YEDİKULE LETTUCE AS URBAN LEGEND: ENVIRONMENTAL IMAGINARY OF ISTANBUL IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

Yedikule Lettuce as Urban Legend:

Environmental Imaginary of Istanbul in the Early Twentieth Century

This thesis explores the emergence of Yedikule lettuce, an endemic plant of Istanbul, as a legendary figure of the city. Drawing on literary sources from print media and fiction of the early Republican era, as well as photographic works, it tries to gage the lore around this produce, its origins and the role it had in the making of the cosmopolitan character that is much attributed to Istanbul. Through the perspective of lettuce cultivation, and leisurely activities in the market gardens of the city, this thesis also undertakes the task of tracing the changes in the environmental imaginary of Istanbul in the early twentieth century. An in-depth survey of the developing medical technologies in the latter half of the nineteenth century further contribute to the transformation that the city was undergoing at the time.

ÖZET

Bir Şehir Efsanesi Olarak Yedikule Marulu:
Yirminci Yüzyıl Başı İstanbulu'nda Çevre Tahayyülü

Bu tez, İstanbul'un endemik bir bitkisi olan Yedikule marulunun efsanevi karakterine ne zaman ve nasıl ulaştığını anlamaya çalışıyor. Erken Cumhuriyet dönemi gazeteleri, kurgu metinleri ve fotoğraflardan yararlanarak marul etrafında toplanmış olan şehirlinin heyecanını ve ona yüklenen anlamları tarihselleştirirken, diğer yandan İstanbul'a sıkça atfedilen kozmopolit karakterin içinde nasıl bir rol oynamış olabileceğini sorguluyor. Yedikule marulunun üretim sürecine de odaklanan bu çalışma, şehrin değişen eğlence mekanları içinde şehirlileri ağırlayan bostanların yirminci yüzyılın başında İstanbul'un çevre tahayyüllerine nasıl bir etki etmiş olabileceğini araştırıyor. On dokuzuncu yüzyılın sonlarında ivme kazanan tıp teknolojilerinin şehre ve çevre tahayyüllerine yaptığı etkiyi de göz önünde bulundurarak İstanbulluların şehirlerini görme biçimlerinin nasıl değiştiğini tespit etmeye çalışıyor.

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Ahıska has not only been an intellectual inspiration but also a most loving and supportive friend. I thank her for all the beautiful island walks and talks.

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My late grandfather was the first to teach me, when I was a kid, that Yedikule is not just a neighborhood but a place of magic, where giant lettuces grow, and people of the city travel across neighborhoods and gardens to meet them. Thank you for planting the seed of that story in me. And grandmother, thank you for teaching me how to talk to birds and cats, and peacocks, and all the flowers in the garden of your home and imagination. Without you, I wouldn't know what to do with my heart.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to the gardeners Havva and Kezban Kaplan, Recep and Ayşe Eraslan, to the late Hasan Sargın, among the many other gardeners who worked the land and fed the city with their produce and their stories for centuries. The last generation of gardeners have been gardening despite the difficulties of city life, and the municipal intimidation, abuse and violence. I am grateful for everything they continue to teach us today. This thesis would not compare to a glimpse of the world they opened before us. I would also like to extend this dedication to Nişan Berberyan, who

has, with one suffix, changed my world entirely. Most of all, this thesis is dedicated to the legendary lettuce of Istanbul, who has been the sound joy, a revered member and a faithful neighbor of Yedikule. I hear its call to touch, to miss, to search. In Leyla Erbil's words, "toprağına yıldızlar, ateş böcekleri, güneşler yağsın."

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

When you hear the word lettuce, most probably the first thing that comes to your mind is its texture, form, taste and color; that it is food, a light, crunchy and most common food. Perhaps a salad and diet, and all the diets you've been in. Then comes agriculture, consumption, maybe markets and trade too. If you read a bit into its history, comes taxonomy and medicine. Lettuce did have medicinal use, for centuries and across geographies. Its cultural significance, symbolism comes later, after some deeper looking, or once one adds a specifier such as Yedikule to the fore. With the specifier, a specific form and particular place emerge, if you're lucky, along with some stories. However, what is striking to me is that it seldom occurs to us that lettuce is a living being.

Yedikule lettuce is the protagonist of this thesis. Yet, it is not the hero, since it is not any more important than, cabbage, strawberries, artichokes or me. Understanding its symbolic value and agricultural journey lies in understanding a worldview that rests on seasons, and with the seasons, particularizing and valorizing each fruit of the land in its own network. And it is not just the fruits themselves but the soil, the insects that live on them, the worms that chip away at their fringes, the animals that provide manure and draw water for them, and rest under their shade. It is about the gardeners who care for them. It is about a whole system of reciprocal care, thread by thread, which brought the fame to Yedikule's lettuce.

This undertaking is also about paying respect to a living being who once lived and thrived in Yedikule, but somehow, disappeared quietly from the land and the markets without much notice. One May, it was no longer there. I am writing because I

want to amend this negligence, this forgetfulness. I am writing because I want to understand why a lettuce kind so old and resilient disappeared so suddenly and discreetly.

Today, a study into the history of lettuce may be taken seriously within consumption studies, material history or premodern medicine. As Suraiya Faroqhi states in her introduction to *Soframız Nur Hanemiz Mamur: Osmanlı Maddi Kültüründe Yemek ve Barınak*, "consumption studies are receiving respect."[1] She offers a short account of how state-centered history writing is finally giving way to matters related to culture and identity. Similarly historian Warren Belasco, in his introduction to *Food Nations: Selling Taste in Consumer Societies* writes, "only after I started the food chapter did I decide that issues of food production and distribution are important in themselves—and not just because they can illuminate some other dynamic or theory."[2] As he suggests, food is rarely a primary focus, and instead, it is employed as a useful tool, an intermediary for something else. This negligence, partially, has to do with its historical attachment to the domestic space, the daily, the feminized, unless of course we're talking about great chefs. In the last decade though, there has been a serious rise in the history of food, in line with the rise in anxiety over climate and the dwindling natural resources. However, rarely the struggle against the food industry see eye to eye with the man-made ecological crisis the world is experiencing.

Still though, don't we have more to say about why we eat what we eat? Apart from the trade routes, economic deals, agricultural technologies, seed evolution, sophisticated dishes, medical and pharmacological uses, material culture and

[1] Faroqhi, *Soframız Nur Hanemiz Mamur*, 2006:17.
[2] Belasco, *Food Nations*, 2002:6.

mannerisms, so on and so forth. How do we relate to agricultural produce, and what kind of meaning do we find in them? Why do they respond to us the way they do? How do we form taste and tastefulness? How does taste, touch, smell connect us to memory? Going beyond the personal stories, how does collective taste emerge and affect the way we move in our days and nights? How does it bring us together? And when it does, how does it re-member us back to the days, weeks, seasons and years and centuries of rituals? When we lose a taste, what else are we losing with it? Finally, what does this approach contribute to our history writing?

My inquiry into the Yedikule lettuce, and its legendary character for Istanbul, has taken various roads. The first chapter will try to explore the lore around this produce that seems to have brought so much joy to city life come spring. How did people write about it during the 1920s and 30s? Moreover, how do people remember it today? How has it anchored itself into the collective memory of Istanbul? In this chapter, I introduce the fairly recent concept of the environmental imaginary in trying to understand the dynamic shift in people's relationship to their surroundings in a fast-changing city. Though recent, the concept has been employed in various fields in different ways; from an approach towards how the environment shapes human activity,[3] to post-political attitudes that offer technological fixes to ecological catastrophe ignoring environmental justice altogether;[4] from an approach that tries to understand how meanings and practices weaved around a particular region helps shape identities,[5] to bringing queer theory into

[3] Kaika, M. and Swyngedouw, E., Cities, "Natures and the Political Imaginary", 2012.
[4]Grove, K., "Rethinking the nature of urban environmental politics: Security, subjectivity, and the non-human," 2009.
[5]Gandy, M., "Queer ecology: nature, sexuality, and heterotopic alliances, environment and planning", 2012.

the discussion to understand emergent subjectivities within urban environmental sites and the political possibilities that lie therein.[6] A major question around urban environmental imaginary revolves around how certain sites enable and disable encounters and interactions between people and non-human elements.

Elaborating on a question posed by Gabriel: when did the urban become a governable space and what are the conditions in which this language and practice of governance developed? In the case of my thesis, I find the concept of the environmental imaginary useful in four ways: first, as a stepping stone to look at the tear between a human-centered historical imaginary that shapes urban governance and an "environmental" focus, which brings in non-human actors. Second, it can be a tool to historicize the idea of "nature of the city"; if that would make sense, for instance, in the case of writer and historian Eremya Çelebi writing about Istanbul in the seventeenth century. Would the concept find reflection in the way he viewed the city he grew up in? Third, by way of zooming in on Yedikule and its lettuce, I would like to present a particular story that would not fall in line with hegemonic discourses of environmental imaginaries that have been imposed upon us and occupy our views. A collective imaginary does not need to be hegemonic and oppressive. Perhaps it can also imagine a space in which non-human actors also contribute to, and not merely based on a deterministic idea of the laws of nature. Fourth, it can help us propose a different look at the cosmopolitanism of Istanbul, that has increasingly been circulating in intellectual and non-intellectual literature.

[6]Cadieux, K. V., "Competing discourses of nature in exurbia", 2011; Gabriel, N., "Mapping urban space: The production, division and reconfiguration of natures and economies", 2013.

How has the Ottoman state, at the end of the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth century intervened in the city and shaped it? What were the political, social, economic and cultural tools it used to employ its decisions? Moreover, how did the inhabitants of the city view these interventions and react to them? Meanwhile, how did the way Istanbulites viewed and made themselves, change in relation to the environment they lived in? The concept of the environmental imaginary is also useful in addressing these questions by way of introducing two other concepts, that will be scrutinized in the following 2 chapters: *terroir* and the medical gaze, respectively.

The second chapter is an attempt at getting a sense of the life span of lettuce cultivation in the city. Since when has it been cultivated? When has it become the famed lettuce that it was? Looking at the development of the Yedikule area, transgressing its historical borders, I follow the traces of its birth. Moreover, using the concept of *terroir*, I explore the many actors in its cultivation, from the underground waters to the winds and the skillful gardeners that tended to the city's produce. I try to trace a network of relations in which Yedikule lettuce thrived. *Terroir* also helps us understand how environmental imaginary has emerged as an important conceptual framework to understand the conditions in which we live today. The nationalistic discourse that underlies the concept of *terroir* contributes to our examination of the dynamics of colonial intervention and intellectual hegemony that greatly influenced how Istanbul was shaped in the beginning of the twentieth century.

Chapter 3 starts out with a survey of the medical uses of lettuce in history, before and during the "Scientific Revolution". This chapter is mainly concerned with how scientific inquiry changed with the discovery of microorganisms, and revolutionized the

way people experienced the world. The establishment of bacteriology and virology had unforeseen consequences for city planning. I argue that the medical gaze, as Foucault conceptualized it, had a devastating effect on the places and in the communities we live. Adulatory and state-centered accounts of the history of medicine and public health blind us to the socio-cultural erasure that continues today. Still though, people seem to have held fast to their ways of urban life in the nineteenth century, despite all the political turmoil and confusion. With the developments in medical technologies and the establishment of "Western science", the centralizing efforts of the Ottoman state found new venues and tools to exert its power on the city, increasingly marking, marginalizing and criminalizing neighborhoods and their constituents with a medicalized language.

In my search for traces of Yedikule lettuce and its disappearance from the city, I had to traverse different time periods, survey medical treatises, farm manuals, botanical treatises, journals, city letters, state documents, travelogues, maps, caricatures and fiction. as well as use a wide range of secondary literature spanning historiography, archeobotany, geography, feminist critique, anthropology and others. In my survey of the literature on urban studies, I have come to see that the state-centered, plan-centered and male-centered approaches prevail. The recent contributions to this field from an environmental perspective foreground numbers, kinds, trade, etc. rather than look at relations and relationality between beings. Looking at the literature on the history of food in the late Ottoman Empire, and its place within material history, religious and cultural studies begins with the palace. There is still much work ahead to understand how, where and with whom different social strata ate; moreover, how production and eating habits were formed and in turn form the way Istanbulites experienced and shaped their city.

Urban agricultural practices and structures have long been ignored or shoved to the margins, erasing an integral part of the life of the city. Finally, in my view, the history writing in the field of medicine in the late Ottoman Empire is state-centric, and as I show in Chapter 4, blatantly racist, underlined by a linear perception of historical development and lacking in any historiographical inquiry. Today's discussions on bioengineering and agricultural chemistry would benefit greatly from a thorough historicization of the technologies that have been used and changed over the centuries. In my limited research into the philosophical discussions around food ethics I saw that they rarely employ historical analysis and findings.

Finally, I would like to address a most important issue based on what this thesis primarily lacks. In my research, it was inevitable to delve into the stories of the dispersed communities of Istanbul. The rising trend in expressing a nostalgia towards a cosmopolitan Istanbul where people of all walks of life, ethnicities, religious affinities lived side by side in a happy chaos does not offer us any solid understanding of how cosmopolitanism played out in Istanbul. As Rachel Goshgarian, in her brilliant analysis of the nineteenth century writer Hagop Baronian's *A Stroll Through the Quarters of Constantinople* (1880), observes, "both the intellectual and popular discourses on a nineteenth-century cosmopolitan Istanbul are devoid of the voices of those minority authors who in fact, created the "cosmopolitanism" that is so 'missed'."[7] As she asserts, "minority languages and literatures have not easily entered the later, larger discourse on the city in modern Turkey that is so infused with nostalgia."[8] I must admit that I hit the wall exactly where Goshgarian points. In my attempt to understand the prevalence and

[7] Goshgarian, *A Stroll Through the Quarters of Constantinople*, 228.
[8] idem.

lore around Yedikule lettuce, I came to realize the danger of and deeply regret my lack of knowledge in these minority languages and literatures. I slowly discovered that research into the meanings made around lettuce, and the leisure and pleasure in the gardens of Yedikule necessitated a command of Armenian at the least. Therefore, I need to state that this thesis only partially does justice to the lore of lettuce and the larger questions on environmental imaginary of Istanbul especially before the Republic was founded. In a way, then, this exploration is a testament to the active solidification of the height and thickness of the walls erected around our intellectual, historical and relational understanding and experiences of Istanbul.

CHAPTER 2

YEDİKULE LETTUCE IN URBAN HISTORICAL IMAGINARY

> We eat to live? Yes, surely. But why then did the immortal gods also come to the table, and twice a day?
> Léon Abric[9]

On 30 May 1938, the young Republic's first newspaper Cumhuriyet, under the heading "Sunday Interviews" read: "Yesterday, Yedikule celebrated its Lettuce Festival."[10] The opening lines of this beautifully written piece by journalist Salahaddin Güngör, skillfully draws the reader in the present moment of the yesterday, when "our Armenian citizens were celebrating the 106th anniversary of the establishment of the Yedikule Hospital in its garden across from the building, rejoicing in music and dance. Lettuce was the fruit[11] of honor. Wandering from lip to lip as though sweet gossip, there it was: the Yedikule lettuce."

Immediately in the first few lines as readers we know we are made witness to a spectacle, an event that is extraordinary, where a type of lettuce – which derives its name from the neighborhood in which it's been flourishing for centuries – is revered in a way that extends its contemporary scientific qualities. It was celebrated as a guest of honor and produced and consumed as a form of expression. As the article progresses, lettuce takes on other roles. Güngör first announces it as the symbol of joy and good health, he

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[9] Gopnik, *The Table Comes First: Family, France, and the Meaning of Food,* 1.
[10] Güngör, "Yedikule dün marul bayramını tes'id etti".
[11] The original word in Turkish is *yemiş*, which translates to an older use of fruit as given by an etymological dictionary (https://www.etymonline.com/; accessed June 30, 2019): "late 12c., 'any vegetable product useful to humans or animals,' from Old French *fruit* 'fruit, fruit eaten as dessert; harvest; virtuous action' (12c.), from Latin *fructus* 'an enjoyment, delight, satisfaction; proceeds, produce, fruit, crops,' from *frug-*, stem of *frui* 'to use, enjoy,' from suffixed form of PIE root *bhrug- 'to enjoy,' with derivatives referring to agricultural products."

writes: “Whoever had lettuce in hand, had a smile on their face.” In his view, the installation of lettuce heads in the garden resemble the Egyptian pyramids: “Lined up as pyramids they were all constructed of lettuce” (“sıra sıra ehramlar vardı ki hepsi maruldan inşa edilmişlerdi”). Pointing to one of the piles, his friend asks: “What do you think? Doesn’t it look like a green shrine from this spot?” “Indeed,” Güngör responds, “from the distance it does;” then, “pointing to the leaves discolored by the soil and worms amidst” he adds, “but if you enter it, god save your soul!”

The prose continues to describe the scene by drawing from Ottoman lyric poetry and music. Güngör builds a careful balance between what are considered to be authentic elements such as classical musical modes performed by traditional instruments *tanbur* and *zurna*, and western elements such as the gramophone and saxophone. While depicting the two different types of music executed in different corners of the garden, he writes that all music was poorly performed, and yet, nobody seemed to care. Instead, everyone was either kicking up their heels, or immersed in conversation and enjoying various types of food. There were even people asleep in the midst of all this hubbub. Every time a car passed by, it would kick up dust on the road that separates the garden hospital from the Yedikule gate of the Theodosian Walls, and cover the area. In the account, a lad cracks a joke: “we should have been women today, we would have been powdered for free.” In response, his friend offers him a lettuce leaf to dust himself off.

Güngör describes the variety of women’s hair in all sorts of colors and forms lying around on the grass, which invokes a poem by the famous, and for some, infamous, poet Nedim who writes about love with erotic undertones. In a way, Güngör echoes Nedim in his prose decorated with eroticism when depicting the women and the young couples scattered across the garden. The journalist ends the piece observing that

“here, it seems lettuce is a panacea. It is eaten leaf by leaf, laid on the grass as mat, and used as sweep or brush when need be… Among the people who have come to this day of lettuce, there may even be ones who dream of laying this blessed weed of May on the ground, and yearn to spend the night on it.”

The piece is accompanied by two photographs, both of which capture women eating lettuce. The first one shows a circle of women laughing and passing on lettuce leaves. The second one depicts a young woman standing alone, holding several heads of lettuce in her hands as she peers into the distance. The caption reads: “A young woman and her lettuces.” We can gather that what the journalist wants to specifically foreground in this event are the women enjoying their lettuce in public. One wonders if Güngör would have made similar comments inlaid with sexual innuendos if the gathering was dominated by Muslim women and men. Although the article demonstrates keen observations, maintains the carnivalesque scene and the festive tone throughout the text, and draws attention to the jouissance, cacophony and humor, it leaves the purpose of this gathering rather vague.

In the opening sentence, we learn that this is an event whose attendants are Armenian citizens and who have gathered at the hospital garden to celebrate the hospital’s anniversary. The other time where the setting is recalled is during the recounting of a joke between two lads. Throughout the piece which is embellished with such tiny details, we do not get a good grasp of what this festival is about and why is it that only Armenians are mentioned. Was it obvious to the reader at the time? What is the context in which this alleged lettuce festival took place? Are there precedents, or ones that are coeval with this one? How did it/they come about?

Let us state from the get-go: There never was a Yedikule Lettuce Festival. This piece was in fact an account of the Armenian religious celebration Hampartsoum, or the Ascension of Christ,[12] which takes its root in the pagan tradition of celebrating Spring. However, transformed into the Armenian Christian practices, it came to be celebrated 40 days after Easter (the first day of Resurrection). Surprisingly, there is extremely limited information on Hampartsoum, which in Istanbul was also the day that the Surp Pırgiç Armenian Hospital's day of opening on 30 May 1834[13] took place. An account of Hampartsoum may give us an idea of why the Armenian community picked this day for the opening ceremony of the newly established hospital: [14]

> In ancient times on this day the young ladies were allowed to walk freely in the fields, sing songs, and make acquaintances, which often became crucial in their lives. According to people's imagination this is the night of miracle. At midnight exactly nature finds the gift of speech, the water is still for a second; the sky and the earth embrace; the stars kiss one another. Space stops its wheel and the one who witnesses these magic moments will have his or her dreams fulfilled. Plants are said to hug one another at this moment, after which they begin to tell one another what cure and remedies each of them can have, and early in the morning women go to the valleys to pick up herbs.

There are few and slightly varying accounts of Hampartsoum, as can be expected for an ancient celebration. The common thread in these accounts is the celebration of endemic plants that thrive in the location of the festival; songs are sung, poems uttered and food made collectively is enjoyed to amalgamate the deep connections and strong symbolism between community, place, and belief. In Istanbul, Hampartsoum has been celebrated in

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[12] Sarafean, *Armenian Apostolic Church: Her Ceremonies, Sacraments, Main Feasts and Prominent Saints,* 41-42.
[13] The initiative to open the hospital was already undertaken in 1832, however the official ceremony took place in 1834. Yarman, Surp Pırgiç, 472.
[14] Najarian, "Armenian Traditions: Hampartsoum". (https://tamarnajarian.wordpress.com/2012/05/17/armenian-traditions-hampartsoum/ accessed on 12 May 2019.)

Yedikule at least since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Lettuce was not necessarily the only symbol, artichokes,[15] for instance, were also part of the revered plants of the season and thus greatly enjoyed during the festivities. Nevertheless, photographs from 1930s from the Surp Pırgiç archives (Figure 1) show the presence of lettuce leaves on picnic cloths lying around in the hospital garden. Celebration photographs from the 1970s through the 2000s (Figure 2) also show lettuce leaves placed vertically in glasses on tables, looking as though a line of edible bouquet. The date when the Armenian community moved the celebrations indoors is unknown to me.



Figure 1 Hampartsoum celebration in the hospital garden in 1932.[16]

[15] Personal correspondence with writer Takuhi Tovmasyan Zaman and historian Arsen Yarman. I am deeply grateful for their generosity in sharing their experiences of the day of Hampartsoum in Istanbul.
[16] Surp Pırgiç Armenian Hospital Journal, 2015. Lettuce leaves can be seen on the picnic cloth.



Figure 2 Hampartsoum celebration in the hospital. Jamanak 12.05.1975.[17]

Why, then, did Güngör come up with this idea of the lettuce festival? What were the conditions in which he could make up and pass a "lettuce festival"? What realities and imagination made it possible? In the coming chapters I will be looking for clues that contextualize this "sweet detail". As a first step towards delving deeper into these questions, this chapter will, first, present a rather short and brute survey of the drastic changes that took place in the nineteenth century (which will be taken up in Chapter 4 in more detail), and then trace the lore around the Yedikule lettuce of Istanbul in the early

[17] Again, I am indebted to Arsen Yarman for sharing this photograph with me. Lettuce rising from the water glass

years of the Republic, contextualized within a larger practice of city dwellers' frequenting of urban gardens.

2.1 Changing leisure, from *mesire*s to market gardens

The culture of frequenting market gardens for leisure cannot be separated from the established culture of *mesire* outings and the sensual pleasures cultivated in them. Until now, there have been numerous wonderful historical analyses of the *mesire*s (promenade, a walking place) that dotted the city, and it is impossible to do justice here to the literature. Shirine Hamadeh's excellent historical analysis of the rise of *mesire* culture that went hand in hand with a growing middle class and a strengthening elite in an eighteenth century Istanbul demonstrates the complex dynamics in which people of the city transformed the beautiful and distant nooks and crannies of the city into sites of sensual pleasure and sources of inspiration for artistic expression.[18] Whereas Kağıthane was the most popular *mesire* in the early eighteenth century, in the latter half, both sides of the Bosphorus offered numerous spots in the city. Hamadeh contends that the sultans' increasingly pompous parades during the commute to various palaces along the Bosporus in the face of a solidification of elites, bureaucrats and merchants who were engaging with a wider reach of landscapes offered by sea and by land, gave way to novel practices of sensual pleasure, and hence, new forms of architecture and poetry.[19]

[18] Hamadeh. *The city's pleasures*, 14-16.
[19] Hamadeh warns the reader against the simplistic labeling of this period as the beginning of a "westernization" era. She carefully demonstrates the complex structures that generated novel forms of artistic expression, be it architecture or poetry. She also shows how these new practices and articulations were greatly inspired by internal dynamics as opposed to the dominant claim that the Sultanate's spectacles were first and foremost constructed for European audiences.

As the Ottoman urban elite moved to the beautiful water mansions along these shores, more people moved to the villages and started frequenting *mesire*s along the Bosphorus. General public would need rowboats and/or horse carriages to get to these spots in the city, which were becoming more and more popular as the nineteenth century unfolded. There were also Veliefendi and Çırpıcı *mesire*s, which were right outside the Land Walls. Their distance made them accessible by foot, and thus, they were always in fashion. It is highly likely that they also catered to the lower classes. People who lived *intra muros* could just prepare their food, exit the Land Walls and walk over to these *mesire*s. Moreover, walking through the city and reaching these spots were quite carnivalesque themselves, offering spectacles both for the walkers and the people who watched them in the coffeeshops and gardens that lined the Lands Walls *extra muros*.

In the nineteenth century drastic changes were taking place. Istanbul in the latter half of the nineteenth century had seen an unprecedented rise in its population. According to the census in 1828 the total population of Dersaadet (walled city) and Bilad-ı Selase (Eyüp, Galata, Üsküdar) was 359.000. In 1897 this number had risen to over one million.[20] There were multiple factors behind this rise. Some primary reasons were the pronatalist policies in the wake of nationalism,[21] advancements in modern

[20] Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, 18-44.

[21] Balsoy *Politics of Reproduction in Ottoman Society 1838-1900*, 54: "The mid to late nineteenth century was a period rife with complaints about the ubiquity of abortion, and the absence of legal sanctions to discourage and punish the abortionist. During the time the Ottoman Empire was trying to improve the conditions of birth and diminish the maternal death rates by educating and licensing midwives, pronatalist policies gained further visibility with the intensifying of the debate concerned with limiting traditional birth control methods, abortion being the most controversial among them. The anxieties about depopulation turned into a public debate, and the otherwise conflicting parties of the Ottoman society agreed that abortion was the main reason for the decreasing 'Muslim' population, and hence concluded that it should be expunged. From 1838, various state institutions and ministries sporadically issued law codes and regulations to ban abortion and to punish those who practiced it." Demirci and Somel, "Women's Bodies, Demography, and Public Health", 419: "Unlike the universalist attitude of the edict of 1838, state policy during the regime of Abdülhamid II clearly aimed mostly at protecting the progeny of the Muslim and Turkish population by openly stating the military reasons for this policy and its fears

medicine, and the drop in mortality rates caused by epidemics and pandemics, and massive immigration and mobility due to wars and other economic hardships. Istanbul's "crowds" were not a new phenomenon or experience, though.[22] Since the Byzantine times, both city dwellers and visitors from other parts of the world has perceived Constantinople/Istanbul to be a crowded and complicated city,[23] except for limited periods in which extreme changes took place, such as the seizing of the city by Mehmed II, who had to re-populate the city via forceful measures.[24] However, the sharp rise in population in this era brought about new and pressing issues for the Ottoman Empire that was already suffering from political and economic turmoil. The Tanzimat/Reform Period, the breaking up of territories, wars and occupation, epidemics and pandemics, modern medicine and its technologies, urban transformations and technological inventions, secularizing politics and education, and changes that paved the way of a women's movement were among the developments that the Empire was dealing with on various fronts. Large cities were particularly affecting and affected by these processes.

about ethnic and religious minorities within the Ottoman Empire. During this period the administrative control over midwives became even tighter." As much as the emphasis is on the Ottoman state policies targeting Muslim women to increase population, a similar approach on a different scope can be detected in the Armenian population. The journal *Tarman*, published between the years 1912-1922 by Armenian doctors who were part of the Ermeni Etıbba Cemiyeti, frequently made pregnancy, impotence and sexual health a priority in its issues. In fact, the publication stated that "Aile, mektepli, çocuk ve yeniyetme, gençlerin ve kızların sağlıklarının korunması; bulaşıcı ve ırsi hastalıklar ve diğer öldürücü salgınlar; Ermeni neslinin çoğalması ve seçkinleşmesi meseleleri, en çok değineceğimiz konular olacaktır**.**" (Yarman, *Ermeni Etıbba Cemiyeti*, 54). Surely, there is a significant difference between the nineteenth century policies sanctioned by the Ottoman state targeting the Muslim and Turkish population, and an Armenian community that has undergone a war and genocide, concerned with the sexual health and natalist anxieties of its members.

[22] Clear population figures are unavailable however "an estimate of 350.000 to 400.000 in the larger city is widely accepted for the later sixteenth century; a significant increase from an estimated 70.000 to 100.000 in the late-fifteenth century." Kafescioğlu, "Viewing, Walking, Mapping Istanbul", 27

[23] Eyice, *Tarih Boyunca Istanbul*; Kaya, *Üç Devirde İstanbul*.

[24] Necipoğlu, "From Byzantine Constantinople to Ottoman Kostantiniyye".

As the population in Istanbul rose along with demands of shelter, employment and sustenance, new transportation and communication methods tried to meet the needs of a city, which in the eyes of both Ottoman subjects and foreigners showed signs of deterioration.[25] The city was going through processes that was a lot more complicated than a simple story of a steady deterioration though. For example, already in the 1830s, under the leadership of Mahmud II, modern hospitals were being built.[26] The novel method of establishing quarantine centers were to follow, along with unprecedented approaches to medical knowledge and practice. In the latter half of the century tram lines stretched through different parts of the city, new forms of municipal intervention such as the installation of street lighting reached various neighborhoods,[27] and measures such as garbage collection and collection of municipal taxes were being experimented with.[28] Ferries and the horizontal expansion of the city – new access to leisure – was also thriving. Surely, this is not to say that all these developments happened smoothly or without resistance from the public. The first of the municipal institutionalization was undertaken with the initiative of foreigners and non-Muslims of the Galata district, which was referred to as the Sixth District municipality. It failed to collect the municipal tax and soon after its establishment was in great debt. It also gave way to serious allegations of money embezzlement and corruption. A glance through the caricatures of Nişan Berberyan (1842-1907), a prominent Armenian caricaturist of Istanbul, printed in

[25] See Gül, *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul*.
[26] Such as: Surp Pırgiç Armenian Hospital and the Plague Center, Zeytinburnu Military Hospital, Greek Hospital at Galata. Yarman, *Surp Pırgiç*; Yıldırım "Health Institutions".
[27] İleri, "Allure of the Light, Fear of the Dark" 2017:280-298.
[28] Rosenthal, "Foreigners and Municipal Reform in Istanbul" 1980:227-245

Hayal, between 1873 and 1875, demonstrate that new municipal measures were continually mocked despite the censure and difficulty in publishing.[29]

Surely, criticism came from all fronts; European travelers and experts in various fields, often commented on Istanbul's deficiency in urban planning. For example, In his 1890 treatise on Istanbul's public hygiene, French engineer Ch. Dalmas praises Istanbul's natural beauties and emphasizes how lucky city's inhabitants are for being exposed to so many kinds of winds that constantly clear away the dirty and possibly dangerous air, and the surrounding water that carries the city's dump away.[30] The latter, he believes, is especially advantageous with regards to epidemics that frequently break out in a city that, in his eyes, is gravely inconducive to healthy living given the dire infrastructural situation he observes.

The notion that Istanbul is a wonder of nature — offering unique pleasures and advantages for its inhabitants — but is governed poorly, is quite a trend at the turn of the century. In fact, the discourse around "poor governance" of the nature of a given landscape in the Ottoman realm was a useful ideological tool that helped the expansion of European colonization in the region. The Ottoman Empire responded with its own municipal and trans-regional development projects. As Edmund Burke aptly puts it "colonial writers believed that the Middle Eastern environment suffered irreversible degradation after classical antiquity," and that "colonial understanding of the environmental history of the MENA region were distorted by orientalist assumptions".[31]

[29] Çeviker, *Terakki Edelim Beyler*.
[30] Damas, *L'Hygiène publique à Constantinople*.
[31] Davis and Burke, *Environmental imaginaries of the Middle East and North Africa,* ix.

In her Introduction to "Environmental Imaginaries of the Middle East and North Africa" Diana Davis defines "environmental imaginary" as[32]

> the constellation of ideas that groups of humans develop about a given landscape, usually local or regional, that commonly includes assessments about that environment as well as how it came to be in its current state." This use of imaginary draws more on the conceptualization of the "social imaginary" than on other uses of the term in psychological or philosophical studies. Social groups may develop an environmental imaginary, for instance, by living and working in a common place. Because environmental imaginaries nearly always contain ideas about how the environment reached its current state, though, narratives of environmental change, environmental histories, are intimately linked with environmental imaginaries. Therefore, such stories, or narratives, about environmental change, both inform environmental imaginaries and develop as a result of environmental imaginaries.

The following attempt at trying to understand how Istanbulites viewed their city, and their experiences within it, is informed by a complex net (and cacophony) of opinions, ambitions, daily practices and necessities. How did people of the city experience the drastic changes, interventions that were happening all around them? The frequent fires that stormed through the city, the epidemics that swept thousands of people at a time, the increasing influence of the colonizer's gaze and demands, the survival mechanisms and practices that were sometimes in opposition with new municipal regulations, and the constant struggle to freely voice opinions and oppositions all contributed greatly to the changes in the environmental imaginary of the city.

In this framework, bringing lettuce to the fore adds another profound layer which demonstrates that humans were not the only actors in how places we live in were shaped and remembered. If we cannot understand how a simple and ordinary produce such as lettuce became legendary in an ancient city such Istanbul, then how are we to historicize

[32] Davis, "Environmental Imaginaries", 3.

our own experiences within this city and the transformations it underwent? Furthermore, as I hope to show, environmental imaginary plays a key role in how nostalgia circulates the city, especially for people who've lived the earlier decades of the Republic. Hence, the stories that they relay latch on to a sense of missing that does not find its physical referents for the younger generations. The gap between how the act and experience of remembering takes place should also concern us if we are interested in understanding the subtle changes in cultural practices and images that make the city.

2.2 A short survey of the press at the beginning of the twentieth century

Between Tanzimat and the Second Constitutional Era, the situation of the press was volatile in relation to the authorities; there were different regulations, ample censure and pressure but also imaginative ways of tackling with state measures. Although the conditions relaxed immediately after 1908 that marks the Second Constitutional Era, still the volatility continued and the brief relaxation of the press was curbed. It is beyond my scope and ability to delve into the specificities of the changing condition of the press in this rather long time interval. However, I still would like to show examples of ridicule and resistance in the city against the state measures implemented on all aspects of life from the press to the infrastructural and architectural transformations Istanbul was undergoing. These discordant voices are of utmost importance to show that there never was a unified march towards a westernizing and modernizing (which are problematically used interchangeably sometimes) current. People of the city had different experiences of the city, and even some were of similar backgrounds, they showed varying views in how they wished and imagined their city to be.

The criticism towards the municipal regime never waned. After the Second Constitutional Era, powerful caricatures attest to the failures of various municipal measures in the Ottoman capital. A piece in *Kalem*, printed on 30 September 1909, for example, depicts a scene in which a municipal worker is planting a broom and shovel on the street. Under the image the punchline reads: "No one other than municipal workers are licensed to plant trees."[33] The sophisticated wit of this caricature not only mocks the Empire's efforts at centralizing power via new municipal measures, which intensified with the Tanzimat Period,[34] it also shows a discord between these municipal approaches and interventions and the non-human inhabitants of the city.[35] Despite great censure, thanks to an unforgiving and relentless press, we can read the streets and daily life not just through legal documents and edicts that tried to govern urban life, but also from the perspective of the people who lived through them.

As Nurçin İleri in her article "Between the Real and the Imaginary: Late Ottoman Istanbul as a Crime Scene", states, despite the lack of definitive figures and statistics, "the existing circulating numbers" of literacy before the 1920s "indicate that a considerable amount of people were literate and most probably reading the literature and

[33] Memiş, *Osmanlı'dan günümüze karikatürlerle belediye zabıtası*, 9.
[34] Yerasimos, in his brilliant analysis of Mahmud II's reforms, demonstrates that the major force behind what many characterize as "westernization" was in fact not a simple sign of the Ottoman Empire's waning power but a clever attempt at strengthening control and surveillance of streets, squares, neighborhoods, the structures of which were conducive to protests towards the Empire. It is noteworthy that after the abolition of the janissary corps in 1826 and the Tanzimat reforms that followed, no protests broke out in the city. Yerasimos, "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları Üzerine".
[35] The particular designation and ordering of trees as accessories in public areas is a continuing practice of the Istanbul Municipality today, as well as the capturing of "stray" dogs and their annihilation. Beginning in 3 June 1910, these dogs were openly taken to Hayırsız Island and left to their demise, whereas today they are imprisoned in the so called "shelters", the latest of which is constructed in Kısırkaya with a capacity of twenty thousand cats and dogs. Schick, "İstanbul'da 1910'da Gerçekleşen Büyük Köpek İtlâfı; Evin, "Kısırkaya: Barınak mı toplama kampı mı?".

periodicals that had become a crucial component of daily life."[36] News also circulated in places where people gathered: "According to Namık Kemal's account, intellectual curiosity was increasing and some public venues like coffeehouses in Istanbul functioned as cultural spots where news circulated among many people, literate and illiterate in 1883."[37] Therefore, we can assume that criticism of the authorities circulated quite widely among the city inhabitants.

Publishers and writers were also not hesitant to criticize their own intellectual communities, as well as the medium within which they operated. In *Evrak-ı Eyyam*, a compilation of Cenab Şehabeddin's articles published in 1915 in *Dersaadet* (Istanbul), he states: "Our newspapers do not feature any news (*Ezcümle gazetelerimizde havadis yok*)." His complaint regarding the lack of news in newspapers continues with another strong statement that expresses regret over the absence of journalistic art and thus journalists. "Therefore," he writes, "these columns are occupied by others."[38] A lieutenant physician graduated from the Ottoman Military Medical School in 1889, Cenab Şehabeddin wrote extensively throughout his life. He was fourteen when he published his first poem in the magazine *Saadet.*[39] Alongside a medical career, Cenab Şehabeddin, like many doctors in his time, enjoyed an intellectual career as well, where he not only wrote but also took on the roles of editor and publisher.

Another prominent writer and journalist of the time, Ahmed Midhat Efendi concurred on the problem of journalistic deficiency in an open letter addressed to

[36]"According to the sources Şiviloğlu compiled, in the early 1860s, *Tasvir-i Efkâr* sold 24,000 copies, while *İbret* sold 25,000 copies. Basiretçi Ali Efendi's paper, *Basiret*, sold 10,000 copies a day in the 1870s, although the impact and readership of newspapers could of course be broader than the number of copies they sold." İleri, "Between the Real and the Imaginary", 2017:101.
[37] İleri, "Between the Real and the Imaginary", 2017:101.
[38] Kocabaşoğlu, *"Hürriyet"i Beklerken*, 14.
[39] Tarakçı, "Cenab Şehabeddin".

publisher Ebuzziya Effendi, who had printed the letter in the first issue (31 May 1909) of *Yeni Tasvir-i Efkar*.[40] Newspapers and journals of the time were abound in political op-eds, that argued for various ideological positions. Within two decades, gradually, these opinion pieces would be supplemented with daily news from the new Republic. Especially in the thirties, as newspapers got thicker, usually the third and/or fourth pages of a newspaper delivered news from all over the country, but mostly Istanbul. These news pieces spanned from various municipal affairs to criminal cases, information on local produce quantities to curious incidents. These newspapers also offered readers the possibility to write to the press with personal issues and opinions regarding city life. Many a times, a columnist would incorporate the complaints of a reader into his/her piece to make a point about the problems that needed to be addressed by the municipality. Therefore, news pieces from the 1920s, and expressly, the 1930s offer us a great opportunity to understand the daily lives and concerns of ordinary people, especially ones who lived in Istanbul.

In a way, these columns were an adaptation of the genre "şehir mektupları," letters from the city that talked about different cultural and material aspects of city life at the end of the nineteenth century. In the "print explosion" of the Second Constitutional Era, such daily matters were mostly taken up by humor magazines, the majority of which could not continue their publications for more than several months.[41] In addition, newspapers of the time were commissioning writers to publish fiction, either long stories such as "Nanemolla" by Sermet Muhtar Alus, or, others which would later become long novels, such as Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's *Huzur*. This feature of publishing long form

[40] Kocabaşoğlu, *"Hürriyet"i Beklerken*, 14.
[41] Kocabaşoğlu, *"Hürriyet"i Beklerken*, 30.

fictional work, long abandoned in daily papers, allows the audience to read together and make intertextual interpretations of what was happening on streets, in the domestic sphere (though much more limited) and in the minds of the people as they wanted to express their views and sentiments to the outside world.

Thanks to a print media that now offered snippets of daily life, we can track something seemingly so trivial as leisurely lettuce consumption and its place in the city. In the many "city news (*şehir haberleri*)", we can see that there is already an established ritual of leisure around urban gardens and the seasonal delicacies they produced. In this chapter, I will mostly rely on print media of the early Republican era, first, because I want to bring to the fore the Yedikule lettuce, as a protagonist in the city. The early city letters written by Ahmed Rasim or Basiretçi Ali Efendi, or the accounts of personages such as Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, Çaylak Tevfik, Mahmet Halit Bayrı, Musahipzade Celal do not mention Yedikule's lettuce in their narratives at all. When compared to the many accounts delivered in print media and the memoirs of later periods, this gap is curious in itself, and requires further scrutiny. However, to reiterate my motive, I would like to bring snippets of daily life around Yedikule's lettuce to the fore and explore the environmental imaginary experienced by city dwellers from this perspective.

2.3 Rituals of leisure and pleasure in the market gardens

The first tram line worked by horses to reach Yedikule was installed in 1869 on the Aksaray-Samatya-Yedikule line.[42] It would be another 45 years before electrically

[42] Horses that operated the trams were brought from the Balkans. Their health would gradually deteriorate, until they were no longer able to carry on. Similarly, donkeys were also in bad shape. Basiretçi Ali Efendi

operated trams would take over. Meanwhile, having been a city surrounded by waters, Istanbul had always offered a selection of sea transportation. Despite the advent of three ferry companies connecting ports of the city, still, privately owned rowboats continued to carry passengers across the shores of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn. At the beginning of the twentieth century the number of rowboats were over seven thousand.[43] Yedikule, being at the farthest corner of Istanbul, facing the Marmara Sea, was not the most convenient neighborhood to reach. Although Samatya had a pier, and sea transport to this area was possible, it was not a common preference. At the turn of the century people still preferred to walk, and if it was too distant, horse carriages would provide the necessary service. Hence, it wouldn't be wrong to say that, well into the middle of the twentieth century, residents of the city spent most of their leisure time in their neighborhoods, which offered distinct tastes, views and practices within a wider net of similar activities.

Although, enjoying landscapes, their fruits and socializing patterns overlap, there are differences between large groups of people from all over the city getting together in vast meadows, and a limited number of mostly neighborhood people (including people who work in a particular neighborhood but do not reside there) enjoying the scenic gardens, sometimes with gazebos, that are designed and cultivated by gardeners who worked for themselves or for charity endowments.

Continuing a long tradition of market gardens, in the early twentieth century, the city was adorned and blessed with many gardens and their produce. For instance, in the

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had written several letters complaining about the treatment of horses and donkeys in the city. The "inhumane" way of using or abusing of these beasts of burden disturbed the writer's conscience. Ali Efendi, *Bir Zamanlar Istanbul: Şehir Mektupları,* 43-47, 99-100, 150.

[43] Hakan Kaynar. *Projesiz Modernleşme*, 32

middle of the nineteenth century, Kavak was famous for its small dark purple figs, Bayrampaşa was well known for its artichokes, and Arnavutköy for its strawberries. However, some neighborhoods and gardens were much more popular than others. Writer Sermet Muhtar Alus's impressions on the matter can be found in "Aksaraydan Yedikuleye"[44] published in the 1939 edition of *Akşam*. The piece is composed of the narration of a walk along the Yedikule tram line and a description of the gardens along the way. One of them is the renowned Langa gardens, which were famous for their cucumbers: "When it's the season, especially on Fridays and Sundays, gardens are flooded with people. Gardeners provide salt in wax paper, pitchers of water, and plenty of cucumbers. People roll up their sleeves and indulge in eating. Each cucumber is as thick as an arm, fresh and crunchy."[45] We wouldn't be wrong to imagine these crowds along with the crowds in the many *mesire*s across the city. However, one significant difference between the two forms of socializing in the greenery was perhaps their link to notions of urbanity. While *mesire*s were an integral part of the urban culture, in terms of their location and unruly promises, they did offer a liminal space in which people broke with the tight net and surveillance of urban structure. For instance, many fatwas banning women from socializing with men or going to *mesire*s at all can be found since the eighteenth century.[46] However, market gardens that were located close to centers and served people right on the property were within that growing net of urban sprawl.

[44] Alus, "Aksaraydan Yedikuleye" (part of the "Istanbul Kazan Ben Kepçe" series in *Akşam*).
[45] "Mevsimi geldi mi, hele günlerden cuma ve pazar ise bostanlar mahşer Allah. Bahçıvanlar müşterilere hasır kâğıtta tuzlar, testi testi sular taşır durur; önlerine kucak kucak hıyarları yığar. Kolları sıvayıp hart hart yiyen yiyene. Her biri kol kalınlığında ve lakin körpe körpe, çıtır çıtır." Alus, "Aksaraydan Yedikuleye" Akşam, 1939.
[46] Hamadeh, *The city's pleasures*.

Visitors were generally not anonymous, the garden space was limited and carefully cultivated.

One of the major methods of cultivation was the *maşula* system, which was composed of rectangular plots, generally the size of 1 by 1,5 meters.[47] This method made sense for the architectural logic of the sloping and/or terraced gardens, which were interwoven by a wide net of water channels that carried the well water, which was pulled up by the help of horses and water mills, first to the pools and then to the cultivated areas, without compromising any amount of water that needed to reach the farthest corners of the garden. Thus, it also allowed gardeners to cultivate different crops right next to one another without damaging their neighbors. Therefore, when people came to spend time in these gardens. they had to sit and socialize in spots that were chosen by the gardener. Sometimes the gardeners would designate small areas with wooden tables, for the pleasure of visitors. Compared to the *mesire* outings, there was a stricter control and surveillance over gender segregation, too. As the city grew and *mesire*s became part of the city territory, the distinction between them and the market gardens waned. The market gardens that served the public, in a way, seems to have incorporated the idea of *mesire*. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the latter was more vulnerable to urban construction, since the land itself was not a source of income.

In this era, Yedikule lettuce was famed as much as Langa cucumbers, if not more. From writers' accounts to journalistic coverage, the importance of the Yedikule lettuce to the city is apparent in every respect. During the early years of the Republic, each year around early May, there are news items announcing that Yedikule lettuce is

[47] White, Shopov, and Ostovich, "An Archeology of Sustenance", 33.

“out”, or informing the reader if it is late that year, the weather conditions that cause its tardation or early appearance. The quantity of Yedikule lettuce, its abundance or meagerness, and the fluctuating prices are a matter of concern, too. And other than the quantity, the time of the month also determines the price. There seems to be three ways of consuming lettuce in the city: purchasing from a peddler and eating it on the way or taking a rest in a corner in the city; purchasing it at the gardens or the markets for the household; and visiting the *bostan*s, market gardens of Yedikule, settle in a shady spot and enjoy it right where it grows. There is quite a lore around the last one, as it seems to be one of the major ways of socializing in the city.

The ritual is a simple one: Around the beginning of May, when the Yedikule lettuce is ripe, people from all over the city begin visiting the gardens adjacent to the city walls. People can bring light food and drinks, and musical instruments if they like. The group rents wicker mats and picks a shade beneath a tree within the garden. Then the gardener takes them to the area where the lettuce grows, from among them, visitors select the lettuce heads they desire. The gardener cuts the selected ones right in front of the customers, then washes the lettuce at the pool and brings it to the shaded spot, along with some salt and water. Visitors sit and lie around, converse, play music, sing, eat and drink.



20 Mayıs 1931 Akşam

Yedikulede bir bostan âlemi..

Marulları birer birer yakalayıp emredersiniz: Kes şunu, kes şunu!

Otuz kuruş hasır, yirmi kuruş marul, beş kuruş tuz.. Yedikule bostanları Tokatlıyan'dan daha pahalı

Geniş, yayvan, şişkin minderli amerikan koltukları çok rahattır. Fakat kaba örgülü bir hasır da amerikan koltuklarından çok daha rahattır.. Bir mayıs günü bir bostan kuyusu yanına serilmiş kaba hasırın üstüne sere serpe yatmanın zevkine doyum olmaz.. Hele bu bostan, Yedikule, yahut Langa bostanlarından biri olursa...

Marul mevsiminde bostana gitmemek zevkine düşkün bir insan için aşağı yukarı bir cinayettir. Ben de bu cinayeti irtikâp etmemek için dün kalktım.. Yedikulenin meşhur bostanlarından birine gittim.. Bir incir ağacı altında serilmiş duran hasırlardan birini bostan kuyusunun sağındaki gölgeliğe serdirdik.. Ve ceketlerimizi çıkararak hasırın üstüne yan geldik..

Seyyar marul satanlar

şişeleri, bol dereotlu çiroz salatası ta uzaktan insanın gözlerini

Bu uzaktan uzağa yapılan muaşakalarda gramofon çok işe yarı-

Figure 3 Yedikule'de bir bostan alemi, 20 May 1931, Akşam.

In a news article that appeared on 20 May 1931 in a major newspaper *Akşam*, this ritual is presented as a once-a-year leisure that cannot be missed by people who know how to enjoy Istanbul (Figure 3).

In this account, Hikmet Feridun, a regular contributor to *Akşam*, asserts that for a lotus-eater ("zevkine düşkün"), it would be "homicide" not to visit the Yedikule gardens at this time of the year, and partake in this particular leisure in Yedikule. It gives even more pleasure if the visitor picks the lettuce himself and asks the gardener to cut it off in front of him, he informs the reader. Sometimes, just for the sake of getting a tip, the gardener objects, "that one won't do for you sir. Here, this one has a belly." This passage insinuates that the writer is as knowledgeable as the gardener when it comes to picking the best lettuce; nonetheless, he allows him the "performance" of expertise.

In the account, Feridun looks yonder and sees a group of young men under a fig tree. From what he can hear of their conversation—discussing salaries and shifts—he infers that they are civil servants or officers. They have taken off their jackets, laid down

on mats around a "perfect set of food and drinks": "Bilecik, Dimitrakopulos bottles, a dish of mackerel served with ample parsley dazzled my eyes from afar," he writes. Bilecik and Dimitrakopulos were among the popular *rakı* brands of the times, allegedly also among the favorites of the founder of the Republic. Bilecik was produced in Galata on Mumhane Avenue by Istepan Berberyan, whose family hailed from Bilecik, hence the brand name. Founded by the eponymous brothers, Dimitrakopulos *rakı* was also produced in Galata. After the alcohol ban was lifted in 1926, there was a period in which a wide variety of local *rakı* production took place.[48] The proliferation and diversity of local *rakı* continued until 1944, when a law announced that Tekel (literally "monopoly"), a government enterprise, would be the only lawful producer.[49]

A while later, a man in traditional white gown (thobe?) appears with a lamb on a leash. They all rise up from their mats, put on their jackets and button up to greet the man with utmost respect. One of them takes away the lamb and takes over the grazing, another hides the glasses and bottles. Only after the man allows, do they take off their jackets, bring out the bottles again and offer the man a clean glass. The writer notes that as a customary sign of respect, the young civil servants look away every time they take a sip from their glasses. At some point, one of the men gives the young lad, who works in the garden, some money, to take some lettuce to his house and tell his wife to hand the lad his oud. Once the instrument arrives, he plays and sings songs chosen by the man in

[48] Zat, *Biz Rakı İçeriz*. Dimitrakopulo, Bilecik, Bahçe, Hanım, Üzüm Kızı, Harika, Ankara, Memur were some of the rakı brands available at the end of 1920s and beginning of the 1930s.
[49] Tekel, literally "monopoly", was established in 1930 and was responsible for monitoring the production of all alcoholic beverages. In 1944 it was declared the sole producer. The period which began with monitoring and ended in the prohibition of private alcohol production is referred to, in this book, as a period in which the "national characteristic" of "our" "National Drink Rakı" was established as "Turkish Rakı". Zat, *Biz Rakı İçeriz*, 19.

whites. Clearly the men are from the neighborhood and this is not their first time enjoying themselves in the gardens.

Meanwhile, the gardener brings the lettuce that he cleaned in the garden pool to the journalist and his friend. He uses one of the lettuce leaves to hold the salt, and also brings a jug of cool water from the well. Feridun is highly attentive to details. For him, one must rest for the first 15-20 minutes before they pick the lettuce and indulge in eating and drinking. The water must be cool enough, so that the jug "sweats" when it meets warm spring air. This leisurely ritual may not be specific to lettuce; in fact, Feridun mentions in passing, that one may do the same come mulberry season.

Feridun draws the reader's attention to the gendered seating of the garden, too. Whereas men sit on one side of the garden pool, women sit on the other. He points out that this is perhaps an old arrangement "from 30 years before," as if he means to indicate that so much has changed and those 30 years were so very long ago. He ends the piece by relaying the ways men and women coy each other by using gramophones to send each other messages via songs. Gramophone may be new however the messages are old. He observes that the songs of preference foreground the eyes, the memory of one's silhouette or the wish to bring joy to the lover's eyes. In the garden, all senses find refined articulation.

The first half of the subtitle, "Thirty kurush mats, 20 kurush lettuce, 5 kurush salt" indicates that this leisure is not a cheap undertaking. The latter half of the subtitle, makes a comparison to the fanciest hotel and restaurant in the city: "Yedikule gardens are more expensive than the Tokatlıyan." Tokatlıyan hotel was built on Cadde-i Kebir / Grand Rue de Pera in 1897 by Mıgırdiç Tokatlıyan, an Armenian who had immigrated to Istanbul from Tokat. The hotel was quite different than traditional travelers' lodges. It

mostly catered to the high society of the city and visitors from European countries. The hotel's café-restaurant made its own bread, wine and chocolate, and offered *à la mode* utensils and furniture brought from Paris.[50] According to an account by Sermet Muhtar Alus in 1947, the utensils and the furniture were all custom made and bore the trade "M.T.".[51] This is still a time when only the elite is used to seeing and using European utensils while eating. Most of the territories still dined in the traditional style, which composed of a different set of arrangement, which will be addressed later in Chapter 3.

At the time that Feridun wrote the piece, the wholesale price of a head of lettuce was 1,5-3 kuruş.[52] Feridun writes that he's paid 20 kuruş for 4 heads of lettuce, 5 kuruş for the salt and 30 kuruş for two mats. What makes this outing "expensive" then is not necessarily the lettuce but the pleasure and comfort of the vista in the garden, the experience of it all. Considering that a remarkable part of the news piece is dedicated to the story around the neighboring group of civil servants, we can perhaps make the claim that the garden does not only offer a leisurely activity, but also an alternative or familiar time regime that contrasts with the modern calendar and schedules. This is the time of spring and the people in the garden are there to follow and enjoy the time of lettuces that have ripened. As Feridun points out, a once-a-year event, it's not just worth the price but it's a crime not to partake in it.

Osman Cemal Kaygılı's 1931 account of "Yedikule'de Tramvay Yarışı" opens with a dispute that contests Feridun's comparison between a Yedikule outing and a

[50] Bulut, "A Case Study on Institutional History of the Lost Value of Beyoğlu", 408.
[51] Quoted in Bulut, "A Case Study on Institutional History of the Lost Value of Beyoğlu", 409.
[52] *Cumhuriyet* newspaper had a section where the wholesale prices of certain produce at the halle were daily reported. During the thirties the price of lettuce remains within the 1-5 kuruş range. The general pattern followed that early in May the prices would be on the higher side and towards the end of the month it would drop.

Tokatlıyan visit.[53] Hazaroz Effendi, the owner of Tramvaylar Kahvesi, a most popular coffeehouse in Yedikule, lists the food items to a customer: white bean salad (*piyaz*), kidney beans (*pilaki*), cheese, olives, fresh cut cucumbers and tomatoes (*sövüş*), mackerel (*çiroz*), salad, everything!" The customer does not consider these to be real food, only perhaps nibblers, he exclaims: "these are just snacks! (*kıvır zıvır şeyler bunlar*!)" Hazaroz Effendi sardonically remarks: "Oh your majesty! Why did you come here, you should have gone to Tokatlıyan! There, you could have cemented your stomach with a load of food, after which you could have blessed us stopping by for coffee." Immediately after this account, Kaygılı relates:[54]

> Hazaroz Effendi is the nightingale among the coffeehouse owners of all Yedikule. Right outside the fortress gate his coffeehouse with a garden and a pool was like a "kalenderler mesiresi." Despite the sea of dust on the road that ran in front of it, to sit in the shaded garden, drink coffee or smoke narghile while watching people return from Veli Efendi, Çırpıcı and Çobançeşme *mesire*s was a pleasure. His customers are good company like himself. … At dusk time, once people have settled around the colorful flower pots and revel in the "carmakcur" that waiter Garbis Effendi makes with cool water from the wells, you cannot leave that jocosity … Coffeehouses in Yedikule generally have gardens, decorative pools, lots of flowers and gazebos. Satiri's and Dimitri's coffeehouses are famous for these. If they were inside the city, they'd be minting money.

"Kalenderler mesiresi" may refer to a place where humble men gather. The use of "mesire" in this context is noteworthy and Kaygılı is not the only one to use it. The market gardens or coffeehouses with gardens, depending on their unique structures were sometimes divided into parts, of which the garden section was referred to as the *mesire*. Although its use in the eighteenth century derives from the combination of walking and viewing, in this era and context, the latter is foregrounded and the former seems to have lost its place within the concept.

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[53] Kaygılı, "Yedikule'de Tramvay Yarışı".
[54] Kaygılı, "Yedikule'de Tramvay Yarışı", 123-4.

The pleasure in watching people return from *mesire*s complicates the concept further, as traditional forms of *mesire* also continued, while the changes in the city presented new forms, such as watching the spectacles of a crowd[55] walking back from Veliefendi and Çırpıcı, from the seated comfort of a garden *mesire*. I wonder if my confusion regarding the limits of *mesire* and gardens come from the transformation of the city, where *mesire*s gradually dwindle and gardens partially replace their function. The dust on the road is in line with Güngör's depiction of the "lettuce festival" scene, in which people dusted off what the road brought with lettuce leaves. And despite this dusty road, this area was still considered distant, hence Kaygılı's emphasis on the lack of attention from city dwellers, despite their beauty and the various pleasures they offered, when compared to other spots in other city centers.

It is in a much later publication that I came across the name Ğazaros Effendi. Written by Takuhi Tovmasyan, an Armenian who was born in 1952 and raised in Yedikule[56], the 2004 memoir-cookbook *Sofranız Şen Olsun: Ninelerimin Mutfağından Damağımda, Aklımda Kalanlar*, is a compilation of childhood memories, narrated through recipes Tovmasyan learned from her grandmothers and perfected over the course of a life time. Under "fasulya pilakisi" Tovmasyan tells the story of her grandfather Gazinocu Ğazaros Effendi, who owned a "gazino", she writes, right outside

[55] Candemir, "İstanbul'da Mesire Kültürü"; Sakaoğlu, "Çırpıcı Çayırı", 442.
[56] Takuhi Tovmasyan gives the address of the three-storey wooden house that she was born and raised in: Gençağa Sokağı number 18. In the book she included a photo of herself, sitting on the wooden staircase that climbed up to the main entrance. She recounts that in one of her visits in the recent years, current inhabitants of the house told her that the water bill was still addressed to her grandmother Takuhi Tovmasyan. I visited this street in 2018 to see if the house was still standing after 14 years. I saw with great sadness that in the place of the house was an empty lot filled with the debris of the demolished house.

the Yedikule gate, close to the last stop of the tram line. However, she warns the reader, "when I say "gazino" don't you think of today's gazinos. Let me explain:"

> A rundown indoors with an open-air gazebo. Women and men, children of all ages come, in the spring, to eat those famous, bellied and oily lettuces of Yedikule, if it's not lettuce time, to have soda or lemonade, or where Greek gardeners come to celebrate with home-made liquor the verbal agreement made with Albanian wage workers for the coming season. Or the place where doctors and hospital workers stop by after work. Then, the tram used to bring the passengers *intra muros*. Doctors from Surp Pırgiç hospital would get off the tram and take the horse carriages waiting outside of the walls to the hospital. To and back from the hospital, they would get some rest at our gazebo. As the sun set, women would take their kids and head home, while men would retreat to the indoor area to drink a glass or two and converse. It was that kind of a place. Everyone knew each other; inhabitants of the area, shop owners, writers, doctors, officers, workers, police officers, sentries… Ğazaros Effendi was a friend to all. The place was a family friendly establishment. The three sons of Ğazaros Effendi, Garbis, Bedros and Sarkis (nicknamed Serço), would come to the gazebo, after their work days ended, to help their father at the gazebo as waiters. His wife Mrs. Takuhi was both the chef in the kitchen, and everything else. My grandfather was so happy, nothing could have bothered him.[57]

There are several reasons why I think the Hazoros Effendi in Kaygılı's account and Tovmasyan's grandfather Ğazaros Effendi are the same man. First of all, the location of the coffeehouse/gazino matches: we are right outside the Yedikule gate. The mention of "kalenderler mesiresi" is in line with Tovmasyan's warning that the *gazino* was a modest, rundown place ("derme çatma"). Moreover, Kaygılı mentions a waiter named

[57] "Derme çatma bir kapalı bölüm, yanında bir de açık kır gazinosu. Kadın erkek, çoluk çocuk herkesin, ilkbaharda oturup Yedikule'nin o meşhur göbekli, yağlı marulunu yedikleri, onun mevsimi değilse gazoz veya limonata içtikleri yer; veya Rum bahçıvanların yevmiyede anlaştıkları Arnavut mevsimlik işçilerle gelip, yaptıkları şifahi iş akdini ev yapımı likör içerek kutladıkları mekan. Ya da doktorların, hastane görevlilerinin sabah akşam uğrak yeri. Tramvay o zamanlar yolcularını kale içine kadar getirirdi. Kazlıçeşme'deki Surp Pırgiç Hastanesi'nin doktorları, tramvaydan inip kale dışında bekleyen faytonlarla hastaneye giderlerdi. Bu gidiş dönüşlerde dedemin gazinosu onların yorgunluk giderdiği bir mekandı. Alacakaranlık basarken, hanımlar çocuklarını alıp evlerine gider, beyler de kapalı bölüme geçer, iki tek atıp muhabbet ederlerdi. İşte böyle bir yerdi burası. Herkes bildik; semtin insanları, esnafı, yazarı, doktoru, memuru, işçisi, polisi, bekçisi… Ğazaros Efendi hepsinin dostu. Mekan aile ortamından farksızdı. Ğazaros Efendi'nin üç oğlu; Garbis, Bedros ve Sarkis ya da kısa adıyla Serço gün boyu kendi işlerinde çalıştıktan sonra, akşam babalarının gazinosunda garson. Hanımı Takuhi ise mutfakta hem aşçı, hem her şey. Dedemin keyfi öyle yerinde ki, değmeyin gitsin." Tovmasyan, *Sofranız Şen Olsun*, 35-6.

Garbis Effendi (Figure 4). In the above passage, Takuhi Tovmasyan tells us that the three sons of Ğazaros Effendi, after working their daily jobs, would return to Yedikule to wait tables at their father's *gazino*. Kaygılı mentions Garbis Effendi serving "carmakcur" ("white water", *rakı* in Armenian) when the sun begins to set, matching Tovmasyan's account of her father's and uncles' daily routine.

This vivid imagery offers us an opportunity to read together and enrich the details in Kaygılı's account. First of all, let us note that Takuhi Tovmasyan never saw the *gazino* she describes, she's probably narrating from the stories she has listened to, and also the family photos she inherited. It is clear that the neighborhood *gazino/kahve* catered to people from different social strata. A writer himself, Kaygılı frequented the place. Tovmasyan, too, tells us that writers, doctors, waged gardeners, sentries sat next to each other and enjoyed the delicacies offered by the gardens and the *mezeci*s. We must note that the distinction between *gazino*, *kahve* and a *bostan* is quite blurred at times. We know that there were some *bostan*s that only offered produce that came from its soil. Some of them did not offer anything and only produced for the markets or peddlers. *Gazino*s and/or *kahve*s in the neighborhood seem to offer a wider selection of drinks and food, while maintaining a garden, a pool and a well of their own but not necessarily. Homemade liquor was served as well as lemonade and *gazoz*. Perhaps *rakı* was also homemade at this time.



Figure 4 Gazino of Ğazaros Effendi. On the far right is Tovmasyan's uncle Sarkis, sitting around with his Rum friends Courtesy of Takuhi Tovmasyan.

A few paragraphs later in Tovmasyan's account, and just before the recipe for "fasulya plakisi" (giant beans in tomato sauce) we find out that after the Property Tax was installed in 1942, Ğazaros Effendi had to sell his *gazino* to pay the exorbitant amounts that non-Muslims had to pay the Turkish government. Shortly after the loss of his beloved gazino, Ğazaros Effendi had a stroke. Paralyzed below the neck, he remained tied to the bed until the end of his life. Figure 5 features Ğazaros Effendi at his gazebo.



Figure 5 Ğazaros Effendi at his gazino. Courtesy of Takuhi Tovmasyan

When we look at more recent retrospective accounts of the Yedikule gardens, we come across narratives that match well with their historical imagery. Most of these more recent accounts are given by Muslim inhabitants of Yedikule and the new wave of immigrant gardeners from the Black Sea, who took over the lands that were for centuries cultivated by Armenians, Greek-Orthodox, and immigrant Christians from the Balkans. Policies such as the population exchange of 1923, the Property Tax of 1942, and the 1955 pogroms and the continuing assault on the non-Muslim populations of the Republic systematically expropriated these properties and conceded them to the Istanbul Municipality and the Treasury, which gave the rights of the land use to farmers from the Black Sea in exchange of "ecrimisil" a remuneration fee for squatters.

On the 20.8.1989 edition of *Cumhuriyet*, writer Necati Güngör published a piece titled "Where are those golden day lettuces?" The piece is heavily composed of the interview he conducted with İbrahim Sargın,[58] a long-time gardener at one of the Yedikule market gardens, who hailed from Kastamonu in an earlier wave of migration in the middle of the century. Recalling the golden days of Yedikule lettuce, Sargın informs us:

> I know people who would journey all the way from Bebek, Nişantaşı. They would bring their kids along, and picnic with lettuce. This of course is a long time ago. Whatever the eye saw was gardens. Those apartment buildings were not constructed then. And when I say lettuce, I don't mean the curly ("kıvırcık" lactuca sativa var. crispa). I mean the bellied lettuces ("göbekli marullar"). Pure oil. God is my witness; while eating, our mouths and hands would be all covered in oil. … In the era you mention, a head of lettuce was 100 *para.* I'm telling you, in those times, people had taste and pleasure in life. They would come here for leisure. You wouldn't believe but people would come all the way from Beyoğlu.[59]

Sargın offers details regarding the cultivation process too:

> These engines didn't exist before. We used to till the soil with our hands. Water pumps didn't exist. Until recently, we had horses ("bostan beygirleri"). We would blindfold them so that they would circle the wells without interruption. That's how irrigation worked. … Artificial fertilizers were not out yet. Not just vegetables, everything had taste then. Horse carriages would carry baskets full of lettuce to the markets. Or porters… They would start early in the morning and carry until noon.[60]

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[58] Today, İbrahim Sargın's family still works the land in Yedikule. In fact, some of his family members have been influential in building the resistance against the Municipality that has been working towards demolishing the last remaining gardens of the city. Unfortunately, we recently lost Hasan Sargın at the age of 66, whose garden was among the first to be bulldozed in 2013. Since then, he had been working in other gardens outside the city walls. At his funeral, his grandniece said: "They took the garden and my grandfather." "Nerde o eski marullar?" *Cumhuriyet*, 1989.

[59] "Çoluk çocuğunu alır yanına, piknik olsun diyerekten marul yemeye gelirlerdi…. Bu dediğim, epeyce eski… Gözünün gördüğü her yer bostanlıktı! Şu evler, apartmanlar ortada yok daha… Marul dediğim de kıvırcık değil. Göbekli marullar… Safi yağ mübarek! Allah sizi inandırsın, dudaklarımız, damağımız tüm yağ içinde kalırdı yerken... Sizin dediğiniz devirde, marulun tanesi yüz paraydı efendi. Anlattım ya, zevk sefa sahibi insanlar, çocuklarını alır da sayfiye olsun diye gelirlerdi. İnanmayacaksınız Beyoğlu'ndan kalkıp da gelen vardı Yedikule'ye." "Nerde o eski marullar?" *Cumhuriyet*, 1989.

[60] "Ha bu motorlar yoktu eskiden. Elimizle çapalardık toprağı. Su pompaları yoktu. Daha yakın zamanlara kadar, bostan beygirleri vardı. Gözünü bağlardık hayvanın.; habire dönerdi… Suyu öyle dağıtırdık. O zaman, suni gübre çıkmamış böyle. Yalnızca zerzevatın mı, her bir şeyin tadı yerindeydi efendi! Beygir

Sargın's depiction can also be found in newspapers of 1930's as seen in Figure 6 and 7:



Bu sene marul çok boldur. Kerestecilerde tanesi toptan 10 paraya satılıyor. Perakende olarak 20 paraya marul verilmektedir. Resmimizde marul dolu arabalar görülüyor.

Figure 6 Lettuce in horse carriages, 25 May 1934, Akşam.



Sebze ve meyva bolluğu

Mahalle aralarında marul satışı

Son günler zarfında yağan yağmurlar sebze ve meyva bahçelerine çok iyi tesir yapmıştır. Yaz sebzeleri her tarafta kemale gelmek üzeredir. Yerli bakla ve bezelyadan sonra yerli kabak ta piyasada bollanmağa başlamıştır.

Bu sene en bol olan sebze salata ve maruldur. Marul arabalarla mahalle aralarında üçü çeyreğe satılmaktadır.

Meyvaya gelince kiraz ve çilek bollanmaktadır. Kirazın okkası 30 - 40 kuruştur, fakat bir kaç gün sonra yirmiden aşağıya düşeceği şüphesizdir. Çileğe gelince, geçen hafta okkasına 200 kuruş aranırken bu hafta 140 kuruşa düşmüştür. Bu sene çilek bol olduğundan yakında ucuzlıyacağı tahmin ediliyor.

Figure 7 Sebze ve meyva bolluğu, 20 May 1930, Akşam.

Sargın's account of garden operations and their connection to the city markets make useful parallels with Byzantinist Johannes Koder's historical analysis of provisioning in Byzantine Constantinople. In "Fresh Vegetables for the Capital," Koder attempts to map

arabaları, sal arabaları sepetler dolusunca marul taşırlardı pazarlara. Kabzımallara… Sabahın er saatlerinden başlar, öğlene kadar taşırlardı."

out the agricultural zone in the city, and how fresh produce that is time-sensitive was distributed and consumed. He writes:

> …at least between 2 and 3km^2 of the area inside the walls of Constantinople could be used for agriculture and especially for vegetable gardening. … In addition, … we can imagine that outside the city, along the Theodosian walls (for a length of about 6 km) at least another 10-12 km^2 could be used for gardening purposes at a distance not more than 2-3 km from the walls- hence still a short distance from the inhabited parts of Constantinople. Thus, the way from the farmers' place of work to the market places in and near the centre Constantinople was not longer than 6-7 km. This distance could be covered without difficulty in two hours; the farmer could start from his house early in the morning on market days, with his donkey or mule loaded with vegetables, sell his greens in the centre, and return in the afternoon.[61]

The continuity of agricultural practice across centuries connects the producers as well as modern-day consumers in subtle and surprising ways. The network between humans, animals and plants within an urban structure that remained generally faithful since the construction of the Theodosian Walls transforms the gardeners of the city into bearers of a centuries-old fundamental practice. The soil they tilled, the seeds they sowed, the walks they walked to the market all bear prints of much earlier lives that inhabited and experienced the city.

Buildings such as the Hagia Sophia and the cisterns were among the few that offered a visible palimpsest that the city embodied. Because they are man-made architectural feats, they have always been centerpiece to history, whereas, apart from their economic aspects, urban agricultural structures have long been shoved to the margins, along with the practices that made daily life possible, though the latter has been in the making for some time now in contrast to agricultural practices. Shopov and Han, in their article addressing the history of urban farms of Ottoman Istanbul, put it

[61] Koder, "Fresh Vegetables for the Capital," 53.

succinctly: "The long neglected and ignored agricultural fields of *intra muros* Istanbul, have never been historicized and integrated into the historiography of urban construction and planning."[62] Theodosian Walls stand in a unique position in this respect because they have been standing tall among long stretches of gardens for over 1500 years. They are not just walls built for defense at the edge of an agricultural zone. Their first level was spared by the Theodosian Edict as storage for farmers' tools, seeds and produce.[63] They also allowed an elevation from which not just soldiers but ordinary people could view the city and its topography, again, probably akin to Eremya Çelebi's view, when he went up the walls in the seventeenth century (detailed in chapter 3), and the scenery that many others enjoyed in the following centuries up until very recently.[64] Understandably, the Land Walls have generally been viewed and considered as a border, a mark of separation for humans, but they never separated the soil, through which many animals, weeds and seeds could move. It is not just human excellence that made these walls stand erect for centuries, the soil, the gardens have also kept them standing by absorbing water and preventing deterioration of the Walls' foundations.[65] As much as history writing would like to confine these walls to a militaristic narrative, much of its life involved

[62] "Istanbul sur içindeki önemsenmeyen, gözardı edilen tarımsal arazilar hiçbir zaman kent tarihinin yapı inşa süreçleri ile ilişkilendirilmemiş ve hiçbir zaman tarihselleştirilmemiştir." Han and Shopov, "Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Kent İçi Tarımsal Toprak Kullanımı ve Dönüşümleri," 35.
[63] Ricci, "Intangible Cultural Heritage in Istanbul".
[64] See the photo taken by Guillaume Berggren in 1880's, not far from the Yedikule Gate. The camera captures a man squatting on a stretch of grass above the Ismail Paşa garden, almost at the level of the top of the Walls. Behind, lies the Seven Towers Fortress. The man squatting and looking at the view before him may reflect a posture taken and a practice of "temaşa" enacted by many gardeners and city inhabitants.
[65] Kıvılcım, Aksoy, and Dinçer, "İstanbul Kara Surları Dünya Miras Alanı Koruma Sorunları İzleme Raporu".

gardeners, travelers, porters, etc.[66] Possibly children spent more time playing in, on and around these walls than soldiers.

The opening pages of the British traveler and writer Michael Pereira's book, *Istanbul: Aspects of A City*, published in 1968, begin with his encounter with a child in the area between the Cannon Gate (Topkapı) and the Gate of Adrianople (Edirnekapı). Walking down the street, Pereira spots a red kite soaring above but he cannot see the hand that's tugging it. As he tries to find a spot from where it would be possible to climb, he passes rows of lettuces. Struggling to climb up the walls through a crumbled section, the traveler reaches the top where he meets the young lad holding the kite. Startled by the sight of the man, the boy jumps up and as he tries to regain control, the strings of the kite slip through his fingers. The boy asks the foreign man how he got up there. When Pereira points towards where he came from, astonished at this answer, the boy starts laughing hysterically. Then he starts to sing "in a shrill sing-song: 'Ahmet Bey! Ahmet Bey! Your lettuces are buried.'"[67] Soon, we understand why the boy is so surprised and amused by this answer. He recounts that on that side, a gardener, Ahmet Bey, with a hot temperament, doesn't let anyone go through his garden. He says: "If Ahmet Bey had seen you cross his garden …. He would have come out with a big stick and beaten you … and chased you down the road like a cow. Vallahi!" Then he goes on to tell the prank they play on Ahmet Bey, this is how the dialogue unfolds:

> -What we do is, we hide over the top of that gully you climbed up, and push stones over. These stones roll down to the bottom, and on the way knock into bigger stones and make them roll down too. When several have rolled onto Ahmet Bey's garden we go down to the street—by another way, of course—and

[66] The exhibition titled "The Land Walls of Istanbul" which took place at ANAMED, attempted to go beyond this militaristic view and restore a broader vision of the walls and their environs.
[67] Pereira, *Istanbul*, 4. Unfortunately, he does not offer the original Turkish of this song. Does it go like this: "Ahmet Bey! Ahmet Bey! Marulların gömüldü!"

> start singing outside his house: "Ahmet Bey! Ahmet Bey! The walls have fallen down and your lettuces—"[68] But before we can finish—leaping to his feet—the door flies open! Out rushes Ahmet Bey! He has a big stick! His face is like fire! We run! We run!
> -Faster than Ahmet Bey, no doubt.
> -Oh yes. He is very old.
> Then pointing along the path which wound its way down to the level ground on the far side of the walls: "That's the way people come if they want to come up here. It leads to the Gate. That's why you gave me a fright coming up behind me. From here I can see anyone approaching."[69]

In the 1960's Yedikule lettuce was already fast disappearing from the city markets. Intellectuals of the city were already asking where the famed lettuce of Yedikule and famed berries of Arnavutköy had gone.[70] This account shows, though, that in the gardens adjacent to the Walls in Topkapı, people still grew lettuce. The writer mentions only a few rows. Perhaps it was for the consumption of the family and not a big operation. Unfortunately, Pereira does not provide any more information regarding the state of the garden, its size and other produce that were cultivated.

We do not know why the song revolved around lettuce, but since it took place while the lettuce were growing, it must be late Spring. Was the song transformed as the seasons changed and gardens bore new fruits in Ahmet Bey's garden? After a long winter of not much production and vibrancy around the gardens, finally it is Spring. Children are out to play under the promising sun, the neighborhood is their oyster. This is also the time when the gardeners are finally starting to make money, which will have to last them until the end of the coming winter. They will leave some of that produce in the garden in order to acquire seeds for the next year. Any damage to the produce, especially in the beginning of the market season is unwanted. But then, is the choice of

[68] Does it go like this: "Ahmet Bey! Ahmet Bey! Duvar yıkıldı, marulların gömüldü!"
[69] Pereira, *Istanbul*, 4.
[70] "Bahtsız Şehir," 21.09.1966, *Cumhuriyet*.

lettuce only a coincidence? Considering the unique place of lettuce in the city, how it was marked separately in accounts where "salad/salata" was mentioned too, perhaps it was especially harm done to lettuce that triggered Ahmet Bey? Did kids play such pranks on other hot-tempered gardeners too? Is this a solitary case or is it part of children's play in the city? We are left in the dark, right where legends live. It is the intangibility, the ephemerality, the constant fluidity of such characters and symbols that characterize myth after all. Seemingly paradoxical at first, it is the union of the body of the lettuce and its intangible qualities, the collective sensations and memories it enhances that make up Yedikule lettuce. While offering unique sensations to each palate, each mind, it also connects to a collective palate and sense of self, the traces of which are dispersed and appear in the most unexpected places.

It is quite significant that these children not just pick any stones from the ground on the street. They climb up the ancient walls and roll over the crumbling stones into the garden. On their way down, they avoid passing through the garden, and take another safe route back to the main street. This is where they start singing their shrill song that prompts the grumpy old man to come out with his stick. They do not completely harm the produce, tear them from the roots or smash them with their shoes. It is as if the only thing that can seriously bury the lettuce is the ancient wall. Only if the wall comes down completely, will the lettuce be buried. But even that is only a game, a fantasy. The walls have been standing there for generations, along with a type of lettuce that has been growing and evolving there along its rims. This gesture perhaps reminds the old man of the passing time, that these walls will bury him just like many others that have come before him. Maybe, despite the threat of the stick, his response to the children aims to bring them back to play it over and over again. After all, we are alive only as long as we

set game, determine rules and boundaries. Through this game, while the old man is protecting his cultivation, he manifests and passes on to the children the livelihood hidden in a few rows of lettuce. That he may die but life, in any form, must persevere.

2.4 Yedikule lettuce in retrospect

Let us return to the neighborhood. Sezai Güzhan, a man of Yedikule since birth, recalls: "What would I not give to relive a Sunday, where the entire family would gather to visit the Yedikule gardens, sit around the marble tables and eat the legendary lettuces ("dillere destan marulları") and the tomatoes."[71] Güzhan adds a detail that I have not come across in any of the texts of that period. He recounts the hollers of the peddlers: "Come citizens! Rotten tomatoes! Pallid parsley!" And then they would let out a laughter." What does this playful holler of a peddler, who makes his money from the "rotten tomatoes" and "pallid parsley" tell us? Is he so confident about the produce that he attracts customers by making fun of himself, by making people laugh? Or is it because he's trying to distinguish himself among the many peddlers who frequent these streets?

Güzhan's neighbor Ofandis is an 87-year-old man, who has also spent his entire life in Yedikule. He says that he worked many jobs; he worked in factories around the neighborhood and labored as porter too. He is one of the few Rum, who decided to stay despite the pogroms and the violent pressure to leave. His kids, though, immigrated to Greece; "but they visit," he adds. The journalist notes that when she mentions "old Yedikule", tears well up in his eyes:

> Where do I even begin? A neighborhood that lived in the bosom of trees and flowers, from which heavenly smells emanated. The pleasure of Turkish, Armenian and Rum women enjoying their coffee in the flower filled backyards

[71] Kaya, "Özlemin Eski Tadı Var mı?" 30.03.1997, Cumhuriyet Dergi.

> of wooden houses. Horse carriages would ride on the cobblestones. Non-Muslims living in neighborhoods like Maçka, Feriköy, Nişantaşı, Beyoğlu would get a horse carriage and come to Yedikule gardens for picnics. The Land Walls were dotted with fig and mulberry trees. … You wouldn't see the like of Yedikule gardens anywhere else. We would pick whichever lettuce we liked. A while later the gardener would clean and salt the lettuce and serve them on a tray. For 15 kurush we would eat 4-5 kilos of lettuce. Tomatoes[72] of Yedikule gardens were famous too. Depending on the season, all sorts of vegetables grew here.[73]

Sentiments of Bafralı Ofandis are quite similar to that of Güzhan's. Now there is something to be said about this recurring emphasis on distance people undertake in order to reach Yedikule. Although the neighborhood is right by the walls of the city, it is considered "outside" and far, in line with the mindset of first Ottoman sultans that ruled the city, who ordered tanneries and slaughterhouses to be moved here due to its topographical advantages. Even in the 1930s many Istanbulites considered Yedikule far, just as we see in Kaygılı's account quoted above. Thus, when people emphasize the distance over and over again, they also valorize the distinct taste and quality of the lettuce, for which people would go to great lengths. This distance is not just topographical but also symbolic. In many literary works, Beyoğlu, a neighborhood very

[72] I was lucky enough to taste one of these heirloom tomatoes that were grown in Yedikule in 2013. One of the gardener's families, during a *Yeryüzü Sofrası* event we had organized, had pulled me aside to give me a few to take home. The family saves these heirloom seeds for themselves and grow them for their own consumption. They told me that they did not have enough time, space and money to grow these heirloom tomatoes for the markets. When I ate them the next day, I was struck by their unique taste, one which I had never tasted in Istanbul. They were small and greenish, with a very thin outer layer, which is considered a sign of superior quality. The family had to leave after their garden (part of the Bayrampaşa *bostan*) was bulldozed and covered in debris. I never saw those tomatoes again. I must note here that I do not know if the seeds were passed on to them from earlier gardeners in Yedikule or if the family had brought them from Kastamonu Cide.

[73] "Eski Yedikule'yi anlata anlata bitiremem ki. Ağaçların, çiçeklerin koynunda yaşayan, mis gibi kokuların yayıldığı bir semt. Ahşap evlerin çiçeklerle dolu bahçesinde Türk, Ermeni, Rum kadınlarının kahve keyfi. Yedikule önceden bahçeli ahşap evlerle kaplıydı. Parke taşıyla kaplı yollarda faytonlar dolaşırdı. Maçka, Feriköy, Nişantaşı, Beyoğlu gibi semtlerde yaşayan gayrimüslimler faytonlarla gelirler, Yedikule Bostanları'nda piknik yaparlardı. Sur diplerini incir ve dut ağaçları süslerdi. Yedikule Bostanları bambaşkaydı. Bostanda istediğimiz marulu beğenirdik. Az sonra bahçıvan marulları temizler, tuzlar, tepsiyle servis yapardı. 15 kuruşa 4-5 kiloluk marul yenirdi. Yedikule Bostanları'nın domatesleri de çok meşhurdu. Burada mevsimine göre her tür sebze yetiştiriliyordu." "Özlemin eski tadı var mı?" 30.03.1997, Cumhuriyet Dergi.

well known for its growing popularity from mid-nineteenth century onwards, represents a cultural edge of the times. Famous for the "westernized" streets, restaurants and cafes, the area was also viewed as a center for high scale entertainment. Hence, for people to travel all the way from Beyoğlu to Yedikule was not just about money and time but also about the journey between seemingly opposing realms of culture and social status. Perhaps we may also add to this load the growing divide between new conceptualizations of the city's "nature" and new conceptualizations of urbanity that systematically and increasingly excluded animals and plants from the fabric of the city, thus confining urbanity to what became conventional architectural and infrastructural constructions.

It is no coincidence that this approach resulted in the devaluation and/or omission of non-human elements from various forms of literature and news. Yedikule and the gardens of the city did not evoke similar sentiments in every city dweller. Many were against their presence, a theme which shall be scrutinized in Chapter 4 and the Conclusion. However much the gardens were degraded though, it is clear from historical as well as retrospective accounts that when people think of Yedikule of the early years of the Republic, lush gardens, the Yedikule lettuce and the long conversations that surrounded them come to the foreground.

There is another aspect of Yedikule lettuce that deserves attention, and that is the way that peddlers would sell the produce. In various accounts and caricatures that depict a peddler selling Yedikule lettuce, the holler of preference is "Yedikule" instead of "lettuce". I chose the quote below because it reflects several concerns of the time simultaneously: the emphasis of abundance and fertility of the city's soil, the jouissance of spring, health and diet sensitivities, practices of eating, distances and finance, and

finally, the connected livelihoods of animals and humans that still persisted in the urban imagination. 10 May 1930 *Akşam,* Sermet Muhtar Alus writes:

> Advent of Spring celebrations, *Hıdırellez* has passed. Today is May 10. Green salad, scallions and lettuce abound. On the streets we hear "Yedikule for ten, fifteen…" Back in the day, after the April rains when May finally arrived, Istanbulites would say: sheep and lambs, goats and kids, cows and calves are all let off into the meadows; what are we waiting for? Let us all eat greens too! Salad, scallions, fresh garlic and lettuce are everywhere. A head costs 10 *para*, the bellied ones cost 20. Saying "it has healing qualities, calms the stomach and is diuretic, everyone eats; ones who are not lazy even journey all the way to Yedikule, Etyemez and the gardens around Davutpaşa pier, show the gardeners the ones they like, wash the leaves with their own hands in the garden pool which is fed by the flowing waters of the mill, and salt them. [74]

The reason why peddlers call out "Yedikule" instead of "lettuce" or "Yedikule lettuce" is because they know Yedikule will evoke the imagined corporeality, the memories embodied, fantasies embedded in that signifier. Both the peddler and the consumer are aware that they're not just buying an agricultural produce that will take its place on a dinner table. They tap into and draw from the environmental imaginary, the specialness that is signified in "Yedikule". The best cultivars of lettuce, the festivities and the rituals around lettuce eating- when bitten into will activate and release all sorts of senses and sensibilities particular to that person. That holler resonates on the threshold of what is essentially personal, bodily, distinct, unique, and what is culturally accumulated and cultivated into an imaginary body of community.

[74] "Bahar Bayramını, Hıdırellezi aradan savdık. Bugün Mayıs'ın 10u. Yeşil salata, taze soğan, marul bollaştı. Sokaklarda (Ona, on beşe Yedikule!) bağırtılarından durulmuyor. ... Eskiden Nisan yağmurları atlatılıp güzelim Mayıs'a kavuşulunca, İstanbullular tuttururlardı: -Koyunlarla kuzuları, keçilerle oğlakları, ineklerle buzağıları zümrüt gibi çayırlara salındı; ne duruyoruz, biz de yeşillik yiyelim! Kıvırcık salata, taze soğan, taze sarmısak, marul ortalıkta ibadullah. Demeti, tanesi 10 paraya; göbeklisi 20 paraya. (Şifalıdır, mideyi tashih eder, idrar söktürür) diyerek herkes yer; ayağına üşenmiyenler tâ Yedikule, Etyemez, Davutpaşa İskelesi bostanlarına seğirtir; bahçıvana kopartıp kopartıp, şırıl şırıl akan bostan dolabının yalağında kendi eliyle yıkayıp, yamağın getirdiği tuza bana bana kıvırırlardı…" Alus, "Mayıs Ayında".

Sometimes peddlers would also call out "the bellied of Yedikule! (*Yedikule göbeklileri*)"[75] may be adding an anthropomorphic touch to lettuce: a lettuce head with a belly. It was the lettuce of preference among the city dwellers of the time. In fact, we read in the 1931 article on Yedikule lettuce ritual that some gardeners would interfere in the choice of lettuce gesticulated by the visitor in his garden. The gardener would say, that won't satisfy you sir, it doesn't have a belly, let me give you this one instead. The journalist writes that this was a tactic to get a tip. But it is even stranger when one thinks about this consumed produce as having a belly of its own. Perhaps it also suggests that the lettuce itself is a hungry one for the earth, water and the sun. The voracious one among its community, the one that got the most attention perhaps.

The produce that has been growing in such diverse ways was also shaped by the selective process which has been giving shape to it, culminating in "favorites". Over the centuries these "favorites" adapted and took shape according to their material qualities, *terroir* and the people who enjoyed them for the purposes of food, medicine, religious rites, and rituals in general. Is Yedikule's lettuce *really* better than the lettuce, say in Üsküdar? According to a fictive gardener in Sermet Muhtar Alus's story "Nanemolla", it is not.[76] "It just has a name," a gardener of Üsküdar cries out to the protagonist. Perhaps he is expressing something akin to what our contemporaries would say: it's a brand, trending brand. And though it's more expensive, people will choose that one over the others. So, what made Yedikule lettuce so special? Was it just a brand?

[75] See Cemal Nadir's caricature in *Cumhuriyet* on 14 May 1932. This caricature will be discussed further in the Conclusion.
[76] Alus, "Nanemolla".

It is unclear if Sevgi Kaya, the interviewer of Bafralı Ofandis and Sezai Güzhan of Yedikule came up with the idea that titles the piece or if she heard it from one of her interviewers: "Does longing still taste the same?"[77] On the second page of the piece, a spotlighted text repeats an excerpt from Sezai Güzhan's insights, which ends with the eponymous title. I favor the latter, but regardless, it tells something of the power of these memories to evoke gustatory sense. I pondered upon this question, along with the idea that missing, longing has a taste, that taste is ingrained in the soil of a neighborhood. Now that those tastes are gone, reminiscing the past, remembering old Yedikule does not have the same taste. Reminiscing turns into longing, an unfulfilled desire, which in this case is to properly remember "old Yedikule". Without the taste of the oily Yedikule lettuce, reminiscing the past is lacking, is incomplete.

This title reminded me of a news piece that I had come upon during my archive research. It was an interview by Faruk Penik conducted with Istanbul Jews who had immigrated to the newly formed Israel. Published in 10 May 1952, in *Cumhuriyet,* Penik writes that it's almost impossible to believe that he is not in Hasköy but in "Giva Hacarmel" a village between Haifa and Tel Aviv.[78] The village's population is 350, and all are from Istanbul. They complain about the mandatory military service in Israel and Turkey's decision to deny citizenship to people who serve in the military in another country. They say: "İşte biz şimdi iki cami arasında kalmış binamıza döndük." The entire piece revolves around the food that is offered to the journalist, who is shocked by the variety of "Turkish" dishes on the table. Clearly, he concludes, these people have integrated their Turkish taste into their new land. And finally, as he lists the types of

[77] Kaya, "Özlemin Eski Tadı Var mı?" 30.03.1997, Cumhuriyet Dergi.
[78] Penik, "Israel Intibaları: Türkiye'den Israel'e giden Yahudilerin Kurdukları Köyde".

produce that the villagers cultivate, among tomatoes, onions, peas and artichokes, the only one that is characterized by its place of origin is the Yedikule lettuce. They are certainly not the first and not the last to associate their yearning for Istanbul with Yedikule lettuce.

In "Armenian Oral Tradition in Istanbul" Verjine Svazlian explores the songs, poems and riddles that the Armenian diaspora held on to after 1915. Svazlian writes:

> Armenian traditional songs concern not only rites of religion and custom but also nature. Some of the important themes include the Sea of Marmara ("On the Sea"); birds ("The Stork"); and fruits (What Place is Renowned for What"), which lists the products of various quarters of Istanbul, on Marmara shores, and various regions of Turkey:
> The fish of Kumkapu,
> The mulberry of Topkapu,
> The lettuce of Yedikule,
> The plum of Yenikapu,
> The apple of Amasia,
> The cucumber of Langa, […]
> The water of Tashdelen,

Svazlian does not give us any more details regarding the origin of this verse, however, thanks to this compilation we know that the Armenian community of Istanbul had a connection to Yedikule lettuce around the time that the genocide happened.

Moreover, the avant-garde poet of the early Republic, Nazım Hikmet, in his epic verse *Memleketimden İnsan Manzaraları* / *Human Landscapes from My Country*, wrote:

> Spring comes to Ankara Station
> with heightened suppressed excitement in the station police,
> peasant construction workers in the third-class waiting room,
> and, in the restaurant, a desire for Istanbul unfolding like a big head of lettuce.[79]

[79] "Ankara Garı'na bahar:/ İstasyon polisinde artan gizli bir telaşla,/ üçüncü mevki bekleme salonunda köylü yapı işçileriyle/ ve büfesinde göbekli bir marula benzeyen İstanbul hasretiyle gelir." Hikmet, *Memleketimden İnsan Manzaraları*, 212. Translated by Randy Blasing and Mutlu Konuk in *Human Landscapes From My Country: An Epic Novel in Verse*, 215.

All these different people's and communities' yearning for lettuce, and use of lettuce as a symbol of yearning for their city and good times, tells us that the cosmopolitan character of the city went much beyond the delineations of religious and ethnic communities, as is often portrayed in history writing that is especially stuck on the *millet* system.

How has Yedikule lettuce become the embodied symbol of a collective imaginary of Istanbul? Moreover, what can we make of the difference between how Sezai Güzhan remembers and how the settlers of a new Israeli village or Nazım Hikmet remember the city? How has the lettuce symbol changed from the time that it was still being cultivated to the times that it is missing. In our efforts to respond to these questions in the following chapters, I would like to end this account with a final quote from Takuhi Tovmasyan. In one of the interviews after her book came out, the interviewer asks her: "If you could travel in time, which moment would you have like to relive?" Her response imbricates and enhances the lore around Yedikule lettuce: "I am not one of those who complain about the daily life. However, if I had the ability to go back in time, I would go back to my grandfather Ğazaros Effendi's gazebo and eat the famed oily lettuce of Yedikule."[80] After having dedicated an entire memoir-cookbook to sophisticated Armenian dishes that her grandmothers taught her, why does Tovmasyan want to travel in time to eat the Yedikule lettuce, and specifically in her grandfather's gazebo?

[80] "Günü yaşamaktan şikayetçi olanlardan değilim. Ama geri sarmayı becerebilseydim, Takuhi *yaya*mın kocası olan dedem Ğazaros Efendi'nin Yedikule'de işlettiği kır gazinosunda Yedikule'nin o meşhur yağlı ve göbekli marulunu yemek isterdim." Interview by Arzu Sak, published in April 2016 in the online XOXO Mag: (https://xoxodigital.com/post/8695/takuhi-tovmasyan-zaman), accessed on 3 April 2019.

CHAPTER 3

TOPOGRAPHY AND *TERROIR*

"Everything is given to us by means of touch, a mediation continually forgotten."
Luce Irigaray[81]

After stating the importance of "Turkish cuisine" in his book *Çamlıca'daki Enişte*mi*z,* instead of naming dishes and recipes, writer Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar lists the unique products of certain Istanbul neighborhoods.[82] As you can guess, among the produce listed appears Yedikule lettuce. Today, it is highly unlikely one would encounter plain produce representing the Turkish cuisine. In all the cookbooks that have appeared in the half century, one will only find sophisticated dishes that require cooking. Now and then complicated salad recipes will appear too. In the very recent years in Istanbul, there has been an emergence of "Yedikule lettuce" in the ingredients listed under certain dishes on the menus of high scale restaurant-cafes in wealthy neighborhoods like Nişantaşı and "food-conscious" cafes like Dün in Moda. It is clear that they are unaware of and uninterested in the fact that Yedikule lettuce no longer exists. In fact, they do not even purchase their lettuce from the remaining Yedikule market gardens. They are simply banking on the idea of Yedikule lettuce, whose ghost has resurfaced since the struggle to preserve the Yedikule's historic gardens began in 2013.

Clearly, in this day and age, as opposed to earlier decades, it is not expected for Yedikule lettuce to be rooted in its soil, its origin. It hovers as an idea, well-adjusted to the new consumption cycles of the city. Yes, vegetation and soil cannot be bound by

[81] Irigaray, *Sexes and Genealogies*.
[82] Tagizade, *Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar'ın Eserlerinde*, 210.

borders and walls. And yet fauna and flora of a territory are determined by a complex combination of factors that produce them. In this chapter, we shall look at the properties of the area of Yedikule, that might have affected the unique flavor of the Yedikule lettuce in question. For this, we shall survey the major changes that the area underwent. Then, with the help of the concept of *terroir*, contextualize the significance of the relationship between soil and symbol.

3.1 A historical synopsis of Yedikule

After the conquest of Constantinople, Mehmed II's architectural program to rebuild the city involved not only the restoration of the city's infrastructural needs, but also the forced resettlement of many communities from other parts of the Ottoman terrain. The city that was gravely ruined and abandoned had to be repopulated. Mehmed II took every measure to reinvigorate and bring back the charm and awe the city was known to possess for centuries.[83] The measures were successful: a four-fold population rise in the first two centuries under the Ottoman rule demonstrates that the city regained its reputation as a hub, and became "a locus of mobility and travel."[84]

Yedikule was not among the primary neighborhoods in which there was settlement. It is almost a century later, towards the mid-sixteenth century that the southwest corner of the city saw a noteworthy human population. In his account, German traveler Dernschwam writes "Yedikule'nin civarında kıraç bir yer var … burada Karamanlılar denen halk oturuyor" and they were brought to Istanbul by the order of

[83] Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*; Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*.
[84] Kafescioğlu, "Viewing, Walking, Mapping Istanbul, ca. 1580", 27.

Selim I.[85] Halil Inalcık notes that "in the middle of the tenth/sixteenth century they were settled near Yedikule, but a century or more later Eremya Çelebi reported them as living at Narlıkapı."[86] The seventeenth century writer Eremya Çelebi writes: "In the vicinity, inside the walls, there is a people called the Karamanlis. Although they are *Rum*, they don't speak the language and instead speak Turkish. After he conquered Constantinople, Sultan Mehmed brought them here."[87] Why did they relocate? Was "Yedikule civarı" too "kıraç / barren" and therefore, this Orthodox community who were under the custodianship of the Rum Patriarchate wanted to move closer to the Patriarchate and the city? Eremya Çelebi also notes that around Narlıkapı "more than a thousand households are Armenian. Surp Kevork Church and the *Balıklı Ayazma* [holy spring in the Virgin Mary Church Zoodohos] The cathedra used to be here, encircled by gardens outlooking the sea."[88] If under "Narlıkapı area" Eremya Çelebi mentions both the Sulumanastır, which is in Samatya, and Balıklı Ayazması, which is *extra muros* close to the Silivri Gate, then it would not be wrong to assume that these are not very precise indications as to the exact locations but more a vague reference to the populations living around the walls of Yedikule.

In his account, when Eremya Çelebi and Vardapet get off their horses around Silivrikapı ("Yedikule civarında Silivrikapı yanındayken"), they go "upstairs" overlooking Süleyman Sahrası, which is "a beautiful garden owned by one of our

[85] Dernschwam 1992:78.
[86] İnalcık, "İstanbul".
[87] "Civarda ve sur dahilinde, Karamanlı denilen halk oturmaktadır. Bunlar, Rum olduklan halde Rumca bilmezler ve Türkçe konuşurlar. Sultan Mehmed, Istanbul'u zaptettikten sonra onları buraya getirmiştir." Kömürciyan, *İstanbul tarihi*, 2.
[88] "…bin haneden fazla Ermeni bulunmaktadır. Sulumanastır denilen muhterem Surp Kevork Kilisesi ve Balıklı Ayazması buradadır. … Denize nazır bahçelerle çevrili Ermeni Piskoposluk makamı önce burada idi." Kömürciyan, *İstanbul tarihi*, 3.

Turkish friends." When they look over towards Eyüp "valleys, vast meadows and gardens lying in the shadow of majestic trees" come in view.[89] Eremya Çelebi does not describe the landscape that lies behind him, where the Yedikule towers are. Can we assume then, that around this period, no particular settlement and eye-catching gardens could be spotted around the southwest corner of the walls?

Byzantinist Johannes Koder in "Fresh Vegetables for the Capital" writes:

> Theophanes speaks about gardens and vineyards within the walls, the Vita Euthymii and Nikolaos Mesarites praise horticulture and farming near Studios and the Church of the Apostles. And Odo of Deuil who visited Constantinople in 1147-48, observes explicitly: … [The third side of the city's triangle contains fields … Below the walls lies open land, which contains gardens that furnish the citizens all kinds of vegetables.][90]

Thus, in the twelfth century the area around today's Yedikule stretching from the Walls to the Studios Monastery was cultivated and praised. As detailed in the previous chapter, Koder deduces that almost 2-3 km^2 within the walls were vegetable gardens, supplying the city with fresh produce. In addition, Koder estimates that a land of 15km^2 was cultivated right outside the city walls.

There are many copies of a map or maps allegedly drawn by Florentine cartographer Cristoforo Boundelmonti, thirty years before Mehmet II seized Constantinople. Although the original is lost and the many copies we have retain their enigma[91] regarding dates and authorship, one of the depictions from 1422, represented the area stretching from Studios Monastery in Samatya (Ipsomethya) to the west towards the walls with a few trees. The trees starkly contrast with the rest of the map that contains very scarce vegetation and is dominantly marked by grand buildings. If the

[89] Kömürciyan, *İstanbul tarihi*, 27.
[90] Koder, "Fresh vegetables for the capital", 53.
[91] Thomov, "New Information about Cristoforo Buondelmonti", 433.

trees on the map are an indication of this area's vegetative fertility, then can we infer that right before the conquest, the area around Yedikule was cultivated, and after the war, it deteriorated and remained unattended for almost two centuries?

Ayhan Han and Aleksandar Shopov's article "Osmanlı Istanbulu'nda Kent İçi Tarımsal Toprak Kullanımı ve Dönüşümleri: Yedikule Bostanları" strengthens the above inference that the terrain did not receive uninterrupted tending: "Although the agricultural lands in Yedikule intra muros were registered as fertile agricultural territory both in the Kefil Defteri [dated 1735] and in Byzantine sources, we have no record of them in the early land registers of Istanbul [after the conquest]."[92] In the 1546 Waqf Tahrir Defteri there are no mentions of the Yedikule *intra muros,* and the area around Silivri Gate is referred to as empty land. In the Encyclopedia of Islam under "Istanbul", Inalcık writes that "in plans of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries … the area within the walls is all inhabited, with the exception of a strip within the land-walls by Yedi-Kule, Bayram Pasha Deresi, the Yeni Bağçe area and the Langa Bostanları."[93] Vavassore's depiction of Constantinople originally made in the 1480s supports this claim too. Formed in the new perspective view and "aiming to convey a realistic image of the Ottoman capital, [it] represents a totality."[94] In this new mode of depiction, the area around Yedikule visibly has fewer settlements compared to the other parts of the city. Between a realism of the time and the claim to totality, in this densely woven image, the southwest corner offers some empty strips.

[92] "Yedikule sur içindeki tarımsal araziler hem bu Kefil Defteri'nde hem de Bizans kaynaklarında verimli ziraat alanları olarak kayıt edilmesine rağmen ilk Istanbul tahrirlerinde bu mekanların kaydına rastlanmamaktadır." Han and Shopov, "Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda kent içi tarımsal toprak kullanımı", 35.
[93] İnalcık, "İstanbul".
[94] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 159.

In his analysis of a court case examining the murder of a certain Ayşe Hatun in the Bucakbağı neighborhood, Hadi Hosainy informs us that "[e]ight out of the ten waqfs in the adjacent Yedikule neighborhood were cash waqfs. By 1600, the Yedikule neighborhood had four more new endowments, all of which were residential houses."[95] As Hosainy relates, three out of the four of these new endowments were referring to the Bucakbağı neighborhood in passing notes. "In the first two of them, the Bucakbağı mosque or its imam is not mentioned. The third one was founded in 1575, which provides the first piece of evidence for the existence of the Bucakbağı mosque and a sense of neighborhood identity."[96] Since it is known that Sinan built a very modest mosque and hammam endowed by Hacı Evhad in 1585,[97] Muslim communities in the southwest corner of the city must have started to form towards the end of sixteenth century and in the beginning of seventeenth century with a gradual development from then on. Whereas Christian communities had started to gather around this area half a century before, with Suleyman's orders of settling prisoners from Belgrade (during his occupation of Belgrade in 1521) close to the Belgrade Gate contributed to the development of the area.[98]

Although, İnalcık maintains that religious identity is the essential characterizing feature of a neighborhood, court records, mühimme, şikayet and vakıf registers of the early modern period depict a more complex portrayal of the city's neighborhoods. Also, class and social status did not verily mean a physical segregation within and between various communities. For instance, Hosainy points out that "Bucakbağı was a socially

[95] Hosainy, "Ottoman Legal Practice and Non-Judicial Actors in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul", 26.
[96] Hosainy, "Ottoman Legal Practice and Non-Judicial Actors in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul", 26.
[97] Eyice, "Hacı Evhad Camii".
[98] İnalcık, "İstanbul".

mixed neighborhood accommodating both members of the *askeri* as well the taxpaying subjects."[99] Again, as Hosainy relates:[100]

> In addition to the future chief white eunuch, the ex-governor of Trabzon, Mehmed Pasha, resided in a property he owned in Bucakbağı in 1633. … As a neighborhood in the furthest corner of the walled city and close to the city walls, Bucakbağı accommodated also a good number of people from the lower classes. The greater Yedikule area attracted many immigrants primarily from the Balkans as well as the north of the Black Sea, who made their living working as laborers in the vegetable gardens.

Aleksandar Shopov, in his dissertation titled "Between the Pen and the Fields: Books on Farming, Changing Land Regimes, and Urban Agriculture in the Ottoman Eastern Mediterranean ca. 1500-1700" informs us that around the beginning of the eighteenth century, members of Istanbul's urban elite owned houses between the Silivri and Yedikule gates. He writes: "This is shown by an endowment deed from 1708 of the chief treasurer Suleyman, who endowed a market garden that year to his school situated between the Belgrad (Belgrade) church and Bayram Paşa's bostan."[101] Bayram Paşa was a grand vizier to Murad IV, who, in pursuit of securing his assets, might have cleared up land for himself between Belgrade Church and Hacı Piri Mosque and turned them into market gardens.

In their joint research, Aleksandar Shopov and Ayhan Han demonstrate that before 1600, a considerable community and cultivated land were absent in the records.[102] In the seventeenth century, however, as this area received more attention, there are more detailed indications pertaining to the types of gardens and the people who lived around them. In the Kefil Defteri dated 1735, Han and Shopov found the mention

[99] Hosainy, "Ottoman Legal Practice and Non-Judicial Actors in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul", 27.
[100] Hosainy, "Ottoman Legal Practice and Non-Judicial Actors in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul", 27.
[101] Shopov, "Between the pen and the fields", 381.
[102] Han and Shopov, "Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda kent içi tarımsal toprak kullanımı", 34.

of nine gardens, stretching by the Land Walls from Yedikule to Silivri Gate, in which 52 gardeners worked, out of the 344 gardens and 1381 gardeners in total *intra muros*. In Yedikule, the majority of gardeners listed were composed of Christians, who hailed from Macedonia. When we stretch the area more inland and include Hacı Evhad, Hacı Piri and Horoslu Çeşme, the count goes up to 29 gardens and 140 gardeners.[103] Seeing that two grand viziers, Bayram Paşa, and Ismail Paşa, along with Süleyman Ağa, head of Treasury to Mustafa II, invested particularly in this neighborhood, we can infer that towards the end of the seventeenth century life around the recently cultivated gardens became more vibrant and mixed. Beginning in the eighteenth century, İnalcık writes that sultans gave up lands and wood in hopes to create new neighborhoods within the city.[104]

A map of the city by George Franklin Cram in the year 1901, shows large strips of gardens along the city walls near Yedikule. The cartographer even provides the name of one of the gardens: "The Garden of Ismail Paşa". A study of Ayverdi's detailed city map of 1876,[105] too, demonstrate the same Ismail Paşa Garden. Bayram Paşa garden is not named and is only indicated as "bostan" along with many other *bostan*s in this area. In an 1807 map of Kauffier and Lechevalier, though, Bayram Paşa garden is indeed named.

Extra muros, by the Yedikule Gate was a different story. The great traveler and writer of the seventeenth century, Evliya Çelebi, provides ample information regarding the state of the area in the seventeenth century:

> After the conquest, the Conqueror relocated all the tanneries and slaughterhouses here. It is a fine town in the city. It has a mosque, 7 masjid, an inn, a hammam, 7

[103] Han and Shopov, "Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda kent içi tarımsal toprak kullanımı", 36.
[104] İnalcık, "Istanbul".
[105] Ayverdi, *19. asırda İstanbul haritası*, 43-45.

> fountains and 3 dervish lodges. And three hundred tanner's shops, fifty glue shops, and seventy animal gut shops.[106]

Having reviewed the waqfiyyes of Mehmed II and the Hagia Sophia registers, İnalcık writes that a century before, the area originally consisted of "27 shops of tanners, 32 of butchers, and 5 of catgut-makers."[107] Ahmed Refik Altınay in *Istanbul Hayatı 1000-1100,* gives a list of the city's slaughterhouses in the year 1607, which confirm the function of this neighborhood.[108] Evliya Çelebi's observations are supported by his contemporary Eremya Çelebi:[109]

> We have reached Yedikule, the twenty-sixth gate. The Karamanli cemetery is here, across from the city. Next to this gate is a ditch called Tokat, where cows and cattle are sold for the public need. From these animals' flesh, people make pastourma. The sojouk that Armenians make is extremely tasty. Especially tongue is a wonderful *meze* to accompany wine. … A bit farther away are the slaughterhouses. Butchers chop their meat in the evening, and distribute to shops in the morning. In the city, there are over a hundred shops that sell cattle meat. The Greek-Orthodox sell sheep meat in their shops. Here are shops. inns, taverns and the Goose Fountain [Kazlıçeşme]. Also, tanneries that make tanned sheep skin [meşin] are located in this area. If you need, they can make parchment too. Animal guts thick and thin for shoe, carder, sieve and the saz come from these shops.

Both descriptions attest to full blown characteristics of a neighborhood, with various ateliers, religious establishments, hammams, a cemetery and taverns. Moreover, Eremya

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[106] "Fetihten sonra Ebülfetih, cümle debbağları ve selh-haneleri buraya koyup abadan ettiler. Leb-i deryada mamur bir kasabadır. Bir camii, yedi mescidi, bir hanı, bir hamamı, yedi sebili, üç tekkesi vardır. Ve üçyüz aded ahi? evran karhanesi yani dabağ dükkanları, elli aded tutkalcı karhanesi, leb-i deryada yetmiş aded kirişci karhanesi vardır." Çelebi, *Seyahatname* I, 182.
[107] İnalcık "Istanbul".
[108] Altınay, *İstanbul hayatı*, 30-1.
[109] "Yedikule'ye, yirmialtıncı kapıya vardık. Karamanlıların mezarlığı burada şehrin karşısındadır. Bu kapının yakınında Tokat denilen bir hendek vardır. Halkın ihtiyacı için sığır ve inekler burada satılır. Bu hayvanların etinden pastırma yapılır. Ermenilerin yaptıkları sucuk çok leziz olur. Hele dil şaraba ne güzel bir meze'dir. … Daha ilerde, salhane'ler vardır. Kasap'lar, hayvanları burada geceleyin keserler ve sabah dükkanlara tevzi ederler. Şehirde, sığır eti satan yüzden fazla dükkan vardır. Rumlar da üçyüz dükkanda koyun eti satarlar. Burada dükkanlar, hanlar badehane'ler (meyhaneler) ile Kazçeşme (Kazlıçeşme) vardır. Keza, meşin yapan dabağ'lar da buradadır. İhtiyacın varsa bunlar parşömen de yapabilirler. Papuç ve elek derileri, keza hallac ile saz'lar için kalın ve ince kirişler bunların elinden çıkar."
Kömürciyan, *İstanbul tarihi*, 25.

Çelebi's account provides us with further details such as the types of meat products that are made in these ateliers. He even recommends consuming the meze "tongue" with wine. He also lists several items that are made in these ateliers, which helps visualize what goes on in this neighborhood and how it supplies the city.

Evliya Çelebi's account in the following lines offers further details that complete the sensorial portrayal of the function of this neighborhood: "Ones who are not used to the foul smell of this town are devastated. For the people of the town though, that foul smell is like musk ambrette."[110] Clearly, although city dwellers benefit greatly from the production of this neighborhood, the area seems to be isolated due to the smell, which only the people who inhabit these spaces can handle. We cannot know if the workers and owners did in fact consider the smell to be as musk and ambergris. This might be a mere reflection of the romantic notions of a member of the urban elite. However, with this statement Evliya might have suggested not only an ontological state regarding humans' ability of sensorial adaptation and habit-making, but also, perhaps a sense of pride and usefulness regarding the work that people undertook. Musk and ambergris are commonly used together in literature to denote a unique, heavy and valuable smell, which the Koran mentions in a passage describing the joy of *nimet* that adorns honest people with musk.[111] Despite the isolation, bad odors and difficult working conditions, people build meaningful attachments to uncomplimentary conditions. With this one sentence, Evliya Çelebi praises the honesty and hard work in producing *nimet* that

[110]Amma bu kasabanın o bed-i rayihasına alışmıyanlar bir an dursa helak olurlar. Fakat ahalisine o bed-i rayiha misk ve anber gibi kokarmış." Çelebi, *Seyahatname* I, 182.
[111] Mutaffifîn 22-26 in 83. Surah and 36. verse.

contributes with the unique flavors to the palate of the city (or at least the Christian communities).

In the second half of the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth century three important hospitals were established in this area. First, Balıklı Rum Foundation Hospital was constructed in 1753, then, Zeytinburnu Military Hospital was founded (exact date unknown however oldest document found is dated 1828) and later, in 1834 Surp Pırgiç Hospital (also known as Yedikule Armenian Hospital) was established. The area's relative distance to the city made this area also preferable for establishing three important hospitals. The fact that they were outside the city walls helped the city fight epidemics that were frequently breaking out. There may be another reason though why these health institutions were located here, instead of another area *extra muros*; the abundance and quality of its waters.

Kazlıçeşme had already been famous for its water. The name of the neighborhood Kazçeşme or Kazlıçeşme (literally the goose fountain or fountain with goose), according to Eremya Çelebi, comes from an incident in which a goose was digging up the soil, when suddenly water sprung forth. According to Evliya Çelebi, the name is from a spectacular fountain made of white marble with a depiction of a goose.[112] The eloquence of the fountain, he claims, has made this fountain famous among the dwellers as "the fountain with goose". Especially around this area, due to its distance from the Lykos valley and stream, people were dependent on water wells and fountains. Today, some of these historic wells are still visible and in use in Yedikule. As one

[112] Çelebi, *Seyahatname* I, 182.

moved further inland and the altitude rose, wells played an even more crucial role in sustaining the gardens around Yedikule *intra muros*.

Not just Kazlıçeşme but Balıklı Ayazması also attest to the significance of water in this neighborhood. Cemal Kafadar in "Su Gibi Aziz Ayazmalar," writes of the originally Christian Orthodox *Balıklı Ayazması*:

> Is it mere coincidence that the fair which had been taking place until the beginning of the twentieth century, with the participation of thousands of people, is right next to one of the most ancient and dense garden areas that have been producing the famed Yedikule lettuce? Don't let the asphalt road that runs between the Land Walls and the Ayazma, or the concrete recklessly dumped in the city make you forget. Water and green have always been close to one another, in harmony. Villagers and urbanites alike, people who know that they are bound by these two manifestations of fertility, the delicate balance of nature and soil, have also known how to care for and protect this fortune.[113]

"And what if we position land and water as always connected," asks Mishuana Goeman in "Indigenous Feminisms Roundtable"[114] in an attempt to de-center the state-oriented or colonized histories of humans, animals, plants, and water. Her keen observation that "[a] consequence of colonialism is the flattening of land with property,"[115] speaks volumes about the way state apparatus has come to cultivate a practice to colonize its own land, thus the ties in which we make meaning. Reading Kafadar's interpretation of the Balıklı Ayazması together with Goeman's observations, we can confidently state that a connected approach to land and water — not just defined within the rhetoric of national

[113]"Balıklı Ayazması'nın ve XX. yüzyılın başlarına kadar her yıl çevresinde binlerce insanın katılımıyla gerçekleştirilen panayırın, şehrin en kadim ve en yoğun bostan bölgesinde, ünlü Yedikule marullarını yetiştiren toprakların hemen yanı başında bulunması bir tesâdüf olabilir mi? Aralarından geçen asfalt yol ve şehrin orasına burasına hâlâ pervâsızca yerleştirmeye devam ettiğimiz beton yapılar unutturmasın. Su ile yeşil her zaman birbirine yakın olmuş, yakışmış, bereketin bu iki farklı tezâhürünün birbirine, toprağa ve tabiatın hassas dengelerine bağlı olduğunu bilen insanlar, köylüsü şehirlisi, onları maddî ve mânevî değerleriyle korumaya özen gösterdikleri sürece talihli olduklarını bilmişlerdir." Kafadar, "Su Gibi Aziz Ayazmalar", 445.

[114] Aikau, Arvin, Goeman, & Morgensen, "Indigenous feminisms roundtable", 94.

[115] Aikau, Arvin, Goeman, & Morgensen, "Indigenous feminisms roundtable", 96.

soil which is essentially based on dividing and parceling — is fundamental to our relational practices and webs of meaning.

3.2 Soil and symbol: The *terroir* of Yedikule lettuce

Let me return to and reiterate one of my main questions here: What is it that gives Yedikule lettuce the unique taste it legendarily possesses? Why did people of all faiths and backgrounds prefer the lettuce of this neighborhood as opposed to others that cultivated lettuce and offered similar leisurely garden visits as we see in Alus's "Nanemolla" story? Kafadar suggests that the balance between spiritual and material conditions spatialized in natural phenomena by way of cultivation, respect and the meaningful use and care of such resources begets the flavors that become legendary. The notion that there is such a balance, an interplay of tangible and nontangible factors at play is hard to pin down and is open to various interpretations, uses and abuses. The relationship between the soil, winds, water, plants, animals, human touch and care, which make up collective sensorial preferences that in turn create collective sensations and memories, have no measuring unit.

Chemistry, mathematics, knowledgeable care all factor in, however such legendary flavor cannot be produced in labs or greenhouses (at least not yet). We have the technologies to produce "smart water" made up of filtered water and added electrolytes and minerals, however it can never compare to the water in Balıklı Ayazması, which has offered healing and salvation to hundreds, thousands, perhaps millions of people of different faiths for over centuries. How does one measure that? A detailed laboratory result pertaining to the "essence" of the water at the Ayazma may partially explain the healing qualities in it but would fail to provide us an in depth

understanding of why people from all over the world have been journeying to its presence with all their worries and hopes for centuries. Clearly, we will not find our answer to the flavor of the Yedikule lettuce in laboratory results that examine the water and soil qualities or the winds or the human and animal manure used in their production. The idea that these elements can be isolated and alienated from each other for examination, in order to determine a measuring unit for taste and demand is fundamentally flawed. It not only bases its assumptions on fixed and calculable notions of aspects of a city but also reduces the delicate balance of constant flux into formulas with the intention of further fixing complex structures.

This vague notion of balance is treated in the recent years within the framework of the quintessentially French concept and phenomenon *terroir*. It came out of the production of wine, which plays a significant role in the nation-making process of France in the nineteenth century. According to the Merriam-Webster English dictionary the first known use of the concept in English is in the year 1863. The Oxford Dictionary provides two meanings for the term:[116] 1. The complete natural environment in which a particular wine is produced, including factors such as the soil, topography, and climate. 2. The characteristic taste and flavor imparted to a wine by the environment in which it is produced.

In her illuminating article "Rituals of Pleasure in the Land of Treasures: Wine Consumption and the Making of French Identity in the Late Nineteenth Century," Kolleen Guy argues that[117]

> [a] term with no precise equivalent in English, *terroir* has been generally applied as a descriptor for the holistic combination in a vineyard environment of soil,

[116] https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/terroir, accessed June 30, 2019.
[117] Guy, "Rituals of Pleasure in the Land of Treasures", 36.

> climate, topography, and "the soul" of the wine producer. … Apart from any specific historical era, political regime, or social structure, wine consumption and *terroir* were, fundamental references that the collective "France" elaborated for itself in the late nineteenth century.

In this insightful account of how the production of wine and the discourse around terroir made France and the collective French imagination of itself, particular stories emphasizing "the soul" of the wine producer are successful because they manage to weave an imagined French genius with the material conditions the environment offers. The idea that good taste, good produce comes naturally from the national land, in turn, becomes a marker of national character to the point that it is "difficult to invoke one without eliciting the other."[118]

Bearing in mind how the mystique of terroir was utilized in generating a national cuisine, sense of pride and social stratification, *terroir* may be a useful concept in understanding the legendary qualities of Yedikule lettuce. In their joint research on the Yedikule gardens, Shopov, White and Ostovich base their arguments on this very concept:

> The city exists within a transitional climactic zone, so that its gardens experience variations of Mediterranean, Oceanic, and Continental climates, depending upon their locations. Hotter, drier Mediterranean conditions are found along the southern edge of the peninsula (Yedikule, Langa), while cooler, rainier Oceanic conditions exist farther north (Sarıyer, Arnavutköy). … Each garden in Istanbul has its individual *terroir* of sorts, a unique set of environmental characteristics that benefit certain crop species.[119]

Both Eremya Çelebi and Evliya Çelebi would concur on the idea that each neighborhood of Istanbul is unique. For example, in his account of Kanlıca, a village on the Asian side of the Bosphorus, Eremya Çelebi writes: "Daha ilerde, büyük bir Türk köyü olan

[118] Guy, "Rituals of Pleasure in the Land of Treasures", 41.
[119] White, Shopov, and Ostovich, "An Archeology of Sustenance", 36.

Kanlıca vardır. Buranın yoğurdu çok meşhurdur ve satılmak üzere Istanbul'a getirilir."[120] Already in this period the yogurt produced in the Kanlıca region was famous and it was the main supply of the city. Similarly, he writes of the Vlanga gardens, the last of which were demolished in the last decade during the construction of the Yenikapı Marmaray underwater tram line: "Küçük Vlanga bostanı'nın bulunduğu bu yer, Yenikapı'ya kadar iki kat surla çevrilidir. Büyük bahçe denilen Vlanga Bostanı'nın hıyarları çok büyük olur; "Vlanga", Rum dilinde "yeşillik" manasındadır."[121] As he informs us, the neighborhood is named after "greenery" in the language spoken by the Greek Orthodox of the city, and the gardens in it were famous for their cucumbers. Thus, we know that in the seventeenth century "Langa hıyarı" was already well known. We can confirm this information with Evliya Çelebi, who frequently uses such "famous" produce to describe and lightly mock the physical appearance of the people he meets, especially ones that are of higher rank. In his description of the Austrian emperor Evliya Çelebi writes: "Başı balkabağı gibi, burnu Mora badıcanı kadar büyük ve kırmızı, parmakları Lanka hıyarı kadar vardı."[122] We can trace the famous cucumbers of the Langa gardens back to the seventeenth century and deduce that the products were quite impressive in size. When examining the pattern in his use of produce to describe men, Yerasimos proposed that he resembles "red cheeks to peaches and apples; lips to red cherries; big heads to Adana pumpkins or Van cabbages; giant noses to eggplants from Mora or Egypt."[123] The produce that Evliya chooses to use in his satiric remarks must have had a wide reach in the collective imagination of the people. Even if certain produce such as the Mora

[120] Kömürciyan, *İstanbul tarihi*, 46.
[121] Kömürciyan, *İstanbul tarihi*, 3.
[122] Yerasimos, "Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi'nde yemek kültürü", 38.
[123] Yerasimos, "Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi'nde yemek kültürü", 38.

eggplant might have been unknown to some readers / listeners, first of all the produce itself must be known for the satiric remark to work, and secondly, the trope must have had some relevance in the literary world of the time.

Considering that both Evliya and Eremya are known for their generous descriptions of neighborhoods, foods and peoples, the fact that we do not come across Yedikule lettuce in neither account strengthens our view that it was not a significant plant in their times. In fact, in the hundreds of pages the former wrote, lettuce is mentioned only once.[124] Since evidence, discussed above, shows that in their times, the cultivation around Yedikule was limited, even if it was produced, this lettuce was not of great importance. However, we know that lettuce was cultivated in the city.

In the tenth century Byzantine farming manual *Geoponika*, the chapter dedicated to Constantinople refers to lettuce (*thridax*), among other plants such as mallow and orach (self-ordained plants that still grow along the margins in some Yedikule gardens).[125] The treatise presents details regarding their production process, from the time to sow and water, to the time to harvest. Unfortunately, the manuscript does not offer exact locations of the gardens where these vegetables were grown. Mübahat Kütükoğlu's examination of the Narh Defteri of 1600 demonstrates that the price of lettuce was given, including its price before the year 1600 noted down in the margin.[126] Surveying the accounts of the Topkapı Palace kitchen, Barkan comes across a purchase of 23.580 heads of lettuce between April 1573 and May 1574.[127] In the same list, 10.773 cucumbers, 2.300 (bunch) dill, 218.327 (bunch) parsley are noted. Again, Has Bahçe

[124] Çelebi, *Seyahatname* VIII, 166.
[125] Shopov, White, and Ostovich, "An archaeology of sustenance", 36.
[126] Kütükoğlu, "1009 (1600) Tarihli Narh Defterine Göre İstanbul'da Çeşitli Mal ve Hizmet Fiatları", 29.
[127] Barkan, "İstanbul sarayına ait muhasebe defterleri", 110-113.

provides lettuce to the palace kitchen between 29 April and 27 May in 1854.[128] In *Osmanlı Mutfak Sözlüğü* (Ottoman Kitchen Dictionary), "marul" entry informs us that in the seventeenth century palace kitchen made *börek* with cheese, milk cream and lettuce.[129] In *Ağdiye Risalesi* estimated to 1764, in the sixth section reserved for salads and pickles, we find a recipe for lettuce salad. It opens with the statement: "Cümlenün ma'lumıdur' lakin sarayda bir mahalde yaparlar. Hoş olur."[130] In cookbooks from the nineteenth century we come across recipes such as "marul bastısı" and "marul kökü taratoru".[131]

Building on the concept of *terroir*, Shopov, White and Ostovich further argue that "[t]he Yedikule gardens, with their southern aspect and abundant sunshine during the summer months, were particularly suited for large-leafed cos lettuce, which originated on the sunny Greek island of Kos."[132] Let us take a step back though, and ponder the origins of cos lettuce, to which the Yedikule kind is attributed. A descendant of one of the ancient cultivars, cos lettuce or scientifically known as lactuca sativa, is the type that was grown in Yedikule. Lactuca sativa most probably originated in the fertile crescent and has been growing and evolving for millennia. It is suggested that the name "cos lettuce" comes from the island Kos on the Aegean, where a vast amount of lettuce was being produced in the ancient times. Archeobotanists believe that it is through Kos that the lettuce travelled to Europe, and got its name.[133] We do not have enough evidence to show that this lettuce type came to Istanbul via Kos or if it travelled through

[128] Samancı, "19. Yüzyılın Birinci Yarısında Osmanlı Elitinin Yeme-İçme Alışkanlıkları", 197.
[129] Priscilla-Işın,, *Osmanlı mutfak sözlüğü*, 250.
[130] Yerasimos, *500 yıllık Osmanlı yemek kültürü*, 154.
[131] Mehmet Kamil, *Melceü't-Tabbahîn Aşçıların Sığınağı*. Ayşe Fahriye, *Ev Kadını.*
[132] Shopov, White, and Ostovich, "An archaeology of sustenance", 36
[133] For example, Harlan, "Lettuce and the Sycomore: Sex and Romance in Ancient Egypt, Economic Botany".

the Anatolian geography. At some point in its evolution, lactuca sativa transformed from an allogamous plant to an autogamous one, meaning that it can self-fertilize wherever its seeds travel to.[134] There is not enough research and evidence to show when or how lactuca sativa came to be cultivated in Yedikule. We must also note here that despite the claim of some archeobotanists that the lettuce lactuca sativa var. longifolia receives its name from the island Kos,[135] the phonetic resemblance of Kos to the ancient Semitic word "khass" (خس) for lettuce, which is still used in modern Arabic, "xasa" in Hebrew, and "kahu" in Persian, gives one a pause. There is a case here for further etymological research, especially considering that the literature on the cultural cross-pollination between ancient Egypt and ancient Greece is only recently growing.[136] In her dictionary of the Ottoman kitchen Priscialla-Işın draws attention to this, too: "despite a common opinion that the name derives from the island Kos, it is suggested that it may be a derivation of the Arabic 'khass'."[137] Her remarks are based on the suggestion made in the Oxford Dictionary, which draws attention to the phonetic resemblance.

Based on the evidence we have, beginning around the time of the conquest, widespread cultivation around the Yedikule area was interrupted for two centuries. Could it have taken another two for the soil in this region to form its unique "terroir", which would ready the conditions for what would later become Yedikule's legendary lettuce known for its great height, milky sap, and the oily quality twentieth century writers rave about. These factors indicate that it would require significant amount of

[134] de Vries, "Origin and domestication of Lactuca sativa L.", 173.
[135] Among others, de Vries, "Origin and domestication of Lactuca sativa L.", 166.
[136] For an historiographical reading of the study of ancient Greek history within Classics, and how it has been ideologically motivated towards favoring a Euro-centric view of the world that denies significant connections to semitic geographies and languages, see the first and third volumes of Bernal's *Black Athena*.
[137] Priscilla-Işın, *Osmanlı Mutfak Sözlüğü*, 250.

resources: space and water. In his dissertation Shopov proposes, based on the water amount necessitated for its production, that a kind akin to the legendary Yedikule lettuce might have first appeared at the beginning of the seventeenth century. He writes:[138]

> In 1640, a price list of foodstuffs in Istanbul, likely drawn up in response to rising inflation, mentions, for the first time, two varieties of lettuce, one specified as bitter (*acı marul*) and the other just as lettuce (*marul*). In the price list from 1600—likewise drawn up following the earlier inflation crisis of the 1590s—only one kind of lettuce is recorded. The emergence of water-intensive agriculture in Yedikule in the 1630s thus coincided with the appearance of another variety of lettuce, possibly an ancestor of the Yedikule lettuce.

"Acı marul" (bitter lettuce) might be the wild ancestor of Yedikule lettuce. However, looking at treatises and herbal plant encyclopedias, we see that "acı marul" (sometimes referred to as "kasni") refers mostly to chicory ("hindiba"). For instance, published in Istanbul in 1917, Subhi Edhem's *Ulûm-i Tabiiyye Lügatı* (The Dictionary of Natural Sciences) which is an encyclopedic dictionary that lists the many terms employed at the beginning of the twentieth century, the entry "acı marul" is listed as chicory.[139] In Ibn Baytar's translation of Ibn-i Sina's treatise on chicory (*Hindiba Risalesi*), it is written that "hindiba kasni maruldur, mideye eyidir."[140] In *Cultivated Vegetables of the World: A Multilingual Onomasticon,* Stephen Kays published an extensive research into plants in different languages. Again, "acı marul" appears under chicory.[141] In *Kamus'l Muhit Tercümesi* under "Hindeba," the following information is given: "Bu nebata Farsîde kâsnî ve Türkide acı marul ve göyinek derler."[142] In historian Arif Bilgin's compilation of medicinal herbal plants in the Ottoman times, "kasni" appears as "güneyik", "yaban

[138] Shopov, "Between the pen and the fields", 378.
[139] Suphi Ethem, *Ulûm-i Tabiiyye Lügatı*, 164.
[140] Ünver, *İbn-i Sina'nın Hindiba Risalesi*, 7
[141] Kays, *Cultivated Vegetables*, 82-3.
[142] Kâmûs'l Muhit Tercümesi, IV. Mütercim Asım.

marulu", "hindiba" and "acı marul".[143] Whereas the majority classification of "acı marul" falls under chicory, "yaban marulu" presents a more complicated picture, sometimes referred to as lactuca virosa, sometimes as lactuca serriola, and here, in the case of Bilgin's compilation, as chicory. It is also important to note that neither in Kütükoğlu's publication of the Narh Defteri of 1600 nor 1640, there appears a separate entry for "hindiba" or "güneyik".[144] The addition of "acı marul" may, therefore, indicate not the appearance of a wild ancestor of the Yedikule lettuce but of chicory.

Both lettuce and chicory are from the family Asteraceae ("papatyagiller") and the use of "lettuce" in historical treatises can be confusing especially when it is hyphenated as in poppy-lettuce, radicchio-lettuce, cabbage-lettuce, etc. In "Book Twelve" of the Byzantine farm manual *Geoponika*, Article 14, "how to grow lettuce that produces celery, rocket, basil and the like from the same root. Dydimos," instructs as follows:[145]

> take a goat or sheep dung, however small; pierce a hole in it, hollow it out neatly and pack inside it the seeds of the kinds of vegetable listed, or any you choose. Bury at a depth not less than two palms, after scattering manure and covering with fine soil; then water lightly. When the seed sprouts, water it, sprinkling manure frequently. When it forms a stalk, give it additional care, and you will have lettuce blended with the other kinds thus brought together.

The challenges for a historian to understand the naming and ordering of natural phenomena and their contexts are many. The agricultural technology involved in breeding new varieties and their changes according to soil type make it very difficult to correlate and understand to which certain plants they refer. This situation is most visibly difficult in the history of medicine. Attempts to match historical terminology with

[143] Arif Bilgin, "Osmanlı Döneminde İlaç Yapımında Kullanılan Tibbî Bitkiler", 13.
[144] Kütükoğlu, "Osmanlı'da Narh Müessesesi Ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri"; "1009 (1600) Tarihli Narh Defterine Göre İstanbul'da Çeşitli Mal ve Hizmet Fiatları".
[145] Dalby, *Geoponika*, 253.

classification systems rooted in the Enlightenment, and contextualizing a certain plant within this difficult bind present difficulties but also significant historical questions regarding how people viewed and ordered the world around them.

In 1936, Thomas W. Whitaker began working as a geneticist for the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) and remained in that position until he retired in 1973. Apart from investigating plant systematics, he specialized in amaryllis, cantaloupes and other Cucurbita, and lettuce,[146] with the hope of producing disease resistance products with better taste. For this purpose, he got a grant to visit the Mediterranean, where he believed he could find older, wild varieties which would help him with his research. His article "Collecting Lettuce Germplasm in Turkey and Greece" co-written with R. Provvidenti, after one such trip in 1982, lists the lettuce varieties encountered in these countries and the conditions in which they grew.[147] Although their route did not pass through Istanbul, their observations upon the kinds they sampled from Antioch in the southern most Syrian border to Smyrna in western Turkey, contribute to our understanding of where lettuce thrives. They write: "After the 2 short exploratory trips in the vicinity of Izmir, it became clear that the Lactuca species of interest to us

[146] Lettuce is among the highest yielding produce in the USA, with extremely high rates of consumption that encourages research into new sub-varieties. According to the Agricultural Marketing Resource Center, "the value of U.S. lettuce production in 2015 totaled nearly $1.9 billion, making lettuce the leading vegetable crop in terms of value." It also has one of the largest labor forces in the agricultural industry. In fact, the greatest farm worker strike of the country to date is the series of strikes held by lettuce farmers in California in 1970, commonly known as the "Salad Bowl Strike". Lead by American labor leaders and civil rights activists Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta, who co-founded what later became the United Farm Workers labor union, the series of strikes, mass pickets and boycotts culminated in a labor law reform called the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act. The struggle lasted eight years, from August 1970 to February 1978, partly due to the reluctance of the judicial body, and partly due to violent disagreement between the UFW and another labor union called the Teamsters. https://www.agmrc.org/commodities-products/vegetables/lettuce

[147] Whitaker and Provvidenti, "Collecting Lettuce Germplasm in Turkey and Greece".

were universally associated with the activities of man, probably because they are well adapted to weedy habitats."[148] Additionally, they observe,

> Lactuca species flower, and produce mature achenes [dry, one-seeded, indehiscent fruit] rapidly. Also, the mature achene is equipped with an efficient dispersal mechanism, the pappus [a ring of fine feathery hairs surrounding the fruit]. Thus, the most favorable collecting locations were roadsides … banks of drainage and irrigation canals … along the fence rows of backyard vegetable gardens, in city parks and vacant lots; and most spectacular of all, growing in the crevices of stone walls that lined the road.

This last "spectacular" detail combined with the others, make the gardens adjacent to the Land Walls of Istanbul a perfect spot for the Lactuca species to grow.

3.3 *Terroir* and urban planning

Soil types, temperatures, winds and sunlight determine specific microclimates of Istanbul's neighborhoods and their gardens. Urban planning has huge effects too. Today, it is widely accepted that tall buildings, for instance, can greatly impede the course of winds and change their long-term effects, or the density of buildings can decrease the quality of fresh air and raise the temperature in a given neighborhood by approximately 5 degrees Celsius.

Apart from such factors, living beings that inhabit an area and their relationship to one another contribute to the micro atmosphere of a given garden, neighborhood, landscape, etc. In 1965 Rudolf Geiger proposed that the relations between plants, which he called "plant climate," in return influence the soil and the environment at large. The idea that plants had a community of their own, either via associations or individual species (the disagreement continues since the end of the nineteenth century) was

[148] Whitaker and Provvidenti, "Collecting Lettuce Germplasm in Turkey and Greece", 286.

proposed in modern scientific circles at the very end of the nineteenth century. In 1898 Polish botanist Paczoski coined the term phytosociology, which was introduced in Turkey's scientific circles half a century later, by the prominent agricultural engineer and writer Hikmet Birand, who had gotten to know the concept through Paczoski's contemporary, the French botanist J Braun-Blanquet. Hikmet Birand's presentation on the topic was printed in 1955 by Ankara University Press with the title *Nebatlarda Cemiyet Hayatı ve J. Braun-Blanquet*.[149] Based on phytosociology teachings, Birand asserts that "properties of climate and soil do not suffice in establishing vegetation, plant communities in their relations also create soil types. Wherever vegetation is destroyed, there, the soil too loses its vitals and dies."[150]

Taking this idea one step further, in *Wild Flowers: An Aid to Knowledge of Our Wild Flowers and Their Insect Visitors* published in 1900, an American botanist, Neltje Blanchan asks:[151] "Is it enough to know merely the name of the flower you meet in the meadow? The blossom has an inner meaning, hopes and fears that inspire its brief existence, a scheme of salvation for its species in the struggle for survival that it has been slowly perfecting with some insect's help through the ages." She was not alone in her proposition, and was involved in a group of botanists who all voiced this opinion in various publications and presentations.[152] Based on these ideas, there appears to be two new factors to consider in understanding the legendary character Yedikule lettuce had in the early twentieth century; and that is the fauna and flora in which the lettuce had built relations over a stretch of time. The tenth century manual *Geoponika* would agree with

[149] Birand, *Nebatlarda Cemiyet Hayatı*.
[150] Birand, *Nebatlarda Cemiyet Hayatı*, 11.
[151] Blanchan, *Wild Flowers*, 2.
[152] Blanchan, *Wild flowers*, 5-6.

this in its presentation of the cultivation methods of plants in Constantinople. When necessary, it presents information pertaining to the compatibility of certain plants, grafting, and special recipes to keep bugs and insects away.[153] It is also important to remember here, the cultivation method of "maşula" allowed for the planting of crops next to each other while providing the necessary distance between them. But then, perhaps, either this technique was not used at the time, or crops that strongly disagreed with each other did not even tolerate the "maşula" technique.

Many scientists do lend credibility to the idea that natural environment is an important factor in determining the quality of produce. In "Istanbul's *Bostans*: a millennium of market gardens,"[154] geographer Paul Kaldjian makes an entirely different proposition. He suggests that the tanneries that have been active in this region since the sixteenth century may have had a significant role in imparting the oiliness that gave the Yedikule lettuce the unique texture and flavor it was reputed for. An interview with a gardener of Albanian descent, Hakkı Ötünçtemur who was a child that worked the gardens in Yedikule in the 1960s, seems to support Kaldjian's proposition:

> If gardeners back in the day planted 3 acres of land, they would save 1 acre of it for seed. My brother had a lettuce plot in the garden. When a client purchased a head of lettuce, it was impossible for him to eat it alone. There were heads of lettuce which weighed 4 kilos; they would cut them up with a saw. As you see, our garden's lettuce would break records. We had a friend called Mustafa, whom everyone would applaud when he managed to carry a head of lettuce on his head. This soil used to be that fertile; surely, the biggest reason for that is natural manure. gardeners would pick up the fat tanneries would separate from the animal skin, then add the fat on to horse manure, and make a syrup with some water and feed the soil. The lettuces would ripen in April. There was a lettuce garden by the fortress gate, that's where I used to work when I was 15. When

[153] *Geoponika* is full of these examples.
[154] Kaldjian, "Istanbul's *bostans*: A millennium of market gardens".

> lettuces were ripe, people would come to Yedikule from all over, in their private cars.[155]

This method is close to the planting method described in the *Geoponika,* quoted above. However, the aim here is not to produce hybrid plants but, for lack of a better word, enhance the plant. This enhancement must not be confused with the logic of contemporary agricultural technologies that are driven by yield to profit ratios. This enhancement does not aim at a mass production but rather is a result of experimenting with taste.

Was it the "twelve kinds of winds" that Eremya Çelebi claims to "ease and cheer the spirit"?[156] Was it the underground waters or the holy water of the Ayazma in the vicinity? Was it the "high class" human excrement[157] or the manure from the farm animals, who lived in the gardens, that fertilized the soil? Was it the friendly atmosphere among the plants and their compatibility? And how about the humans in this picture? "It is … the almost mystical quality—"the soul of the vigneron"—added to the definition of *terroir* that continues to make the subject controversial among viticulturalists, historians, and geographers," writes Kolleen Guy.[158] What part did the gardener play in all this? And what part do the people who come to the gardens to view the landscape, enjoy the produce and relate to their environment have? Was it the knowledge and the soul of the

[155]"O zamanın bahçıvanları 3 dönüm ektiyse 1 dönümünü tohumluk ayırırdı. Bostanda abimin marul tarlası vardı. Abimden marulu bir kişi aldığında tek başına yiyemezdi, dört kilo gelen marul vardı; testereyle keserlerdi marulu. Anlayacağınız bizim bahçenin marulları rekor kırardı. Bir Mustafa abimiz vardı ki kafasında dev marulu taşıdığında alkışlarlardı. Öyle verimliydi bostan toprağı; tabii bunda en önemli etken doğal gübreydi: Kazlıçeşme tabakhanelerinde hayvanların derilerinden yağları ayrılırdı, bahçıvanlar onu alır, at gübresi ekler suyla şerbet yapar toprağa verirlerdi. Marullar nisanda çıkardı, kale kapısında marul bahçesi vardı, ben 15 yaşımda orada çalıştım. Marullar çıktığında dışarılardan özel arabalarla oraya marul yemeye gelirlerdi, ama ne marul…" Gülenaz and Koca, *Yedikule Samatya*, 58.
[156] "Oniki cins rüzgarın karşısında insan ferahlanır ve şenlenir." Kömürciyan, *İstanbul tarihi*, 28.
[157] Yoruk, "İstanbul'un Marul Bayramı Panel".
[158] Guy, "Rituals of Pleasure in the Land of Treasures".

gardeners who worked the land? And was it the people, events, stories that accumulated in particular places over time? How much time? Why here?

The nineteenth century gave way to significant transformations in the food sector unprecedented in history.[159] Apart from the rise of national cuisines and mass retailing, canned food was introduced to the markets, first with no success, then seeing its usefulness in war times, from the military barracks it slowly spread into daily life in Europe. War time has also accelerated the demand for fast food. Baby food was another product that not only successfully entered the markets, but changed the discourse around infancy, nutrition and health.

"By successfully capitalizing on the mystique of *terroir*," first, products such as the French wine, then, certain national cuisines encouraged a new type of tourism throughout the world.[160] These products and cuisines also contributed to the social stratification among people. Marketing strategies were so successful that some of those high-end products are still sold as "authentic" and "local", with the appearance of resisting the global forces and the constant increase in the consumption of fast food.

Now let us turn to the changes in health, science and nutrition habits in relation to the changes in city governance and planning, especially at the turn of the century. Epidemics and pandemics had huge influence on matters relating to health and food, hence the construction and transformation of cities, which slowly but surely excluded an integral part of its history, namely the gardens and their productions.

[159] Scranton, "Food Matters: Perspectives on an Emerging Field".
[160] Scranton, "Food Matters: Perspectives on an Emerging Field", 12.

CHAPTER 4

THE INFLUENCE OF BACTERIOLOGY ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF ISTANBUL

"Life is a chemical process."
Antoine Lavoisier[161]

For the entry "khass" (lettuce), the thirteenth century scientist—doctor, pharmacologist and botanist—Ibn Baytar writes:

> Lettuce. It's good for the stomach and is diuretic. If cooked before washed or eaten raw it calms the stomach. If the seed is swallowed, sexual desire subsides. When mixed with rose oil, it calms headaches. When eaten regularly, a curtain falls on the eyes. However, if rubbed on the eyes, it heals abscess. Wild lettuce brings sleep. It is good for bites of poisonous animals. It calms the spirit. When eaten with vinegar it calms the blood.[162]

As in Ibn Baytar's entry, sometimes lettuce was not indicated by a specific marker, and sometimes, as discussed in the previous chapter, various treatises marked it with adjectives such as "acı", "yaban", "eşek", "afyon" and "kasni". It is necessary to trace the emergence of each of these markers and many more in various languages spoken in this region, however, that exceeds my capabilities, and framework for this chapter. One thing we can say for sure when looking at Arabic and Turkish sources, though, is that

[161] "La vie est une fonction chimique." Gaither's Dictionary of Scientific Quotations, 229.
[162] "Maruldur. Eyüdür. Mi'deyi sovudur. Sidüğü yürüdür. Eğer yumadan bişürseler ya bişürmeden yiseler mi'deye be-gâyet eyüdür. Eğer tohumunu içseler cimâ' arzusun kese. İhtilâm men' ider. Eğer dâim yiseler gözde perde eyler. Yaban marul suyun buçuk dirhem suyla ve sirkeyle içseler kusdurub sulu balgamı ishâl ide. Eğer gül yağıyla karışdırub başa dürtseler baş ağrısına fâide ide. Ve göze dürtseler gözde olan çıbanları gidere. Eğer yaban marulun yiseler uyuda. Ağrıyı sâkin ider. Hayız kanın yürüdür. Akreb ve ağulu canavarlar sokduğuna fâide ide. Ve süci aralığında yiseler sinirlerde olan zahmetleri gidere. Yunmuşu yaramazdır. Eğer döğseler yaku idüb enseye ursalar dimağ harâretin sâkin eyleye. Eğer sirkeyle yiseler kanı sâkin eyleye. Ve safrâyı kat' ider. Eğer yağla ve sirkeyle bişürüb yiseler yerakanı gidere. Ve emcek ağrısın sâkin ide. Marul yimek sular karışduğundan olan zahmetlere ve safrâdan ve kavuk göyündüğünden fâide ide." *Tercüme-i Müfredât-ı İbn Baytar*, 193.

uses of lettuce were extensive and varied. In fact, there is a long literature on the use of lettuce in medicinal practice from ancient times to the contemporary era, from China to Europe.[163] Pharmacopeia and recent research into folk medicine show a wide range use of especially the lactuca sativa variety, and sometimes other varieties such as virosa, serriola (syn. scariola), saligna, muralis among others.

Saib Giray's entry on lettuce in *Şifalı Otlarla Halk İlaçları: Çiçekler, Yemişler, Nebatların Şifalı Hassaları* (1949), informs us that when consumed fresh it can be calming and laxative: "salata yapılarak yendiği gibi, taze olarak yenir, marulun müleyyin ve müsekkin hassası vardır. Marul sütlü bir usare ifraz eder, bu hassası dolayısıyle asabi öksürüklere de çok iyi gelir."[164] It also has a milky sap that helps with obstinate coughs. Osman Bayatlı in *Şifalı Otlar ve Lokman Hekim* (1955) describes lettuce as a sedative for the stomach and an enhancer of lactation for mothers (when eaten fresh), and a remedy for hangover (when consumed as crushed seeds).[165] İsmet Zeki Eyüboğlu in *Anadolu Halk İlaçları: Bitkiler, Büyüler, Macunlar, Yıldızname* (1987) mentions that it is good for insomnia and eye sores.[166] There is also mention of tooth filling made out of *kasni* lettuce, pepper, *zeravend* (aritolochia longa) and gum arabic.[167] Botanist Turhan

[163] The mention of lettuce varieties in folk medicine covering this huge geography and time frame are just too numerous to cite here. Even a quick search on the online database Science Direct will show dozens of articles including lettuce varieties mentioned in ancient and ethnobotanical treatises as well as recent research findings. Just to name a few though: Read, "Chinese medicinal plants from the Pen Ts'ao Kang Mu A.D. 1596", 10; Abu-Rabia, "Ethnobotany Among Bedouin Tribes in the Middle East", 31; Lev and Amar, "'Fossils' of practical medical knowledge from medieval Cairo", 35; Touwaide and Appetiti, "Food and medicines in the Mediterranean tradition", 17; Kroll, "Literature on archaeological remains of cultivated plants", 41.
[164] Saib Giray's entry on lettuce in *Şifalı Otlarla Halk İlaçları*, 154-5.
[165] Bayatlı, *Şifalı Otlar ve Lokman Hekim*, 28.
[166] Eyüboğlu, *Anadolu Halk İlaçları*, 68.
[167] I have not been able to access the doctoral thesis completed in 1979 to confirm the validity of the following text that is attributed to Ilter Uzel: "Hekim Hacı Paşa Müntehab-ı Şifa ve Teshilü'ş-Şifa eserlerinde yine sıcak soğuk, balgam ve safra humorları üstünlüğüne bağlı olan diş ağrılarından bahseder ve daha ziyade ilaç tedavisine yer verir. Müntehab-ı Şifa'da yer alan ve diş ağrılarına iyi gelen 'müfred' devalar İshak bin Murad'ın Edviye-i Müfrede'de verdiği listeye çok benzer. Burada diş çürüğüne bazı

Baytop in his book *Türkiye'de Bitkiler ile Tedavi: Geçmişte ve Bugün* (1984), provides a more detailed account of lettuce's medicinal uses and physical attributes based on three different varieties (sativa, serriola and viminea).[168] On top of the uses mentioned above, he adds that it's an anti-aphrodisiac, anti-spasmodic, and a light laxative and diuretic.

In *Kitabu-'l-Müntehab fi't-Tıb 823/1420,* written in Turkish, apart from the above medicinal uses of lettuce for physical maladies, Abdülvehhab Mardani informs us that in the fifteenth century lettuce was used for "mal'i hülya", also known as *kara sevda*, *karaduygun* (melancholy), "[a] mental illness, the symptoms of which were believed to be fear, obsession, and sadness."[169] After a description of the condition, and a list of various care practices involving oils and essences, and food items to be consumed at particular times, he writes: "Ve eğer marul vaktiyse marul yidüresin, ve aşında dahı tograyasın."[170] Furthermore, historian of medicine Nil Sarı in her dissertation titled "Osmanlıca Tıp Yazmalarında Mal'i Hülya ve Tedavisi (XV-XVIII)" writes that along with lettuce itself, the juice of lettuce together with lily juice is used as narcotic and soporific.[171]

Sarı relates that to rid the body of *mal'i hülya* requires, in essence, the discharge of black bile ("sevda hıltı").[172] The given recipes are for that purpose, and eventually, to

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kurtların sebeb olduğu söylenmekte ve bunları yok etmek için basit ve geçici dolgular önerilmektedir. Örneğin yaban marulu (kasni), biber, zeravend (aritolochia longa), arap zamkı ile döğülür ve çürük dişe sürülür."

[168] Baytop, *Türkiye'de Bitkiler ile Tedavi: Geçmişte ve Bugün,* 289.

[169] Sarı and Zülfikar "The Paracelsian Influence on Ottoman Medicine"; (http://muslimheritage.com/article/paracelsian-influence-ottoman-medicine#ftnref90, accessed on May 30, 2019).

[170] Mardani, *Kitabu-'l-Müntehab fi't-Tıb 823/1420*, 103-4.

[171] Sarı, "Osmanlıca Tıp Yazmalarında Mal'i Hülya ve Tedavisi", 59, 70.

[172] "Hıltın vücuttan atılmasına "istifrağ", yani boşaltma denirdi. İstifrağ; kusturma, lavman (ihtikan), kan alma, hacamat ve terleme gibi yöntemler ile gerçekleştirilirdi. Boşaltmada kullanılan çeşitli hap, macun, şerbet, süfüf (toz) vs. şeklinde terkipler kullanılırdı. Bunların genellikle esasını ilaç olarak kullanılan bitkiler teşkil ederdi. … Hastayı sakinleştiren, uyutan ya da uyuşturan ilaçlar da kullanılırdı. Örneğin, afyon ve lüffah (adamotu, Mandragora officinalis) koklatılır; marul ve nilüfer suyu kaynatılıp natul

restore the balance of the humors in the body. Up until the mid-nineteenth and perhaps the twentieth century the principle of the four humors, four elements and their balance was prominent in the Ottoman empire and beyond. Usually referred to as Galenic or Hippocratic-Galenic medicine, it has been dubbed as "traditional medicine" along with ancient systems of medicine across the world. I shall address the connotations and ideological implications of the term "traditional"[173] and the epistemic injustice[174] embedded in it later in a discussion regarding "western" medicine. For now, I would like to broadly and perhaps somewhat crudely outline what Galenic medicine entails in order to contextualize the medicinal uses exemplified above.

Galen of Pergamon was a physician, writer and philosopher who lived in the second century AD, and was the most famous Roman physician of his time. Following Celcus (25 BC-50 AD) he furthered the Hippocratic medicine based on the four humors (yellow bile, black bile, phlegm, blood) and four elements (air, water, earth, fire). Depending on a complex web of factors, the body's balance of cold, hot, moist and dry was in constant flux, and illnesses were caused by the imbalance of these qualities. Historian Susan Mattern, in her book *Galen and the Rhetoric of Healing*, explains that Galen stresses[175]

> the theory that patients differ by temperament (krasis) and constitution (hexis or schesis). Krasis is literally the "mixture" of essential qualities of hot, cold, wet, and dry and is related to the balance of the four humors in the body (which have

yapılarak içirilirdi. Mâl-i hülya hastasının erken tedavi edilmezse iyi olmayacağı ileri sürülürdü." For a brief summary of the history of psychiatric treatment since the fifteenth century see Sarı and Akgün "Türk Tarihinde Psikiyatriye Bakış".

[173] For a profound discussion of how "traditional" is key to the denial of coevalness see, Fabian, *Time and the Other*.

[174] Briefly described as the undermining of a person's or a group's capacity as a knower, the term "epistemic injustice" was coined in 2007 by philosopher Miranda Ficker. However, examples of works that reveal epistemic injustice have been produced for much longer. A glance at feminist history writing is one such example among many.

[175] Mattern, *Galen and the Rhetoric of Healing*, 102.

> these same qualities) and also to the patient's psychological profile or character (temperament in the modern sense). Hexis is closely related to temperament in that certain mixtures tend to produce certain constitutions, though other factors such as regimen and climate can also affect constitution. The elements of hexis that Galen mentions most often are degree of hardness (hard vs. soft), degree of hairiness (bald vs. hairy), degree of corpulence (fat vs. thin), and coloring (of skin and hair). Character and lifestyle are also related to temperament and constitution.

Galenic medicine takes into consideration a wide range of aspects related to the patient's physical and psychological constitution, as well as geographic elements that play into them. In a way, Galenic system favors a case by case study of patients, and compiles a health regimen that aims to target all aspects of life.

As Bayatlı informs us, ancient Asklepion, built in the fourth century BC as a place of healing, used various medicinal techniques inclusive but not limited to: dream interpretation, bathing in curative waters, food regimen and herbs, psychodrama therapy at the theater, cold and hot baths at temples, drinking water high in minerals, bloodletting, vomiting, diuretics, consolation, body movements, etc.[176] If a patient came in with gastrointestinal problems, the physician would prescribe a food regimen of bread, cheese, parsley, lettuce and honey milk, as well as practices such as walking around bare foot, daily jog, mud bath, and to rub down the body with wine before taking a hot bath. According to Sanchez, hygiene was also kept based on similar principles of the humors as well as[177]

> adequate use of the *sex res non-naturales* (the six non-naturals) which every treatise on hygiene dealt with under six headings 1) light and air; 2) food and drink; 3) work and rest; 4) sleep and waking; 5) excretions and secretions which in a more remote sense included baths and sexual intercourse; 6) dispositions and states of the soul. The *res nonnaturales* constituted a link with the body's vital processes, with the "natural things" composed of temperament, the humors, the faculties and the pneuma (spirit) among others. If the non-naturals were used

[176] Bayatlı, *Bergama Tarihinde Asklepion*.
[177] Sanchez, "Dietic Aspects of Food in al-Andalus", 276.

> quantitatively and qualitatively in the proper place and time and in the correct order, they would conserve the "naturals" in good condition and guarantee health; if the case were the contrary, they would generate illness. In short, hygiene just like the rest of classical medicine was based on humoral theory, of Hippocratic and Galenic origin, associated with the four elements of Nature: fire, water, air and earth and the four bodily humors: blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile.

Contextualizing the many ways that lettuce was treated, combined with other ingredients, and prepared for medicinal use within such health practice shows the impossibility of drawing a boundary between the history of food, science, medicine, religion, literature, material conditions, morals and manners. Investigating into one, means an investigation into the others. More importantly, together, they make up how a particular territory consisting of all that is animate and inanimate is aligned, designed, cultivated, affected and made into knowledge. They give us clues as to how people imagined their surroundings and their place and relations within it. The intricacies and meticulousness with which the use of lettuce is described by Ibn Baytar—for instance, that it is useless after washed, or the specificities of its treatment with respect to the body parts it will be applied to (see fn.7)—inspires awe in the contemporary reader fascinated with "Western" medicine.

The particulars involved in the consumption of plants reveals a profound knowledge into the qualities and diverse uses of natural phenomena,[178] invoking

[178] In his 1937 "Introduction" to the Turkish translation of Ibn-i Sina's *Hindiba Risalesi* written in the eleventh century, historian and deontologist Süheyl Ünver draws the reader's attention to a significant detail regarding the use of chicory in medicine. He writes: "Münakaşa olunan nokta çok basittir, fakat bundan 900 sene evvelki tababette … tedavide kullanılacak bir nebati yaprağın istimalinden evvel yıkanılıp yıkanılmaması hakkında serdedilen bu mütalaalar o zamanki tababetin derinliğine nüfuz etmek için insanı düşündürecek mahiyettedir." (Ünver, *Ibni Sina'nın Hindiba Risalesi*, 5). Should the plant be washed before using? And what change does this make? Ibni Sina goes beyond a mere prescription and discusses at length his observations pertaining to the washing of the plant. On another note, this issue of washing both lettuce and chicory before medicinal use draws another parallel between the two plants, touched upon in the previous chapter.

ontological questions. It is impossible to talk about the history of food, its cultivation, trade and consumption without incorporating the curative qualities inherent in and symbolic powers attributed to each item and/or combination, or how medical science has evolved over the centuries. Despite various methodologies and systems of healing, for millennia humans have turned to water, plants and animals for cure. The elixir of life (*ab-ı hayat*) was sometimes imagined as a magical water already existing in a remote, hidden corner of the world, sometimes, as the right combination of elements cooked in together, and other times as the philosopher's stone.

The field of history of food is rather recent compared to other historical topics. Historian Özge Samancı, in her article "Recent Trends in Food History in Turkey" written in 2015, explains the process in which studying food has become "legitimate" within academia, and especially in the field of history. Ottoman palace cuisine was among the first to be examined, with "[t]he Imperial kitchen account registers constitute[ing] the primary sources used by Ottoman scholars".[179] Understanding daily consumption in the city, and the culinary choices behind ordinary citizens of different backgrounds is trickier. In the case of Istanbul, studying the city's market gardens is one way of approaching the issue. Another is the accounts of chroniclers and travelers observing city life.

In this chapter, I would like to understand how changes observed in food consumption and medical institutions, together, influenced how people of the city imagined Istanbul's environment and their place within it. Through this line of questioning I argue that the drastic change in medical language, especially after 1870s

[179] Samancı, "Recent Trends in Food History in Turkey", 329.

and the establishment of bacteriology and virology, very quickly permeated into the daily language of city life, establishing a strong discourse based on an ideological understanding and execution of public health, impacting the evaluation of city landscape and life by municipal measures. Moreover, the newly adopted "medical gaze" was influential and helpful in the centralization of power. Thus, the modernization period of the medical field in the nineteenth century Ottoman lands were not just about the establishment of medical technologies and keeping up with scientific findings. It was instrumental in furthering political agenda in favor of the centralization of power, surveillance and state formation. Researching into the history of lettuce and its destruction inevitably lead me to this line of questioning. I believe that looking at Yedikule and its famed lettuce from this angle, will provide us with valuable information in understanding the cultural and political dynamics that lead to the destruction of communities, neighborhoods, animals and landscapes, which deeply wounded Istanbul's historical and environmental imaginary and how it was expressed.

4.1 Preventive health practice

In most of the research covering history of Ottoman medicine, there is considerable literature that locates "preventive health practice" in the nineteenth century. Just to give one example, prominent scholar on the history of Ottoman medicine, Nuran Yıldırım states that "[p]reventive health practice in the Ottoman State began with the establishment of the quarantine system," in the 1840s.[180] Whereas her colleague Nil Sarı argues that Ottoman medicine was founded upon preventive health care.[181] Some

[180] Yıldırım, 2010:139.
[181] Sarı, "Osmanlı tıbbı koruyucu hekimlik üzerine kurulmuştu".

research supports the latter by examining for instance, the Quran for preventive health measures,[182] and medical treatises written in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,[183] or a comparative approach between *Kitabü'l Mühimmat* and contemporary preventive health measures.[184] The validity and depth of the contents of these latter pieces will only be proven with time and more research, however here we can observe a thread that complicates the narrative of a "Western medicine" arriving in less developed lands in the nineteenth century. I think that the fault line between the two emerges in taking state regulations of the nineteenth century, which were much more wide spread, centralized and dominated by European technologies and surveillance, as the point of beginning for "real", "scientific" preventive measures. This fault line is very much tied to a significant historiographical discussion that I would like to delve into in the following pages.

One could argue that the Galenic system had already incorporated a "preventive" attitude towards health with the check and keep of the balance of the four humors. In fact, in a way, one could argue the opposite, that it may be a better preventive measure, since it takes into account all the "natural" and "non-natural" aspects of a person's constitution. Early modern European historian Susan Broomhall argues that everyday nutritional and hygiene behaviors were perhaps more important than medical tracts and therapies.[185] Although, they receive "far less attention in early modern scholarship, partly because they were often held in oral traditions and have been perceived as difficult to evaluate and historicize," recently scholars have been arguing that "recipe books are indicative of the understanding and use of learned, lay, and practical bodily

[182] Kırca, "Kur'an-ı Kerim'de Koruyucu Hekimlik".
[183] Edisan, "El-Kanun Fi't-Tıb'da koruyucu fiziksel tıp uygulamaları".
[184] Kırımlıoğlu, "Information on preventive medical care in *Kitabü'l Mühimmat*", 130.
[185] Broomhall "Health and Science", 179.

and natural knowledge in the home."[186] Thus, familial care meant that one had to find resources within his/her reach, since access to professional healers might have proved difficult due to distances, financial conditions and daily responsibilities.

Such knowledge of natural phenomena and its oral transition across time and place would be especially important considering that not everyone had the opportunities, resources to keep a healthy regimen to ward off illnesses. As historian Mossensohn writes "wealthy Ottomans were better equipped to keep up a healthy regimen" which meant "a delicate balance of many variables that encompassed all aspects of life—from choosing a climate and topography in which to dwell—to deciding on a profession, from setting out hours of rest and activity during the day to fixing a suitable food regimen, and much more."[187] Sanchez contends that this dietary regimen meant a "manner by which a man through his daily activity found himself in a lively and permanent relation with his surrounding world."[188] Mossensohn supports Sanchez's view and conveys that "diet", literally "regimen for life" in Greek, goes beyond a "modern understanding of diet as a restrictive food regimen, usually aimed at losing weight."[189] Nonetheless, for people who were limited (based on class, ethnicity, gender, religion, etc.) in their choice of dwelling and location, range of available foods, and ample and daily time for rest,[190] the immediate surrounding and knowledge thereof would become vital to maintain health and address illnesses when in need.

> Free from survival struggles, the Ottoman elite had the time, as well as the financial and emotional resources, to invest in such matters. This medical, social and financial reality meant that when Ottoman imperial women fell sick, their

[186] idem.
[187] Mossensohn, "A Sick Sultana in the Ottoman Imperial Palace", 287.
[188] Sanchez, "Dietic Aspects of Food in al-Andalus", 276.
[189] Mossensohn, "A Sick Sultana in the Ottoman Imperial Palace", 287.
[190] Bos, "Ibn al-Jazzār on Medicine for the Poor and Destitute".

> experiences were very different from those of women from other social echelons. The variety and quality of medical treatments and healers available to the imperial harem did not exceed those which were available outside the palace (in fact, it was restricted). In terms of quality or effectiveness, female members of the imperial family did not enjoy better medicine.[191]

This issue of access emphasized by Mossensohn is quite important, especially when we try to understand what exactly changed in the nineteenth century. The point here is neither to create a binary to draw a contradistinction between the different systems of healing or determine which is better. It is, however, imperative that we note the continuities and ruptures, especially because of to a historiographical preference towards locating the novelties and preventive measures in medicine in the nineteenth century strictly within the framework of a "Western medicine", which allegedly broke off from earlier centuries and other geographies. Was there a revolutionary turn in preventive measures in medicine? What was the role of western pathology and the establishment of bacteriology and virology in changing the environment of Istanbul and how people saw it? How does the discourse of public health weaved into state formation and surveillance technologies influence the city planning of Istanbul?

The introduction of socio-cultural modes, and Western or modern science—which have come to be used interchangeably in the last century—into the colonies and/or peripheries of European empires, cannot just be problematized and/or amended on the basis of how the colonized has affected the colonizer in return. Or in the case of medicine, how local technologies and knowledges contributed to and helped shape the "original" scientific knowledge. The problem starts at the establishment of that dichotomy, and scholarly works that fail to take issue with the given paradigm. Two

[191] Mossensohn, "A Sick Sultana in the Ottoman Imperial Palace", 287.

historians of science have become influential in my understanding and conceptualization of how I approach the establishment of bacteriology and virology in the Ottoman Empire, and the change in environmental imaginary of Istanbul.

In his influential article "What Is the History of Science the History *Of*?" Peter Dear traces the early modern roots of how "science" itself was formed as a historical object, rather than accepting it as a given.[192] He explains cogently how in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries European sciences of nature "experienced the development of two mutually supportive, but analytically distinct, enterprises or "discourses;" one of them being natural philosophy, "contemplative and aimed at understanding the natural world," and the other being instrumental, busy with the "production of practical effects," such as measuring weights and agricultural improvements.[193] In his view, the early modern taxonomies of knowledge were paired as *theorica* and *practica.*[194] "Natural philosophy was not conceived as a foundation for practical purposes. … An associated feature of natural philosophy during the period of the Scientific Revolution is that it carried a certain intellectual prestige that tended to set it above most other areas concerned with natural knowledge," which in its pairing of *theorica* and *practica* was involved with the production of technical apparatus of science and art (such as "compute planetary orbits in astronomy, or compound ratios in music theory, or talk about the humors in medicine"), and its application (such as 'casting horoscopes or calculating calendrical questions in astronomy, composing polyphony in

[192] Dear, "What Is the History of Science the History *Of*?", 391.
[193] Dear, "What Is the History of Science the History *Of*?", 397.
[194] Dear, "What Is the History of Science the History *Of*?", 393.

music, or applying a cure in medicine").[195] Although conceptualized in terms of this pairing, medicine still had a higher standing in the university.

According to Dear, Bacon was the first to conflate cleverly phenomena with uses, which then produced a particular kind of natural philosophy, "that would be judged not on whether it successfully explained aspects of the world but on whether it could produce desired effects on command."[196] Such desired effect would then support natural philosophy's claim to a higher singular truth. It is not too difficult to see, how useful this conflation was for the mechanism of colonial empire, which carefully established its institutions while maintaining their higher moral and intellectual ground. A good example might be the first "modern" treatise of lettuce by John Redman Coxe, an honorary member of the Philadelphia Medical Society, and a senior member of the Chemical Society of Philadelphia. His presentation published in the "Transactions of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge" in 1799, opens with these lines: [197]

> In the boundless fields of inquiry which the book of nature opens to our view in the extensive regions of America, much remains to be investigated. Our forests, our fields and rivers, our mountains, and the bowels of the hearth, alike invite attention from the philosophic mind. She is not coy; yet she requires pursuit from those who wish to secure her; those alone who seek her, will she meet with a smile, and conduct them to the temple of honour and fortune. Proteus-like she assumes every form, and thus suits herself to the most fantastic imaginations.

Following this introduction which continues for a few paragraphs, he provides information about opium and its use in Persia, Arabia and Asia, where due to religious

[195] Dear, "What Is the History of Science the History *Of*?", 393-4.
[196] Dear, "What Is the History of Science the History *Of*?", 395.
[197] Coxe, "An Inquiry into the comparative effects of the Opium officinarum, extracted from the Papaver Somniferum or White Poppy of Linnaeus; and of that procured from the Lactuca Sativa, or common cultivated Lettuce of the same author", 387.

debarment from wine and ardent spirits, people "accustom themselves to a still more pernicious luxury, by raising their enfeebled ideas with the stimulus of opium."[198] Coxe argues that his experiments into lactuca sativa demonstrates a strong connection to opium officinarum.

Coxe uses himself and frogs to test out the effects of these two plants and draw the conclusion that the milky sap that is extracted from lettuce is able to induce the effect created by opium. He writes:

> The lettuce had long been known to possess narcotic properties. None however had extracted from it a substance possessing all the properties of opium in the fullest degree: it was chiefly from tradition that its effects were known, and by observing that people were rendered sleepy by eating old lettuce. It is the more remarkable, because, as we shall see presently, some has arrived at the very threshold of the discovery, but have stopped from the pursuit.[199]

After 39 experiments with frogs, and a detailed explanation of comparative physiological effects, Coxe concludes that lactuca sativa and other lettuce varieties all of which contain opium, are a better alternative to opium itself based on cost and labor analysis:

> The price of this valuable article of the Materia Medica, leads me to hope that farmers and others will attend to the cultivation of the lettuce … and as Dr. Crumpe observes in his valuable treatise upon opium, "if any overplus remained after our own demands, a ready market would be found for it in the East Indies, where its consumption is very considerable, and price generally high."[200]

From its introduction to conclusion, this experiment into opium and lettuce presented at the American Philosophical Society is a solid example to Peter Dear's account of the transformation of natural philosophy.

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[198] Coxe, ""An Inquiry into the comparative effects of the Opium officinarum", 390.
[199] Coxe, ""An Inquiry into the comparative effects of the Opium officinarum", 391.
[200] Coxe, ""An Inquiry into the comparative effects of the Opium officinarum", 413.

Coxe begins by exalting the "philosophic mind" and advocates for its use in agriculture because of its economic gain in terms of cost and labor ratio, and of course, flooding the global markets. Just as important in this discourse is a gendered "nature", that is seen as a completed book, waiting to be investigated by the unmarked male philosophic mind. The "temple of honour and fortune" will only be accessible by the true seeker who must be ready to face her in all forms, the prize of which shall be her "willful surrender" to the philosophic mind's "fantastic imaginations."[201] Coxe's endeavor to cultivate lettuce for opiates never materializes but the process of lactucarium is taken up by doctors in Europe.

In 1810, a Scottish doctor Andrew Duncan confirms Coxe's findings. In 1879, in his book titled *Pharmacographia: A History of the Principle Drugs of Vegetable Origin,* Friedrich Flückiger explains in detail the differences between "Scottish lactucarium," "German lactucarium", Prussian and French lactucarium, taking into account four different lettuce varieties. He not only provides specifics regarding each process and outcome, but also details of their chemical composition. However, he ends the 3-page long description of these processes with the statement: "The soporific powers universally ascribed in ancient times to the lettuce are supposed to exist in a concentrated form in lactucarium. Yet numerous experiments have failed to show that this substance possesses more than very slight sedative properties, if indeed it is not absolutely inert." (1879: 398-399) According to archeobotanist Harlan, in 1925, two German scientists Wissowa and Kroll write that lactucarium is rarely executed: "Heute

[201] There is quite a literature on feminist readings of the Enlightenment. For example, see, Irigaray, *An Ethics of Sexual Difference*; eadem, *Speculum of the Other Woman*; Federici, *Caliban and the Witch*; McClintock, *Imperial Leather*.

ist dieser eingetrocknete Saft (lactucarium) nicht mehr gebrauchlich."[202] Nevertheless, Vignes, a French doctor, writes in 1932 that extracts of lettuce are still used as cure for female diseases, but that the extract must not be confused with opium, and that it rather resembles atropa belladonna.[203]

This summarized adventure of lettuce is a tiny example of the confusions and conflicts during the making of a uniform "Western science" that claimed to know the essence of phenomena. It also neatly exemplifies Dear's interpretation of the routes that natural philosophy took in the making. Europe's supremacy in technology and military were often seen as testament to the efficacy and worthiness of "European sciences". Again, as Peter Dear put it:[204]

> The authority of science in the modern world rests to a considerable extent on the idea that it is powerful, that it can do things. … [T]he instrumentality of science stands for the *whole* of science. Conversely, when appeal is made to science as the authority for an account of how some phenomenon or object really is in nature— when science is understood as being natural philosophy—it then receives back from its presumed instrumental effectiveness an image of truthfulness that this instrumentality has already been accepted as confirming.

The conflation of instrumentality with truth, and the attitude of treating nature (its *mechanism*) as a phenomenon detached from man, urges one to look at the nineteenth century not in terms of a series of revolutions in science, education and art, but a revolution in epistemology, and the ensuing endeavors to design and control habitus on a global scale.

It would be plain wrong to assume that the European intellectual circles agreed on a trajectory of "science". In fact, there were fierce arguments between scientists,

[202] Harlan, "Lettuce and the Sycomore: Sex and Romance in Ancient Egypt, Economic Botany", 10.
[203] idem.
[204] Dear, "What Is the History of Science the History *Of*?", 404.

many of whom were also involved in state matters, religious affairs and economic activities almost in every subject. As such, these arguments, as anywhere else, formed the backbone of scholarly work, as well as cause great upheaval within the societies in which they advocated for their theories and experiments. However, in the territories where Europeans proved militarily and economically dominant, the most revered conceptualization of natural philosophy that Bacon initiated received much attention, awe and anger.

Just as Bacon rearticulated "natural philosophy" in the service of operational use without going entirely against traditional and established modes of natural philosophical thinking, colonial thought and practice followed suit in its slow but sure implementation of intellectual and technical apparatus in other parts of the world. Bringing together examples of nineteenth-century Egypt and China, Marwa Elshakry's artful piece "When Science Became Western: Historiographical Reflections" argues that "While playing an increasingly important role in official curricula, early discussions of modern sciences did not so much replace older disciplines or traditions of knowledge as redefine them."[205] It also demonstrates how "international vectors of knowledge production … created new global histories of science through the construction of novel genealogies and through a process of conceptual syncretism," which bridged "new conceptions of 'Western science' with older forms of knowledge."[206] Building on the local knowledges and institutional appropriations, missionaries and technocrats were able to help "natural philosophy" permeate into Chinese and Arabic thoughts, practices and discourses:

> In the case of the Arabic term for "science" ("'ilm"), missionaries in Ottoman Beirut were among the first to reorient categories of knowledge—shifting,

[205] Elshakry, "When Science Became Western: Historiographical Reflections", 99.
[206] Elshakry, "When Science Became Western: Historiographical Reflections", 98, 100.

> adding to, or subtracting from the common meanings of allied terms like "'ilm," "ma'arifa," and "hikma'," which they helped to popularize as "science," "knowledge," and "wisdom," respectively. In this formulation, knowledge was equated with matters of fact; science represented a higher order of truth in that it was the systematization of these facts through the derivation of natural laws; and, finally, wisdom, which was established by suprarational means, involved the Ultimate Truth.[207]

But the process is not just about the dynamics and interplay between western science (or "natural philosophy" now rearticulated) and the forms of knowledges it encountered in different parts of the world.

The nineteenth century saw a shift from this syncretism to a particular vision of "science", one that was globalized and dubbed as Western. As Elshakry demonstrates, the spread of "Western science" via educational, military and political institutions gave way to another "very specific ideology—the new internationalism of the immediate pre– and post–World War I era," which helped construct a new linear history of science" that was "consolidated and sharpened with the idea of the Scientific Revolution."[208] This process today is taught and learnt as a radical break from "traditional" and "naive" knowledges of the past, while marking as "alternative" any school of thought that falls outside of the system it operates.

I took this long but vital detour into the history of science because I see it as fundamental in our reading of the medical institutionalization—especially in the fields of pathology, bacteriology and virology—of the late nineteenth century Ottoman Empire, which I argue has had drastic consequences for how land was viewed and transformed. In the case of Istanbul, the developments of the mid-nineteenth century in medicine and science introduced a radically new understanding and vision of the city. It completely

[207] Elshakry, "When Science Became Western: Historiographical Reflections", 103.
[208] Elshakry, "When Science Became Western: Historiographical Reflections", 104.

transformed the environmental imaginary of Istanbulites amidst many disparate, concordant, oppositional views, practices and experiences of the city. Just to reiterate what I have expressed in the previous chapter in depth, I use environmental imaginary not to single out the landscapes or denote the "nature" of the city. I am attempting to use it as an encompassing but not a totalizing view of all that is living in and attributed to the city.

In the historiography of Ottoman medicine there seems to be two strong threads: the first is a chain of historians taking the establishment of the Ottoman Military School as the beginning of "modern medicine" in the Ottoman Empire, ignoring the civilian and waqf initiatives undertaken by non-Muslim communities of the empire. In an exhibition catalogue titled *Pursuing Knowledge Scientific Instruments, Manuscripts and Prints from Istanbul University Collections*, edited by Feza Günergun, the chapter "Chronology: Science from the East - Techniques from the West: Turkey's 700-year long venture" is divided into sections according to centuries. The nineteenth century is subtitled "Modernization Expands Beyond the Military: The Emergence of Civilian Educational Institutions," and yet, it does not name one non-Muslim civilian initiative that was established in Istanbul.[209] Sanctioned by Sultan Selim III. and supported by Hekimbaşı Mustafa Behçet Effendi on his first term, the first non-military institution was "Rum Tıb Mektebi" established in 1805 in Kuruçeşme. In 1834, Surp Pırgiç Armenian Hospital was instituted with the sanction of Sultan Mahmud II. The hospital still stands today, as one of the oldest medical institutions in Istanbul. Moreover, the list also does not include any of the earlier initiatives regardless of community. The

[209] Günergun, "Chronology: Science from the East - Techniques from the West: Turkey's 700-year long venture".

following year, a military institution "Tersane Tıbbiyesi" was established in Kasımpaşa to educate Muslim doctors for the navy. Both the "Rum Tıb Mektebi" and the "Tersane Tıbbiyesi" were short-lived.[210] Another such example is Erdem Aydın's article "19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Sağlık Teşkilatlanması" written in 2004, which locates the first ever initiative for medical educational institute in 1827, which only later, in 1839, was properly instituted as the Military Medical School.[211] The four letters written by Mustafa Behçet Effendi addressing Sultan Mahmud II advises him that Necati Effendi must be appointed to teach surgical matters at this school, while Antuvan son of Ishak from the Armenian community must be appointed to teach a good command of the new medical language in Italian. Thus, the state-centered view of the history of medicine neglects the contributions of experimentation, trial and error, and civilian- and community-based initiatives to the later institutions that survived.

The second thread in the historiography of Ottoman medicine seems to be the idea that Ottomans were too slow and late to adapt to the Scientific Revolution that had taken place in Europe. That in this period, Ottoman or Islamic medicine (sometimes used interchangeably) was in a state of stagnation or decline, reflecting a popular historiographic trend among historians of the Ottoman Empire, which has been subject to much scrutiny since the early 1990s.[212] The idea that Ottomans were late in turning their gaze towards Europe is not a new one. In his voluminous history of Surp Pırgiç Hospital in Yedikule, Arsen Yarman states that it was primarily Şanizade and Mustafa

[210] Yarman, *Surp Pırgiç*, 206.
[211] Aydın, "19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Sağlık Teşkilatlanması".
[212] Some may argue that this thesis is now obsolete, however, the ideological revisionist and neo-Ottomanist discourses have reignited the idea in the last few years. Moreover, outside of strict historiography, the idea seems to find considerable reception. On the question of decline see, Kafadar, "The Question of Ottoman Decline,"; idem, "The Myth of the Golden Age".

Behçet Effendi, both of whom had been trained in Süleymaniye Medical School, that had managed to make traditional Ottoman medicine transfer into Western medicine. (Yarman, 2001:206)

In 1816, when Şanizade wrote the anatomical treatise *Miratül Ebdan fi Teşrih-i Azai'l-İnsan*, he stated in the introduction that he wrote this book as a response to people who claim that there are no Turks familiar with the new medicine. (Yarman 2001:206) Also in *Tarih-i Şanizade he complains*: "From among the Muslims, no one is interested in this high learning, and they are content with instructing at the Süleymaniye Medical School or being a doctor at the mental hospital. … In the Ottoman Empire there is no one to teach old medicine even, let alone learn and teach new medicine…"[213] Considering these complaints together, Şanizade seems to be responding to foreigners' views of Ottoman medicine, while raising his concerns with regards to the degradation of education and the lack of spirit in medical personnel among the Muslims. It would be fair to say that "new medicine" at that point is not geographically fixed, although we may say that it does have a direction, and is not considered a total, ultimate truth.

4.2 Pandemic, prevention and power

Since the thirteenth century there were postulations of invisible entities causing decay and disease. It was in the seventeenth century though, that microorganisms were seen through a microscope, rendering the invisible visible. The word microbe, however, was coined in the latter half of the nineteenth century, along with its key role in causing

[213]"Müslümanlardan hiçbir kimse bu yüksek fenne hevesli olmayıp Süleymaniye tıphanesinde yalnız hocalık vazifesine ve tımarhane tabipliğine kanaat eder. … Osmanlı memleketinde değil yeni hekimliğin hatta eski tababeti dahi okuyup öğretecek hiçbir kimse kalmamakla…" Uzluk. *Hekimbaşı Mustafa Behçet Zati*, 10.

epidemics and pandemics. It was in this same period that institutions of bacteriology and virology were founded. Today, microbiology is a "specialized science" that is "concerned with the structure, function, and classification of such organisms and with ways of both exploiting and controlling their activities."[214] However, before the invention of vaccination and the field of microbiology, people in different geographies were already dealing with epidemics in various ways. One such example is the process of inoculation which lead to the development of vaccination. Inoculation was the process through which samples from affected bodies were taken and smeared on other people, so as to introduce the body to the disease in a weak form and thus immunize. This practice was in place both in Constantinople and in South Africa at least in the eighteenth century, and it gave way to the formulation of vaccination later in the nineteenth century.[215]

Before science was able to exploit and control the activities of microorganisms, in the first half of the nineteenth century scientists were hard at work trying to understand the cause of epidemics and pandemics that wiped thousands of people in a

[214] "Microbiology essentially began with the development of the microscope. Although others may have seen microbes before him, it was Antonie van Leeuwenhoek, a Dutch draper whose hobby was lens grinding and making microscopes, who was the first to provide proper documentation of his observations." For more, see the "microbiology" entry in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (https://www.britannica.com/science/microbiology, accessed on 15 June 2019).

[215] "In 1714, a letter written by Emanuel Timonius at Constaninople was circulated around Europe and read to the Royal Society by John Woodward. *The writer of this ingenious discourse observes, in the first place, that the Circassians, Georgians, and other Asiatics, have introduced this practice of procuring the smallpox by a sort of inoculation, for about the space of forty years, among the Turks and others at Constantinople. (*Timonius 1714) When this was published in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society it triggered a reply from Cotton Mather, a minister in Boston, Massachusetts: *I had from a servant of my own an account of its being practised in Africa. Enquiring of my Negro man, Onesimus, who is a pretty intelligent fellow, whether he had ever had the smallpox, he answered, both yes and no; and then told me that he had undergone an operation, which had given him something of the smallpox and would forever preserve him from it; adding that it was often used among the Guramantese and whoever had the courage to use it was forever free of the fear of contagion.* Onesimus was a Guaramante from what is now southern Libya", Arthur Boylston "The origins of inoculation". (https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3407399 Accessed on 11 June 2019.)

matter of days and weeks. The instrumentality and efficiency of this new medicine dominated the Ottoman realm as the nineteenth century unfolded with many epidemics and pandemics that swept away thousands of people across the globe. In this process, when a contagious disease broke out in Istanbul, apart from panic and people fleeing the city and/or the affected neighborhoods, the state apparatus sought refuge in strictly controlled quarantine systems. Quarantine was effective for small pox, typhus, plague, cholera among others. Dubbed as the first institution of public health, Meclis-i Tahaffuz, was officiated in 1838.[216] The aim was to protect the empire against contagious diseases and pandemics, and also taking precautions, thus Yıldırım argues that it did not have much influence over the health conditions of the general public.[217]

The nineteenth century started out with consecutive epidemics breaking out in Istanbul: plague in 1803, 1811, 1812-13, 1815, 1822, 1836-37; cholera in 1831-32, 1847-48, 1871-72 and 1893; and syphilis in 1806-12, 1828-29, 1877-78. The cholera epidemic of 1831 in Istanbul was especially influential in the establishment of the quarantine system. Moreover, Hekimbaşı Behçet Efendi, wrote the *Kolera Risalesi*[218] in 1831, whereby he informed the sultan and the public of its contagiousness, and that it especially harmed the stomach and the spleen. He strongly advised that people stay away from heavy foods such as deserts, alcoholic drinks and dairy products. However, Behçet Effendi advocated for the consumption of light foods such as apples, citrus fruits, cabbage, eggplant, okra, fresh beans, zucchini, purslane, and salad with vinegar, as well as rice, mutton and chicken. He also warns against peaches, plums, cucumbers (which he

[216] Yıldırım "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Koruyucu Sağlık Uygulamaları", 1320.
[217] idem.
[218] The full text in Latinized Turkish and German can be found in Uzluk, "Cholera Asiatics Epidemi Tarihi Üstüne Bir Araştırma".

lists among fruits), and oily dishes, as well as *arak*, *rakı*, wine and opium.[219] A curious point is that Nuran Yıldırım writes that the guideline outlined by the French doctors and published in *Takvim-i Vekayi* on 17 May 1833, advises that "the body should not be exposed to substances causing thirst, like alcohol; instead, especially cucumber, lettuce, escarole were to be preferred, while people should abstain from consuming rich foods."[220] In her view, Behçet Effendi's advice is practically the same, adding the names of local foods such as *börek, boğaça, yağlı çörek, helva, lokma* etc. However, Behçet Effendi clearly writes that cucumbers, peaches, and plums are not to be consumed, as quoted above, which to a small extent does conflict with the French doctors' guideline. Yıldırım may be too quick to conclude that both guidelines mirror each other, and neglect to examine the nuances in them.

Later in 1847, though, during the second cholera epidemic in Istanbul, Hekimbaşı banned some fruits and vegetables that harmed the body. In addition, Dr. Lorenz M. K. Rigler who was among the managers of Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane Emraz-ı Umumiye wrote an article advocating for the complete ban of fresh vegetables and fruit, as well as seafood, and a strict control over alcohol consumption.[221] Hence, we can locate the emergence of suspicion over a totality of fresh vegetables within these fifteen years. We must note here that none of these treatises were received unchallenged. Firstly, there was religious concerns, and second, managerial issues. Presumably in 1837, right before the quarantine station was instituted, in a meeting arranged to discuss

[219] Uzluk, "Cholera Asiatics Epidemi Tarihi Üstüne Bir Araştırma", 20.
[220] Yıldırım, *A History of Healthcare in Istanbul*, 78.
[221] Yıldırım, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde gıda kontrolüne bakış" (http://www.sdplatform.com/Dergi/571/Osmanli-Devletinde-gida-kontrolune-bakis.aspx, accessed on June 05, 2019).

the situation, the council decided that a fatwa was necessary before the quarantine station can be realized. Still, there were fierce discussions, challenging the fatwa and the quarantine station.[222]

Birsen Bulmuş in *Plagues, Quarantines and Geopolitics in the Ottoman Empire*, writes that Osman bin Süleyman Penah, a prominent medical official under the reign of Selim III, was strongly opposed to the measures taken against the plague.[223] He knew that the best way to challenge them was to undermine their religious legitimacy. He was preaching that the plague was a blessing from God and that all Muslims should resign themselves (*tevekkül*). He further accused the ruler for "abandoning his faith by pursuing modernizing reforms. But the majority of treatise writers countered his view and the fatalistic attitude, and thus, there was no consensus on whether Islam would sanction these measures or not. What complicates the picture even more are the opponents of the quarantine system among the Anglo-American writers. Bulmuş poses the question "Could one compare the Anglo-American critics' characterization of the quarantine as the social disciplinary and ethnically divisive institution to Ottoman realities?"[224] Since the quarantine system was implemented in 1838, we know which discourse won.[225]

Over the course of the nineteenth century there were arguments world-wide, regarding the cause of disease and prevention methods. A survey of the documents from the International Sanitary Conferences that started in 1851 in Paris and ended in 1938, demonstrates how fierce the discussions were, how dire the situation was and how

[222] For more examples on internal discussions, see Günergun and Yıldırım, "Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye Şahane'nin Mekteb-i Tibbiye-yi Şahane'ye Getirdiği Eleştiriler 1857-1867".
[223] Bulmuş, *Plagues, Quarantines and Geopolitics*, 15.
[224] Bulmuş, *Plagues, Quarantines and Geopolitics*, 97.
[225] Perhaps we must also note here that the governor of Egypt had instituted the quarantine system seven years prior to that of Mahmud II. The competition might have had an encouraging effect.

aggressive the states were regarding their own findings and implementations.[226] Consensus was rare. For example, the report of the third conference held in 1866 in Constantinople, states how artificial "the absolute distinction commonly drawn between contagionists and non-contagionists, or contagionists and miasmatists" were.[227] "The terms "germ", "miasm", "animalcule", "microphyte", "seed", "fungus", "virus", and "insect" were used interchangeably, and between the extreme contagionists and the extreme anti-contagionists there was a whole spectrum of shades of opinion." The report is not only interesting with regards to the scientific confusion but also in terms of diplomacy, negotiation and rhetoric. Quarantines and sanitary councils were "deployed in the economic contests between European rivals."[228]

It was another cholera epidemic, that broke out in 1893, which urged the Ottoman state to establish the first bacteriology institute of the empire, namely the Bakteriyolojihane-i Şahane. However, the preparations for such an institute were already under way. At the Türk Mikrobiyoloji Cemiyeti on 28 May 1986, Ekrem Kadri Unat, presented a paper titled "An Important Year in the History of Turkish Microbiology: 1886," in which he argues that it was in 1886 that the foundations of microbiology were laid for "Turkish medicine".[229] Unat describes the process, which he sees as constitutive: Three doctors, Dr. Zoeros Pasha specializing in internal diseases, zoologist and *kaymakam* Dr. Hüseyin Remzi Bey, and surgeon and veterinarian Dr. Hüseyin Hüsnü Bey were sent off to Paris to work with Pasteur in his lab and learn the method of

[226] Howard-Jones, *The scientific background of the international sanitary conferences 1851-1938*.
[227] Howard-Jones, *The scientific background of the international sanitary conferences 1851-1938,* 25.
[228] Morsy, "Health Care". (http://oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t236/e0304 accessed on 07 May 2019.)
[229] Unat, "An Important Year in the History of Turkish Microbiology: 1886", 36.

vaccination against rabies. They were also responsible for the delivery of 10.000 Francs of donation for the Pasteur Institute, as well as *Mecidiye Nişanı and Beratı* for Pasteur himself. They stayed in Paris from June until December of 1886, and returned with the knowledge of vaccination of rabies. Dr, Zoeros Pasha opened a preliminary bacteriology operation room within the Dersaadet Daülkelb. In 1888 together with Dr. Hüseyin Remzi Bey they compiled a translation work on microbes. Dr. Hüseyin Remzi Bey also wrote a treatise on parasitology in animals. Veterinarian Dr. Hüseyin Hüsnü Bey translated a work with the title "Teftiş-i Lühum".[230]

27 February 1896 in *Servet-i Fünun*, Kadri [Mahmut Sadık] in "Uhuvvet-i Beşeriye ve Mikroplar" wrote:

> Upon the discovery of microbes, preventive health sciences has revolutionized the field of medicine entirely. The methods used to prevent contagious diseases up until twenty five years ago were not adequate. We knew of the ways that disease traveled maybe for a thousand years. The establishment of certain quarantine systems attest to this fact. Humanity has understood the consequences and reach of disease. However human kind did not have the sufficient tools to prevent diseases entirely. When people wanted to run away from a disease, they were actually spreading it.[231]

This paragraph is a great example of how "new medicine" was seen as a groundbreaking shift from centuries-old theories and practices, which were insufficient in helping people take precautions and survive diseases up until only twenty-five years ago. Such adulatory comments were in accordance with *Servet-i Fünun*'s line of publication—

[230] Unat, "An Important Year in the History of Turkish Microbiology: 1886", 34-5.
[231] "Mikropların keşfi üzerine hıfzıssıhhat ilmi belki doğrudan doğruya tababetten ziyade vüsat bulmuş ve kavaid-i sıhhiye esasından değişmiştir. Bundan yirmi beş sene evvel emrazdan vücudu sıyanet için müracaat olunan vesait bugün derece-i kafiyede değildir. Hatta nezaret ve taharatte şimdi başka nokta-i nazardan görülmekte bulunmuştur. Emrazın sirayeti belki bin sene evvelden beri malumdu. Karantinaların tesisi pek kadim olması bunu müeyyettir. Beşeriyet tesir-i marazı ve bunun sirayetini anlamıştır. Fakat sirayetini men için tevsil olunan tedabir matlup derecede müessir olamamıştır. Emraz-ı sariyeden biri bir mahalde zuhur ederse tababet tedavisinden aciz kaldığından ahali meyus oluyorlar ve marazın şiddetinden kaçmak isteyip böylece maraz-ı sariyi etrafa yayıyorlardı." Kadri [Mahmut Sadık], "Uhuvvet-i Beşeriye ve Mikroplar".

especially after Tevfik Fikret took over in 1896—its wish to modernize and familiarize the public with novelties, mostly centered around Europe. A year later, the same author would ask in the 332. issue of the publication: "Edep ve terbiye bir coğrafya meselesi midir?"[232]

4.3 Municipal medicine and physician mayors of Istanbul

Paul Dumont and François Georgeon in their introduction to *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, proposed that starting with the *Tanzimat*, "the state became increasingly anxious over instrumentality and aesthetics, because of a wish to make the city presentable. Moreover, the wish extended to order the city, to institute order as sovereign."[233] Furthermore they state that the mechanisms responsible for the management of the city had weakened and an idea to establish a management particular to the city emerged. In the 1850s, this idea gave way to an independent municipal organization. As Steven Rosenthal, in his article "Urban Elites and the Foundation of Municipalities in Alexandria and Istanbul" states, "[m]unicipal reform in Istanbul was therefore an integral part of the general Ottoman effort to revive its administration and to revitalize the Empire".[234]

Stefanos Yerasimos, in "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları Üzerine," presents a profound case for how the westernization process of the *Tanzimat* and the ensuing state policies and regulations regarding Istanbul had more to do with centralization efforts and consolidating power. Looking at European cities and observing the efficiency with

[232] 27 July 1897, *Servet-i Fünun*, issue 332, pp.4
[233] Dumont and Georgeon, *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, viii.
[234] Rosenthal, "Urban Elites and the Foundation of Municipalities in Alexandria and Istanbul", 127.

which the they were rendered more visible, controllable, and thus less threatening, Mahmud II was hoping to redesign the city both for representability and to avoid further uprisings. Yerasimos contends that the new attitude in city planning greatly contributed to preventing major revolts to break out in the imperial city.[235] However, he warns the reader that this was not the beginning of the state apparatus to try and control urban space. He demonstrates that in the centuries leading up to the nineteenth century, various fatwas and regulations relentlessly endeavored to control space. Hence, "the lack of a city order was not the result of a disinterest but a manifestation of a failure to execute its will."[236]

Public health was a major and gradually increasing force behind this re-ordering of urban space. The dominant narrative of the necessity and benefits of preventive and public health do not address adequately how the discourse of raising life standards meant a profound change in the state's ability to intervene in bodies that formed city life and subject them to surveillance. A glance at physician's involvement in municipality provides us with a clear picture of how medical discourse and technologies were employed in governing city life.

"Until the Tanzimat, physicians were part of the guilds."[237] As Nuran Yıldırım lays out, "in the era in which the council services were the domain of qadis, Hayatizade Mehmed Emin Efendi, a physician appointed to the post of qadi, can be considered to be the first doctor who acted as city mayor (1770)."[238] First regulation regarding public health was issued in 1860 under the title "Beledi Ispençıyarlık Sanatının İcrasına Dair

[235] Yerasimos, "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları Üzerine", 6.
[236] idem.
[237] Yarman, *Surp Pırgiç*, 204.
[238] Yıldırım *A History of Healthcare in Istanbul,* 49.

Nizamname"[239] The 1861 regulation of "Memalik-i Mahrusa-i Şahane'de Tababet-i Belediye İcrasına Dair Nizamname," brought strict control over the medical profession and public health practices such as serious limitations on midwifery, banning any physician without a state license to serve as medical personnel in the city and in the countryside. Arpacı in his PhD thesis titled "Modernleşen Türkiye'de Beden ve Nüfus Politikaları: Hıfzıssıhha, Terbiye, Öjeni" informs us that this specific regulation formed the backbone of the "Tababet ve Şu'abatı San'atlarının Tarz-ı İcrasına Dair Kanun" of 1928, which kept most of the articles of the initial declaration.[240]

Yıldırım notes that concern over the general quality of health was only addressed in 1881, when the Meclis-i Sıhhiye-i Umumiye was instituted. It was responsible for the monitoring of any negativities that may be caused by imported and exported foods and drinks, reporting of any epidemic breakouts to the center, and further looking into any health issues that may arise as a problem in the future.[241]

During the cholera epidemic of Istanbul in 1891, the Commission on Preventive Health (Hıfzıssıhha Komisyonu) was established under the management of municipal mayor. This commission had branches in each of the ten district municipalities.[242] After the 1893 epidemic, 80-100 physicians were appointed to various district municipalities of Istanbul.[243] The 1913 regulation of "Vilayeti İdare-i Sıhhiye Nizamnamesi" aims to better organize health organization. Inspections in factories and industrial zones tighten. Article Eight of this regulation stipulates penalization for rotten and or unpure food and

[239] Yıldırım, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Koruyucu Sağlık Uygulamaları", 1321.
[240] Arpacı, "Modernleşen Türkiye'de Beden ve Nüfus Politikaları", 71.
[241] Yıldırım, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Koruyucu Sağlık Uygulamaları", 1321.
[242] Yıldırım, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Koruyucu Sağlık Uygulamaları", 1321.
[243] Yıldırım, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Koruyucu Sağlık Uygulamaları", 1326.

drink items. Article 12 enforces the reporting of birth and death rates every three months. Health Councils are formed and they have the authority to inspect municipal workers, quarantine doctor, municipal pharmacies and veterinary inspectors. In addition, city and district municipalities become responsible for the institution of disinfection centers called *tebhirhane* (built in Üsküdar, Tophane and Gedikpaşa).[244]

Hence, at this point, municipality and public health are inextricably intertwined. Preventive health goes beyond health regimens and now includes municipal clinics, quarantine and disinfection centers, and pharmacies. As Nil Sarı and Burhan Akgün's historical account of the field of psychiatry, "Türk Tarihinde Psikiyatri Hastasına Kısa Bakış" informs us that with the 1876 regulation prepared by Mongeri, *bimarhane* institutions were no longer under the jurisdiction of Hekimbaşı and then the Mekteb-i Tıbbiye, but were now under *Zaptiye Nezaretleri*.[245] Thus, for the first time, police forces were directly involved in matters of medical treatment.

They argue that the "real reason" behind the involvement of the police force was due to the abuse of patients by religious leaders managing non-Muslim hospitals. This statement is based on a quote from Osman Nuri Ergin's *Mecelle-i Umûr-i Beleddiyye*.[246] They further contend that "Türk ve Müslüman toplumun böyle bir sıkıntısı hiç olmamıştı. Zaten tarih boyunca sağlık konularındaki ikilemleri hekimbaşılar çözmüş, 1850'de hekimbaşılığın kaldırılmasından sonra da Mekteb-i Tıbbiye devreye girmişti." The obvious trouble in this attitude, the lack of problematization by means of historical inquiry is just another example of the state-centered narratives that seem to abound in

[244] Yıldırım, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Koruyucu Sağlık Uygulamaları", 1325.
[245] Sarı and Akgün, "Türk Tarihinde Psikiyatri Hastasına Kısa Bakış".
[246] Sarı and Akgün, "Türk Tarihinde Psikiyatri Hastasına Kısa Bakış". They quote from the sixth *cilt* of the Mecelle, p. 3372.

the history of Ottoman medicine. When this statement is reevaluated in relation to Arsen Yarman's reading of the reason why Armenian and Greek Orthodox physicians' reputation rose in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries we get a very different picture. Yarman argues that Armenians and the Greek Orthodox were well reputed due to their attentiveness to the developments in Western medicine.[247] The issue here is not to make a judgment call about the stories of abuse but about the way history writing frames them, in this case attributing abuse to non-Muslims and clearing the name of Turks.

If we return to the physician-mayors of Istanbul though, Ismail Pasha, "who had been captured during the Peloponnesian Revolt and sold to a surgeon," became the first physician-mayor of Istanbul in 1873.[248] He was followed by Dr. Cemil Topuzlu, who twice served as mayor between 1912-14 and 1919-20, and "paid special attention to food hygiene"[249] After the Republic was founded, Dr. Emin Erkul Seyitoğlu served as mayor between 1924-28. Water and sewage were crucial problems he dealth with. In his time, the Armenian cemetery in Taksim was relocated, modern slaughterhouses were instituted and a fruit market in Kadıköy was constructed.[250] Before Dr. Lütfi Kırdar took over the municipality in 1938, for a decade Muhittin Üstündağ, a former Director of Police Corps, acted as mayor. When Lütfi Kırdar's term was over in 1949, another doctor, Fahrettin Kerim Gökay replaced him as mayor until 1957. Between the doctors and police, city planning was informed by authorities whose professions prioritized hygiene, law and order, and representability. this list in itself, and the entire list of names

[247] Yarman, *Surp Pırgiç*, 204.
[248] Yıldırım *A History of Healthcare in Istanbul*, 49-50.
[249] Yıldırım *A History of Healthcare in Istanbul*, 50.
[250] Yıldırım *A History of Healthcare in Istanbul*, 50.

of men who headed the *Şehremaneti* speak a lot about what kind of a city the Empire and the Republic envisioned.

This broad and perhaps somewhat brute depiction of the relationship between medicine and city management serves us well in understanding Foucault's key concept of the "medical gaze," rooted in a wide range of medical technologies,[251] which in turn, urges us to reconsider the transformation and ordering of urban space through a wide dissemination of this attitude, disposition, and look at the world. The medical gaze could penetrate the body via equipment that created an image of objective reality. The patient's body was only an intermediary, and so was the doctor. As Foucault so eloquently expressed in *The Birth of the Clinic*:[252]

> Paradoxically, in relation to that which he is suffering from, the patient is only an external fact; the medical reading must take him into account only to place him in parenthesis. Of course, the doctor must know 'the internal structures of our bodies'; but only in order to subtract it, and to free to the doctor's gaze 'the nature and combination of diseases'.

The medical gaze frames the ill person as a case, a condition, denying his/her social context, background and personality. But the doctor has to also subtract him/herself from the picture, with the conviction that the medical tools employed offer the truth behind the essence of the disease. Foucault, contends that, on a larger scale, when this notion of the medical gaze is at work during an epidemic, its medicine can "exist only if

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[251] The swift advancement in medical technologies not only promised to see into the body, its essence, its truth, but in time, could offer "gene editing" and alter the bio-chemical composition of living beings. The ongoing process inspires much discussions around genetic engineering, which is used in a wide range of fields from defeating cancer, to producing cost-effective and transportation-friendly produce, to creating "designer babies" free of disease, and perhaps also with physical and mental qualities catered to the desires of the parent(s). "In the 70s scientist inserted DNA snippets to bacteria plants and animals to study and modify them for research, medicine, agriculture and for fun." See, Knoepfler, *GMO Babies: The Life-Changing Science of Designer Babies*. A professor of cell biology at UC Davis, Knoepfler also co-wrote a book titled *How to Build a Dragon or Die Trying: A Satirical Look at Cutting-edge Science*, discussing technologies such as CRISPR gene editing, stem cells and bioengineering that will allow humans to create dragons, mermaids and unicorns.

[252] Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic*, 8.

supplemented by a police: to supervise the location of mines and cemeteries, to get as many corpses as possible cremated instead of buried. … to control the sale of bread, wine and meat … and to prohibit unhealthy housing".[253] Health regulations must foresee and determine everything from how one should dress, feed, and interact in public and private spaces. Consequently, "the definition of a political status for medicine and the constitution, at state level, of a medical consciousness whose constant task would be to provide information, supervision and constraint" must be made, "all of which 'relate as much to the police as to the field of medicine proper.'"[254]

Foucault coined this term to explain the processes of how medicine dehumanized both the patient and the doctor him/herself. Natural phenomena is reduced to symptoms and signs. The medical gaze denies their whole, instituting and ever-growing lexicon of incomprehensible terminology pertaining to cells, tissues, parts, etc. It also loads medicine with unprecedented authority over how bodies function and disfunction. Considering his illuminating points regarding a medicine of epidemic though, I think we must extend this idea, through the specific cases of how Istanbul's urban space has been transformed, to the environmental imaginary of the city encompassing all human and non-human communities. Because the laboratory, the medical gaze and the nosological knowledge is now able to single out the rotten from the healthy, while at the same time claim space for an objective truth.

Before we move on, I would like to emphasize that the concept of the medical gaze is not about framing all doctors for dehumanizing people. It is about how a medical discourse and the way its technologies developed, transformed the way we make politics

[253] Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic*, 25.
[254] Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic*, 25.

and design our lives. Many doctors in the public health sector risk their lives to understand the cause of systemic problems and endemics, to save thousands of lives. However, one must be very careful in handling the terminology, materials, people and the natural phenomena as a whole.

4.4 Medical gaze on Istanbul: Initial bearings and a double bind

Paspatis, a Greek Orthodox doctor trained in Amherst College and then at Pisa and Paris, had returned to Istanbul in the 1840s. his first appointment was the chief of pathology and surgical clinic, at the Balıklı Rum Hastanesi in Yedikule. Among his many varied topics of interest and writings, he also pens the history of the institution in 1862 in 3 volumes, with much regret to the sloppy records ("tenkide şayan intizamsızlığı").[255] Based on his experiences at the hospital, Paspatis visits various neighborhoods and work places from which he receives his patients. As Marianna Yerasimos describes, in the first volume he pictures the "tahammülfersa" dirtiness of the back streets of the city, breeding all sorts of disease and illness.[256] In the second volume, in order to understand and explain the drastic mortality rates he encounters in the hospital, he takes on a huge responsibility and visits many Istanbul neighborhoods and work places to map the working conditions of mainly the Orthodox labor force. The third volume focuses on the hospital records, the most common illnesses and an analysis of the effectiveness of treatments offered. Paspatis strongly emphasizes the strong connection between hygiene and health, arguing that contagious diseases are first encountered in places that have not seen the light of day and granted any cleanliness. His

[255] Paspatis, *Istanbul'un Ortodoks Esnafı*, 8
[256] idem.

work is extremely important to map the social and cultural dynamics of neighborhoods, daily routines of the city, working conditions, and understand the state of the city through a medical gaze.

Paspatis compares dominantly Muslim neighborhoods with that of Orthodox areas and concludes that higher percentage of Muslims live in topographically healthier locations in the city—in neighborhoods that are on hills, instead of in valleys and close to the water— where there is more fresh air, better circulation and more sun. He adds that the Orthodox workers— such as gardeners, milkmen, shop owners and bakers— who live in the cleaner and tidier Muslim neighborhoods such as Üsküdar, have a better life quality than their colleagues and coreligionists, who live in other parts of the city.

Paspatis observes that most Orthodox people live in places devoid of sunlight and air, having damp, crammed and crowded atmospheres. He also lists "muzır" neighborhoods of Istanbul. Referring to the Marmara shores of the city, he writes:

> During the winter, these three piers [Samatya, Vlanga, Kondoskali] are impassable due to mud, stool, dirt, rotten plant and animal carcasses in the wintertime. The ground is pitch black because of the accumulation of still water. Being composed of dirt and turd the soil that is so damp that the feet of all the employees here are always cold and wet. The people living in the surroundings flood in these piers thanks to the commercial liveliness. Particularly, in the late afternoons, the residents of the neighborhood sit in the coffeehouses next to the open sewers and inhale the unhealthy air without being disturbed. In the sections, in-between the piers of the walls, there are holes or rather cracks through which the residential garbage falls into the sea. The garbage that was scattered around the sea by dogs, is cast back upon the shore by the first South wind. Other piers too, even including the smallest ones, are as unapproachably dirty as these three. However, it is possible to fix this by only building a proper sidewalk. It is impossible that this pollution that Istanbulites know so well, especially when a strong South wind from Marmara scatters this nasty air to the surrounding neighborhoods, cannot lead to malign diseases. Christians of the Southern Istanbul live in the dark and grim neighborhoods around these piers. Most of them are in the walls and all of them are near the walls… Because Christians behave more freely than Muslims about trading, every honest craftsman can go into their business without any prevention in the neighborhood. Therefore, there

> are variety of workshops in the Christian neighborhoods, the garbage and the dirt that are released from them are huge.[257]

Paspatis's observations point to an understanding of habitus in the city as forming the backdrop of disagreeable living conditions informed by the discrepancy between different neighborhoods, communities and vocations. As Bourdieu conceptualized the notion of habitus;[258] the complex ties of economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital coupled with daily practices, inform life choices that perpetuate certain inequalities as well as benefits. Deeply ingrained habits, skills and dispositions become a strong force behind the actions of the members of a society, and are easily and dangerously naturalized and taken for granted as essential. The devastation of disease and epidemics complicated this picture in the nineteenth century—because of higher visibility and also greater impact due to increased long-distance transportation—both equalizing people in the sense that contagion did not know any limits, and widening the distances between people by isolating, marginalizing and criminalizing them based on infrastructural, cultural and topographical characteristics.[259]

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[257] "Kışın bu üç rıhtım [Samatya, Vlanga, Kondoskali] çamur, dışkı, pislik, çürüyen bitki artıkları ve hayvan leşlerinden geçilmez olur. Biriken durgun sulardan yerler kapkaradır. Pislikle gübreden mürekkep toprak o derece nemlidir ki burada çalışanların ayakları sürekli soğuk ve ıslaktır. Ticaretin canlılığından dolayı kalabalık ve hareketli olan bu rıhtımlara çevre halkı yazın akın eder, bilhassa akşamüstleri, mahalleliler hiçbir rahatsızlık duymadan gübre yığınlarının, açıkta akan lağımların yanı başındaki kahvehanelerde oturur ve bu sağlıksız havayı saatlerce teneffüs ederler. Surların rıhtımlar arasındaki bölümlerinde hane süprüntülerinin denize döküldüğü delikler ya da daha doğrusu çatlaklar var. Köpekler sayesinde denize dağılan bu çöpler ilk lodos esintisiyle tekrar karaya vurur. Sadece bu üç rıhtım değil, diğerleri de, en küçükleri dahi, bunlar gibi yanına yaklaşılmayacak kadar pistir. Halbuki muntazam bir kaldırımla bu durumun bir ölçüde düzeltilmesi mümkündür. Istanbul sakinlerinin çok iyi bildiği bu pisliğin, bilhassa Marmara'dan esen şiddetli lodos bu muzır havayı tüm civar mahallelere dağıttığı vakit, habis hastalıklara yol açmaması mümkün değildir. Bu rıhtımların etrafında, boğucu, kapkaranlık mahallelerde şehrin güney kıyılarının Hıristiyanları yaşar. Çoğu suriçinde ve hepsi surlara yakındır. … Hıristiyanlar ticaret konusunda Müslümanlara göre daha serbest davrandıklarından, her namuslu zanaatkar, hiçbir engelle karşılaşmadan mahalle içinde mesleğini icra edebilir. Bundan dolayı Hıristiyan mahallelerinde envai çeşit imalathane mevcuttur, bunlardan çıkan pislik ve çöp mebzul miktardadır." Paspatis, *Istanbul'un Ortodoks Esnafı*, 26-7.

[258] Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*.

[259] I think we would greatly benefit from approaching this issue of framing from various fields. Nurçin İleri, "Between the Real and the Imaginary: Late Ottoman Istanbul as a Crime Scene" describes the

Another writer who writes about the diverse conditions of primarily Armenians of Istanbul along with their neighbors of various cultural and economic backgrounds is Hagop Baronian. Baronian was a great satirist of Istanbul who was heavily involved in the publication world. Although he is well known in the world, Baronian is erased from the literary landscape of Istanbul. Only recently two of his books were translated into Turkish and published by Aras Press. His most recent, the creative non-fiction titled *A Stroll Through the Quarters of Istanbul,* guides us through the quotidian lives of various neighborhoods of this imperial city, where a strikingly diverse depiction of Armenians residing alongside Turkish, Albanian, Italian, French, Greek Orthodox, Jewish neighbors.[260] As we enter and exit through thirty-five neighborhoods where Armenians live, the reader gets a good understanding of the dynamics of each one, as well as enjoy the keen observations and satirical remarks about the people who inhabit them. Baronian is mainly interested in the personages and does not give us much about the topography of the neighborhoods, nor does he foreground any specific plants and animals, although he does talk about food.

As Rachel Goshgarian points out in her article "A Stroll Through the Quarters of Istanbul: Sketches of the City as Seen Through the Eyes of the Great Satirist Hagop Baronian":

> Baronian offers a bridge to the subaltern experience of the late Ottoman Empire by narrating his detailed observations of the quotidian lives of a diverse, minority collective in the imperial capital. The fact that Baronian accomplishes this in a

process whereby Istanbulites' appetite for crime literature multiplied with increasingly graphic news of homicide, suicide, rape, etc. In a footnote she comments on a general characteristic regarding these news pieces, which I think begs for further research. She writes that in most of these examples of crime literature, "the murderers and the victims are all non-Muslim subjects (114)". She questions whether the choice of these incidents by the periodicals of the time had to do with framing and categorizing "certain groups as 'troublemakers', in the city in a period when many ethnic and religious tensions were occurring" (114).

[260] Baronian, *Stroll Through the Quarters of Istanbul*.

> voice that is both Armenian and Istanbulite, rather than Armenian and nationalist, suggests that research on identity experience and formation in the Ottoman Empire should *prioritize a reconceptualization of minority ethnic and religious groups through the lenses of communities of space, cosmopolitanism and the subaltern* rather than through a consistent engagement with more contemporary conceptions and experiences of "people," "nation" and identity politics. [emphasis mine] [261]

His description of Üsküdar Yenimahalle opens with these lines: "Tabii ki duydunuz, bana dokunma adında bir mikrop var. Ama bu mikrobun bu mahallede doğdunu duymuş olamazsınız."[262] He continues to tell a story about the Armenian aghas of the neighborhood making a secret deal with some Greek Orthodox to sell half of the Armenian cemetery. The microbe is called "don't bother me" in reference to the wealthier and politically high-ranking members of the community, doing business as it pleases them and not for the good of the community as a whole.

The second mention of "microbe" is in his depiction of Ortaköy: "Diğer bir kısım da ticarette kaybettiğini oyundan kazanmak için kurnazlık düşünür. Zenginlerde de bu mikrop var; ama onlar dedikodudan uzaklar. Zira fakir için hastalık olan, zengine basit eğlence sayılır."[263] According to his descriptions, both of these neighborhoods are where wealthier and powerful Armenians live. It seems that the moral degradation Baronian diagnoses in these neighborhoods is directly tied to abuse of power and wealth.[264] Again, as Goshgarian observes, although Armenian community is central to Baronian's lived

[261] Goshgarian, "A Stroll Through the Quarters of Istanbul", 214.
[262] Baronian, *İstanbul Mahallelerinde Bir Gezinti*, 71.
[263] Baronian. *İstanbul Mahallelerinde Bir Gezinti,* 15.
[264] I must note here that in Kılıçdağı's article "The Armenian Community of Istanbul in the late Ottoman Empire" a quote from 20 July 1863 Jamanag, a prominent Armenian periodical, states exactly the opposite of Baronian's observations. The text reads: When we seek to understand why people of Ortakiugh feel so much sympathy to their neighborhood council, we find that the council not only settled every dispute in the neighborhood peaceably but also was able to pay off the former debt…"

experience and writing, in his book there is "hardly a uniform state of being or existing in the Ottoman Empire's capital city."[265]

I was surprised to come across the word "microbe" in Baronian's *A Stroll* written in 1880. He makes use of the word not in reference to its scientific meaning but as a judgment upon people who are immoral in their relations within their communities. So early on, he was familiar enough to use the word on abstract terms. Goshgarian informs us that at the age of 15, he had to abandon school and financially help his family. He was first employed at an Edirne pharmacy. Later, switching from one job to the other, he was able to learn Greek, French and Italian.[266] These may suggest that he might have been acquainted with the medical literature of the time, and being a central figure in the Armenian publishing scene of Istanbul, he must have had access to various publications in different languages.

Both Paspatis and Baronian's criticisms have at their heart a strong aversion to inequality, regardless of religion. They are both invested in understanding the formation of communities in places, and how those places are made and inlaid with constantly changing meanings. Their narratives are concerned with revealing the injustices they observe in their surroundings. In this way, they both demonstrate the diverse experiences, lifestyles and political choices within their immediate communities. Nobody escapes their criticism on the basis of their ties to a certain group. Whereas Paspatis is mainly concerned with public health and the preservation of communities, neighborhoods and Istanbul's unique historical riches, Baronian approaches similar issues with a strong emphasis on education and commitment to values. Paspatis's view

[265] Goshgarian, A Stroll Through the Quarters of Istanbul", 216)
[266] Goshgarian, "A Stroll Through the Quarters of Istanbul", 218.

of Constantinople is very much informed by the medical discourse of his period, however, he does not use his observations to stigmatize and frame people or landscapes. He does not essentialize the conditions which he sees as problematic to healthy urban life.

4.5 Contagious communities

Referencing O. Whooley, Seçil Yılmaz in "Bakterilere Yakından Bakmak: Bilim ve Siyaset Arasında Bakteriyolojihane-yi Şahane" argues that until bacteriology was instituted as a field, "colonialism justified its scientific doings based on racist and discriminatory discourse that employed judgments about climate and cultural stereotyping."[267] This statement suggests that bacteriology, with its scientific foundation was able to wipe out stigmatization, whereas in my reading of how the field was employed, this is hardly the case. Disease framed people, communities and neighborhoods. Lower class men, soldiers, seasonal workers were suspect of being disease vectors of syphilis. So were prostitutes. Syphilis was widespread across the empire and thus the state officially condoned the establishment of brothels in Istanbul. It was mandatory for prostitutes to regularly get examinations, though foreign nationals were exempt due to political agreements. In addition, because it was not allowed for Muslim women to take up prostitution, they would be unable to get this examination. Dr. Rıza Nur's work on venereal diseases (published in 1907) included the statement

[267] Yılmaz "Bakterilere Yakından Bakmak: Bilim ve Siyaset Arasında Bakteriyolojihane-yi Şahane", 55.

"People go everywhere," meaning that it was impossible to effectively surveil and control everyday interactions in urban settings."[268]

In 1915, an amendment made to the contagious diseases regulation to standardize syphilis treatment defined "all ottoman territory as a syphilis zone."[269] Although medical care and medical surveillance weakened with the First World War, anxieties over it resurfaced with great urgency after the war was over. Population and mortality were of great concern to physicians, and syphilis was at the center stage of these discussions. As the new Republic took over the problem of syphilis, its discourse of public health emphasized more and more the degradation of society on social, moral and sexual terms.[270] Gradually, racial health and quality of children dominated the public health discourse.

The discussion of amendments made for public health without considering and drawing a connection to an ethnic *cleansing* happening at the same time must itself be amended; especially when read together with the views of Dr. Mehmed Reşid, who was governor of Diyarbakır, who sanctioned some of the most brutal massacres and deportations as part of the 1915 genocide against the Armenians. In Salahattin Güngör's interview "Bir Canlı Tarih Konuşuyor," with the CUP party official Mithat Şükrü Bleda, a personal conversation that he had had with Dr. Mehmed Reşid before the end of the war comes up. When Bleda asked Reşid how he, as a doctor, could send thousands of people off to death in cold blood, Dr. Reşid answered:

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[268] Yılmaz, "Threats to Public Order and Health: Mobile Men as Syphilis Vectors in Late Ottoman Medical Discourse and Practice", 233.
[269] Yılmaz, "Threats to Public Order and Health: Mobile Men as Syphilis Vectors in Late Ottoman Medical Discourse and Practice", 234.
[270] Yılmaz, "Threats to Public Order and Health: Mobile Men as Syphilis Vectors in Late Ottoman Medical Discourse and Practice", 236

> I have *inspected their personal records*. In our investigations of their houses, we have seized ammunition enough to explode an entire army. I saw that they have a terrible and devastating organization. If we leave this organization that has been *taking root* in our nation, we will soon not find a Turk in Anatolia. … In such conditions, I thought to myself: Oh, Doctor Reşid! There are only two options: either the Armenians will *wipe out* the Turk, or they will be wiped out by the Turks. In this exigency, I did not hesitate long to make my decision. My Turkishness prevailed over my profession. … In response to your question regarding my profession, how I, as a doctor, could have murdered, here is the answer: *the Armenians had become menacing microbes haunting the body of this country. Well, isn't it a doctor's duty to kill microbes?* [emphasis mine][271]

Dr. Reşid claims that his Turkishness won over his profession, however, I hope that I have been able to demonstrate until now, that it was precisely because of how he viewed and employed his profession, the technologies of inspection, the language of infestation, arborization and *pester*, coupled with the rising aggressive policies of the CUP that enabled the unprecedented catastrophe that had befallen primarily on the Armenian population.

I am in no place to narrate and discuss the processes of the Armenian Genocide, and I do not wish to delve into what it was; however, I want to point out the difference between the previous massacres against the Armenians and the 1915 genocide. Previously, the Hamidian massacre of 1894-97 and the massacre of 1909 in Cilicia mainly targeting the Armenian population of the Empire had taken place. 1915 was unprecedented; the particular historical conditions and decisions that lead to the

[271]"Bir çoklarının *sicillerini* inceledim. Bunların evlerinde yaptığım araştırmalarda bir orduyu havaya uçurmaya yetecek kadar cephane ele geçti. Baktım, korkunç ve müthiş bir teşkilatları var. Memleketin her tarafına *dal budak salan* teşkilatı olduğu gibi bırakırsak çok geçmeden Anadolu'da Türk'ü mumla arıyacağız. … Vaziyet bu merkezde olunca kendi kendime düşündüm: Hey Doktor Reşit! Ortada iki ihtimal var: Ya Ermeniler Türk'ü *temizleyecekler*, yahut da Türkler tarafından *temizlenecekler*! Bu iki ihtimalden birini tercih etmek zarureti karşısında uzun müddet tereddüt etmedim. Türklüğüm hekimliğime galebe çaldı. … Biraz evvel, bana bir hekim olarak nasıl cana kıydığımı sormuştunuz. İşte onun da cevabı: Ermeni eşkiyası bu *vatanın bünyesinde musallat olmuş birtakım zararlı mikroplardı*. *Hekimin bir vazifesi de mikropları öldürmek değil midir?"* Güngör, "Bir Canlı Tarih Konuşuyor", 2444-5.

genocide were complex and mindboggling. As Raymond Kevorkian contends, to reduce the Armenian population "to 'acceptable' demographic proportions" cannot be equalized with the "policy of ethnical homogenization of Asia Minor conceived by the CUP."[272] Referencing Taner Akçam, Kevorkian further states that the plan devised by the Young Turk Central Committee "to deport the Greeks from the Aegean coastal areas and the Armenians from the eastern provinces" was part of its desire to alter the demographic composition and to create a "Turkish" land, however, it was not necessarily designed to exterminate its non-Turkish elements.[273] I believe looking at the state-centered narratives of the advancement of "Turkish medicine," will give us additional tools and frameworks to understand the historical process that turned a massacre into a full-fledged annihilation.

Furthermore, Uğur Ümit Üngör in his M.A. thesis "A Reign of Terror: CUP Rule in Diyarbekir Province, 1913-1923" writes that Armenians were frequently accused of "sinister" plans and "hidden" allegiances with the Triple Entente, which dubbed them as "internal enemies".[274] The decision to purge, eliminate, annihilate an entire population were justified and executable based on this rhetoric of the internal enemy (which still continues today). The logic behind was that if the body is infested, then one must act to cleanse it. If the house is infested, if an area is plagued, then the forces *have to* contain it, quarantine it, isolate and disinfect it.

Üngör tells of this period that even curable illnesses were not treated and led to death because the scarce medicine that there was, was transported to the army. Corpses

[272] Kevorkian, "The Extermination of Ottoman Armenians by the Young Turk Regime (1915-1916)", 3
[273] idem.
[274] Üngör, "A Reign of Terror", 111.

of people who died due to starvation and persecution along with disease were "thrown into wells and rivers, causing cholera, dysentery, and typhoid epidemics. Local Muslims named these contagious diseases "the Armenian disease" because Armenian convoys were dying as a result of them."[275] Obviously, epidemics of such devastating scale could not have affected only the persecuted population. If we read together Reşid's comments, the events that unfolded as related by Üngör, and the neighborhoods of Istanbul which were more frequently marked by epidemics, I believe that there is a case here to make for a reconsideration of how Istanbul's individual neighborhoods and the communities therein were marked, surveilled and criminalized.

The medical gaze that kept giving birth to itself as in the Diyarbakır case was burgeoning all over the empire but especially in the imperial capital. I think we must shift the focus of the "scientific revolution" from a fascination with new medicine to the revolution that happened in how people saw each other and their environment. Bacteriology irreversibly changed the way humans related to their bodies, and the bodies of other lives. A medical gaze increasingly and swiftly dominated over the other senses. It occupied both space and time in a novel way especially if we consider the invention of photography and the x-ray machine along with bacteriology. For the first time in history, humans rendered the invisible visible, and the momentary immortal. These inventions did many things but one of the most important aspects of them were their affect on the sensorial and thus how this new make-up impacted where people lived. Human life was surrounded by invisible organisms that caused them much pain

[275] Üngör, "A Reign of Terror", 78.

and now they were able to capture it, conquer and alter it. Metaphors changed, the way people interacted with their surroundings and the way they viewed each other changed.

One of Ahmet Rasim's city letters written in 1896, is a great example of how microbes permeated the daily life and view of the city:

> Just as the number of new words do, the number of new experiences increase too… I use cotton soaked in antiseptic for my eye sore. You should see how soft it is! The bacteria is also gotten rid of, there is no harm. The odor is a little strange but its color, oh! That pure white of the cotton! I am so softened by this feeling: remember that saying in Turkish "I could not even dare to touch you with a rose"? That, I decided to throw away. From now on, when I speak or write I will say, "I cannot touch you with the cotton soaked in antiseptic." We are fed up with both the rose and the nightingale. Besides, antiseptic also defeats inflammation. What if when the rose touches the skin of the beloved, there is a head of a pimple through which some bacteria transfers over! If one prevents the beloved from such accidents, one proves true affection.[276]

Rasim's brilliance lies exactly in such lines of unique wit, in expressing his intuitive understanding and profound observations of the changes the society was undergoing at the time. In one paragraph, he is able to capture the tension between the gratefulness one feels for fast relief from eye sore, and the huge impact the technology behind it has on all aspects of life. This excerpt points to the shift in landscape, or rather, how people saw and interacted with it. Here the sensorial experience of the city is fundamentally changed. The color, smell and sound in the interaction of the rose and the nightingale is replaced with the soft *caress* of the foul-smelling antiseptic white cotton. To touch the beloved with this cotton is proposed as showing affection, when in fact, touching is an

[276]"Yeni kelimeler gibi, yeni deyimler de çoğalıyor. … Gözüm ağrıdığı için salol'lu pamuk kullanıyorum. Görseniz, ne kadar yumuşak! Mikrobu da giderilmiş, zararı da yok. Kokusu biraz yabancı ama rengi ah! O rengi beyaz, pamuk vesselam! Gözüme sürdüm mü bir "nüvaziş-i sefid – fam" gibi te'sir ediyor. Ben bu hissin altında yumuşadığım için, haniya dilimizde "sana gül ile dokunmam" tabiri yok mu? lşte onu atmaya karar verdim. Bundan sonra yazdığım, söylediğim zaman "sana salol'lu pamukla dokunmam diyecegim. Hem, gülden, bülbülden bıktık. Hem salol, iltihabı def eder. Ya gül ile dokunulan yerde ufak bir sivilce ağzı olup da oradan mikrop geçerse! İnsan sevdiğini böyle kazalardan esirgerse, muhabbetini ispat etmiş olur." Rasim, *Şehir Mektupları,* 77-78.

act of imparting of oneself, while at the same time, receiving from the touched. The antiseptic cotton proposed as a tactile tool, promises to literally kill everything, known and unknown, promised and unpromised, that will unite in that touch.

Most of the scholarly work I surveyed treat the developments of new medicine as wonderful novelties that the Ottoman empire had better keep up with. Moreover, the foundation of the Republic and its regulations in line with incorporating such technologies are highly applauded within the modernizing process. Physicians becoming more involved with the municipality and part of the state apparatus, while keeping a close eye and tie with the general public, in other words embodying *theorica* and *practica* simultaneously, requires further scrutiny and analysis. The medicalization of the municipality in Istanbul, and its authority over daily practices not only manifests itself in the official regulatory machinery, but also in more informal ways, via guidelines and interviews regarding diet, cleanliness, self-care and hygiene. The two sides of the medallion work as one, bringing the state apparatus into our homes, into our bodies, placing a filter over how we see the world. All this for our own good, with our voluntary contributions. This was precisely what Foucault wanted to relay with his concept of the medical gaze.

Then, let us rethink the caress of the antiseptic white cotton in Ahmet Rasim's letter. The writer had to use it for his eyes (he doesn't tell us the reason). And if we were to consider the medical gaze as explained by Foucault in understanding the writer's commentary, it is that very gaze, which carries the potential of erasing the rose and the nightingale as Ahmet Rasim knew them. By seeing "through" them, the gaze dis-members them, denying their whole. Now the touch of the rose is a possible disease vector, a gateway through which microbes can permeate his skin. That image enters the

lexicon of an Istanbulite's environmental imaginary. Dominating over all the other senses, the eye is sore with trying to see everything and take precaution (disguised as self-care). The gaze occupies and dis-members the landscape. And yet, what comes to its aid is the caress of a foul-smelling antiseptic white cotton, that is built to erase and not re-member. In 1890s Rasim had already portrayed the vision of the municipality of the coming decades, which increasingly ghettoized its own people (or what remained of it), marginalized and severed its "natural landscape", and criminalized its gardens along with the lives that thrived in and around them for centuries. Luckily, some Istanbulites knew better. Rasim's wit foresaw that too.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Sermet Muhtar Alus in "Aksaraydan Yedikuleye"[277] informs the reader that during the big cholera epidemic of 1894, there were people who died in the Langa gardens while laying on mats and eating garden produce. At the end of the nineteenth century, people of Constantinople knew about the dangers of the gardens and their produce. The imperial bacteriology institute had already been established, and long before that, since the 1847 epidemic, people of the city were informed of the contagiousness of certain diseases via water and fresh produce. In fact, at this point, medical advice must have been so popular and widespread that in his city letters, Ahmet Rasim, makes fun of this new profession of "tıb yazıcıları": "…kendilerine epeyice sermaye çıkar. Tıb yazıcıları çarçabuk kaleme sarılarak: "Hıfz-ı sıhhat istihmam fi'l bahr" diye makaleler yazmağa hazırlanacaklar."[278] Ahmet Rasim makes up the saying "one must bath in sea hammams in order to preserve health" There are other examples in his letters where Rasim satirizes the state of affairs in publishing and propaganda. However, the above quote is adequate in demonstrating the potential of abuse in this field, and through wide publishing, how such abuse could reach far and wide.

Despite some Istanbulites' insistence on enjoying the gardens of the city, in the midst of rampant epidemics, gradually, they would be directly targeted as places of backwardness, unruliness, antithesis of aesthetics, cleanliness and civility that a modern city must possess. The shift from warning the public against contagiousness to

[277] 17 Ocak 1939, *Akşam.*
[278] Rasim, *Şehir Mektupları*, 11.

denouncing the gardens as nests of microbes happened within a matter of three decades. Not without narratives and practices that challenged it of course, as exemplified in the second chapter. However, the latter became the discourse that was more advantageous for the municipality. With increased involvement of experts[279] from Europe in various fields such as city planning, medicine, education, law, etc. and the solidifying discourse and practice of Turkifying the land, the medicalized municipality became more and more interventionist in its operations on the city.

The elements that made Constantinople the cosmopolitan city that it was will give way to an Istanbul that erodes with the purging, taxing, and further criminalization of its people, its animals and gardens. Newspapers will be filled with doctors preaching diets, health regimens[280] and how to battle various diseases. Commercials will advertise freezers, pharmacological products and cleaners that guarantee killing germs. *Şehremaneti* will give interviews regarding the plan of the city, sewage construction, water ways, and increasing inspections on every aspect of trade and life that moves within the city. Caricatures will ridicule urbanites for having lost touch with agricultural ways and knowledges, for faking western mannerisms, and satirize the laughable regulations that the municipality cannot execute properly. There are discussions about how inspections could be done and legal actions could be taken, when products such as grains,[281] coffee and black pepper[282] are not properly defined and categorized.

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[279] For an excellent discussion of the "rule of experts" see Mitchell, *Rule of experts: Egypt, techno-politics, modernity*.
[280] For example; Interview with Dr. Osman Şerefeddin "Sabahları lahana, yoğurt yemek muvafık mıdır?" 31.5.30 *Akşam*; "Mazhar Osman Bey'in Mevsimlik Yemek Listeleri" (including various uses of lettuce for the skin and the stomach) 23.5.1930 *Akşam*. Mazhar Osman is especially well known as a popular doctor who frequently appears in newspapers with his advice columns. There are also critiques and satires of him, such as writer Akbaba's "Yaz Yemekleri" 29.08.1932 *Akşam*.
[281] "Hububat nedir" 15.5.1931 *Akşam*. The subtitle reads: "Ticaret odasile Ticaret borsası anlaşamıyor"
[282] "Kahve ve karabiber: Gıda maddesi olup olmadıkları sorulacak" 22.5.1938 *Akşam*.

Resimli Kitap, published between September 1908 and February 1913, started its journey right after the Second Constitutional Era. It was a monthly publication that continued for five years and produced 51 issues in total. The novelty of the *Resimli Kitap* was that it had illustrations on almost every page, and on its first issue it declared that it would take the example of European picture journals.[283] In the seventh issue, published in March 1909, Keçecizade İzzet Fuad exercised a fictive dialogue to portray the panorama of the city at the time, and to contrast it with what it ideally should express, if Istanbul is to modernize and catch up with the day and age. The piece, titled in "Istanbul Meşrutiyetten Evvel ve Sonra," was originally written in French, suggesting that the writer was skilled enough to adopt a Parisian gaze as understood by an Ottoman intellectual of the era, and to reflect on the city his knowledge and judgment of history in order to draw up an ideal future image for it.

The piece begins with stating the location of two friends, one from Constantinople and the other from Paris, encountering each other on the Istanbul Bridge, viewing the panorama. The writer tells the Parisian that it would have been better if he had taken the sea route and experience the unique panoramic entrance into the city. He adds, there is no one in the world that is not captured by its magic. The guest tells him that, indeed the train is an arduous journey but one that is far from banal. Beginning with Yedikule, the Parisian observes, the landscape is filled with blocks of tin houses.[284]

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[283] Tekin, "Introduction", xlii.

[284] "The evicted immigrants [specifically the Romani Muhadjirs who fled Bulgaria and Romania during the war of 1877-78], whose number was around a few thousand, found a creative solution for the housing problem by building their own houses near and on the almost completely ruined old city ramparts (Kadırga Limanı mahallesinde ve Kule-i Zemînde), by railways (Yedikule'den Kumkapı'ya kadar şimendifer hattı boyunda) [document dated 1893], and in the empty territories and farmlands in the suburbs of the city (Balmumcu Çiftliği arâzîsinde). They sometimes completely ignored the regulations of dwelling construction and built their houses leylen "at night," and hafiyyen "secretly," on public or private

The writer replies, "Yes those are the "tin cities" as we call them. … Before our esteemed reform, under the sultan, pashas with bad intentions ran havoc." The Parisian supports this view commenting that finally, "you've gotten rid of these *microbes*. In my view, it was time." [emphasis mine] The guest goes on to compliment the view, and denounce some Orientalist writers who speak ill of the city. The writer, then, continues to complain about the railroad, the unwise choice behind its route, that it should have been taken underground into a tunnel, since Sarayburnu is the most beautiful place in the world. He adds that, not only "did we build a railroad here but we also planted carrots and cabbages! It is unforgivable. To produce vegetables and eggplants on the spot where honorable Fatih and Suleyman lived…" The Parisian comments that the people of this land are unaware of the fortune of war which made this precious land theirs. This view does reflect many of the European travelers' and experts' accounts, where they praise the natural beauty of the city but deplore how it has been handled.[285] The Parisian adds, "upon this gorgeous location, you planted your carrots, cabbages and lettuces. What a pity!" The writer takes this idea one step further and calls the practice outright murder: "Yes, it's murder! However, this crime has been committed since the ancients." The Parisian states that ancient practices are no justification,[286] especially considering the line of honorable men of Islam being born on this very land.[287]

What we witness in this fictive conversation is an internalized colonial gaze at the city which had been cultivated by the touch of many actors from architect Sinan to

lands without getting any permission from the municipality or the other formal institutions." See Yılgür, "Teneke mahalles in the late Ottoman capital", 160.
[285] For example, see, Schiffer, *Oriental panorama: British travelers in 19th century Turkey*.
[286] This comment probably refers to the European appropriation of Ancient Greek and Roman civilizations. The fictive Parisian may be suggesting that the Europeans were able modernize them, as opposed to the Ottomans.
[287] Resimli Kitap, 99-100,109.

the dwellers, immigrants, dogs and donkeys, Yedikule lettuce, and the winds, waters and soil that intermingled, attracted and repelled one another. If we compare this panorama with that of Eremya Çelebi's description of the landscape on the Süleyman Sahrası (chapter 3), the shift in view appears to be radical. Whereas Eremya Çelebi boasted of the gardens and orchards that stretched as far as the eye could see, the Ottoman intellectual of the twentieth century denounces them as a crime against the city. Already, the environmental imaginary of the city landscape is shunned and marginalized. Still, though, the city seems to retain its polyglot and polycultural landscape. This would change drastically after 1915, and with new measures geared towards the expulsion of the non-Muslim communities of the city.

On 25 June 1937, in an interview with the director of Cerrahpaşa Medical School Dr. Rüştü Çapçı, along with Dr. Süreyya Hidayet and chemical engineer Ibrahim Etem is published on the first page of *Cumhuriyet* with the title "Hemen bütün bostanlar birer mikrob yuvasıdır".[288] The interviewer asks the three scholars how the city can fight with typhus, to which they respond with a list: to complete the sewage system, close down all gardens that are irrigated by sewage waters, or even ones that are near them, to place a distance between gardens and the houses inside them, to build walls (minimum 1,80 meter in height) around gardens to separate them from streets. According to these doctors, the billions of microbes in the dust and air of the city infest these gardens, and produce such as lettuce, turnip and onion that are eaten raw prove most dangerous. They add that we must prevent people from going to the gardens as *mesire*s. Garden pools are also threatening because they hold stagnant water.

[288] Murat Serdoğlu, "Hemen bütün bostanlar birer mikrob yuvasıdır".

There are six years between the two caricatures in Figure 8 and 9 drawn by Cemal Nadir. Whereas the first marks a period in which people may be doubtful of the cleanliness of Terkos water, and hence the lettuce, the second suggests a definitive judgment upon them. The man holding a variety of disinfectants is certain that the produce is contaminated.

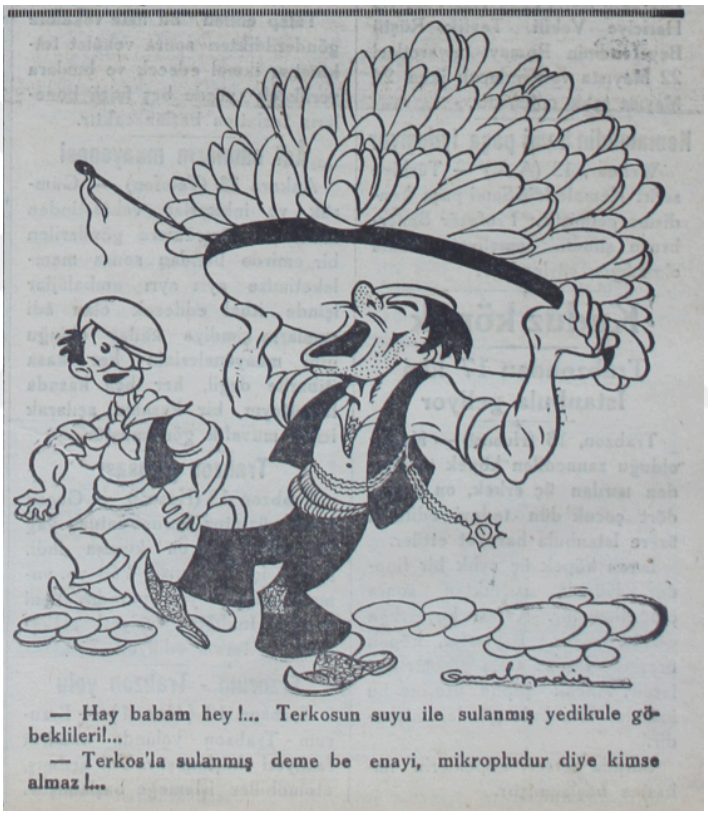

Figure 8. Cemal Nadir, 14.05.1932, Akşam.



Figure 9 Cemal Nadir, 19.05.1938, Akşam.

On 15 May 1934, a news piece on *Akşam* announced that Türkiye Umum Kimyakerler Cemiyeti, which was just established that year, was organizing a series of lectures entitled, "Halk için Kimya Konferansları [Chemistry Conferences for the Public]".[289] The first edition was planned as four, one-hour lectures focusing on "chemistry of food and drink", to be delivered at the Ankara Halkevi four weeks in a row. We learn that these lectures were to be broadcast simultaneously on the Ankara Radio so that the entire nation can benefit from the content. The first was scheduled to be delivered the same day, on May 15, at 7:30pm.

The series was inaugurated with İsfendiyar Esat Bey, the director of agricultural chemistry in the recently founded Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü.[290] İsfendiyar Esat Bey states

[289] "Halk için Kimya Konferansları," 15 May 1934, *Akşam*
[290] For the University Reform in 1933 see, Ayni Mehmet Ali, *Darülfünun Tarihi*, Kitabevi, Istanbul 2007. For a comprehensive summary of the history of Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü see, Cemallettin Yaşar Çiftçi,

that “Türkiye Umum Kimyakerler Cemiyeti was founded to fulfill its responsibility towards the public, to make the language of various chemical fields available to everyone. Then he gave a short summary of the field of chemistry.” According to the article, İsfendiyar Esat Bey goes on to talk about “food and drink chemistry” followed by a lecture on “oils” delivered by Necmeddin Bey, deputy manager of the chemistry laboratory. We are informed that the next lecture (22 May 1934)[291] will host Kerim Ömer Bey from Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü to talk about “waters”, followed by chemistry professor Mithat Cemal Bey to speak about “vegetables”, their nature, nutritious values and qualities (*mahiyet, kıymet, evsaf*). Unfortunately, I wasn’t able to find the content of these lectures due to the destruction of much of early archives of the Ankara Radio. Also, I have not been able to locate news regarding the remaining lectures. How many people attended them? Moreover, what was the reach of the radio broadcast? Cemal Nadir was sure to pick up on these lectures in his caricature dated 20 May 1934 featured in Figure 10:

Kuruluşunun 75. Yılında Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü 1933-48, Ankara Üniversitesi Ziraat Fakültesi, Ankara 2008.

[291] “Halk için Kimya Konferansları,” 22 May 1934, *Akşam*.



Figure 10. Cemal Nadir, 20.05.1934, Akşam

En route to school, the child of an oil seller at the fish bazaar asks his friend if he knew that their fathers were in the same profession. The friend asks if his father is also a chemist; "no," the boy replies, "he is an oil seller." The emphasis on chemistry's relationship to daily life and the endeavors to educate and warn the public of the contents and dangers of daily items can be discerned by the popularity of this field. Feza Günergun and Kaan Ata's research into "İstanbul Üniversitesi'nde fen bilimlerinde araştırmanın kurumsallaşması: 1933 Reformu'nu izleyen otuz yıl içinde yapılan doktoralar"[292] demonstrates that between 1933 and 1963 chemistry (including biochemistry and pharmacological chemistry), with 73 doctorate theses, is the leading field by far among graduate studies. It is followed by 56 theses in natural sciences (botany, zoology, geology and paleobotany combined), 27 in mathematics, 30 in physics

[292] Günergun and Ata, "İstanbul Üniversitesi'nde fen bilimlerinde araştırmanın kurumsallaşması".

and geophysics, and 12 in astronomy. These numbers alone reflect the prevalence of chemistry as a promising field in the development of the country.

A prominent professor of microbiology, Ekrem Kadri Unat have identified[293] 35 journals, mostly Turkish but some also French, that have been published specifically on bacteriology and virology between 1849 and 1922. If journals such as *Servet-i Fünun*, which published on microbes too, are added to the list, the number reaches 41. In the new Republic, such journals were succeeded by publications such as *Türkiye Umum Kimyagerler Cemiyeti Mecmuası*, printed in 4 languages: Turkish, German, French and English. Considering the reach of this publication and its members across the country, the locations of members do give us some information. For example, in the first volume and 5th issue of the journal, apart from Ankara and Istanbul, recently joined members are from İzmir, İzmit, Niğde, Mersin, Samsun and Eskişehir. Within its first year, due to the heavy demand, the Association opens a branch in Istanbul too. The journal closely follows German and French books on the subjects of agriculture, botany and veterinary, publishes summaries of recently printed books in Europe. The journal also publishes original and informative articles on topics such as glycemia, various diseases seen in animals and plants, chemical compositions of endemic plants, etc.

Endeavors to participate in the development of the country, to fulfill the responsibilities of the learned citizen towards his country, combined with the emphasis of Turkishness which extended to plants, animals and technique[294] as well, had a huge impact on production, with dreams of large-scale agricultural projects, industry and

[293] Unat, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Bakteriyoloji ve Viroloji".
[294] For example "Türk işi teknik" is heavily emphasized in Falih Rıfkı Atay, "Kendi Kendimize" 30.05.1935 *Ulus*. Atay writes about the importance of Turkish technique, "even entering our gardens".

construction. In his serialized novel *Huzur*, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's protagonist Mümtaz, in conversation with his lover Nuran, says:

> İki şeyi birbirinden ayırmamız lazım. Bir tarafta sosyal kalkınma ihtiyacı var. Bu, cemiyet realiteleri üzerinde düşünerek, onları değiştire değiştire yapılır. Elbette İstanbul, sonuna kadar, sadece marul yetiştiren bir memleket kalmıyacaktır. İstanbul ve vatanın her köşesi bir istihsal proğramı istiyor. Fakat bu realiteler içine maziyle bağlarımız da girer. Çünkü o, hayatımızın, bugün olduğu gibi gelecek zamanda da şekillerinden biridir. İkincisi bizim zevk dünyamızdır. Hatta kısaca dünyamız. Ben bir çöküşün esteti değilim. Belki bu çöküşte yaşayan şeyler arıyorum.[295]

Still, in 1848 Istanbul must have been reputed with its small-scale lettuce production, since Mümtaz compares it to large-scale projects of production that must be put in place all over the country. Rummaging through the collapse, Mümtaz searches for things that are alive, losing sight of the lettuce that is very much alive under his nose.

Although Yedikule lettuce does not have a place in Ottoman and Turkish intellectuals' ideal image of the city, as Chapter 2 demonstrated, it was prevalent and well reputed all over the city. The texts, photographs and caricatures of the early years of the Republic boast a vibrant cultural life around the gardens of Istanbul, and specifically Yedikule, when the lettuces were ripe and bellied. The ritual of eating lettuce right where it grows was such a delicacy that people from all over the city, despite the distances between neighborhoods on both logistical, economic and cultural terms, flocked the neighborhood once it was spring.

In Chapter 3, I explored the history of the cultivation of Yedikule lettuce in the city. When did it start to acquire the taste that became famous? Or was it that the taste preferences of the inhabitants changed, and people had a growing appetite for fresh produce grown in the city? I found the concept of *terroir*, which was highly influential

[295] Tanpınar, *Huzur*, (episode 49) 14.04.1948 *Cumhuriyet*.

in the nation-making of France, useful in questioning the diverse components that go into cultivation and the meaning making that goes along with that. process.

Chapter 4 was an attempt to understand some historiographical issues, such as the distinction between historical fields, and also the literature on the history of medicine in Turkish. I detected a general pattern of disregard for non-Muslim contributions, especially in the writing of nineteenth century Ottoman medicine. Moreover, I tried to demonstrate that the state-centric and adulatory accounts of the developments that occurred in medicine ignore the profound cultural affects, fields such as bacteriology, chemistry and biochemistry have on daily life, as well as city planning, and designing of communities. Foucault's concept of the medical gaze was influential in understanding how the experiential view of the city for Istanbulites started to change drastically in the first half of the twentieth century. While physicians were becoming the perfect embodiment of *theorica* and *practica* of the good old natural philosophy, the sensorial was being erased with the conviction that truth lied in a non-tactile medical gaze. Surveillance and observation are often conflated, and so are inspection and attentive listening. I think we are in need of de-centering the history of an adulatory state-centered public health. It is necessary to examine further the authority of the medical gaze within this discourse and the various personal and societal conditions it engenders.

We must also perhaps explore when "environmental history" or "environmental imaginary" emerged as something external to human existence. Could we perhaps locate it within the story of the revolution in epistemology? This is important especially for historians who try to understand how beings related to one another at a specific point in time. Would we be falling into anachronism or a lack of imagination, if we were to talk about, say, an environmental imaginary in Eremya Çelebi's history of Istanbul? Did

Eremya Çelebi separate historical from the environmental? If not, how does his language differ from the way we view and experience the city today? If he did, then what are the historical signs of differentiation? The historical processes which brought us to the phrase "nature of the city", must be questioned, urgently, from many perspectives, because trees cannot live in pots for long, without the communities that they make and belong to.

Returning to our starting point, the "lettuce festival", I hope that this thesis was able to demonstrate the culture that enabled journalist Salahattin Güngör to propose Hampartsoum and the anniversary of the establishment of the Surp Pırgiç Armenian Hospital as "lettuce festival" in the "Yedikule Hospital." The denial of 1915, and the ensuing programs of cleaning, tidying, erasing, unifying and homogenizing land resulted in the erasure of one of the oldest continuing celebrations in the city. Furthermore, I would like to quote the prominent writer of Istanbul, Yahya Kemal, who wrote: "Rum ve Ermenilerden de yemek almışız. Aldıklarımız o kadar bizim olmuş ki şimdi bizden Türk yemeği diye alıyor ve onlar da Türk aşları pişirip yiyor. Aldığımızı o kadar Türkleştirmişiz. Bu bizdeki temsil kabiliyetinin dehşetini gösterir.[296] I would like to emphasize the use of the word "dehşet" in this observation and allow for a final comparison with the below caricature, produced by Nişan Berberyan in 1874 in *Hayal,* which was published by his life-long colleague Teodor Kasap. This caricature is the earliest mention of Yedikule and its lettuce that I was able to find in my research. The distance between Yahya Kemal's view and the below depiction in Figure 11 reveal

[296] Ünver, Fatih Devri Yemekleri, 62.

powerfully, how the environmental imaginary of Istanbul was gradually delineated with markers and fences that emerged in the twentieth century.

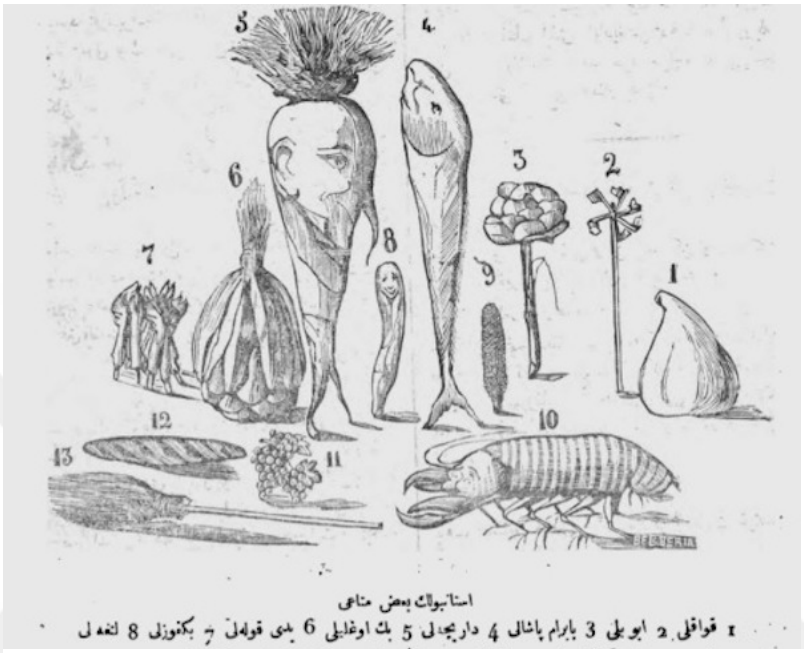

Figure 11 Nişan Berberyan, “Istanbul'un bazı metâ'yı” Hayal, 1874

Nişan Berberyan, a prominent and fierce caricaturist of his time, titled this piece “Istanbul’un bazı meta’yı” which contains thirteen goods/elements of Istanbul life, each linked with a neighborhood of the city. The goods are numbered and underneath the title, each is named. I believe number seven corresponds to lettuce and it reads: “Yedikuleli”, of/from Yedikule. First and foremost, this caricature tells us that Yedikule in the 1870s was known for its lettuce, that the neighborhood had come to be reputed with this particular plant, which today is known as the Yedikule lettuce.

The rest are also marked this way; instead of writing the names of each item, though, the suffix -li added to the neighborhood names, celebrates them as part of the neighborhood community. Just as I am “Sarıyerli”, of/from Sarıyer, all these goods are

of/from a particular neighborhood of the city. It is quite surprising that not all the cited elements are plants and animals of Istanbul, but there is also the reputed toy of Eyüp, *fırıldak*, an onomatopoeic word for pinwheel. Then there is the "Selamsızlı" which is the *çalı süpürgesi,* heather broom. Undoubtedly, each and every one of these goods deserve special attention and interpretation. For example, is it because of the natural material that these items are made out of, that together they compose this picture? Or is it simply because they have become symbols of production attributed to their respective neighborhood?[297] Why did Berberyan choose to anthropomorphize some and not the others? Do the anthropomorphic features signify stereotypical characters of the neighborhood or do they simply emphasize the notion that these goods are neighbors? The word "meta" and the following naming Berberyan chose to mark each one of them may seem paradoxical. If goods are from a neighborhood just as human beings, then is this a statement about the latter also having an exchange value, or is it that these goods are not simply goods but are an integral part of the living and breathing life of Istanbul? Could we perhaps look at these elements in the context of epidemics too, due to which many of these elements of the city were banned?

We can multiply these questions. However, the reason why I chose this image is because of the simple suffix, which names each and every one of these elements as our neighbors. I've been musing over why I prefer the idea of neighboring each other, instead of Donna Harraway's suggestion that all life is tied by kin and hence we are all

[297] 500-600 grams of heather makes a broom and it usually lasts about 4-5 months and if the master who makes it is superb, then it can live up to a year. Heather broom in divan literature, among others, symbolizes the hair of the beloved, or the clean heart of a sheikh, whose door has a standing broom at the threshold. See, Gürsoy-Naskali and Arçın, *Temizlik Kitabı*, which has a chapter on broom and an analysis of its symbolism in divan literature.

relatives.[298] It is because the idea of kinship does not embody or conjure up images pertaining to the places we make and be made in, with time, with touch, and with care. It is an ethics and practice of care that Berberyan points to in this image, which, unfortunately, has become radical for our times. The much "missed" cosmopolitanism of Istanbul cannot just be about people whose lives and languages we do not bother to learn. This image is a humble gesture, an acknowledgment that all life, animate and inanimate, literate and illiterate are connected in ways that are known, as much as unknown.

[298] Donna J. Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene.*

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