[274] ZB-376-91
[275] ZB-376-91
[276] ZB-376-91
[277] ZB-376-91

CHAPTER 5

EPILOGUE

In this thesis, one of my aims was to open a perspective in urban historiography that will avoid the overshadowing effects of discourses such as colonialist or liberal approaches that construct a narration based on the face value of politically loaded texts and two-dimensional superficial maps. This reading of urban history led to an understanding of the Ottoman urbanization in linear flow that materializes the written; however, the material world itself was also the written source. The spotlights shine on the Tanzimat intellectuals' texts or the western approaches to Ottoman lands, and historiography, in general, shaped a framing that sets more exceptional cases as the norm. To break this view, I used archival documents that deal with on-the-ground applications of space production. This way, it became possible to realize the various actors, an institution at work, and the conflicts. And it is essential to emphasize the issue of property and capital for urban historiography. As a result, the discourse of modernization in its various aspects such as infrastructure, educational facilities, or functions related to the public life came out to be the fragments of this process of creation of the modernist neighborhood in the Ottoman Empire, which is establishing its ties with the modernist capitalism in the nineteenth century. The land was the backbone of this process, it was the most popular asset of the period, and urban space was the new emerging market of the capital.

Behind the scenes of modernization, the famous after fire plans, or the urban renewal projects, a vast market opened by dividing land into disposable commodities. This commodity was mainly produced out of green areas, which means capitalism utilized modern urbanization tools such as constructing infrastructure or

providing neighborhoods for urbanites in the nineteenth century. Then the fires were not the initiators of these practices. Still, they were only some exceptional modes of space production compared to the invasion of “empty” lands and colonization through privatization all around the empire. So the state was colonizing the environment, the farms, gardens, yards, and even the shores, and in this context, landowners were negotiating for their share.

It is widespread, usual information that people, especially in the 1990s were burning their wooden houses in the twentieth century. The motivation behind that act was to abolish the constraints of the cultural heritage over estate development rights. De juro reason for these events was that the historical buildings were registered only in the building itself. So de facto burning was enough to eliminate the juridical obstacle and produce an empty lot for construction according to the current building limits and permits. Then in the 2000s, the law changed, the registration was to be over the plot rather than the building itself, and the owner was obliged to rebuild the structure following the original one. This regulation stopped the historical building fires. However, it initiated a rising restoration sector. Especially in the 2010s, speculators' attention was on the historical buildings that were hard to manage by their lower-class habitants. It ended up with a massive transformation of property and also an internal migration within İstanbul. Property owners who couldn’t effort to restore their houses sold and moved. Similar to my case, in this story, capitalism could hide behind the scenes backstage through the spotlight of conservative intellectual discourses. Property transformation happened in the archives of municipalities, but they didn’t demonstrate themselves in the text on urbanization that much.

From that example, one can even speculate –retrospectively- that the fires that occurred in a condensed period, just on the peak point of the land transformations and emerging land codes, maybe hiding that kind of narrative behind the scenes. However, it is speculation that asking those questions is valid and will help integrate urbanization with its actual context, the capitalist market. It can also be compared with many disasters and how they served the real estate market incorporation with discourses that whitewashed the existing processes, i.e., the urban transformation in the early twenty-first century in İstanbul, after the earthquake of 1999.

Both the urbanization process of suburban areas and the commodification of natural landscape are important topics for research. The concept of ifraz contains the potential to understand diverse mechanisms of land transformation.

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