SÜLEYMANIYE
- A CASE-STUDY OF AN INTRA-MURAL NEIGHBOURHOOD DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY IN ISTANBUL

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Istanbul Bilgi University

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- A CASE-STUDY OF AN INTRA-MURAL NEIGHBOURHOOD
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Thesis submitted to the Institute for Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in History
by

Julia Eva Strutz

İSTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY

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from the Institute of Social Sciences at Istanbul Bilgi University.

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An abstract of the Thesis of Julia Eva Strutz, for the degree of Master of Arts in History

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Title: Süleymaniye – a Case-Study of an Intra-Mural Neighbourhood during the Nineteenth Century in Istanbul

With the concept of mahalle as the key concept to grasp everyday life in the Ottoman Empire, this thesis tries to understand ordinary life in a not very ordinary neighbourhood, the Süleymaniye *mahalle* in Istanbul. Süleymaniye, once inhabited by religious, military and educational elites, in the contemporary discourse advanced to a symbol for the riches of the lost Empire without examining, however, the nineteenth century. This case-study on the *mahalle* focusses on the turbulent years 1815 to 1885 with an attempt to observe change in the institutional structure of the city, the social make-up of the *mahalle* and its built environment.
It offers insights into the ways these three aspects – institutional, social and built change – mutually influence each other and gives hints to the question, which of these changes actually affected the micro-scale. In the process of this undertaking, the concept of the *mahalle* as a distinct and identity-generating community with poor and rich living side by side is juxtaposed with mahalle borders in flux and a clear socioeconomic segregation. An unexpected picture of a mahalle emerges with a high share of female property and illicit activities in a neighbourhood that at least until 1885 is still one of the principal areas in Istanbul.

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü'nde Tarih Yüksek Lisans derecesi için Julia Eva Struz tarafından Araklık 2009'ta teslim edilen tezim özeti

Başlık: Süleymaniye – 19. Yüzyıl boyunca İstanbul'da sur-içi bir mahalle'de bir örnek olay incelemesi

Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda gündelik hayatı yakalamakta anahtar unsur olan mahalle kavramı aracılığıyla bu tez, sıradışı bir mahallede sıradan hayatı anlamayı denemektedir. Güncel söylemde özlenen ve kaybolan İmparatorluğun değerlerini simgelediği - ondokuzuncu yüzyıl incelenmeden - iddia edilen İstanbul'daki Süleymaniye mahallesi bir zamanlar dini, askeri ve eğitim elitlerinin ikamet ettiği bölgedir. Bu örnek olay incelemesi, 1815 ile 1885 arasındaki fırtınalı yıllara odaklanarak, şehrin kurumsal şekillenmesini, mahallenin sosyal yapısı ile yapılı çevrenin değişimini gözlemlemektedir. Bu üç alandaki değişimlerin - kurumsal, sosyal ve yapılı çevre - birbirine nasıl tesir ettiğinin veçhelerini sunmakta ve hangi değişimlerin mikro seviyeyi etkilediğinin ipuçlarını vermektedir. Fakirlerle zenginlerin bir arada yaşadığı, belirgin, kimlikli ve cemaat oluşturan bildiğimiz mahalle kavramının aksine, Süleymaniye'de bu dönemde mahalle sınırlarının akışkanlığı ve sosyo-ekonomik ayrışma farklı bir mahalle yapısı sergilemektedir. En azından 1885'e kadar hala İstanbul'un ana bölgelerinden biri olan Süleymaniye'de mülk sahipliğinde kadınların dikkat çekici payı, yasa/ahlak dışı faaliyetlerle ilişkilendirilebilecek umulmayan bir tablo da ortaya koymaktadır.

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Preface

In a way this thesis is writing about and around a gap. Süleymaniye neighbourhood, like (almost) any other *mahalle* in the Ottoman Empire so far has not been explored by academicians and primary sources for Süleymaniye during the nineteenth centruy are rare. While the rarity of socio-economic data for a local level especially for Istanbul does not come as a surprise, the lack of any consistent source for Süleymaniye by contrast to its vicinity or other areas of the city is remarkable. Finding such sources – primary or secondary – took up most of the time of this thesis, still the result is deficient. Admittedly, I started to work on this topic with having an abstract idea of a topic and then looked for sources – and not the other way around, like a more experienced historian would have done. When I understood that there is indeed a gap at Süleymaniye, it was already to late personally (not timewise) to give up the topic – although I was advise to do so unless I had a research team with ten assistants and nine years time to hand in the thesis.

Still, I would defend my naive approach for bearing a number of advantages. I was first forced to make use and assemble many instruments necessary for the study of neighbourhoods in Istanbul. Micro-level case studies have not yet achieve great popularity among historians of the Ottoman Empire and thus one still has to explore their ways, instruments and methods. This is an attempt to do a case-study of a neighbourhood for a relativley short period of time and thus with greater detail. I secondly came across a source I would not have found without desperatly searching for primary sources on Süleymaniye – the *varidat defterleri.* To my knowledge, these have not been studied although they contains very valuable information on house size, construction material, number of houses per *mahalle,* property owners and the like in Istanbul in 1873 – with a few missing neighbourhoods, one of them being Süleymaniye *mahalle* unfortunately. Thus, I was only able to analyse the *mahalle*s adjacent to Süleymaniye. Lastly, I think that this thesis with this broad question, in this theoretical framework and structure and with its gaps and difficulties in finding answers, poses many new questions and problems, which would have been impossibe to ask in another framework.

One might argue and deservedly so that I should have entitled this thesis "Hoca Giyasüddin mahalle" or "Hoca Hamze mahalle", because indeed I got to know much more about the neighbourhoods in Süleymaniye's vicinity. However, contemporary labeling fuses Süleymaniye as a *mahalle* and Süleymaniye as a much larger area. The urban renewal project of Süleymaniye ("Süleymaniye Yenilenme Projesi") launched by the Fatih municipality and conducted by KİTAŞ, for instance, includes four neighbourhoods "in" Süleymaniye. None of them coincides with the historical and contemporary Süleymaniye *mahalle*. In this thesis I thus understand Süleymaniye both as the *mahalle* and as the region around it and distinguish in the following between "Süleymaniye" (being the mahalle and the adjacent area) and "Süleymaniye *mahalle*" (being the neighbourhood only).

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> Süleymaniye, this area of 1.5 square kilometres
> is our identity, our passport.
> It is the title deed of our homeland.
> Our reckless behaviour here,
> - to abandon this area to the tumult of the big city there,
> is a plain suicide.
> And it is necessary to say that it is a suicide
> we should feel ashamed of towards the future generations.[1]

Overlooking the Golden Horn, its minarets standing out majestically from the imperial skyline, full of the pretty wooden palaces, nowadays constructed as the vernacular[2] of the Turkish people, once inhabited by the best of Ottoman society; Süleymaniye stands for much more than a neighbourhood: If we believe İlber Ortaylı, it is the title deed and identity card of the Turkish people. An identity, however, shamefully neglected during the last century of Republicanism. Although Ortaylı's reading probably represents only one version of attributes associated with Süleymaniye, the argument that the area used to be one of the wealthiest of Istanbul and the Ottoman Empire is still valid as is the fact that we know almost nothing about urban everyday life on the so-called historic peninsular, Süleymaniye in particular.

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[1] İlber Ortaylı, "Mimar Sinan," in *Osmanlı'yı Yeniden Keşfetmek*, ed. İlber Ortaylı. İstanbul: Timaş, 2006, p. 25. original quote: "Süleymaniye, 1.5 kilometrekare alanıyla bizim kimliğim-izdir, nüfus kağıdımızdır. Bizim bu memleketteki tapumuzdur. Buradaki laubali davranışımız, büyük şehrin hengamesine bu muhiti bırakmamız düpedüz bir intihardır. Üstelik gelecek nesillere karşı bizi utandıracak bir intihar olduğunu söylemek gerekir." (author's translation)

[2] Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Evi: Osmanli dönemi =Turkish House: Ottoman period* (Istanbul: Türkiye Anıt, Çevre, Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı, 1984).; Maurice Cerasi, "The Formation of the Ottoman House Types: A comparative study in interaction with neighboring cultures," *Muqarnas* 15 (1998), p. 116-156.; Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building. Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle/London: University of Washington Press, 2001).

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Süleymaniye's narrative is deeply intertwined with the concept of the *mahalle*, as it presumably ensured the moral and economic well-being of a community. At the same time, the *mahalle* is handled as the key concept to the understanding of everyday life in the Ottoman Empire.[3] **The following case-study of nineteenth-century Süleymaniye tries to understand how ordinary life in this *mahalle* was like, if and how elites (still) lived there in the face of rapid economic and institutional changes.**

These questions are not only relevant to the historical discourse. Istanbul is a city recently rediscovering and reinventing its history; it does so however often in a self-orientalising manner.[4] Süleymaniye has been chosen for an urban transformation project which translates its shiny history into a modern dream of living in "authentic" wooden houses in a secure environment: Gated community living projected for *Osmanlı Prestij Konutları* on the area of the İMÇ (*İstanbul Manifaturacılar Çarşısı,* the Textile Traders' Market along the Atatürk Boulevard), pedestrian precincts, green space and underground parking lots, the renovation of some of the valuable wooden houses and an ominous Museum City (*Müze Kent*) in the neighbourhoods around Süleymaniye mosque.[5] In the course of this, many houses in Süleymaniye have been bought from the proprietors by the municipality[6], torn down by the municipality's executive force KİPTAŞ[7], some saw considerable repairs by KUDEB[8] and some are

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3   Ekrem Işın, "19. yy.'da Modernleşme ve Gündelik Hayat," in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, eds. Murta Belge and Fahri Aral. (İstanbul: İletişim, 1985), p. 538.

4   Ayfer Bartu, Who Owns the Old Quarters? Rewriting Histories in a Global Era, in *Istanbul. Between the Global and the Local.* ed. Cağlar Keyder (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers: Lanham), pp. 31 – 46.

5   İstanbul Büyükşehir belediyyesi, *Tarihi Yarımada (Eminönü-Fatih), 1/5000 Ölçekli Koruma Amaçlı Nazım İmar Planı Raporu* (İstanbul: Myth Maker, 2003).

6   Fatih Municipality, 28 October 2009, *Süleymaniye Bölgesi Yenilenme Projesi*, http://www.fatih.-bel.tr/kate_detay.asp?id=72&tur=387 [06.12.2009].

7   KİPTAŞ, *KİPTAŞ Konut Bölgeleri*, http://www.kiptas.com.tr [02.12.2009].

8   Koruma Uygulama ve Denetim Müdürlüğü (KUDEB), http://www.ibb.gov.tr/sites/kudeb/Documents/index.htm [02.12.2009].

already rebuilt in concrete with wooden cladding. Creating their Ottoman dream the municipality is busy displacing the disadvantaged population of rural migrants involved in the informal economy of trash collection and car parking or working as day-labourers, which rented or occupied the houses since the 1950s.

Writing Süleymaniye's history is therefore not an innocent endeavour, but directly linked to the present and highly political. It is no coincidence that conferences organised by the municipality like the "Eminönü Symposiums" or civil society actors like the *Kültür Ocağı Vakfı*, who organised the Süleymaniye Symposium in the past years invariably discussed the urban history of fifteenth- to the eighteenth-century Istanbul, not the nineteenth century. The academic achievements of these conferences are limited to an era when the empire was still very imperial, Istanbul still a city of sultanic glamour and Süleymaniye the most glamorous among Istanbul's neighbourhoods. The discussions and results of these conferences are valuable and often faultless – to transpose their "truths" to a twenty-first century urban fabric, however, is reprehensible. The aim of this investigation into Süleymaniye in the nineteenth century - and I have no reason to conceal this – is to present an alternative urban vision of the neighbourhood, which is no less authentic and historical.

The concept of *mahalle* is closely knit to urban history in the Ottoman Empire. As it attributes a high symbolic value to the micro-scale, an analysis of a neighbourhood can not ignore the idea of *mahalle*. Before starting the analysis of the *mahalle* itself, I will first try to provide an outline of the concept as a theoretical framework put to the test in the case of Süleymaniye during the nineteenth century. An inquiry into Süleymaniye in the light of is changing history requires the analysis

of the different factors influencing life in the neighbourhood. The micro-scale of the neighbourhood quite self-evidently mirrors the **large picture of the nineteenth-century context**, the position of the Ottoman Empire and its capital in the world with its political and economic effects. Besides these, I suppose that **institutional change, changes in the built environment, social change and their mutual interaction** are the most important factors defining life in a neighbourhood. The thesis is structured according to these factors.

For this investigation, I chose the years 1815 to 1885. This period of seventy years thus starts about 10 years before Mahmud II dissolved the Janissary corps, thereby triggering enormous change in the institutional, built and social make-up of Istanbul. It ends with the third and last attempt to found a municipality (*şehre-mâneti*) in 1885, which in some respects marks the end of this transformation process. Moreover, this selection is source-based with 1816/17 as the years of the only published register of the kadî courts of Istanbul (*Şer'iye sicileri*) and 1885 as the year the first (modern-style) census of the Ottoman Empire was undertaken. The primary and secondary sources used in this thesis will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 2

SOURCES

As micro-scale studies in Ottoman History are still quite rare, only few works guide

the researcher on her way through the jungle of Ottoman archival sources or serve as

an example of how local history can be written[9]. It seems that useful sources for

urban history on a micro level are rather limited as are the instruments (like maps,

lists of *mahalle*, published sources etc.) ready to be used by the researcher. Like

many things in this thesis, the primary sources used are part of an attempt to find

ways to answer questions – more or less successfully. Basically, three types of

primary sources were used: records of the kadî court of Istanbul (*şer'iye sicilleri*), tax

registers (*vâridât defterleri*) and the census of 1885.

Şer'iye Sicilleri

Şer'iye Sicilleri are the records of the *kadî*'s court where he ruled on family,

inheritance and property (*i'lâm*) issues as well as acted as a notary (*hüccet*) or

registered directives from the central state. Just as there were four high-ranking *kadî*s

in Istanbul, 13 *kadî* courts[10] decided on law suits in the city. The delineation of their

areas, however, appear to have been rather permeable so that one also finds cases on

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9   Cem Behar, *A Neighbourhood in Ottoman Istanbul. Fruit Vendors and Civil servants in the Kasap Ilyas mahalle* (New York: SUNY Press, 2003), p. 25.

10   these are: Istanbul, Üsküdar, Kasımpaşa, Davudpaşa, Adalar, Galata, Balat, Hasköy, Beşiktaş, Tophane, Mahmud Paşa. I also included Yeniköy and Kartal in my count of 13. These were of course not yet part of the city of Constantinople.

Üsküdar or Kasımpaşa in the records of the Istanbul court. Likewise, *kadî* courts were not limited to Muslims, but one can observe Non-Muslims applying to these courts as well.[11] With the *tanzimat* the *Şer'iye sicil*s are recorded in a more formalised way including the name, addresses and occasionally the profession of presenters, represented and witnesses and are structured in similar ways: after the relationship between represented and representing would be clarified, information about the livelihood would be given and finally the court's decision laid out.[12]

For an area like Süleymaniye, where we do expect a Muslim majority, the records of the Istanbul court offer an opportunity to follow the issues brought to court: They inform us about names, place of residence, professions, divorces, selling of property, sharing of heritage, items inherited or disputes in the community ranging from inappropriate decoration of a house to capital crime[13]. Still, we know little about the actual procedures taking place in court. Dismissing 40 years of attempts to use the *sicill*s for social history in a factual and often statistical way, the postmodern discourse stressed the methodological problems involved in studying these records – the natural selection of people applying to court, the way the proceedings are recorded, when and by whom. Yet, as the *kadî* records are among the few sources available for writing social history – clearly not for a "history from below" or a history of everyday life – I can not refrain from using them on a factual level.[14]

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11   Ahmet Akgündüz, *Şer'iye Sicilleri: Mahiyet, Toplu Kataloğu ve Seçme Hükümler* (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1988), pp. 12.
12   Akgündüz 1988: p. 19.
13   Sevgi Aktüre, *19.Yüzyıl sonunda Anadolu Kenti Mekansal Yapı Çözumlemesi* (Ankara: Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi Baskı Atölyesi, 1978), p. 23.
14   Yunus Uğur, *The Ottoman Court Records and the Making of 'Urban History' with special reference to Mudanya Sicils (1645-1800)* (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, 2001), p. 23., Elyse Semerdjian, *"Off the straight path". Illicit Sex, Law and Community in Ottoman Aleppo* (Syracus: Syracus University Press, 2008), pp. 63., Hülya Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town: 'Ayntab in the 17th century* (Leiden: Brill 2007), pp. 125., Leslie Pierce, Morality Tales. Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab. (Berkley: University of California Press 2003), pp. 86., for an example of a study about Istanbul using *kadî* rescords: Tülay Artan, Early 20th Century Maps and 18th-19th Century Court Records: Urban Continuity on the Bosphorus,

Adding to this nuisance, using the *sicill*s for a single *mahalle* requires very cumbersome work. To find cases pertaining to the Süleymaniye *mahalle*, one has to sift through all the cases brought before the Istanbul court, amounting to several hundred cases per year, only a fraction of which concern Süleymaniye: After a week's work, for instance, one thus might find a handful of cases with a couple of names and prices of houses. A coherent picture, however, only emerges with a great number of court records. Sort of a backdoor I used, are master theses based on the transliteration of a whole register and the *Halil Inalcık Araştırma Projesi* undertaken by Sabancı University which currently transliterates and digitalises the *kadî* court records of the Istanbul court – so far the first volume of registers of 1816-1817 are published.

In this thesis I used the *Şer'iye sicilleri* for three years (1816/17[15], 1855[16] and 1870[17]) with a total of 30 cases that relate to the quarter Süleymaniye. My contribution thus are the records of 1855 (no. 199) selected by the simple reason that 1855 is somehow in the middle of the period and a time on which I lacked any other kind of source.

Vâridât Defterleri

As *vâridât defterleri* have not been used by researchers so far to my knowledge, only few things about their immediate functions are known. In the *Başbakanlık Arşivi* they are registered under *Mâliyyet Nezâreti – Vâridât* Muhasebesi (ML.VRD). Apparently, the purpose of these registers is the recording of the amount of tax paid

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Environmental Design: Urban Morphogenesis, Maps and Cadastral Plans. 1993. pp. 96-111.

15   Nejdet Ertuğ, *Şeriyye Sicilleri'ne Göre İstanbul Tarihi: İstanbul Mahkemesi 121 Numaralı Şer'iye Sicili, 1231-1232/1816-1817* (İstanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006).

16   ISAM library: Şer'iye Sicileri No. 199, İlam, 1271-1272, 0001/0199-001/013.

17   Salih Şahin, *İstanbul kadîlığı 225. No.'lu Şeri'yye Sicilinin Transkripsyonu ve Değerlendirilmesi* (MA thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2001).

for real estate (*vergi-i emlâk*) by households according to *mahalle* in 1290/1873.

Besides this information, the registers include such valuable information as the type

of house, street name and street number, a place of reference (*semt-i meşhûr*) for the

mahalle, the construction material of the building and what it contains in the inside

or on the plot (*müştemilât*), the size of the plot, the name(s) of the property owner(s),

the value of the property, the date and type of the title deed (*tarih-i sened*) and to

which foundation (*vâkıf*) the estate belongs to[18]. The *Başbakanlık Arşivi* stores

hundreds of these registers, the collection, however, seems to be incomplete – it

misses Süleymaniye *mahallesi*. Instead of Süleymaniye, I used the registers of three

*mahalle*s in its immediate vicinity: Sarı Bayezid[19], Hoca Gıyasüddin[20] and Hoca

Hamze[21]. Together with a short description of the location of the building[22], this

information allows to draw at least the approximation of a map of the *mahalle*s in

1873. This map can only be a semblance as we only know the size of the plot, but not

the exact size and shape of the building. Additionally, the scribes of the registers

used different methods of recording. While, for instance, the scribe of Hoca Hamze

noted the number of storeys of a house if they were more than one, no such remark is

made for the other neighbourhoods – that all of the buildings had only a ground floor

is very unlikely. The remodelling of the *mahalle* is further complicated by the fact

that reliable maps are only available for later periods, thus the course of the streets

and their names might have changed. Street names and numbers were only getting

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18   Indeed all land registered in the defter belongs to a variety of foundations. I would exclude the
     possibility that the defter only included houses built on land belonging to a foundation as there
     are no gaps in the records.
19   Başbakanlık Arşivi: ML.VRD 3842
20   Başbakanlık Arşivi: ML. VRD 3717
21   Başbakanlık Arşivi: ML. VRD 3807
22   such as: "Hüseyin Bey hânesi ve Fatma Hanım hânesi ve Türbe zukağı ve taraf-ı râbi' tarîk-i
     âmm" (ML. VRD 3717 No.1)

common with the 1860s, in 1873 they were presumably still very unstable.[23] In some

cases I thus had to use a rather creative approach to locate the houses – such as in the

case of Külhan Street located in Hoca Hamze. The description of the houses

indicates the location of the houses as next to a *medrese* and one of them as next to

Süleymaniye *hammâmı*. The only possible street is thus the street leading along the

Süleymaniye *medrese* to the hamam – called Saman-Veren street in Ayverdi[24] and the

Alman Mavileri[25]. Based on such speculations, the maps can only be approximations

and need to be understood in this way. A visualisation even of this kind offers many

advantages over a pure numerical description such as the identification of areas – and

not only streets or neighbourhoods - of low and high value buildings, big and small

plots or ownership structures. This will be addressed in more detail in chapter 5.2.

Additionally, the mere nature of tax registers involves a number of problems. Quite

naturally, property owners try to register their building at low value in order to pay

less tax. These registers thus have to be handled with care and might be more telling

with regard to fiscal evasion than with regard to "real" numbers. One of the pertinent

strategies, I guess, may have been the registration of many shareholders. An owner

of many houses would on paper share the property with his wife officially to save

some money. In parts, this might explain the high share women have in real estate.

The Census of 1885

Resulting from the new *raison d'état* evolving at the beginning of the nineteenth

century, the Ottoman Empire began to collect information about its population by the

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23   Behar 2003: 25
24   Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *19. Asırda İstanbul Haritası* (İstanbul, 1958).
25   İrfan Dağdelen, *Alman Mavileri 1913-1914. İstanbul Haritaları,* Vol. 2. (İstanbul Büyükşehir belediyyesi Yayınları: İstanbul, 2007).

way of censuses. The first of these was undertaken in 1831[26] and then subsequently

in 1855, 1873 and 1881.[27] The latter comes close to the present-day understanding of

a census as it was meant for purposes other than taxation or military conscription for

the first time. It included both males and females and had an estimated margin of

error of only 2-5%.[28] The census was undertaken by the *Nüfûs-u Umûmî İdâresi,* a

unit inside the Ministry of Interior, which sent a census scribe (*nüfûs kâtibi*) to each

mahalle who was assisted by the religious leader and a council of elders. In the

population registers (*sicill-i nüfûs*) they recorded name, place of birth and residence

(including street and house number), age, religion, occupation, marital status and

health (and for men their military status and style of their mustache or beard).[29]

In all likelihood, the 1885 census data today is still stored in the Istanbul Valiliği and

not accessible to the public. Cem Behar and Alan Duben were able to access this data

a couple of years ago and took a 5% sample of the census (every 20th page).[30] With

their help, I got to use the data they have for Süleymaniye and its surroundings –

which totals three houses.

    To substitute for this insufficient assemble of primary sources, I made use of an

admittedly rather eclectic mixture of published sources. Among these range the

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26   Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831* (Ankara: T.C. Başvekalet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, 1943). Istanbullus were exempted from military conscription and forced labour and thus the 1831 census does not include Istanbul. However, apparently a census was organised in 1829 (Sedat Bingöl, *1829 Istanbul Nüfus Sayımı ve Tophane Kasabası* (Eskişe-hir: T.C. Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2004). The result of this census for Istanbul was recorded in the *kadî sicilleri*. While they do exists for Beyoğlu, I was unfortunately not able to locate them for intramural Istanbul. They were apparently not recorded in the Istanbul court registers.

27   There apparently exist more than these, but they have not been uncovered until present-day. Stanford Shaw, "The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831 – 1914," *The International Journal of Middle East Studies* 9, no. 3 (1978), p. 127.

28   Kemal H. Karpat, "Ottoman Population records and The Census of 1881/82-1893," *IJMES*, no. 9 (1978), pp. 237-374., Stanford Shaw, "The Population of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century," *IJMES* 10 (1979), pp. 265-277.

29   Shaw 1978: p. 331

30   Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *Istanbul Households. Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). pp. 15-18.

havadis jurnalleri, some sort of report by state detectives to the state, from the 1840s published by Deniz Kırlı and the *İstanbul Mektupları,* a collection of newspaper articles taken down by Basiretçi Ali Efendi in the 1870s. To define the borders of Süleymaniye *mahalle,* I utilised a list of *mahalle*s published in Bingöl's work on the 1829 census in Tophane and another one published by İşli for 1877.

CHAPTER 3

THE CONCEPT OF *MAHALLE* IN THE ISLAMIC CITY

Writing a monograph about a neighbourhood necessitates a review of the concept

mahalle and it is this conceptual framework, in which I would like to situate this case

study on Süleymaniye. Given the abundance of conceptual implications connected to

it, the English word 'neighbourhood' is a rather imprecise translation of the concept

of *mahalle*. The *mahalle* is the conceptual centrepiece of the ideal of an 'Islamic

City'. According to this ideal type, cities in the Islamic 'realm' supposedly share

certain characteristics, which are attributed to Islamic law, tradition or *"the high*

value accorded to spiritual factors and the search for harmony based on permanent

values".[31] The Islamic City has been conceptualised as the antipode of the European

City ever since the dawn of urban studies as a discipline in the beginning of early

twentieth-century Western Europe - in particular so by Max Weber.[32] Conceptually it

matched well with prevalent *"urban planning schemes of the colonial*

administrators" as it legitimised modernisation liberating the 'indigenous' from their

burden of quintessential traditional culture.*[33]* Thus, from the very beginning, the

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31   Ervin Y. Galantay, "Islamic Identity and the Metropolis: Continuity and Conflict," in *Islamic Identity and the Metropolis: Continuity and Conflict*, *The Middle East City. Ancient Traditions Confront a Modern World*, ed. Abdulaziz Y. Saqqaf (New York: Paragon House, 1986), p. 5.

32   Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Die Wirtschaft und die gesellschaftlichen Ordnungen und die Mächte. Nachlaß* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2000[1922]), p. 11.

33   Jakob Skovgaard-Petersen, "Introduction. Public Place and Public Spheres in Transformation - The City Conceived, Perceived and Experiences," in *Public Place and Public Spheres in Transformation - The City Conveived, Perceived and Experiences*, *Middle Eastern cities, 1900-1950*, eds. Nielsen, Chr. Korsholm; Skovgaard-Petersen, Jakob (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2001), p. 11, for another good discussion, I think, see: Dale F. Eickelmann, "Is there an Islamic City? The Making of a Quarter in a Moroccan Town", *International Journal for Middle*

Islamic City was understood as an obstacle to modernity, capitalism and democracy. As might be expected of this masterpiece of Orientalist reasoning, the *mahalle* is apprehended as unchangingly existing in all times and places with Muslim heritage. What makes 'Islamic Cities' different from 'European Cities', particularly on a level that goes beyond orientalist or revisionist perception, remains vague to present-day. Scholars struggling with this concept continuously find themselves in theoretical dead ends: Stating that there is no standard form of a Muslim city, Ettinghausen (1973) observes that *"everybody senses that even in spite of this variety there are certain features which distinguish traditional Near Eastern towns from those of the West and leave no doubt that we are in such a place, should we by any chance land on one from an airplane on a non-scheduled stop".*[34] Abu-Lughod (1987) likewise, after masterly showing how researchers mutually copied results from each other, concludes that Islamic jurisdiction and property law translate into socio-spatial distinctions and gender segregation different from those in the West.[35] Eldem, Goffmann and Masters (1999) by contrast conclude *"something that perhaps should always have been obvious, that there simply never has been such a thing as a normative 'Ottoman', 'Arab', or 'Islamic' city, any more than there has ever been a typical 'French', 'English', or 'Christian metropolis'."*[36]

Maybe posing the very question itself is the actual problem. Nevertheless, especially on a local level, the concept of the Islamic City and within it of the *mahalle* is an understudied topic where judgements are only made on the basis of

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Eastern Studies 5, no.3 (1974), p. 274.

34   Richard Ettinghausen, "Muslim Cities: Old and New", in *Muslim Cities: Old and New, From Madina to Metropolis. Heritage and Change in the Near Eastern City*, ed. Carl L. Brown (New Jersey: Darwin Press), 1973, pp. 290-318.

35   Janet L. Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic City - Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance", *IJMES* 19, no. 2 (1987), p. 155-176.

36   Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters, *The Ottoman City between East and West. Aleppo, Izmir and Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). p. 213.

assumptions.[37] To confront this mythological concept with historical realities - I'm far from searching for the truth – becomes even more relevant, as historians (and along with them politicians) increasingly allude to the *mahalle* as an aspect of a golden, but lost past.[38]

Before starting this examination into the historical realities of one single *mahalle* – the Süleymaniye *mahalle* - I will summarise what is known about the concept *mahalle* under four headings: *mahalle* in the city, *mahalle* as legal, political and social community, *mahalle* as private space and *mahalle* as social and religious integrity. Writing about this topic is a constant struggle with an unsettled or imprecise terminology. Is it the Islamic, Near -, Far-, Middle Eastern, Arab, Ottoman or Turkish City I am writing about? Or "the" non-European, non-Western City? Am I writing about the ninth or the nineteenth century? As this chapter aims at outlining the state-of-the-art research undertaken on this topic, which by and large is very imprecise on these questions, the reader is asked to excuse my own generalisations for now.

Mahalle in the city

To determine the average size of a *mahalle* already gives reason for disagreement. Alada proposes a number between ten and fifty houses per *mahalle* for the sixteenth century.[39] By stark contrast, Cerasi, writing about the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries determines the size of a *mahalle* as between 100 and 120 houses.[40] A list of

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37 The only case-study of a *mahalle* touching upon the concept *mahalle* that exists to my knowledge is Behar 2003.

38 Turan A. Alkan, "*mahalle*" in *mahalle, Şehir ve Yerel Yönetimler*, eds. Vecdi Akyüz and Seyfettin Ünlü (İstanbul: İlke Yayınlar, 1996), p. 205-207.; Turgut Cansever, "Osmanlı Şehir" in *Osmanlı Şehir, Islam Geleneğinden Günümüzü Şehir ve Yerel Yönetimler,* eds. Vecdi Akyüz and Seyfettin Ünlü (İstanbul: İlker Yayınları, 1996), p. 383.

39 Adalet Bayramoğlu Alada, *Osmanlı Şehrinde mahalle* (İstanbul: Sümer, 2008), p.143.

40 Maurice M. Cerasi. *Osmanlı Kenti. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda 18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Kent*

*mahalle*s containing their respective number of houses prepared for Istanbul in 1876, shows an average size of 126.6 houses per *mahalle*.[41] We can only speculate about this divergence.

The *mahalle* is a residential area clearly separated from the outside. The outside constitutes another *mahalle* – each *mahalle* revolving around its own centre, in theory mostly a *mescid* – is functionally distinct especially from the commercial areas of a city.[42] An important concern of urban administration in Istanbul was for instance to keep the lodgings of bachelors, the *bekâr odaları,* out of residential areas.[43] Although *mahalle*s were almost monofunctionally meant for housing only, the density of housing in the big commercial centres of the Empire at the end of the eighteenth century increased to a degree that shops could also be found on the ground floor of residential buildings.[44] Recently, however, the stability and absoluteness of this multi-centred structure of autonomous *mahalle* in the city has been questioned. The demarcation lines between *mahalle*s, Cem Behar observes in his case study on *Kasap İlyas Mahallesi* in Istanbul, were not as vigourously drawn as the conventional concept of *mahalle* implies. *"At the local level, mobility and change seem to have been the rule, not the exception"*[45], sub-areas within the *mahalle* appeared, merged with another *mahalle* or split up again. What this fluidity might have implied for the local community will be discussed again in chapter 5 of this thesis.

Uygarlığı ve Mimarisi (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001), p.72.

41 Emin Nedret İşli, "İstanbul'un *mahalle* İsimlerine Ait Kaynaklar ve 1876-1877 Tarihli 'Esâmi-i Mahallât'", *İstanbul* 44 (2002), pp. 71-77.

42 Cem Behar, "Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants. A Social and Demographic Portrait of a Neighbourhood Community in Intra-Mural Istanbul (Kasap İlyas *mahalle*) in 1885," *Boğaziçi Journal*, 11, no. 1-2 (1997): p. 23.

43 Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul. Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p.8.

44 Cerasi 2001: p.85.

45 Behar 2003: pp.9.

Mahalle as legal, political and social community

The idea that the *mahalle* formed a legal, political and social community is based on Islamic law, which by contrast to Roman law does not know juridical personhood. A political community thus only existed as a community of believers in the *mahalle* and not for the whole city or as corporate bodies.[46] Accordingly, an administrative centre as it can be found in many European Cities with a town-hall, the church, guild and bourgeois housing neatly arranged around a public square, is absent in the Islamic City.[47] In the Islamic City, and - to be more precise for once - in the Ottoman City during the classical period, all social, religious, administrative and municipal functions were accomplished in the *mahalle* with the *imâm* in the mosque as the central figure.[48] This absence of the juridical person is referred to as one of the main differences between the Islamic and the European city and gives reason for some to claim that cities with an Islamic heritage in actual fact lack the decisive faculty to be real cities.[49]

The inhabitants of the *mahalle*, it is claimed in an often romanticising manner, were guarantors for each other in law suits or for newcomers to a *mahalle,* shared juridical responsibility towards other *mahalle*s in case of crime (blood money), they could decide collectively to force somebody showing unwanted behaviour out of the *mahalle* and organised cohabitation, such as the management of

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46   Weber 2000: p.12., Stefan Yerasimos, "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları Üzerine", in: *Tanzimat Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmperatorluğu*, İnalcık, Halil; Seyitdanlıoğlu, Mehmet (eds.). Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2006, p. 355., Alada 2008: 125ff., Albert H. Hourani, "The Islamic City in the Light of Recent Research", in *The Islamic City. A Colloquium*, eds. Hourani, A.H.; Stern, S.M. (Oxford, Pennsylvania: Bruni Cassirer, University of Pennsylvania Press), 1970. p. 24., Heghnar Watenpaugh, *Image of an Ottoman City: Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 10.
47   Cerasi 2001: p. 106.
48   Alada 2008: p. 168. What however happened if more than one mosque and one imâm were present in one *mahalle* – as was often the case in intra-mural Istanbul – is still among the questions to be answered.
49   Weber 2000: p.12, Alada 2008: p.134.

water or waste, collectively. Some *mahalle*s kept an *avariz akçası vâkfi* to collect money used for repairs of public buildings, for paying wages of public employees or extraordinary taxes of the state.[50] Wealthier inhabitants of a *mahalle* together with the foundations *(vâkıf)* located in it were thus responsible for the financial and moral well-being of their cohabitants.[51] *"While the mahalle with its functional and structural characteristics was the basic social and administrative unit of the Ottoman social formation, with its organised inner relationships it constituted at the same time the core of civil society".*[52] *Mahalle*s are understood as communities safeguarding protection and cohesion and strengthening local identity.[53]

Mahalle as private space

This perception of the *mahalle* as shared by a community does not allow the space within it to be understood as openly accessible to the whole of urban society. In a legal sense, the category of public space as a space used and appropriated by everyone did not exist in the Islamic City because - besides space owned by private persons, the Sultan or foundations - space was only shared among neighbours or the local community.[54] This resulted in the famous maze-like structure of the *mahalle* full of dead-end streets.[55] The rules of use with respect to these dead-ends were negotiated by all neighbours and constituted a compromise between legal property

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50   Alada 2008: p. 136, pp.151.
51   Doğan Kuban, *Istanbul. An Urban History* (Istanbul: The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey, 1996). p. 219.
52   original quote: "*mahalle*, işlevsel ve yapısal özellikleri ile Osmanlı toplumsal kuruluşu içinde toplumsal ve yönetsel bir taban birimi oluştururken, aynı zamanda, örgütlenmiş iç ilişkileriyle bir sivil toplum çekirdeğini tanımlamaktadır." Alada 2008: p.176
53   Behar 2003: p. 4., Işık Tamdoğan-Abel, "Osmanlı Döneminden Günümüz Türkiye'sine "Bizim Mahalle"," *İstanbul Dergisi* 40 (2000).
54   Yerasimos 2006: p. 355.
55   Eugen Wirth, "Zur Konzeption der islamischen Stadt: Privatheit im islamischen Orient versus Öffentlicheit in Antike und Okzident," *Die Welt des Islams* 31, no. 1 (1991). p. 68., Hourani 1970, p. 24.

rights of the inhabitants and their need for privacy. Despite the fact that very few details are actually known about the dead-end streets and the small streets within a *mahalle*[56], they are normally labelled semi-private space or as some call it, the space of the extended family.[57] It remains that the only public space in the *mahalle* therefore was the open space around the mosque or public fountains.[58]

As another important fact leading to this formation of the neighbourhood structure, the *"Islamic principle of privacy of women (hence, privacy in the family)"* is identified.[59] The *mahalle* is female space, while the mosque, the market and the coffeehouse are frequented by men.[60] Therefore the *mahalle* needed to be sheltered from external, possibly male intruders and segregated from the commercial functions of the city (as mentioned above) - *"The familiar appearance of the last century mahalles with their mahalle bakkalı (the local shop) was probably rather uncommon in early Istanbul. In the day-time, the mahalle was only for the women."*[61]

Mahalle as social and religious entity

Underpinning the argument of the *mahalle* as a community and a private space, it is finally argued that *mahalle*s were segregated from each other following religious or ethnic lines primarily and only secondarily according to socio-economic or class status. The structuring of *mahalle*s according to religious and ethnic belonging derives from principles of community organisation and taxation, which had distinct community leaders and rules for each *millet* or ethno-religious group.[62]

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56   Behar 2003: 49.
57   Galantay 1986: p.9.
58   Behar 2003: p.6., Kuban 1996: p.209.
59   Çelik 1993: p.8.
60   Alada 2008: p. 162.
61   Kuban 1996: p. 209.
62   Hourani 1970: p. 22.

However, this radical ethno-religious separation of *mahalle* in the Ottoman context has become seriously questioned. In Istanbul *mahalle*s apparently never belonged homogeneously to one *millet*.[63]

There is however a general agreement that wealthy and poor, palaces and huts in the *mahalle* were placed side by side. Exclusively aristocratic or wealthy neighbourhoods as well as poor or impoverished ones are special cases rarely found in Ottoman cities.[64] Segregation with regard to class is a phenomenon occurring only with the second half of the twentieth century in Istanbul[65] and is often referred to as the prime reason why class consciousness and class antagonism was never as pronounced as in the West.

Behar's work on Kasap İlyas *mahalle*si being the only exception I am aware of, the concept the *mahalle* has not been subject to empirical, historical research in an Ottoman context. Hopefully, this thesis can help to support or question some of the listed assumptions.

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63   Cerasi 2001: p. 88.
64   Behar 2003: p. 5., Fikret Yılmaz and Sabri Yetkin. *İzmir. Kent Tarihi* (İzmir: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2002), İlhan Tekeli, "Osmanlı Şehir İdaresinde İhtisab Müessesesi," in eds. Akyüz, Vecdi and Ünlü, Seyfettin, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Kent Planlama Pratiğinin Gelişimi ve Korunmasındaki Etkileri* (İstanbul: İlke Yayınları, 1996), p. 358.
65   Alan Duben 2002: p. 31.

CHAPTER 4

ISTANBUL DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

> The problem is to present the interrelations
> without lapsing into tedious repetitions.
> I must here put a burden upon the reader,
> to try to keep the themes in perspective
> as part of a totality of interrelations that
> constitutes the driving force of social
> transformation in a given place and time.[66]

General overviews of Istanbul during the nineteenth century are numerous[67]. Instead

of writing yet another slightly redundant such resume, in what follows I will try to

understand how the "history of events" interacts with institutional change and more

specifically urban administrative reforms. Reform efforts such as the tanzimat

dominated the city on all levels and interact with social and economic developments.

It is for instance impossible to disentangle on the one hand population growth, fires

or social unrest from institutional change and on the other hand administrative

reforms relevant for "urban administration" from reform of taxation or the military.

Urban administration in Istanbul until the middle of the nineteenth century can not be

understood in the present-day sense as a body designed to complete tasks directly

pertaining the city or the neighbourhood having a defined level of autonomy or

dependencies towards a centralised bureaucracy. This might be the reason why the

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66 Harvey, David, *Paris, Capital of Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 2003). p. 102.
67 e.g. Çelik 1993: p. 38-45., Kemal H. Karpat, "The Social and Economic Transformation of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century," in ed. Karpat, Kemal H. *The Social and Economic Transformation of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century.*, *Studies in Ottoman Social and Political History. Selected Articles and Essays (*Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill, 2002), pp. 243-290.

general evaluation of urban administration in the Ottoman Empire is perceived as a history of failure and absence of a 'real' municipality. Several others reasons for the failure of municipal governance have been discussed: Mostly, the emergence of a modern municipality is dated to 1857 with the establishment of the Sixth Municipality in Galata and Pera and conceptualised in a framework of foreign pressure that instigated following the example of the Parisian municipality. Apart from reasons such as lack of democratisation, "modern" population and budget, it is claimed that municipalities were alien to the Ottomans and thus could not work.[68] Often it is implied that urban functions were therefore not fulfilled in Ottoman cities.[69] In contrast to searching for a body called "municipality" (*belediyye*) that includes on top of it procedures of collective decision-making, I propose tracing back the functions typical for an urban administrative body such as security, hygiene or construction works. Combining the general history of Istanbul with urban administrative reform permits to observe that there was indeed a meaningful system of urban administration in intra-mural Istanbul prior to the 1865, the year the *şehremaneti* was newly instituted, that had to be transformed according to the new governance models introduced in the nineteenth century.

There is another reason for combining chronological overview and institutional change. As outlined in the introduction, I am trying to analyse institutional change, changes in the built environment and social change and the way they mutually influence each other in Süleymaniye *mahallesi*. Apparently or maybe until the day we know more about the subject, urban reforms were uniformly applied

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68   for a discussion of this see: Christoph Neumann, "Marjinal Modernitenin Çatışma Mekân Olarak Altıncı Daire-i belediyye" in *Altıncı Daire - İlk belediyye. Beyoğlu'nda İdare, Toplum ve Kentli-lik. 1857 – 1913. Sergi Kataloğu.* 2002, p. 4-5.
69   Rosenthal, Steven. *The Politics of Dependency. Urban Reform in Istanbul.* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980), p. 30.

to the whole city with the exception of Beyoğlu rendering it impossible to make any statement on Süleymaniye *mahalle* in particular. This intertwines with the view that urban reforms during the nineteenth century did not manage to affect the neighbourhood directly.[70] On the *mahalle* level we can thus merely observe the effects of institutional change – how institutional change affected the built environment and the social make-up.

In the following, I will provide a rather linear narrative organised in five periods: a very rough picture of the initial situation up to until 1815, secondly the period until the destruction of the Janissary corps in 1826, third the period until 1856 and the two devastating fires of Aksaray and Hocapaşa, fourthly the interval until 1876 and the proclamation of the constitution. Finally the period that stretches approximately until 1885 will be examined.

The Gradual Abolition of the Preceding Administration and its Elites

Since the middle of the sixteenth century and the gradual dissolution of state ownership on land and direct taxation, the classical prebendal system of the Ottoman Empire was hollowed out. Accelerating this process, the military reforms by Mustafa III and Abdülhamid I during the eighteenth century are the decisive cause for the emergence of a new elite.[71] Often the tributary system was sidelined by mercenary armies, especially in the Balkans and the Arab provinces. As loyalties among the military class towards the Ottoman Empire decreased and were exchanged by loyalties towards heads of political households, the *â'yân*s, the Empire's army not only became ineffective and undisciplined, it even became a military threat for the

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70 İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basınevi, 2000), p.131.
71 Karpat 2002: The Transformation. p. 30.

central government and created problems in terms of taxation and integrity of the whole empire.

The city of Istanbul and its administration until the beginning of the nineteenth century were deeply intermingled and depended upon this roughly sketched tributary system. Indeed, there was no single administrative body designed to cope with urban issues, but instead the highest officials of the military, religious and legislative institutions were involved in these. Already the question, of whom the inhabitants of Istanbul would identify as the official in charge of the city, is a question difficult to answer. Most probably the official in charge of the city would be the *kadî*.[72] He and, in his absence the *kaymakam,* had to co-operate with the four *kadî*s of Istanbul, Galata, Üsküdar and Eyüp. The *kadî* made juridical judgements and sanctions; he was responsible for the implementation of governmental decisions; he controlled the guilds and the fixed prices (*narh*). To fulfil these tasks he was supported by and co-operated with various other bodies: Together with the *muhtesib* he controlled the guilds[73]. These two and the *subaşı*, which is a military rank (his chief is the y*eniçeri ağası*), controlled the market and its prices. The *mütevelli*s administered the foundations. The y*eniçeri ağası* was held responsible for major security issues. In Istanbul, the region these high-ranking Janissaries were taking care of coincided with their other tasks within the city - the *bostâncı*s were in charge of the gardens and the shores of the Bosporus, the *kapudan paşa* responsible for the navy and thus also for Kasımpaşa (the quarter of the shipyards) or the *çardak çorbacı* in Süleymaniye where his corps and the office of the y*eniçeri ağası*, the a*ğa*

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72   Mantran Robert, *Istanbul Dans la Second Moitié du XVIIe Siècle* (Paris: Librairie Adrien Maisonneuve, 1962), p. 124.

73   Ziya Kazıcı, "Osmanlı Şehir İdaresinde İhtisâb Müessesesi," in eds. Vecdi Akyüz and Seyfettin Ünlü. *Osmanlı Şehir İdaresinde İhtisâb Müessesesi, Islam Geleneğinden Günümüzü Şehir ve Yerel Yönetimler* (İstanbul: İlke Yayınları, 1996), pp. 299-329.

kapusu, were located.[74] Repairs of houses and streets used to be done by the *şehir emîni* and his subordinate, the *binâ emîni*. In the case of new constructions, however, the *şehir emîni* was responsible for providing building material and the *mi'mârbaşı* who was liable for technical questions.[75]

In a Muslim *mahalle* the *imâm* was the highest authority. He was charged with distributing the shares of the lump-sum taxes paid to the central state among the inhabitants and to collect them. Moreover he performed as a guarantor for every inhabitant.[76] The *imâm* was charged with keeping up public order including cleanliness of the *mahalle* and the compliance to rules regarding clothing, drinking and prayer. The *avariz vâkfı* – a fund collected among the inhabitants of a *mahalle* used both to pay the mentioned lump-sum taxes, but also to support the ill and poor, maintenance or repair of the water distribution system and public buildings – was likewise administered by the *imâm*.[77] In a nutshell, the *imâm* fulfilled the functions of a municipality on a small-scale local level.

This labyrinthine system of which I only describe the highest ranks (see illustration 1 for an overview) is further complicated by mediators between the different bodies such as the *şah bender* or the *çavuşbaşı* and people with functions that are presently unclear.[78] For my purposes, however, details are less important than the general picture emerging from this description. Urban administration in Istanbul until 1826 was a mélange of central and local administration and heavily interwoven

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74   Mantran 1962: p.151.
75   İlhan Tekeli 1996: p. 359.
76   Cem Behar 2003: p.7. see also: Ilber Ortaylı, *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Yerel Yönetim Geleneği.* (Istanbul: Hil Yayın, 1985), pp. 112., Cerasi 2001: pp. 70., Bilal Eryılmaz, "Osmanlı Yerel Yönetiminde İstanbul şehr-emâneti," in eds. Vecdi Akyüz and Seyfettin Ünlü, *Osmanlı Yerel Yönetiminde İstanbul şehr-emâneti, Islam Geleneğinden Günümüzü Şehir ve Yerel Yönetimler* (İstanbul: İlker Yayınları, 1996), pp. 331-353.
77   Beydili 2001: pp. 7.
78   Mantran 1962: p. 147, 151

or synonymous with systems of military, economic and juridical administration. This arrangement was relatively autonomous from the centre[79] and financially never centralised[80].
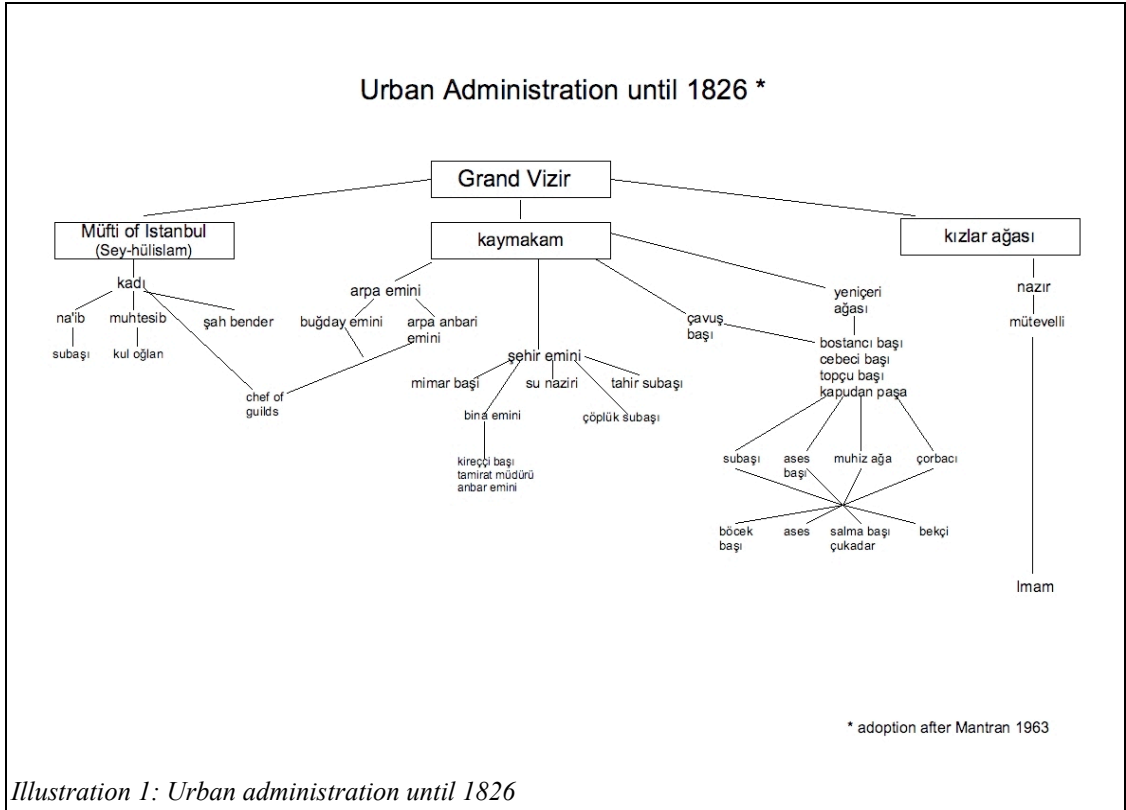
Illustration 1: Urban administration until 1826

Not surprisingly changes in the military, for instance, would therefore have strong repercussions on all other fields of administration. As the system has it, problems within the military were accompanied by other dysfunctional sectors. Who could be trusted to take care of security in the city in the name of the government now? Who was to fight fires?

It may have been partly caused by an often insurgent military and thus the

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79 Often this independence from the centre and *mahalle* institutions such as the *avariz vakfı* are interpreted as self-administration (e.g. Alada 2008, Çelik 1993). I believe there is an important difference between state officials people know personally and self-administration. The question, for instance, of whether the Imam was perceived as an outside or as part of the *mahalle*, is largely answered and might have changed over time and among different groups in the *mahalle*.

80 Money for the "urban administrators" was gathered by themselves via taxes of shop owners (*yevmiye-i dekakin*), money for concessions, fees and the like. see: Sıddık Tümerkan, *Türkiye'de belediyyeler: Tarihi Gelişim ve Bugünkü Durum* (Ankara: İçişler Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1946), p.9, Ortaylı 2000: p.126.

absence of an effective system of urban administration that between 1807 and 1817, Istanbul witnessed 71 fires.[81] Moreover, the nineteenth century was a period of population growth, migration to Istanbul and overall urbanisation of the Empire. While during the sixteenth century the population ratio between Istanbul and the second biggest city was 10:1, it fell to 5:1 in the course of the nineteenth century.[82] Thus the government was confronted by growing difficulties to supply Istanbul with food-stuff in the traditional system of provisionalism and fixed-prices. To counteract, the government applied market mechanisms and under conditions of increasing demand paid the difference between market price and fixed price. This measure was not only a financial burden, but also meant the genesis of a merchant class and the opening to foreign markets.[83] Additionally, property conditions in Istanbul at the beginning of the nineteenth century appear to have been extremely unfavourable for a government to steer population growth. Almost all built-on property and arable land in the city was in the hands of foundations and thus, to some degree, out of governmental reach.[84]

We can thus conclude that *"the differentiation of the political system and the rise of a new political cadre"* occurring in the years to come, *"are related to the social differentiation and to its underlying causes: changes in occupation, in ownership patterns, income level, and cultural-political value."*[85]

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81 Kemal H. Karpat, "The Social and Economic Transformation of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century," in ed. Kemal H. Karpat, *The Social and Economic Transformation of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century.*, *Studies in Ottoman Social and Political History. Selected Articles and Essays* (Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill, 2002), pp. 243-290, in 1808 the Bayezid Firetower was built – a nice symbol of the new approach.
82 İlhan Tekeli 1996: p. 362.
83 Karpat 2002: The Social. p. 246.
84 R.H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963). p 257.
85 Karpat 2002: The Transformation. p.29.

Getting Rid of the Oppositional Strongholds of the Old System: 1815-1839

Well aware of the destiny of his predecessor, Mahmud II's first priority was to
annihilate the *â'yân*s; he succeeded in doing so around 1815.[86] The following years
we can observe Mahmud II's continuous efforts at centralisation and securing his
power base, in the process of which especially the Janissaries lost grounds and
reacted with unrest and public misbehaviour. For Istanbul's population these years
must have been marked by drunk soldiers in the streets, harassing passers-by and
posing a constant threat to governmental stability. In 1826 Mahmud II ordered to kill
the Janissaries in a single night after making them gather in a single place; an event,
which Turkish history until now remembers as the "auspicious event" (*vak'a-i
hayriyye*). Shortly after, the Sultan also got rid of the firemen unit (*tulumbacılar*) and
only re-established a voluntary firemen corps after a fire had already caused
extensive damage to the city.[87] Again, these steps weakened the administrative
system in many ways.

> In Istanbul and many others cities, the Janissaries had played a crucial role in the
> Ottoman urban economy. (...) The sultan's actions in 1826 disarmed the urban
> guildsmen and eliminated the most powerful and best-organized advocates of
> protectionism. Thus, the 1826 event paved the way for the subsequent evolution of
> Ottoman economic liberalism.[88]

Beside the extinction of one of the strongholds against economic laissez-faire,
the *kadî* was weakened by the dismissal of his armed forces and his
responsibility to ensure security and public order in the city was given to yet
another army – the newly established *asâkir-i mansûre-i muhammediyye*

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86   Karpat 2002: The Transformation. p. 41.
87   Karpat 2002: The Social. p. 357., Ergin, Osman Nuri, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediyye* (İstanbul:
      İstanbul Büyükşehir belediyyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı, 1995), p. 1125.
88   Donald Quataert, "The Age of Reforms" in ed. Donald Quataert, *The Age of Reforms*, *An
      Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
      1997), p. 764.

controlled by the s*er-asker* instead of the *yeniçeri ağası*[89] - and a new police association. Responsibility for security, *narh* and quality control in the markets, tax collection and the control of the guilds was given to the *ihtisab nezareti* instead of the *kadî*.[90] Additionally and quite interestingly, among the responsibilities of this new supervising institution was also the control of migration and the placement of bachelor's rooms (*bekâr odaları*) in the city.[91] Other posts, like the *çöplük subaşıları*, which used to supervise streets and buildings for cleanliness and good condition as part of the military, were subordinated to this new office.[92] With regard to functions fulfilled by the urban administration, the *ihtisâb nezâreti* evidently restructured the existing functions without adding to its activities.

But Mahmud II's struggle for centralisation was not yet completed. In the same year 1826 he established the complex of the *bâb-ı meşihat (*or *fetvahane)* as the office of the *Şeyh-ül islâm*, which was formally institutionalised as part of the government bureaucracy.[93] Simultaneously, in 1826, the superintendancy of foundations (e*vkaf-ı hümâyun nezâreti)* was established.[94] With this measure the central state tried to reach out for endowments and to concentrate control over them them in one hand. The land endowed to a foundation, the purpose of the foundation, its income and its (often quite dilapidated) state used to be outside the control of the central bureaucracy, but could now gradually be assembled and administered in the

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89   The Ağa of the Janissaries was exchanged by the Serasker, who united the functions commander in chief, minister of war, garrison commander and police chief in the capital.
90   Eryılmaz 1996: pp. 331. Serim Denel, *Batıllaşma sürecinde İstanbul'da Tasarım ve Dış Mekanlarda Değişim ve Nedenleri* (Ankara: 1982), p. 14.
91   Cumhur Tezsezen, Ömer Ağaçlı, *Türkiye'de Yerel Yönetim Sistemi içinde belediyyeler* (Ankara: Maliye ve Hukuk Yayınları, 1995), p.12., Ortaylı 2000: p.129.
92   Ergin 1995: p. 859/860, Tümerkan 1946
93   Karpat 2002: The Transformation. p. 42.
94   Ortaylı 1985: Tanzimattan., İlhan Tekeli, "19. Yüzyılda İstanbul Metropol Alanının Dönüşüm," in eds. Halil İnalcık, Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu, *Tanzimat Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmperat-orluğu* (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2006), p. 364.

evkaf-ı hümâyun nezâreti. Until 1836 apparently, all foundations were managed by this new Directorate.[95]

What was left under the control of the *kadî* after these reforms, was the surveillance of property (until 1839) and jurisdiction.[96] For the first time however, he fulfilled these functions not from his private domicile, but from an office located at the *bab-ı meşihat*.[97] In the following year, on the level of the *mahalle*, the *imâm* was substituted by the *muhtâr*, being left only with religious service.[98]

With these measures, Mahmud succeeded to take successively control of the collection of the expenditure from the foundations, one of the most important autonomous urban institutions. Both the formation of the *bâb-ı meşihat* and the Directorate of Foundations were directly linked to the central administration and thus diminished the financial and administrative autonomy of the *ulemâ'* from the central government. Consequently, these measures crippled the status of a powerful and potentially oppositional strata of Ottoman society.[99]

Osman Nuri Ergin stresses the importance of the year 1831 for urban administration. In this year the head of architects (*mi'mârbaşı*), who was responsible for the construction of state-sponsored monuments and repair works, the water management, pavements and the control of civil buildings was associated with the office of the *şehre-mânet*. The new office, the Directorate for Imperial Buildings (*ebniye-i hassa müdürlüğü*) functioned like

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95   Nazif Öztürk, *Türk Yenileşme Tarihi Çerçevesinde vâkıf Müessesesi* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1995), pp. 68.
96   Tümerkan 1946: p. 7, 12. Aktüre 1987: p. 93.
97   Ortaylı 2000: p. 12.
98   Alan Duben, "Household Formation in Late Ottoman Istanbul", *IJMES* 22 (1990), pp. 419-435., Alada 2008: p. 185.
99   Lewis 1968: pp. 93-97. Tekeli 2006: 364., Seyit Ali Kahraman, *Evkaf-ı Hümayun Nezareti* (Kitabevi: Istanbul, 2006), p. 6.

a building authority, which also took up some of the municipal functions of the *evfak-ı hümâyun* in 1836 and was dissolved only when a first attempt to found a municipality was made in 1853/54.[100]

The year 1839 first saw the statement of a utopian rule, which was repeatedly restated in the years to come. The *ilm ü haber* stipulated that streets had to be 7.60 meters wide, houses be made out of stone, new developed streets in a geometric order and without dead ends.[101]

Besides these severe institutional changes, the years between 1815 and 1839 witnessed Mahmud's launch of an educational reform by establishing the first two *rüşdiyye* schools in 1827. He assigned Helmuth von Moltke the task to suggest a plan improving the street pattern in 1839. This plan with five major arteries stretching from East to West in intra-muros Istanbul would ultimately be realised under Abdülmecid. From 1839 onwards one of these branches would pass along Süleymaniye *mahalle* leading from Bayezid Square to Fatih. Additionally, a wooden bridge was constructed between Unkapanı and Azapkapı in 1836 connecting for the first time the two sides of the Golden Horn; and the waterfront up to the bridge on both sides was reorganised and cleaned. Moreover, the construction of hospitals, barracks, roads, the telegraph and post system, railroads in the whole Empire began to take pace. It goes without saying that these accomplishments were accompanied by population growth and social, economic and occupational differentiation, and so had great influence on the city. Not only that new means of transportation allowed for suburbanisation and urban outgrowth[102], a

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100 Ergin: 1995. ch. 9.1., Tekeli 2006: p. 367., Denel 1987: p. 14.
101 Stéfan Yerasimos 2006: p. 347 – 362., Ergin 1995: p. 1003.
102 Tekeli 1996: p. 363.

change in the logic of social services and governance is also observable. Instead of having foundations taking care of education and health, the central government increasingly substituted them with own services.[103]

A System in Transformation: 1839 - 1856

The death of Mahmud II, Abdülmecid I's accession to the throne and his declaration of the Edict of Gülhane in 1839 is generally understood as the beginning of the reform period *tanzimat.* In the first stage following the Gülhane edict, which featured the establishment of a new tax system, new rules of military conscription and guaranteed the security of life, honour and property of all Ottoman subjects, the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (*meclis-i vâlâ-yi ahkâm-ı adliyye*) was instituted.[104] In the following reorganisation of provincial administration the *meclis-i vâlâ* was envisaged as the highest council where representatives of the elected provincial councils would deliberate regularly. Istanbul had, unlike other parts of the Empire, a special status: In place of the *vâlî*, the *zabtiyye nezâreti* (police directorate) took responsibility of policing and the municipal organs in Istanbul were not elected, but assigned.[105] Replacing the traditional tax-system[106], a new tax-collector, the *muhassıl*, and councils in the re-organised provinces (*eyâlet)* and districts (*kaza*) were established. Among the council members was one director each for property, population and real estate property issues, the *kadî*, the *müfti*, and a military-police officer as well as four representatives selected by lot; the council was kept informed,

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103 Özbek, Nadir. "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda 'Sosyal Yardım' Uygulamaları," in eds. İnalcık, Halil; Seyitdanlıoğlu, Mehmet, *Tanzimat değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı imperatorluğu* (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2006), pp. 401-423.
104 Davison 1963: p. 40.
105 Ortaylı 1985: 66.
106 The former system of taxation, the *iltizam*, is characterised by the collection of a fixed sum per province by the *mültezim*. This fixed sum was sent to Istanbul after subtracting all the expenses for the province.

gave advice and decided upon law suits.[107] Taxes were no longer paid as a lump sum per province, but per capita and sent to Istanbul. All in all the reform failed as the councils did not meet regularly and were dominated by the old elite that actually had been thought to be deprived of power. Even more importantly, the system of direct taxation never succeeded in collecting the planned sums. Nevertheless, this reform laid the basis for an administrative system with centralised ministries with their own specialised staff and budget. The guarantee of security of life and property as proclaimed in the Edict of Gülhane also secured the tenure of bureaucratic positions and thus helped in the emergence of a new elite protected from sultanic wrath.[108] With the expanding bureaucracy of the Ottoman Empire since the end of the 1830s, Istanbul became home to a new major consumption group. The bureaucratic elite furthered the emergence of service sectors and trade directed towards their needs rather than industrial production.[109] Investments were mainly done in institutions of higher education such as the (later failing) university project (start of construction work in 1845) or the academy of Science (*ecümen-i dâniş*, 1851); state archives were established and transportation to the new living environment of the administrator was improved by measures such as the ferry boat service starting in 1851 or the construction of a second bridge crossing the Golden Horn in 1845.[110]

All that went hand in hand with institutional change. The *zabtiye müşîriyet* (marshallship of police force)was founded in 1846 and meant to replace the *ihtisâb nezâreti.* While taking up the issue of fire-fighting[111], it did not take over its functions

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107 Ortaylı 1985: pp. 33.
108 Karpat 2002: The Social. pp. 259.; Carter V. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire. The Sublime Porte 1789 -1922* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 152.
109 Karpat 2002: The Social. p. 262.
110 Emel Ardaman "Perspective and Istanbul, the Capital of the Ottoman Empire," *Journal of Design History,* 20, no. 2 (2007), p.5., Karpat 2002: The Social.
111 Ergin 1995: p. 1125

of control of the guilds and the market prices (*narh*), which were only taken away from the *ihtisâb nezâreti* and given to the *şehr-emâneti* in 1855. Shuffling names and functions again, the Imperial Directorate for Buildings (*ebniye-i hassa müdürlüğü*) was integrated into a ministry of public works (*nâfia nezâreti*) in 1849.[112]

Starting with 1848, a series of regulations were passed to regularise the urban fabric. The Building Regulation of 1848 (*ebniye nizâm-nâmesi*) mainly determined three types of streets with a minimum width. Main avenues had to be 7.60 meters wide, ordinary avenues 6 meters and all other streets 4.5 meters. The regulation furthermore stressed the need to eliminate dead ends.[113] Still, the regulation was *"concerned only with efficiency in communication, did not take into account the quality of the streets in terms of density and light. Thus, building heights were determined by construction methods alone, with brick and stone buildings being higher than timber structures."[114]* İlhan Tekeli states that the first stone houses in intra-muros Istanbul were indeed only built after 1855.[115] The regulations of 1848 and 1849, which were largely repeating the law of the previous year, lacked the centre piece to accomplish their aim – expropriation, not interpreted as in line with Islamic law, was introduced only in 1856.[116]

The beginning of the Crimean War in 1853 posed serious challenges to the

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112 Tümerkan 1946: p.11.
113 Ergin 1995: p. 1031
114 Çelik 1993: p. 51. Denel and Ergin by contrasts states heights of buildings: The height of wooden houses were restricted to 22 zira (ca. 18,7 m) and to 30 zira (25,7 m) for *kârgir* (brick) houses. (Denel 1987: p. 58, Ergin 1995: p. 1001). I think these are enormous heights, which however decreased with the years.
115 Tekeli 2006, p. 368.
116 Stéphane Yerasimos, "Occidentalisation de l'espace urbain: Istanbul 1839-1871," in ed. Daniel Panzac, *Les Villes dans l'Empire Ottoman: Activités et Sociétés* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherches Scientifiques, 1991), pp. 103., contradiction: Tümerkan 1946, the 1848 Ebniye Nizâm-nâmesi: To widen the street, houses should be bought from the owners, if they refuse to sell, their houses would be torn down, the maximum height of buildings was defined, mills, ovens and shops had to be built our of stone or brick, the houses chimneys and ovens had to be made out of stone or brick.

city. The flow of migrants coming to Istanbul already since the beginning of the century from Rumelia was confounded by thousands of soldiers from Great Britain and France. This situation on the one hand occasioned popular and broad contact with European foreigners, but on the other hand constituted the final straw to make the situation unbearable.[117] As Ortaylı describes the situation:

> Everyday ships full of soldiers and supplies were coming to Istanbul. The carts carrying these masses and provisions got stuck in the narrow streets, hospitals, hotels and pensions would not suffice and the arising danger of an epidemic could not be banned.[118]

The Ottoman Empire reacted by taking up the issue of urban administration again. Linked to the *meclis-i vâlâ* an organ for the collection of taxes (u*mûr-u nâfia nezâreti*), for security (the *zabtiye müşîriyeti* we already know), the control of guilds and *narh* (*ticâret nezâreti),* the office of the *şehr-emânet* were (re-)created in 1854.[119] What was the scope of the responsibilities of the *şehr-emâneti* is evidently still a little unclear: While Ortaylı claims that the *şehr-emâneti* only controlled the guilds, the market and collected taxes, Neumann additionally lists food supply, cleanliness and charity among its responsibilities and Aktüre adds to this control of prices, quality, measures and construction and maintenance of streets and pavements.[120] The *şehr-emin* was head of the new city council (*şehir meclisi*) that consisted of 12 members nominated by the *meclis-i vâlâ* and the sultan. The council could deliberate on issues like pedestrian ways and matters connected to city hygiene and make proposals to the sultan. Indeed the office of the *şehr-emâneti* did not turn out to be a successful

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117 Karpat 2002: The Social. p. 267.
118 Ortaylı 1985: p. 120., original quote: "İstanbul'a hergün gemiler dolusu asker ve malzeme geliyordu. Bu kalabalığı ve erzakı taşıyacak yük arabaları dar yollarda kalıyor, hastane otel ve pansiyon yetişmiyor, başgösteren salgın hastalık tehlikesi önlenemiyordu." Epidemics in Istanbul occurred in 1803, 1812, 1813 and 1834 (pest), in 1841-44 (smallpoxs) and in 1841, 1863, 1893 (cholera). see Ortaylı 2000: p.214.
119 Eryılmaz 1996: p. 341.; Karpat 2002: The Social. p. 263., Ortaylı 2000: p.135.
120 Ortaylı 2000: p. 137., Neumann 2002: p. 7., Aktüre 1987: 94.

concept, something that was partly due to its closely monitored status as an organ of the *meclis-i vâlâ*, which could not decide upon its own budget. During the 20 years of its existence, the *şehremin* changed 19 times and is said to have lacked experience as did the members of the city council.[121]

Simultaneously the *intizâm-i şehir komisyonu* was founded with the aim to report on the European municipal systems and to propose measures to meet the urban challenge.[122] They presented a project to establish 14 municipalities (in Ayasofya, Aksaray, Fatih, Eyüp, Kasımpaşa, Pera, Beşiktaş, Emirgan, Büyükdere, Beykoz, Beylerbeyi, Üsküdar, Kadıköy, Adalar) to the sultan. With the exception of a model municipality – *the altıncı daire-i belediyye* – created in Galata, Pera and Tophane in 1857, this plan was refused. Although it was originally planned to link the *altıncı daire* to the *şehr-emâneti*, it was in actual fact linked to the government directly.[123]

In terms of urban administration, the years between 1839 and 1856 are confusing times and by all accounts unsuccessful administrative performance with ever changing names and responsibilities of institutions and ever new regulations restating past ones. The period following the proclamation of the Edict of Gülhane has never been seriously considered, when it comes to the question of dating the first establishment of a municipality in Istanbul. However, by stressing functions other than large-scale public construction work and embellishment done by an institution with mechanisms of collective decision making, I hope I was able to show that the city was administered by various bodies long before the municipality in Beyoğlu was established. A judgement about the impact of this system in transforming Istanbul is difficult. There is however an important difference, I believe, between talking about

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121 Eryılmaz 1996: pp. 334, Ortaylı 1985: p. 117.
122 Ergin 1995: p. 1278
123 Neumann 2002; Karpat 2002: The Social. p. 286., Tekeli 2006

and investigating a system in transformation with doubtable repercussions on the city and to declare that there was a near-absolute lack of urban administration until 1857 (still with doubtable repercussions on the city).

The Fire of 1856 as the watershed

For Istanbul the year 1856 heralded a new era at least in three ways. First, Abdülmecid issued a new declaration, the *ıslahât fermanı* that mainly repeated and specified the Edict of Gülhane. Seemingly more important for the city itself, however, was the removal of the Sultanic Palace to the northern outskirts of Istanbul, which spatially symbolised a new attitude towards ruling outside of the city. The new Dolmabahçe Palace was close to the areas heretofore inhabited by non-Muslims and furthered the influx of Muslim bureaucratic elites to the Northern side of the Golden Horn. An enormous impact on the inhabitants of Istanbul, thirdly, had the devastating Aksaray fire known to be the biggest fire in the city's history, which burned down the whole corridor between Hagia Sophia and the Bayezid Mosque from sea to sea in 32 hours. Areas demolished by the fire were targeted subsequently as development areas, where streets grids were established and dead end streets opened up as regulated by the Regulation on Streets (*zukaklara dâir nizâm-nâme*) in 1858.[124]

Answering to foreign capital pressure and an alarming budgetary situation, the land code (*arâzî kanûnamesi*) of 1858 changed the Empire's land ownership structures by converting the state-owned land (*mîrî*) around the city into private property (*mülk*) and giving permission to the state to sell *mîrî* land at market value. This was a radical shift in property relations as it first bore the idea of title deeds and

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124 Çelik 1993: p. 51.

superseded the state as the main constructor of public buildings.[125]

In 1863 the *ebniye idâresi* (Building administration) was institutionalised. It was given responsibility for the development and construction of public facilities - following the example of the *altıncı daire* – in eight districts of Istanbul.[126] This new building authority issued (and then stopped working) the Street and Building Regulation (*turuk ve ebniye nizâm-nâmesi*) in 1863 and the *Ebniye Memurlarının Sûret-i Tertip ve Tayiniyle Vazâif-i Memuriyetlerini Havi Nizâm-nâme* in 1864.[127] Besides proposing that building directors should be sent to each district's municipality, they added two new categories to the already existing streets and defined the widest avenue as having a width of 11.5 meters. It determined that all new buildings constructed had to be rectangular. Unfortunately, these regulations did not prevent a second devastating fire in the area around Hocapaşa in 1865.

As a reaction to the fires the *ıslahât-i turuk komisyonu* was installed in the following year. The commission was entrusted with restructuring the area burned down by the Hocapaşa fire with straight and wide streets organised in a grid. Its sphere of influence however by far extended the destroyed area, reaching out even to Beşiktaş and Beyoğlu. The commission's interventions, even if limited to a couple of years, left traces in the city and even in Süleymaniye *mahallesi* (see chapter 5.1). With its work it anticipated the application of many of the laws passed – all of which restated again and again that buildings had to be made out of stone, street patterns to be geometric while slowly increasing the minimal width of streets.[128]

These efforts continued after Abdülmecid was succeeded by his brother

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125 Tekeli 2006, Ardaman 2007: p. 3., Aktüre 1978: p. 42.
126 Ergin 1995: p. 963
127 Ergin 1995: p. 965
128 Denel 1987: p. 17., Ergin 1995: pp. 936, 944, 1222.

Abdülaziz in 1861. After the *vilâyet nizâm-nâmesi* of 1864 determined that the *muhtâr* in the *mahalle* was to be elected[129], the idea to select local administrators by public vote, was also embraced by the municipal code (*dersaâdet idâre-i belediyye nizamnâmesi*) of 1868. Implementing the example of the municipality in Beyoğlu to the other fourteen districts of the city, this law again re-established a *şehr-emâneti* and two councils on a city-wide level. The municipal duties of the *şehremin* - Server Paşa was the first to be nominated as *şehremin* - were handed over to an office of technical affairs (*hey'et-i fenniye müdiriyeti*), an office for sanitary affairs (*hey'et-i sıhhiye müdiriyeti*) and an office for economic affairs (*umûr-u iktisâdiyye müdiriyeti*).[130] The *şehr-emâneti meclisi* consisting of one representative of each district and six members of the *bâb-ı âlî* acted as an administrative court and was in charge of the fire-fighters, control of the guild regulations, the fixed price (now exclusively applied to bread[131]) and the foundation of a museum. A second assembly, the *daire meclisi*, was composed of four representatives from each district, would hold a general assembly (*cem'iyyet-i umûmiye-i belediyye*) to exercise budgetary control and decide about infrastructural projects. The members sent by the districts were to be elected locally – which turned out to be among the stumbling stones of the reform as these elections with the exception of a few districts never took place.[132]

Be it with the intention to educate the often mentioned inexperienced public officials or not - the same period brought about more educational reform and with it new schools in the city. The famous Galatasaray Lisesi was opened in 1868, two new types of primary schools (*sıbyân* and *rüşdiyye*), two new secondary schools

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129 Ortaylı 1996, p. 354.; Ortaylı 1985: pp. 54.
130 Karpat: The Social. 2002: p. 287., Ergin 1995: p. 966
131 Ortaylı 2000: p. 205.
132 Neumann 2009: 4., Ortayli 1985: p. 146., Denel 1982: p. 15.

(*i'dâdiyye* and *sultâniyye*) as well as higher special schools and the university (*dâr-ül-fünûn-i osmaniye*) were opened in the following year.[133] In 1868 the *Tünel* underground connecting Karaköy with Pera started working, in 1872 two tram lines were opened on both sides of the Golden Horn and in 1871 the first train from Europe arrived in Istanbul.[134]

In 1875 the Regulation on Construction Methods in Istanbul *(Istanbul ve beled-i selâsede yapılacak ebniyenin sûret-i inşâiyyesine dâir nizâm-nâme)* divided the city into two zones, creating one zone in which timber constructions were completely forbidden and another in which stone firewalls were required only between the buildings.

> The rationale here was to enforce fire resistant kârgir construction in the denser and more prestigious parts of the city. The primary zone included the eastern half of the Istanbul peninsula, defined in the west by the Unkapanı-Aksaray axis, Şişli, and the Grande Rue area in Pera, as well as the shoreline from Azapkapı to Ortaköy.[135]

Years of crisis: 1876 - 1885

In the year 1876, the Ottoman Empire slid into a "period of chaos"[136]. In 1875, the Porte had no longer been able to pay the interests of its bondholders, the imperial treasury collapsed, and in 1876 Abdülaziz was toppled by a plot and later committed suicide, his successor Murad V soon became insane over this event and had to be succeeded by Abdülhamid II in the same year, while Bulgarian revolutionaries staged a revolt.[137] Süleymaniye as a meeting place and place for demonstration played an interesting role in dethroning Abdülaziz. It was the Süleymaniye mosque were theological students – apparently armed - staged a mass meeting against the Sultan.

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133 Davison 1963: 249.
134 Ardaman 2007: pp.5. Ortaylı 2000: p. 228.
135 Çelik 1993: 52., Ergin 1995: p. 1052
136 Davison 1963: 304.
137 *Encyclopedia of Islam,* s.v. "Tanzimat."

Likewise, Kayserili Ahmed Paşa, minister of the marine and an inhabitant of Süleymaniye, was among the principal men ousting Abdülaziz.[138]

This economic and political crisis was surely strongly felt in the city. During the crisis, for instance, growth rates of foreign trade with Istanbul as its major hub, dropped to 2.6% after they had been growing at a speed of 5.5% between the years 1840 and 1870.[139]

Abdülhamid II continued with high speed in transforming his empire. A constitution was declared in 1876 and the newly established parliament passed the *dersâadet ve vilâyet belediyye kanûnları* (Istanbul and Provincial Municipal Laws). These laws again established elected councils now also involving the *muhtâr* and the *imâm* in cities and villages, which could prepare a yearly budget, control the property on land and discuss and make decisions.[140] Abolishing the special status of the municipalities successfully implemented with this law's predecessor (Beyoğlu, Tarabya and Adalar), 14 municipalities were founded in Istanbul (which were later increased to 20 and then again reduced to 10).[141] Given the fiscal situation of the empire, this attempt to establish municipalities was not crowned with success and sidelined in 1878.[142]

The above-mentioned *avariz vâkfi* – the *mahalle* fund allocated among its inhabitants – was put under state authority in 1877. With this step, the *mahalle* as a communal financial body and as a self-administering entity was finally abolished.[143]

Five years later, the Building Law (*ebniye kanûnu*) was enacted, mainly repeating what had been ordered in terms of building regulations several times

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138 Davison 1963: pp. 326.
139 Quataert 1997: p. 828.
140 Ortaylı 1996, Çelik 1993: p. 51.
141 Ortaylı 1985: 147., Christoph Neumann, *Elected, but Never in Office,* (unpublished paper 2009).
142 Aktüre 1978: p. 96.
143 Alada 2008: p. 192.

before. This law of 1882 increased the minimal size of the smallest streets to 7,60 meters. The main difference to its forerunners was the rule that any area hit by a loss of more then 10 buildings in a fire would be considered as a field (*tarla,* the law is also known as the *tarla rule*) and would thus be subjected to re-planning in a grid.[144]

The new municipalities however only began to work properly in the 1880s. In 1885 another *şehr-emâneti* was founded in Istanbul with branches in all districts of Istanbul in 1886, but until the Second Constitutional Period elections for the councils were never organised in Istanbul with the exception of a couple of places.[145]

Function	until 1826	1826 -1839	1939 -1854	1854-1868	1868 – 1884
control of the market (customs, measures)	kadî + muhtesib + subaşı	İhtisâb Nezâreti	İhtisâb Nezâreti	Ticâret Nezâreti + Şehr-emâneti (1)	şehr-emâneti (2)
fixed price (narh)	kadî + muhtesib + subaşı	İhtisâb Nezâreti	İhtisâb Nezâreti	Şehr-emâneti (1)	şehr-emâneti (2)
control of the guilds	kadî + muhtesib	İhtisâb Nezâreti	İhtisâb Nezâreti	Ticâret Nezâreti + şehr-emâneti (1)	şehr-emâneti (2)
jurisdiction	kadî	kadî	kadî	kadî	Kadi
security	Janissary Ağa	İhtisâb Nezâreti, Serasker	Zabtiyye Müşîriyyet	Zabtiyye Müşîriyyet	Zabtiyye Müşîriyyet
repairs	şehir emini + bina emini	Ebniye-i Hassa Müdürlüğü	Nafıa Nezâreti	Nafıa Nezâreti	Nafıa Nezâreti
construction works	şehir emini + mi'mâr başı	Ebniye-i Hassa Müdürlüğü	Nafıa Nezâreti	Nafıa Nezâreti	Nafıa Nezâreti
administration of foundations	Kizlar Ağası + nazir + mütevelli	Evkaf-ı Hümâyun Nezâreti	Evkaf-ı Hümâyun Nezâreti	Evkaf-ı Hümâyun Nezâreti	Evkaf-ı Hümâyun Nezâreti
fire fighting	tulumbacı		Zabtiyye Müşîriyyet	Zabtiyye Müşîriyyet	şehr-emâneti (2)
tax collection	muhtesib, imâm	İhtisâb Nezâreti	Meclis-i vâlâ (muhassıl)	Umûr-u Nafıa Nezâreti	Umûr-u Nafıa Nezâreti
cleanliness	imâm, çöplük subaşı	İhtisâb Nezâreti	İhtisâb Nezâreti	şehr-emâneti (1)	şehr-emâneti (2)
charity	foundations	Evkaf-ı Hümâyun	Evkaf-ı Hümâyun	şehr-emâneti (1)	şehr-emâneti (2)
migration	imâm	İhtisâb Nezâreti, muhtâr	muhtâr	muhtâr	muhtâr

Table 1: Functions fulfilled by urban administration 1815 - 1885

144 Çelik 1993: p. 51.
145 Eryılmaz 1996: p. 342.

To sum up, approaching the topic of institutional change from the angle of functions, the perception of urban administration as a story of continuous failure changes slightly. Disregarding the institutional form in which they were to be organised, functions of an urban administration did not change (see tab.1), the only new function emerging with the institutionalisation of the *belediyye* being embellishment. The institutional transformation occurring during the nineteenth century is thus one of form, rather than of content. The tributary system of urban administration in place until 1826 depended on individuals (hopefully) loyal to the state, but financially bound to the locality. This was transformed to an institutional form with superintendencies evolving into ministries, their local branches and state officials paid by the central state – a process the contemporary planning discourse might call upscaling and centralisation. Admittedly, the functions of urban administration in their new form were badly fulfilled, the main reason being that we face a confusing system in transformation, which did not succeed in aggregating a clear, new form.

This interpretation contrasts with the majority of studies on urban administration during the nineteenth century, which mostly date the formation of the first modern municipality to 1857 (the Administration of *altıncı daire*) implying with more or less rigour that before this date there was no institution concerned with the city as such and that the city was left in its chaos. This statement entails a very narrow understanding of institutionalisation, such as İlber Ortaylı's:

> "The point at issue with local administration is continuity and the attaining of a legal person, in short institutionalisation. It is clear that for a long time we can not talk about such an administrative-legal process for societies in Ottoman cities and rural areas."[146]

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146 Ortaylı 2000: p. 122. original quote: "Yerel yönetimde, devamlılık ve hukuki bir kişilik kazanmak, yani kurumsallaşmak söz konusudur. Böyle bir idari-hukuki sürecin ise Osmanlı kentleri veya kırsal alandaki topluluklar için uzun zaman söz konusu olmadığı açıktır."

For İlber Ortaylı, institutionalisation is equivalent to a legal person and thus only a municipality is an institution. A broader – and maybe more sociological than political science – understanding of institutions beyond legal persons, allows to perceive the "Ottoman case" before 1857 as equally institutionalised and maybe even more efficient.

Seen in synopsis with the "history of events" this institutional transformation especially after the dissolution of the Janissaries is a mere necessity of a broader framework and the centralising spirit of its implementation is nothing new to the Ottomans. This account is completely ignorant of the issue of foreign influence and pressure, which undeniably existed - the question is: to what effect? Emphasising the reasonability and continuity of institutional change discards accounts that interpret the establishment of municipalities as a pure spawn of European imperialism.[147]

The impact of institutional change on the *mahalle* was rather limited.[148] The central government before and after 1826 was unable to enforce directives on a local level, as we can observe with building regulations constantly restated, but rarely followed. It is thus rather improbable that – as claimed by Alada[149] - shared responsibility among the inhabitants of the *mahalle* was replaced by bureaucracy and a centralised administration, as this centralised administration was incapable of sufficiently substituting reciprocity networks in the *mahalle*. Indeed, the *imâm* lost in status and responsibility and was, in administrative aspects, replaced by the *muhtâr*.

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147 This discussion leads to the topic of elections and local democracy as a mechanism to gain legitimacy by public vote indeed is a new and maybe "Western" strategy. Local elections in the Ottoman Empire were introduced without a popular movement (Ortayli 2000: p. 31), but as we have seen never successfully exercised. The reason for this failure is probably that the initiation of local elections were not inspired by democratic sentiments, but by the need to accommodate the old elites with new posts, to share the financial burden of urban transformation and to please European rivals and partners – the councils of the newly established municipalities in Istanbul were invariably staffed with rich merchants and high level bureaucrats at the end of their career.
148 Ortaylı 2000: p. 131.
149 Alada 2008: p. 186.

Still, the *imâm* literally was in the mosque and knew the *mahalle*, its inhabitants and the job much better than the *muhtâr* – a fact, which in some cases may have secured a rather smooth transformation[150], but also meant the persistence of old hierarchies besides the new.[151]

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150 Behar 2003: p. 7.
151 Ortaylı 2000: p. 124.

CHAPTER 5

SÜLEYMANIYE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

After this more general survey of the nineteenth century in Istanbul, I now want to

focus on the *mahalle* of Süleymaniye. A short introduction to its location within the

city and its characteristics, which is based on secondary literature, is followed by an

attempt to determine the boundaries of the Süleymaniye *mahalle.* In the absence of

administrative delineation of *mahalle*s during the nineteenth century coupled with

the notion of *mahalle* as social entities (as described in the first chapter), this

endeavour turns out to be a more delicate question than one might initially surmise.

To illustrate this problem it helps to envision the present-day location of the

administrative *mahalle*
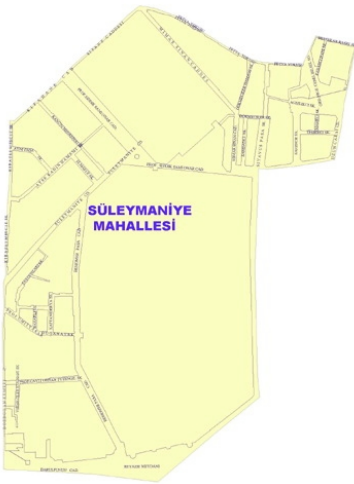
Illustration 2: Present-day administrative borders of the Süleymaniye mahallesi

of Süleymaniye (ill. 2), which stretches from Beyazıt Square along Darülfünun Street to the South, Bozdoğan Street and Kirazlı Mescid Street until Şifahane Street to the West, includes the Süleymaniye Mosque complex and the Seraskeriat (which is today a part of the University of Istanbul) and consists in the north-east of a second residential quarter somehow separated from the first by the monumental buildings. In everyday-language but also in academic research[152] however, Süleymaniye *mahalle* denotes a

152 Mübeccel B. Kıray, "Modern Şehirlerin Gelişmesi ve Türkiye'ye Has Bazı Eğilimler," in ed.

larger area encompassing parts of the hill slopes down to the Golden Horn, which are administratively part of the *mahalle*s Demirtaş and Hoca Gıyasüddin. Thus, we can observe a discrepancy between the perceived and the conceived *mahalle* of Süleymaniye. Travelling almost 200 years back in time, it is impossible to transplant the present-day boundaries of Süleymaniye *mahalle*, without asking whether and how they might have changed. One might presume that with the attempts to exert control over urban dwellers and count them in the census during the second half of the nineteenth century, there was a need for a clear administrative delineating of quarters. This question is important not so much with regard to administrative conception, but is crucial for the social or perceptional dimension of the *mahalle.* If the *mahalle* was indeed a community fostering *"a durable sense of local identity",* yet having a shadowy spatial delimitation with ever changing borders[153], its inhabitant must have known that he or she was part of the *mahalle* as a social entity. It is this characteristic of the *mahalle* that I shall try to trace in the following.

Süleymaniye *mahalle* obtained its name from the mosque built between 1550 and 1557 on order of Sultan Süleyman I by his architect Mimar Sinan. Before the mosque was built, the area housed the *Eski Saray,* the residence of the Ağa of the Janissaries and the Kâtib Şemseddin Foundation. More than a hundred years after the Ottoman conquest of Istanbul, the city was by this time crowded with inhabitants and foundations. This made it necessary to relocate some former inhabitants of the area for this giant building project of Süleyman I, which apparently increased the value of housing in the area[154] and might have been one of the reasons why the area around

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ibidem *Modern Şehirlerin Gelişmesi ve Türkiye'ye Has Bazı Eğilimler, Kent Yazıları* (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 1998), pp. 9-18.
153 Behar 2003: p. 4.
154 Stéphanos Yerasimos, *Süleymaniye* (Istanbul: Yapi Kredi Yayınları, 1997), p. 56.

the mosque gained a reputation of being wealthy. More important however seems the concentration of educational and religious institutions of high prestige to which the mosque complex added and its proximity to the harbour in Unkapanı on the one and the *Kapalı Çarşı* on the other side. Moreover, İlber Ortaylı names the high number and density of foundations as a reason for the concentration of wealth in quarters like Süleymaniye.[155] Even though the size of the foundation of Süleymaniye mosque itself is indeed very impressive, this statement seems quite odd as neither in the *tahrîr defteri* of 1546 nor 1600 a *mahalle* named Süleymaniye existed yet[156]. Ayverdi gives numbers of foundations and their amount of money organised by *nahiye*. Neither the *nahiyes* İbrahim Paşa nor Şeyh Ebülvefa, parts of which form the area Süleymaniye (see tab. 2), are outstanding. Between the years 1456 to 1546 the *nahiye* İbrahim Paşa had attracted 4,17%, the *nahiye* Şeyh Ebülvefa 7,65% of the total amount of money spend in newly founded foundations. Compared to the other 11 *nahiye*s of Istanbul, this is a number lower than average.[157]

About the nature of this wealth very little indeed is known. There seems to exists however, an agreement on the wealth and the social integrity of the quarter throughout four centuries. Describing the sixteenth century in Istanbul, the historian and writer, Ahmet Refik Altınay, who wrote in the first third of the twentieth century, characterised the area as follows:

> Inside of Istanbul, especially in the districts of Süleymaniye, Ayasofya and Edirnekapı, were the palaces of the viziers and the highest judges. The most important buildings were the mosques and the medreses. The houses surrounding them were in the middle of big gardens full of fruit trees. It was a pleasure to live in these simply-made houses erected in between almond, plum and peach trees, which opened their flowers in spring with elegant colours, wisteria hanging from the windows and vine that was just sprouting. The people listening to

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155 İlber Ortaylı, Ulema Semtlerinde Gezinti, in ed. ibidem *İstanbul'dan Sayfalar* (Istanbul: İletişim, 1987), p. 49 - 64.

156 Ömer Lüfti Barkan and Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi (eds.), *İstanbul vakiflari tahrîr defteri: 953 (1546) Tarihli* (Istanbul: Istanbul Fetih Cemiyeti İstanbul Enstitüsü, 1970); Mehmet Canatar, *İstanbul vâkıfları tahrîr Defteri* (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 2004).

157 Barkan/Ayverdi 1970: p. XXXI.

tales of holy war on hot summer days, with corn planted in the gardens, sunflowers with their big green leaves, white-veined purple and dark-red ivy climbing up to the alcove, were really happy.[158]

For the seventeenth century Mantran names Süleymaniye among the residential quarters that are exceptionally "aristocratique"[159]. Few years after the foundation of the Süleymaniye complex, as we learn from the Istanbul Ansiklopedisi, the area developed into an "ulema neighbourhood". With the placing of the *Ağa Kapısı, Daire-i Umûr-i Askeriye, Kışla-yı Hümâyun, Cebehane,* Süleymaniye *Kışlası* however, it attained mainly military-administrative functions.[160] Ortaylı, by contrast, who presumably coined the term *"ulema semti"*, quotes the centres of learning in Süleymaniye (and Vefa, Vezneciler, Zeyrek, Fatih, Çarşamba) that existed there until the nineteenth century and claims that a transformation of the learned classes by educational reforms found its expression in the establishment of the new-style schools (*Medresetü'l Kudat, Mercan İdadisi, Darüşşafaka*) in the area.[161] With the installation of the residence of the Şeyh-ül islâm (or *Bâb-ı Meşihat*) in Süleymaniye in 1826, the appointment, dismissal, the work and the gossip of the *ulemâ'* also moved to Süleymaniye[162]. In short, the idea we have of rather rich inhabitants of Süleymaniye remains rather vague and ahistorical. Were they people working in military-administrative functions or members of the

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158 Ahmet Altınay Refik, *Eski İstanbul* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1998), p. 55. original quote: " İstanbul içinde, özellikle Süleymaniye, Ayasofya ve Edrinekapı semtlerinde vezirlerin ve kazask-erlerin sarayları vardı. En önemli yapıları câmilere ve medreseler oluşturuyordu. Bunları çevres-inde toplanan evler, meyve ağaçlarıyla dolu büyük bahçeler ortasındaydı. İlkbahar zarif renklerle açan badem, erik ve şeftali ağaçlarının, pencerelerden sarkan mor salkımların, henüz filizlenen asmaların arasında basit şekilleriyle yükselen bu evlerde oturmak zevkti. Yazın sıcak günlerinde, bahçelerde dikilen mısırlar, iri yeşil yapraklı ay çiçekleri, çardaklara tırmanan beyaz çizgili mor ve fes rengi sarmaşıklar karşısında gaza menkıbeleri dinleyen halk pek mutluydu."
159 Mantran 1962: p. 42. Besides Süleymaniye, he identifies Atmeydanı, Aya Sofya, Edirnekapı, Divanyolu,Vefa and Beyazit Square as rich areas.
160 Istanbul Ansiklopedisi. s.v. "Süleymaniye".
161 İlber Ortaylı, "İstanbul'da Ulema Semtleri," in ed. ibidem, *Osmanlı'yı Yeniden keşfetmek* (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2006), pp. 101-108.
162 Ortaylı 1987: p. 49-64.

learned classes? Or both? How did the social composition of Süleymaniye change with the extinction of the Janissaries in 1826 and the expansion of the bureaucracy during the following years? Did the new religious functions given to Süleymaniye after 1826 lead to more members of the *ulemâ'* living in Süleymaniye and if so, did they substitute or complement officials working in administrative and military branches?

Despite these largely unanswered questions, writers of Süleymaniye's history agree on another point: Among the palaces of the rich, modest houses existed; poor and rich lived side by side[163] – like in all places and times Ottoman cities were segregated rather along ethnic and religious, than along socio-economic lines (see chapter 3). Does this also apply to one of the presumably richest and most elitist quarters in the capital of the Ottoman Empire?

Besides these statements about the social composition of Süleymaniye *mahalle*, a couple of remarks can be made about it's location. Apparently, during the nineteenth century, Süleymaniye was a residential quarter, which did not attract Istanbullus' visits from other parts of the city. Listing the areas used for a stroll in the seventeenth century already, Evliya Çelebi names *Atmeydanı, Ağa Çayırı, Yeni Bahçe, Baruthane, Vefa, Bayezid Veli, Kadîrga Limanı, Şehzade, Yedi Kule, Valide câmi*, *Aya Sofya, Langa* Gardens, *Lalezar, Eminönü* Square, *Odun Kapısı, Ayazma Kapısı, Büyük Ayazma İskelesi, Eyüb Kapısı, Kum Kapı, Langa Kapı,* the beach at *Langa, Samatya* Square and *Davud Paşa Kapısı*. While his list contains many areas around Süleymaniye like *Vefa, Şehzade, Odun Kapısı, Ayazma Kapısı* or *Bayezid Veli Mosque*, Süleymaniye mosque is suspiciously absent.[164]

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163 Ortayli 2006, Mantran 1963: 42.
164 cited in Mantran 1962: p. 40.

François Georgeon observes a change in the entertainment habits of Istanbul's population during the nineteenth century and a new concentration of these activities to the south of Süleymaniye. Entertainment and cultural activities – public storytelling, coffeehouses and Karagöz - during the evening were concentrated on the nights of the month of Ramadan. While the centre of this kind of entertainment was originally located at the Hippodrome, at the beginning of the tanzimat it was to be found around *Aksaray* and continued to crawl along the *Divanyolu* to the West. In 1860 its centre was at the *türbe* of Mahmud II and in the last quarter of the nineteenth century it arrived in Şehzadebaşı. It united both the usual Ramadan activities, Georgeon claims, with new forms to spend leisure time like theatre.[165] Similarly, with the partly destruction and transformation of the exterior courtyard of Bayezid mosque to *Seraskerlik* or *Bayezid* square following the dissolution of the Janissaries in 1826 a new public square emerged. *"New forms of public life,"* Nese Gurallar claims *"such as strolling, women's promenade, reading in kıraathane, going to theatres, were all staged in Beyazid meydanı and around, which became a true centre of attraction for these activities in the nineteenth century"*.[166]

It is possible to conclude that *Direklerarası* and Bayezid square in the direct vicinity of Süleymaniye gained geographic centrality and became an accessible destination for Istanbul's society during the nineteenth century. Apart from the regular dinner parties in the *konaks* (mansions) of high officials during Ramadan[167], Süleymaniye appears to have been largely unaffected by these developments in *Direklerarası* and Bayezid square– at least the travelogues by European travellers to Istanbul, the main

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165 François Georgeon, "Le Ramadan à Istanbul. De L'Empire à la Republique," in eds. Dumont, Paul, Georgeon, Francoise, *Vivre dans l'Empire Ottoman: Sociabilities et Relations Intercommunautaires (XVIIIe-XXe siècles),* (Paris: Editions L'Harmattan, 1997), pp. 31-113.

166 Nese Gurallar, *Emergence of Modern Public Space from a Traditional Mosque Courtyard: Early Nineteenth Century Istanbul, Beyazit.* (VDM Verlag, 2009), p.2.

167 Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, *Istanbul'da Ramazan Mevsimi* (İstanbul: 1998). p.79.

sourced used by Georgeon, do not leave a single trace of it.

In its north-east, Süleymaniye is framed by Istanbul's bazaar area –
Kapalıçarşı and *Tahtakale*. The latter especially, parts of which are included in the
tax registers *(vâridât defterleri)* of 1873, was popular both for is coffeehouses and its
night life, as well as being a commercial area with handicrafts and caravanserais
(*han*) lodging bachelor workers. Given the changes in Istanbul's economic structure
during the nineteenth century, simple common sense suggests a transformation of
these areas as well. To my best knowledge, however, the bazaar area during the
nineteenth - century has not been studied and thus Gülersoy's remarks about the spirit
of frugality, friendship and trust in the covered bazaar being slowly superseded by
Western materialism, greediness and profit orientation needs yet to be
substantiated.[168]

By contrast to European travellers, starting with the twentieth century
Ottoman poets and writers refer to Süleymaniye – or more precisely to the
Süleymaniye mosque – in their work. Yahya Kemal's poem *Süleymaniye'de bir*
Bayram Sabahı (A *bayram* morning in Süleymaniye) for the first time[169] in 1956
ascribes motives of historicity, religiosity and military strength of Ottoman
civilisation to Süleymaniye while bemoaning its decline. After praising the
architecture as an expression of God, he goes on

> Gördüm ön safte oturmuş nefer esvaplı biri
> Dinliyor vecd ile tekrar alınan Tekbîr'i
> Ne kadar saf idi sîmâsı bu mü'min neferin!
> Kimdi? Bânisi mi mîmârı mı ulvî eserin?
> Tâ Malazgird ovasından yürüyen Türkoğlu
> Bu nefer miydi? Derin gözleri yaşlarla dolu,
> Yüzü dünyâda yiğit yüzlerinin en güzeli,
> Çok büyük yurdu kuran hem koruyan kudretimiz
> Her zaman varlığımız, hem kanımız hem etimiz;

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168 İstanbul Ansiklopedisi, s.v. "Kapalıçarşı".
169 Ekrem Kaftan, *Türk Şiirinde Süleymaniye,* (unpublished article of a presentation given at
      Süleymaniye Sempozyumu 2008 organized by KOCAV)

Vatanın hem yaşayan varisi hem sâhibi o,
Görünür halka bu günlerde teselli gibi o,
Hem bu toprakta bugün, bizde kalan her yerde,
Hem de çoktan beri kaybettiğimiz yerlerde.

Tanpınar approaches Süleymaniye in his diaries in the following way. Again the topic is Ottoman civilisation.

> I am a Westerner. I am sure that Christianity has a better, a richer heritage worked out with more depths. Here I'm in conflict with myself. Besides Süleymaniye and one or two musical works, I do not know of anything that can be measures with Western standards. I know that I am not a person that can be influence easily.[170]

In conclusion, Süleymaniye mosque and the *mahalle* surrounding it was a residential neighbourhood in the very heart of what today is called the "Historic Peninsula", yet in the backwaters of economic or entertainment destinations. In the historic and present-day discourse, it has become a symbol, perhaps even a *"lieu de mémoire"*[171] - at least for a certain strata of Turkish society - for Islamic civilisation and a golden, however lost past.

To trace down the borders of this mythic *mahalle*, I propose two strategies. First, I will examine lists of *mahalle*s compiled for several reasons during the nineteenth century and as a second strategy make use of spatial references in *mahalle* lists and census.

With regard to lists of mahalle I can firstly use the census of 1829.[172] In 1876/77, a list of *mahalle*s was compiled in preparation of the election of representatives of the *meclis-i meb'ûsân*, which mentions the nearest landmarks and

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170 İnci Enginün and Zeynep Keman, *Günlüklerin ışığında Tanpınar'la başbaşa* (İstanbul: Dergah, 2007), p. 332, original quote: "Garplıyım. Hıristiyanlığın daha iyi, daha zengin miraslarla, daha derinden işlendiğine eminim. Burada kendi kendimle aşikâr şekilde tezattayım. Süleymaniye'den başka garpla ölçülecek bir iki musiki eserinden başka bir şey tanımıyorum. Kolaylıkla tesir altında kalan adamlardan olmadığımı biliyorum."

171 Pierre Nora, *Zwischen Geschichte und Gedächnis.* (Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1998).

172 Bingöl 2004, the census itself was recorded in the *kadî Sicilleri*. I was able to trace the census including Tophane in the sicil of the *kadî* of Galata, for the Historic Peninsular, which would include Süleymanyie, this *sicil* doen not seem to exist.

includes the number of houses[173]. For 1885, I use the *mahalle* names that can be found in the first proper census in the Ottoman Empire, which also contains some street names for each *mahalle*. Finally, Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi's[174] work on *mahalle* was of great help as he also tries to trace back names and boundaries of *mahalle*s. As a second strategy, I used spatial references added to some of the *mahalle* lists, the *vâridât defterleri* and, as much as they are common, in the *Şer'iye Sicilleri*. With the help of these, I hope to be able to further investigate in the social dimension – the *mahalle* as perceived by its inhabitants – of the neighbourhoods.

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173 This document was published in İşli 2002: pp. 71-77. As the lists contains the number of houses, I was able to get an average of 126,6 houses per *mahalle*. From this one can at least conclude, that the *mahalle*s in question are not extraordinarily big.

174 Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Fâtih Devri Sonlarında İstanbul mahalleleri Şehrin İskânı ve Nüfusu,* (İstanbul: vâkıflar Umum Müdürlüğü Neşriyat, 1958). Unfortunatly, Ayverdi often treats names of *mahalle*s as something timesless or simultaneously occurring. Therefore I can't do much more than listing the *mahalle* names he cites.

Tahrir 1546	Tahrir 1600	1829/30	1876/77	1885	Ayverdi	today
-	-	Süleymaniye	Mahalle-i Süleymaniye-el Maruf (77 houses)	Elmarif/Süleyman Elmaruf	-	Süleymaniye
Mahalle-i Mescid-i Kara Mehemmed El-Harâcci and Mahalle-i Cami'-i Hace Hayrüddin (Vefa)	Mahalle-i Mescid-i Kara Mehemmed El-Harâcci (Vefa nahiyesi) and Mahalle-i Cami'-i Hace Hayreddin	Mahalle-i Hoca Gıyaseddin der-kurb-ı Süleymaniye and Mahalle-i Hoca Hayreddin der-kurb-ı Odun Kapısı	Mahalle-i Gıyaseddin Kurb-ı Süleymaniye (72 houses)	Hoca Gıyazeddin, Hoca Hayreddin[1]	Mehmed Paşa Mescidi Mahallesi, Hoca Hayrüddin, Mehmed Paşa Mescidi kurb-i Ağa Kapusu	Hoca Gıyasettin
Mahalle-i Mescid-i Hacı Timurtaş (Hacı Timurtaş Mescidi Mahallesi) (Vefa), Mahalle-i Mescid Hace Hamza (Ibrahim Paşa)	Mahalle-i Mescid Hacı Timurtaş (in Ibrahim Paşa) and Mahalle-i Hace Hamza Mescidi (Ibrahim Paşa), gives reference to foundations in Samanviran under 'Hace Hamza' in the index	Mahalle-i Hoca Hamza der-kurb-ı Odun Kapısu	Mahalle-i Hoca Hamza Kurb-ı Bab-ı Hatap (36 houses)	Hoca Hamza	Hacı Timurtaş Mescidi Mahallesi, Mahalle-i Mescid-i Hoca Hamza't-ül-Aver and Arslanlu Mahallesi	Demirtaş Mahallesi
Mahalle-i Mescid-i Hızır Beğ Çelebi (Hızır Bey Çelebi Mescidi Mahallesi)	Mahalle-i Mescid-i merhum Hızır Beg Çelebi (Vefa)	Mahalle-i Hızır Bey der-kurb-ı Kapan-ı Dakik	-	Hızır Bey	Hizir Bey Mescidi Mahallesi	Hacı Kadın Mahallesi
Mahalle-i Mescid-i Katib Şemsüddin (Vefa)	Mahalle-i Mescid-i Katib Şemseddin (Vefa)	Mahalle-i Katib Şemseddin der-kurb-ı Süleymaniye	Mahalle-i Katib Şemseddin Kurb-ı Süleymaniye (40 houses)	Şemseddin	-	-
Mahalle-i Mescid-i Sarı Bayezid (Vefa)	Mahalle-i Mescid-i Sarı Bayezid (Vefa)	Mahalle-i Sarı Beyazid der-kurb-ı Şeyh ebu'l-vefa	Mahalle-i Sarı Bayesid Kurb-ı Süleymaniye (28 houses)	-	Sarı Bayezid Mescidi Mahallesi, Mahalle-i Mescid-i Sarı Beyazid	Hoca Gıyaseddin

1 Ayverdi 1958 states: *"Başka bir kaynakta "Mahalle-i Hâce Hayrüddim mü'teber anhâ bi-mahalle-i Mehmed Paşa" ifadesi ile bir kayd vardır ki bu iki mahalleden Mehmed Paşa'yı Hoca Hayrüddim Mahallesinin içinde imişgibi, mesciâimden bahsetmeden, göstermiştir"*. (p.35) Apparently, another name for Hoca Gıyasüddin was Hoca Hayrettin and both names we find listed in the census.

Table 2: List of mahalle

The picture emerging from these lists has no obvious pattern. The earlier

tahrîr aside, there seems to have existed a *mahalle* called Süleymaniye during the

nineteenth century, but its location can only be approximately guessed via the

existence of other *mahalle* around it: its borders were not defined at all. One might

argue that the number of lists is not sufficient to show a development. This is true, if

one surmises that the borders of a *mahalle* changed at an enormous speed.

Comparing the lists of 1876 and 1885 which are separated only by a nine-year gap,

the compilation of *mahalle*s in the area has changed completely. Hoca Hayreddin

was apparently only a sub-*mahalle* in 1876, but is normally listed in 1885. While

listed in 1876, Sarı Bayezid, Şücaeddin and Suhte Hatip (which only appear in this

list) have vanished and three *mahalle*s, Molla Hüsrev, Hızır Bey and Saman Viran,

which had not been listed in 1876 can be found in 1885. May one conclude that the

borders of *mahalle*s changed at a speed of ten years to a degree that the make-up of

an area became almost unrecognisable?

 Mahalle lists, however, can only reflect what the state official counting them

was able to apprehend. They thus only allow one, I think important, conclusion: The

Ottoman State even towards the end of the nineteenth century was unable to

delineate the basic units of its polity for a period longer than ten years. This implies

that representatives at a local level appointed or even elected as the *muhtâr*s, could

hardly know what and who they were actually representing. The central state was

unable to exert control in the *mahalle*.

 Mahalle lists only tell about the administrative or conceptional dimension of

the *mahalle,* but say very little about its social role (see chapter 3). Therefore, I have

tried to make use of spatial references made in the *Şer'iye sicilleri,* the *mahalle* lists

and the *vâridât defterleri.* Parties of a law suit or a notary activity were regularly registered by stating their name and the *mahalle* they lived in. Smaller *mahalle*s or those without any significant landmark were often related to well-known monuments. Süleymaniye Mosque is such a landmark and it goes without saying that Süleymaniye *mahalle* was not defined in further detail. As was the case with the list above, the *mahalle*s Hoca Gıyasüddin or Katib Şemseddin, others were described as being close to Süleymaniye Mosque (*"Istanbul'da Süleymaniye kurbunda Kemeraltı nam mahallede"*[175]). These spatial references can be used to understand better what was perceived as belonging together. But again this involves problems: Did people introduce themselves in the court by saying "I'm Şerife Tevhide bint el-Hac 'Osman bin Hasan. I live in Sarı Bayezid *mahalle* close to the Süleymaniye mosque" or was is the scribe who put the spatial reference into the document?[176] Did he simply note how the applicant described him or herself? Did he draw from some common knowledge?

The analysis of the 30 cases available to me and stretching over a period of 63 years is unfortunately not enough to detect a pattern in these spatial references – if there is any. One would need a much larger number of cases.

1817/18 (16 cases)	1829 (*mahalle* list)	1855/56 (6 cases)	1870 (3 cases)	1873 *vâridât defterleri*	1876 (*mahalle* list)
Katib Şemseddin	Katib Şemseddin				Katib Şemseddin
Hace Hamza					
Sarı Bayezid				Sarı Bayezid	Sarı Bayezid
Deveoğlu Yokuşu					
Tiryâki Çarşı					
Giyasüddin	Hoca Gıyasüddin	Hoca Gıyasüddin		Hoca Gıyasüddin	Hoca Gıyasüddin
Çifteler					
Ağa Kapusu					

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175 Istanbul Mahkemesi 199: 17-3.
176 Istanbul Mahkemesi, 121 Numarali, 1816-1817. Nr. 17-129/25b-1.1 (published by Ertuğ 2006).

	Suhte Hatip				Suhte Hatip
		Molla Hüsrev	Molla Hüsrev		
		Kemer Altı			
					Molla Gürani
					Dar-ül hadis
					Şücaeddin

Table 3: Mahalle and Place names referred to as being in the vicinity of Süleymaniye

Taken together, the *mahalle* lists and the spatial references at least give hints to the frequency and durability of *mahalle* names in the vicinity of Süleymaniye. The quarters Katib Şemseddin, Sarı Bayezid, Hoca Gıyasüddin and Hace Hamze are amongst those with a relatively stable connotations and give an opportunity for a tentative delineation of Süleymaniye (maps 1 and 2).
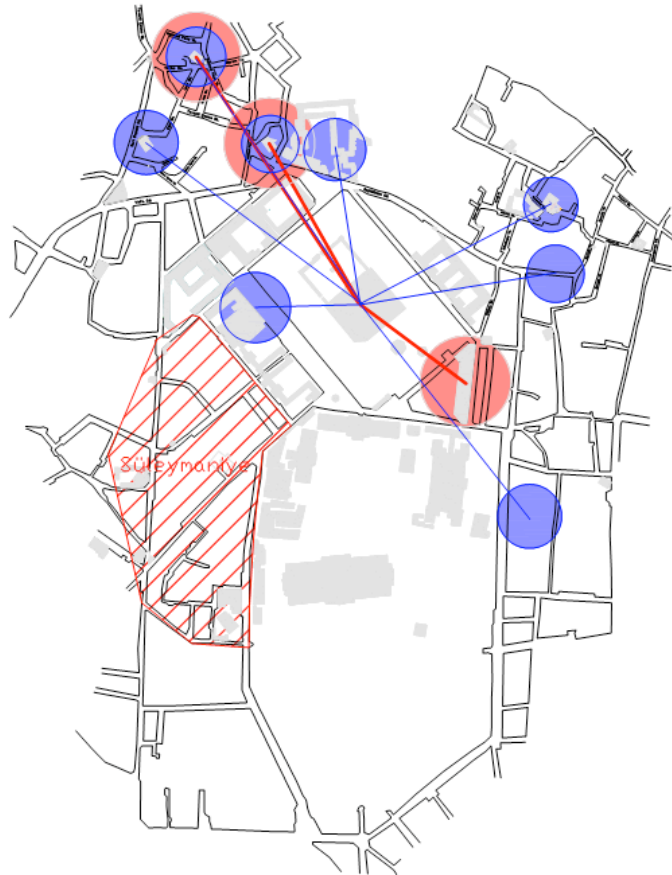
Map 1: Places referring to Süleymaniye in 1817 (blue) and 1829 (red)
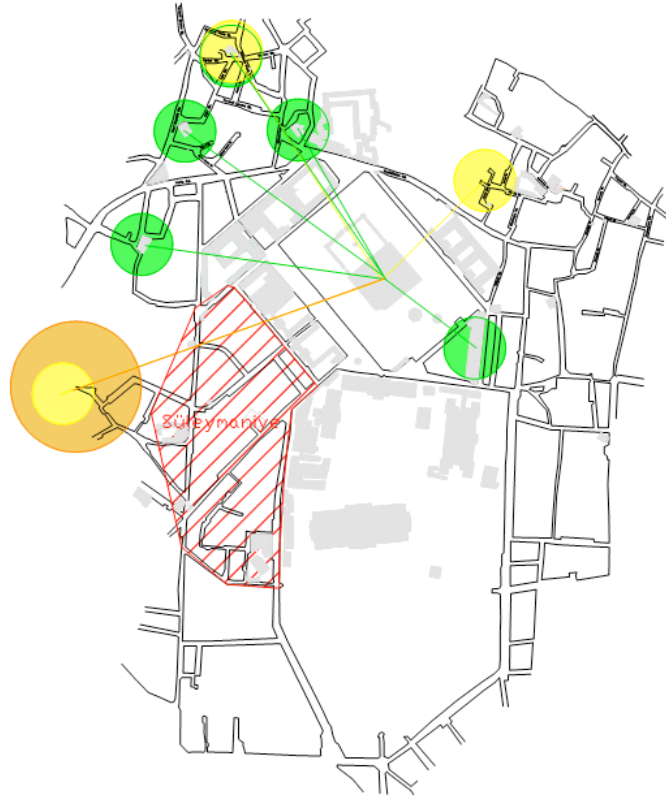
*Map 2: Places referring to Süleymaniye in 1855 (yellow), 1870
(orange) and 1876 (green)*

For a modernist mind, these statements are not satisfactory. To observe social

and built change on a micro-spatial level, I have to delineate the space more precisely

to decide what material I should in- or exclude. I therefore define two territories –

Süleymaniye and an adjacent territory around it including the above mentioned

*mahalle*s Katib Şemseddin, Hace Hamza, Sarı Bayezid and Hoca Gıyasüddin (map

3).

In conclusion, neither on an administrative (*mahalle* lists), nor on a

perceptional level, a distinct and defined Süleymaniye *mahalle* is discernible. There

may have existed a myriad of reasons for the lack of written traces and sources of

Süleymaniye *mahalle* and neighbourhoods adjacent to it. But the fact that it is

impossible to trace down the *mahalle,* sharply contrast with both the concept of

mahalle as outlined in chapter two and also to the importance given to Süleymaniye *mahalle* in particular. Does the lack of information tell us something about the subject matter? Is not finding anything already a result? It is apparent that in order to answer these questions, much more research is necessary. Thus, I can only restate what has been expressed by Cem Behar: *"The demarcation lines between mahalles were never so strict and the horizontal mobility of the residents was much higher than is usually admitted"*.[177]

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177 Behar 2003: p. 9.
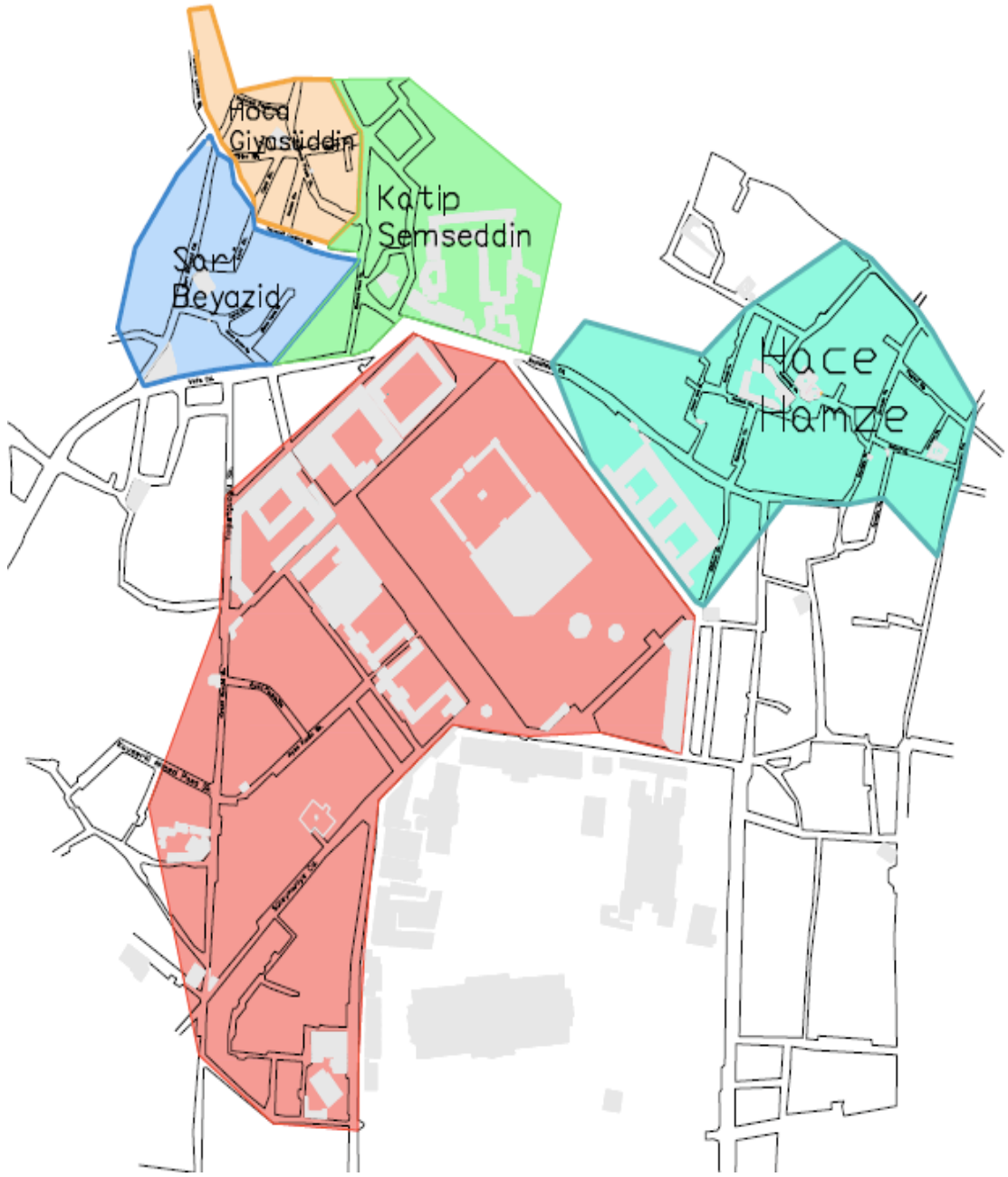
Illustration 3: Süleymaniye and its vicinity

CHAPTER 5.1.

CHANGES IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

The large centre section of the area vaguely defined as Süleymaniye in the last

chapter is actually monumental structure – the Süleymaniye mosque complex and the

Old Palace, later *Seraskeriat*. As a big chunk of Süleymaniye is thus dedicated to

religious and military functions, changes in the built environment are closely related

to institutional changes during the nineteenth century. The attempt to apprehend

changes in the built environment of this space below will start with its network of

streets, followed by public buildings such as monuments, fountains and schools and

finally the residential buildings.

The network of streets

During the nineteenth-century, street layout usually only changed radically after

fires; the arrangement of streets in grids was thus confined to areas burned down (as

described in Chapter 4). In the period under consideration, Süleymaniye largely

escaped the destiny of being burned down. Luckily, neither the Aksaray fire in 1856

nor the Hocapaşa fire in 1865 touched upon the *mahalle*. Besides the seventh

Hocapaşa Fire in 1826, which burned down the former and thus temporarily

abandoned Ağakapusu[178], and the Cibali Fire in 1833, which damaged the area

178 Mustafa Cezar, *Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul Yapılarında Tahribat Yapan Yangınlar ve Tabii*

streching from the *tabhane* of the Süleymaniye mosque to Vefa Square in the south-west[179], only two small fires occurred in the area. On the first of February 1871, 9 houses burned down in Dıvoğlu Yokuşu. A bigger one happened in 1879 in Süleymaniye in the part close to Vefa, where 42 houses were destroyed by fire.[180]

Map 3: Süleymaniye 1826 - 1838 (adoption of a historic map)

Generally thus, the networks of streets in Süleymaniye remained comparably stable throughout the century as this area was not targeted for redevelopment with a grid plan. Still, minor activities pertaining to the street layout have to be noted. In the period from 1815 to 1885, a couple of new streets were added as becomes apparent if one compares the two maps (3 and 4)[181]. In many cases these new streets

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Afetler, (İstanbul: Berksoy Matbaası, 1963), p. 46.
179 Cezar 1963: p. 48.
180 Ergin 1995: p. 1228.
181 Map 3 is catalogued in the Photograph Collection of the German Archeological Institute (DAI)

were former cul-de-sac, which had been opened up or rather extended to the next crossroad. The most drastic of these changes actually happened at the edges of our area of interest. Starting in 1839, the Moltke plan extended the Divanyolu, to the south of Süleymaniye (see chapter 4 of this thesis).

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as "city map 1818". With no more information about the origin of this map at hand, it is very improbable that it shows 1818 - the Old Palaces is noted as "Seraskeriat". As the map does not yet include Moltke's extention of the Divanyolu in 1839 (see chapter 4 of this thesis), one can
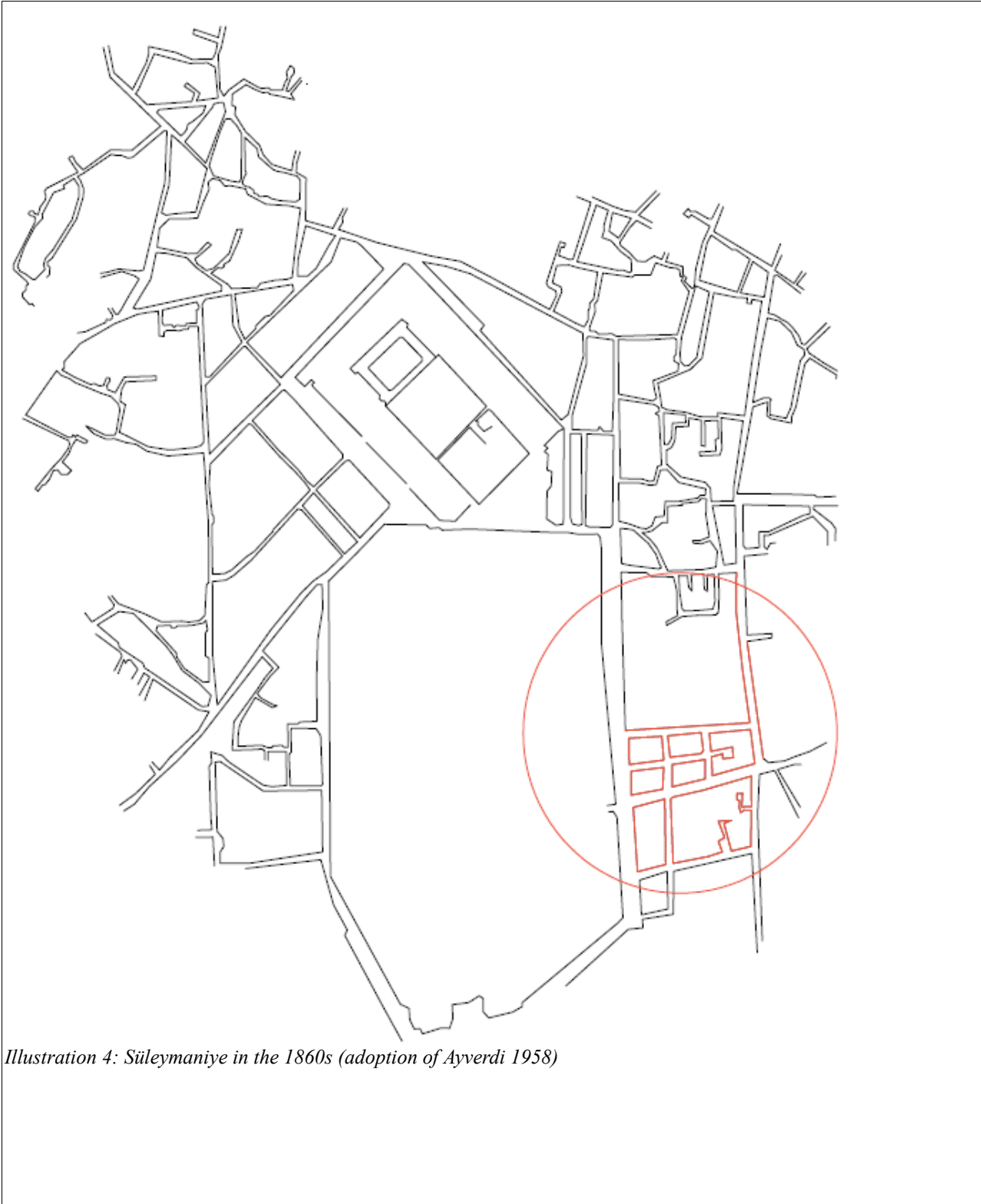
Illustration 4: Süleymaniye in the 1860s (adoption of Ayverdi 1958)

Likewise, the *Islahât-ı Turuk Komisyonu* restructured the whole area east of the

Seraskeriat in 1865. The commission stated that the inhabitants of Bayezid, Aksaray

and Fatih had great difficulty to transport wood and coal from the markets located at the coastline to their houses as there existed no street that could be used by carts and transport on horseback was difficult and expensive. Additionally, certain military vehicles had to pass to the *Seraskeriat*. It was thus ordered to built a street which allowed carts to pass easily extending from the South of Mahmud Paşa to the Southern end of Uzunçarşı passing by Mercan Street.[182] This transformation is easily visible in the maps above.

Later maps, such as the Alman Maviler of 1905 or Pervitich of 1935 (planche 41), show two more streets added to Süleymaniye: Avni Paşa Street (ill. 6) and Kayserili Ahmed Paşa Street (ill. 5). These streets and their houses are thus younger than the 1860s.

Illustration 6: Avni Paşa Sokak (20th century)

Illustration 5: Kayserili Ahmed Paşa Sokak (20th century)

Regarding the main thoroughfares leading to the neighbourhood, the Kirazlı Mescid Street and Vefa Meydanı Street remained stable – even until today.[183] The streets

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182 Ergin 1995: p. 956.
183 Thomas Padmanabhan, "A few Aspects concerning the Identity of the Süleymaniye Area," in ed.

around the Süleymaniye mosque leading to the *Meşihat* and towards *Dökmeciler* had

widths between 5.44 and 6.80 m already. In the area in front of *Tiryâki Çarşısı* they

were 13.60 and 17.00 m wide. Around 1826 this was apparently considered as too

broad as on the one side, wooden appendices had been added to the buildings and on

the other side, in front of the mosque's walls, little shops of lantern makers (*fenerci*)

and pencil sellers (*divitçi*) had been constructed. Compared to another story (or

maybe urban legend), which seemingly happened in the close-by *Hacı Kadîn*

mahallesi briefly before the fire there in 1899, these streets seem to be enormously

wide streets. According to this account, the streets in Hacı Kadın there so narrow –

between 1.36 and 1.70 m, as many other inner-*mahalle* streets - that two neighbours

passed a child from the upper window of one house to the one of the opposite side of

the street, but unfortunately dropped it.[184]

This poses the question in which way, mosque complexes such as the

Süleymaniye mosque influenced the built environment of their adjacent

neighbourhoods. Although the Süleymaniye mosque had been implanted into an

already existing neighbourhood in the sixteenth century, later construction work and

the width of streets might have been influenced by or adjusted to the complex. Two

carts, for instance, could easily pass each other in Ayşe Kadîn Street – a street

leading to the mosque.[185] In another sense, the existence of monumental structures

appears to have been at least an impediment to uncontrolled building activities. In

1868 the *ıslahât-i turuk komisyonu* ordered to tear down the wooden houses close to

"Hagia Sophia and around the Süleymaniye complex in order to provide for

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IRCICA, *Architectural Heritage Today: Istanbul-Süleymaniye and Mostar 2004. Program report '95,* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 1996), p. 356.

184 Ergin 1995: p. 1006/7.

185 Reşat Erkem Koçu: İstanbul Ansiklopedisi. 3. Vol. İstanbul: İstanbul Ansiklopedisi ve Neşriyat. 1960: p.1638.

unobstructed view on these monuments.''[186]

With regard to the condition of streets and infrastructure in Süleymaniye, the city letters (*şehir mektubu*) published by Basiretçi Ali Efendi between 1871 and 1877 in the newspaper *Basiret* give some impressions. Notably, all his accounts relating to Süleymaniye bemoan the bad state of the neighbourhood – a dilapidated building[187], someone falls into an open manhole during the night and gets injured[188], a sewage system covered with earth and resulting difficulties in navigating carriage and animal through the streets[189] and a marble stone falling on the streets.[190] Even if keeping in mind that he tried to trigger intervention by the authorities – at the end of many articles he demands to take measures – and wrote about Süleymaniye once a year at best, Basiretçi Ali Efendi's descriptions clearly convey an impression of an area in disrepair. Yet, it is difficult to judge the actual situation from his portraits of decay especially since we miss direct comparison to other areas and earlier periods. Paradoxically, public investment in Süleymaniye's infrastructure was quite sparse because there was no fire in the area, still we see the *Islahât-i Turuk Komisyonu* at work. With regard to private investment, probable especially in an area with rich inhabitants of high reputation, we lack any record.

Public and Monumental structures

In order to trace changes in the public and monumental structures of Süleymaniye

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186 Çelik 1993: 59.
187 Basiretçi Ali Efendi, *İstanbul Mektupları,* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2001), p. 32.: Şehir mektubu no. 16, Basiret, nr. 392, 27 Rebiyülevvel 1288, p. 1-2.
188 Basiretçi Ali Efendi 2001: p. 95.: Şehir mektubu, no. 6, Basiret, nr. 791, 28 Ramazan 1289, p. 1-2.
189 Basiretçi Ali Efendi 2001: p. 188.: Şehir mektubu no. 49, Basiret, nr. 1052, 18 Şaban 1290, p. 1-2.
190 Basiretçi Ali Efendi 2001: p. 568.: Şehir mektubu no. 202, Basiret, nr. 1999, 13 Muharrem 1294, p. 3.

(see map in the appendix), I will pick some of the dominant buildings of the neighbourhood. The public infrastructure in Süleymaniye is older than the nineteenth-century. Therefore change can not so much observed in the actual built form as in the purpose these forms fulfilled – I think in this respect one encounters quite an important novelty.

Known as the largest of Ottoman buildings enterprises, it is needless to say that the socio-religious complex (*külliye*) of the Süleymaniye foundation dominated the whole area with its mosque and two mausolea (*türbe*) for the sultan and his wife Hürrem at the centre, the *dâr-ül-hadîs* (school specialised on the study of the hadith), a *tıb medresesi* (school specialised on medicine), the *medrese evvel, saniye, saliye, rabia* (the Empire's most prestigious general *medrese*s), a *mülazimlar medresesi* (Koran school for children), a hamam, the *darüzziyafe* or *tabhane* (hospice), the *dâr-üş-şifâ* or *bimarhane* (hospital for

Illustration 7: View from the fire tower, 1839

mental illnesses), a *han* (caravanserai) and rows of shops.[191] In 1837 the expenditure of the foundation added up to 130.816,2 *guruş* every single year.[192] Concerning the built form of the mosque complex, the mosque was redecorated in *"an ugly baroque-rococo*

191 Avyansaray Hüseyin Efendi, Hadikatü'l-cevami: İstanbul câmileri ve Diğer Dini Sivil Yapılar (İstanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 2001), p.56., Kemal Edip Kürkçüoğlu, Süleymaniye Vakfiyesi (Ankara: Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü, 1962), Tahsin Öz, İstanbul Câmileri (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1962)., Ahmed Nezih Galitekin, Osmanlı Kaynaklarına göre İstanbul. câmi, Tekke, Medrese, Türbe, Hamam, Kütüphane, Matbaa, mahalle ve Selatin İmaretleri (İstanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 2003), pp. 752.
192 Tevfik Gürhan, *Ekonomik ve Maddi Yönleriyle vâkıflar. Süleymaniye ve Şehzade Süleyman Paşa vâkıfları* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2006), p. 15.

style"[193] by the architect Fossati and the inscriptions renewed in 1869. The *medrese*s, the hospital, the *darüzziyafe* underwent interesting change in our period of interest. The *dâr-üş-şifa* used to cure male patients (*erkek hastaları*) until 1845, when this specialisation was transferred to *Bezmialem Valide Sultan Gureba* Hospital. After that time, only male mental patients were treated at the hospital (*erkek akıl hastaları*) until the cholera in 1865 broke out and the *dâr-üş-şifa* was used as a quarantine station. In 1873 it lost its function as a hospital and was transformed into a saddlery (*saraçhane*); later, in 1887 the *harbiye nezâreti*'s military press (*askerî matbaa*) moved into the building. Included in its complex was also a *tıb medresesi*, a pharmacy and a *darül'alakir.*[194] In a somewhat comparable manner, the *darülzziyafe* was to be transformed into a museum of Islamic art in late years of the nineteenth century. An interesting shift, at least with regard to names, can be observed with the *medrese*s on the Northern side of the mosque. After they saw repairs in 1870s, one can notice that they are then referred to as dökmeciler medrese (the hamam likewise) and no longer Süleymaniye medresesi – a change in naming that might indicate a change in hierarchies among the buildings and their functions.

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193 Gülrü Necipoğlu-Kafadar, "The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul: An Interpretation," *Muqarnas* 3 (1985), p. 106.
194 Gürkan, Kazım İsmail, *Süleymaniye darüşşifası* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Tıp Fakültesi, 1966). The *darül'alakir* is translated as droglar evi, presumable some kind of pharmacy, shop or dump for drugs.

The second massive structure on the eastern border of the area was the Old

Palace (*eski saray*). Until 1826 this complex was used as a secondary palace of the

sultan. The sultan used to go to the *eski saray* for entertainment and especially during

Illustration 8: Seraskerlık (before 1880)

religious holidays it was a stage for ceremonies.[195] After the extinction of the

Janissaries, concubines and servants were moved to the Topkapı palace and the *Çifte*

Saray in Eyüp. The area of the Old Palace was given to the new military institution,

the *Seraskerlık*. From 1826 onwards many buildings were added to it: The fire tower

was moved from the *Ağakapu* in 1826, a military hospital (*bâb-ı seraskeri hastanesi*)

erected in 1841.[196] About other additions to the site – like the barracks (Süleymaniye

kışlası and *Kışlay-ı Hümayun*), the ammunition storage (*cebehane*), the *telegrafhane*

and the *fotoğrafhane* – few things are known. Still, the *Seraskerlık* was clearly a

much more elaborate and modern military headquarters than the *ağakapusu* had been

and implied an influx of military functions to the neighbourhood.

The buildings of the former centres of military power, the *ağakapusu* was given to

the new religious body created in 1826, the *şeyh-ül islâmlik* or – as the building was

195 Galitekin 2003: p. 205, Ortaylı 2000: p. 214.
196 Niyazi Ahmet Banoğlu. *Tarihi ve Efsaneleriyle İstanbul Semtleri* (İstanbul: Selis Kitaplar, 2007).
      p. 345, Ergin 1995: p. 1143.

now called after Mahmud II forbade use of the old name *ağakapu - bab-ı meşihat*.

Shortly before the new staff could actually start to work, the seventh Hocapaşa Fire

destroyed the former *ağakapusu*, so that they had to wait for another year to move

into their new domicile.[197] Anyhow, we can observe not only an influx of military

functions, but also an influx of religious functions to Süleymaniye in 1826. We have

thus seen that two of the most important new governmental institution established in

1826 moved to Süleymaniye, which testifies to the importance that was attributed to

Süleymaniye during this period.

Turning to minor public and religious buildings, change, as mentioned, is

difficult to observe. A few patterns can be detected, however. In the area under

observation six mosques are located: Mehmed Paşa câmii/ Hoca Gıyasüddin câmii

(1517/18[198]), Hoca Hamze câmi (1561[199]), Katib Şemseddin câmii (during the reign

of Bayezid II.[200]), Kirazlı Mescid (founding date could not be determined[201]),

Kapudan İbrahim Paşa câmii (1725[202]), Sarı Bayezid câmii (built during the reign of

Mehmed II.[203]). Obviously thus, the mosques surrounding Süleymaniye mosque are

older, their appearance unchanged until present-day. An exception is Kapudan

İbrahim Paşa câmi, built in the eighteenth century, which not only contained a

mosque but also a hamam, a fountain, a *mekteb* and a soup kitchen. In 1826, the

hamam was transformed into the *Takvimhane* for a couple of years and then, after a

couple of years, into the *Muallimhane-i Nüvvab* (later called *Medresetü'l Kuzat*) in

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197 *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi, s.v. Ağa Kapısı,* Koçu 1958: p. 246.
198 *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi, s.v. "Mehmed Paşa câmi",* Öz 1962: p. 101.
199 Ayvansarayî 2001: p. 162.
200 Nuran Gülşen, "Süleymaniye'de Hoca Gıyaseddin (Mehmed Paşa) ve Katib Şemseddin (Cankur-taran) mescidleri," (unpublished article of a presentation given at Süleymaniye Sempozyumu 2008 organized by KOCAV)., Öz 1962: p. 39.
201 Öz 1962: p. 90.
202 Öz 1962: p. 82., Ayvansaray 2001: 236., *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi, s.v."Kaptan İbrahim Paşa câmi".*
203 Ayvansaray 2001: p. 192.

1845. The *Muallimhane-i Nüvvab* had a two-year program to educate the *ulema* to serve as *kadîs* or *na'ibs* in the religious courts.[204]

The series of new schools opened in Süleymaniye after 1826 are interesting as they underline Süleymaniye's sustained symbolic value also for education. Besides the "traditional" *medrese*s located in the region (Süleyman Subaşı der Kirazlı Mescid Medresesi of 1587[205], the Mekteb Ataullah Efendi, the Siyavuş Paşa Medresesi of 1590 and Nevruz Kadin Mektebi founded in the 18th Century) a number of new schools were established in addition to the aforementioned *Muallimhane-i Nüvvab*. In 1839, one of the two new-style grammar schools, which stand for Mahmud II's attempts to form a modern educated elite, was set up in Süleymaniye. Besides traditional subjects, the *Mekteb-i Umum-i Edebiye* installed in Süleymaniye taught French and "modern" science.[206] Moreover, the new middle schools (*rüşdiye*), which were thought as consecutive to the *sıbyân* schools and instituted simultaneously, can be found in the area – such as the *mekteb* included in the İbrahim Paşa complex that was transformed to a *rüşdiye* in 1839. The second educational reform of the nineteenth century under Abdülaziz in 1868 that aimed at improving the students' abilities after primary school, but before university, with a new type of schools *(idâdiye)*[207] had similar ramifications: the *Dıvoğlu İdâdiye* in 1868 and the *Mekteb-i Nüvvab* were located in Süleymaniye. Moreover, the *Süleymaniye İnas Mektebi* was opened in Süleymaniye *mahalle*si in 1872, and the *Telegraf mektebi* linked to the *Posta ve Telegraf Nezâreti* in 1873. By contrast to the preceding centuries, the new actor "central administration" (and no longer only foundations) thus entered the

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204 *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi,* s.v. "Medresetü'lü Kuzat", Akiba Jun, A New School for Qadis: Education of the Sharia Judges in the Late Ottoman Empire, *Turcica* 35 (2003): pp. 125-63.
205 Galitekin 2003: p. 770.
206 Lewis 1968: p. 84/85.
207 Fortna 2005: pp. 119.

educational scene by opening new schools, but also by improving the conditions of

the existing schools. An example for this is the *Siyavuş Paşa Medresesi*, which like

other foundations saw repairs of the building in 1848, 1850 after a fire and 1873.[208]

The number of fountains in the area amounts up to eight most of which had

been built in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: Sinan Sebili (16th

century), Abdullah Ağa (Ali Efendi Zade) Çeşmesi (1693), Ali Ağa Devoğlu

Çeşmesi (1696), Kaptan Paşa Mektebi Çeşmesi (1745), Süleymaniye Meydan

Çeşmesi (1792), Ali Efendi Çeşmesi (1813), Kirazlı Mescid Sokağındaki Çeşme

(probably Sefer Ağa Çeşmesi, no inscription) and Şerife Ayşe Sıddika Hanım

Çeşmesi (1841)[209]. Besides the two already mentioned *hamams* included in the

Kapudan İbrahim Paşa and the Süleymaniye mosque complexes, we can note one

more bath in Ayşe Kadîn Sokağı.

Buildings with explicit economic purposes were quite rare in the

neighbourhood of Süleymaniye. Besides the *han*s in Tahtakale dated to earlier

periods, only the *Sabuncu Han* was built after 1800 in the Sabuncu Hanı Street.

To sum up, with regard to the built environment we can observe mainly the

effects of educational reform and reform of the administration of foundations. They

materialise in Süleymaniye in form of new schools on the one, and with changed

functions within the buildings on the other hand: a hospital alters its specialisation, a

hamam turns into a school, a soup kitchen becomes a museum. In contrast to

preceding centuries, the central administration (and this is probably the reason why

we have traces of repairs, for instance) instead of the religious foundations cares for

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208 Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *XX.Asra Erişen İstanbul Medreseleri,* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2000).

209 Egemen, Affan, *İstanbul'un Çeşme ve Sebilleri. (Resimler,i ve Kitabeli ile 1165 Çeşme ve Sebil)* (Istanbul: Arıtan Yayınevi, 1993). pp. 750, 16, 121, 456, 766, 473, 783.

the maintenance of public buildings. The built environment of Süleymaniye during the nineteenth century changed considerably – but only within the frame of the already existing built structures.

Residential buildings

To trace down the vernacular is unfortunately much more difficult than public buildings while being of high interest for the purpose of this thesis. Generally, population growth and urbanisation of the nineteenth century lead to a shortage of residential space in Istanbul. Consequently, prices for housing increased, houses grew in height, courtyards got smaller. After 1855 and as an effect of the building regulations, some houses in *intra muros* Istanbul were constructed with cut limestone (*kârgir*).[210] According to Cerasi, *konaks* (mansions) in the 19th century shrank in size, but *"were constituted of the same architectural elements of the typical middle-class housing of traditional Istanbul, though they were more refined and very much larger"*.[211]

The *vâridât* registers of 1873 offer a systematic insight into residential Süleymaniye at one certain point of time. In the three neighbourhoods covered by the registers (Hoca Gıyasüddin, Sarı Bayezid, Hoca Hamze, see map 4, 5 and 6), we find a total of 240 buildings, 19 of which were public buildings. Of this total of 221 houses 6 were hans, 32 were shops (*dükkân)*, one a *bakkal*, eight gardens, 12 stalls or stables and 19 other structures (cellars, mola taşı etc.). Seven of the entries are noted as plot (*arsa*) only. This leaves us with a total of 129 houses. Out of these, 30 were registered as houses (*hâne*), 94 as houses with garden (*hâne ma' bâğçe*) and five as mansions with a garden and a fountain (*konak ma' bâğçe ma' sebil*). With regard to

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210 Denel 1982: p. 43.
211 Cerasi, Maurice. *The Istanbul Divanyolu* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2004), p. 67.

construction material of buildings other than commercial structures and public buildings, which were made out of stone, we find only one more brick house in Sarı Bayezid and 8 houses partly constructed with brick (*nîm kâr-gîr*) in Hoca Hamze. In Hoca Gıyasüddin 100% of the building stock was wooden. The date of the title deeds registered in the *defter* tells something about the age of the building stock. On average the title deeds date from around 1273-1276 /1856-1859 without noteworthy differences between the *mahalle*s. The oldest building was located in Hoca Hamze and dated to 1782. Until 1873, we can thus conclude, the housing stock of the area was still wooden although the houses had only been constructed during the past 15 years on average. Indeed, between 1815 and 1873 the housing stock was completely renewed. Süleymaniye's inhabitants did not seem to worry too much about building regulations.

Map 4: Hoca Gıyasüddin Mahalle 1873
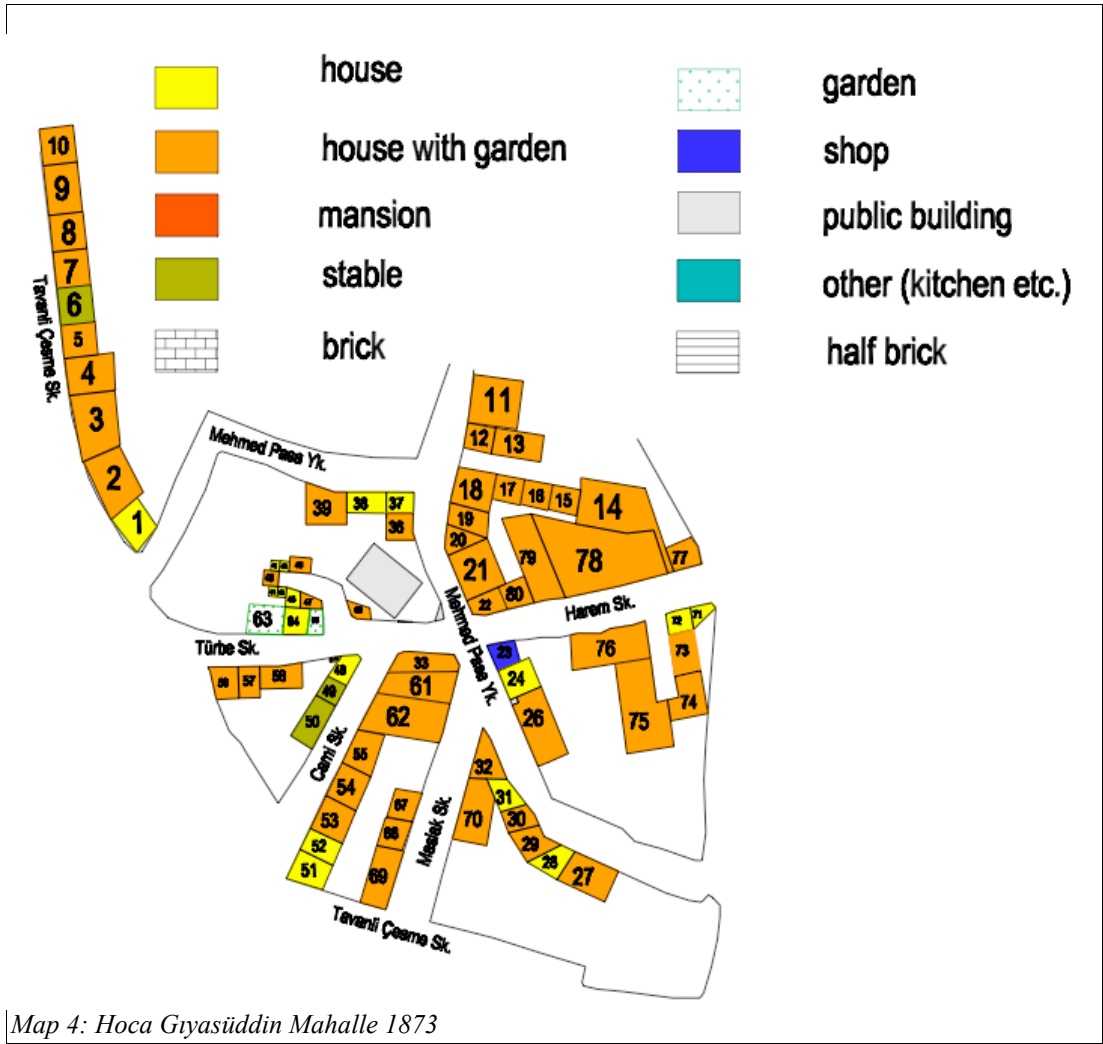
Two of the houses contained in the registers of 1873, can be identified with buildings still existing in 2007.[212] The three-storey wooden house (ill. 9) belonging to Binbaşı Tayyar Bey bin es-Seyyid Hacı Ahmed in 1873 in Câmi Sokak No. 5 for Sarı Bayezid is an upper middle-class house and according to plot and description still existed in 2007.

212 Özge Nihan Uysal, *Geleneksel Türk Evi İç Mekan Kurgusunun İncelenmesi ve Süleymaniye Bölgesi Örnekleri Analizi* (MA thesis, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2007).
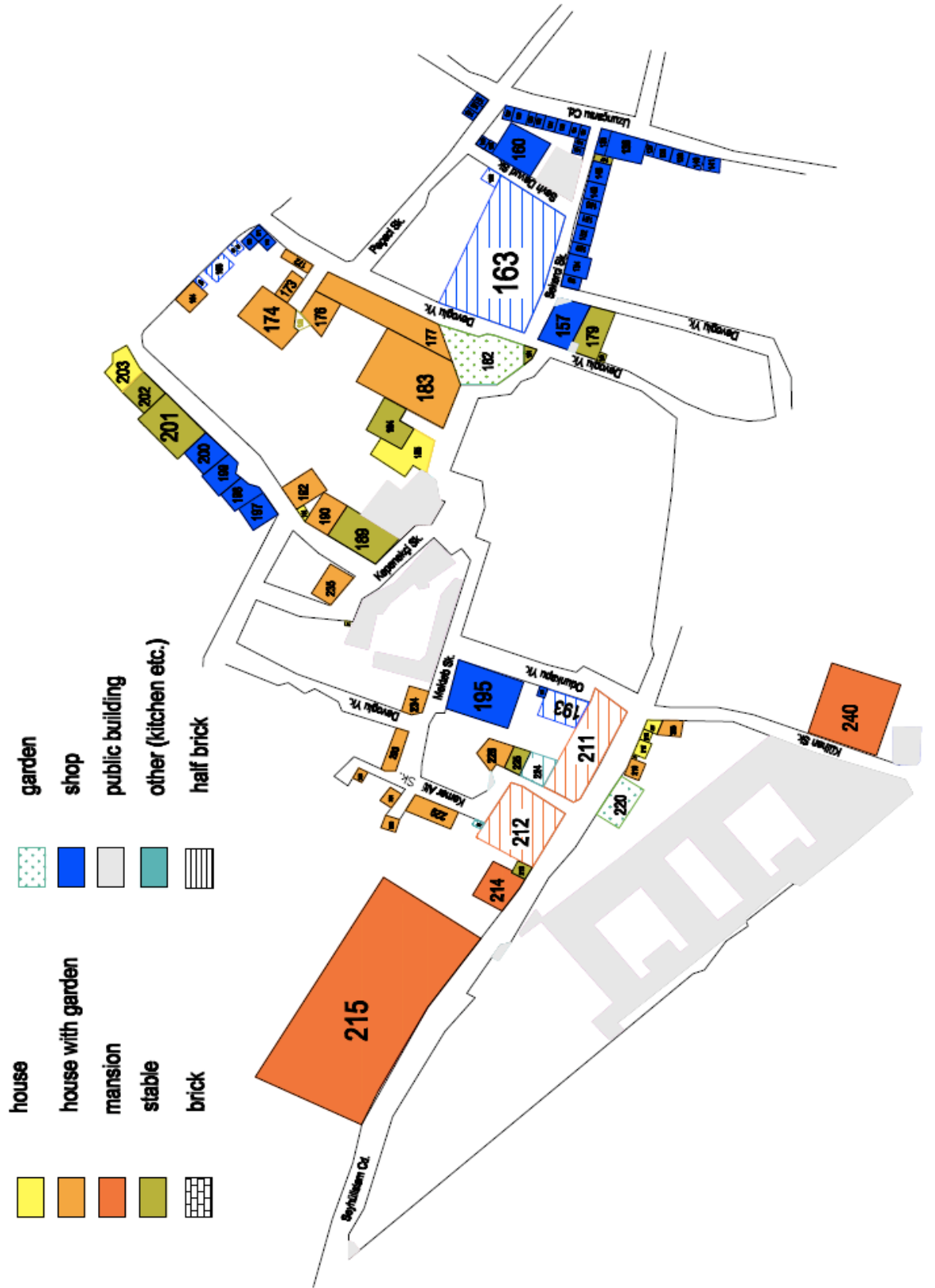
Map 5: Hoca Hamze mahalle 1873

house
house with garden
mansion
stable
brick

garden
shop
public building
other (kitchen etc.)
half brick
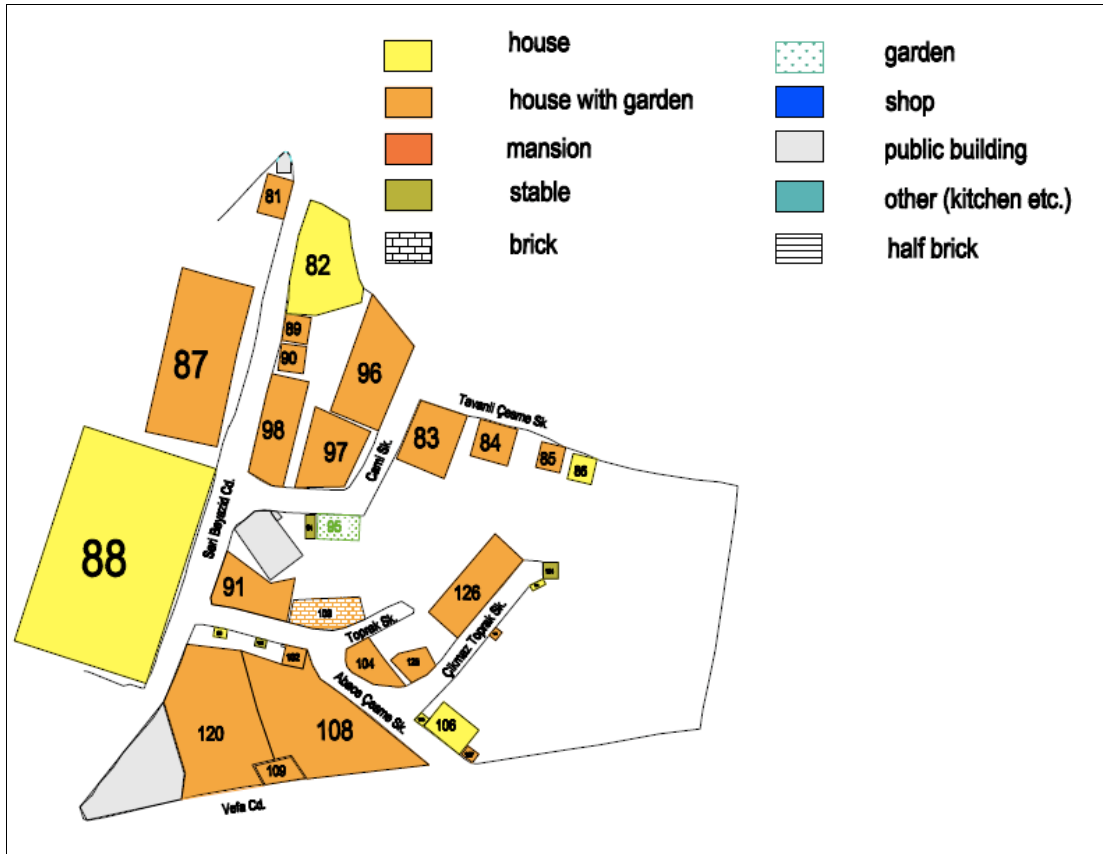
Map 6: Sarı Bayezid Mahalle 1873

The other house (ill. 10) identified in the registers and still existing is a rowhouse on steep Tavanlı Çeşme Sk. belonging to İsma'il Ağa bin Veli. It has a second floor, but is a rather modest structure. With more detailed descriptions in the registers maybe one could identify more houses, still this low number conveys the impression that Süleymaniye's housing stock of today is younger than 1873. For this I have found affirmation, in the miniscule hints I was able to collect at other places.

Illustration 9: House in Sarı Bayezid Cd. (after Uysal 2007: p. 43)

Sedat Hakkı Eldem's collection of wooden "Turkish Houses", contains the mansion of Ferid Paşa. Ferid Paşa used to be the *kethüda* of Âdile Sultan and minister of state (*nazir*). He built a three-storied wooden house at the intersection of Fetva Yokuşu (which has become Şeyh-ül islâm Caddesi in 1873) and Odunkapusu Caddesi.[213] As a property owner named Ferid Paşa cannot be discovered in the registers of 1873, the probability that Ferid Paşa Konak was built after 1873 is very high. Eldem's collection also contains the Kaptan Paşa Konağı, built by Kaptan İbrahim Paşa next to his mosque complex in 1725. This huge edifice still existed in the 1850s.[214]

213 Eldem 1984: pp. 96.
214 Eldem 1984: p. 99.

Furthermore, we have knowledge of the famous Kayserili Ahmed Paşa

GİRİŞ CEPHESİ   ARKA CEPHE

ZEMİN KAT PLANI   1. KAT PLANI

BÖLGE	MAHALLE	ADA NO	PARSEL NO
SÜLEYMANİYE	HOCA GIYASETTİN	506	27

Illustration 10: House in Tavanlı Çeşme Sk. 18 (after Uysal 2007: p.70)

Konağı located in the street that took its name from that building. The owner of this house – the minister of the maritime affairs – was involved in ousting Sultan Abdülaziz in 1876, opted for a very particular decoration of his wooden house with a the Ottoman court of arms overarching the central sofa and wall paintings showing both tropical landscapes with camels and pyramids and the achievements of the Ottoman modernity like steamships (partly burning) and airplanes. The street Kayserili Ahmed Paşa however is not yet included in Ayverdi's map showing Istanbul around the 1880, which indicates that Kayserili Ahmed Paşa built his house later than this date.

Illustration 11: Kayserili Ahmed Paşa Konak (1973)

Illustration 12: Kayserili Ahmed Paşa Konak (1973)

Obviously, these are only the most imposing houses of the richest of Süleymaniye. The built environment in Süleymaniye as we know from pictures taken much later was mostly wooden. The building date, it seems to me, of the wooden finery of Süleymaniye has to be set towards the end of the nineteenth century. The moving in or at least building activity of high state men like Kayserili Ahmed Paşa and Ferid Paşa, pose a lot of questions to the decline narrative of the neighbourhood even if their examples are exceptions.

In conclusion, Süleymaniye during the nineteenth century was a stage for institutional change where we can watch reforms of the military, the religious establishment, the educational system and the foundation transforming its built environment at high speed. It was an area central to the Ottoman state and accordingly saw public investment by the buildings authorities and in its educational profile. A decline in the built environment is hardly visible given the fact that the housing stock in 1873 was only 15 years old, only few empty plots and that until 1885 (some) members of the elites still move in – also for private investment

Süleymaniye was much more than a lost case. The Pervititch maps of 1935 of course

reveal a very different picture with more than half of the area's plots (especially those

located in its northern part) categorised as empty or abandoned[215].

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215 Jacques Pervitich. *Sigorta Haritalarında İstanbul: Istanbul in the Insurance Maps of Jacques Pervitich (*Tarih Vakfı Yayınları: Istanbul 2001), planche 41, 68, 69.

CHAPTER 5.2.

SOCIAL CHANGE IN SÜLEYMANIYE

The thesis put forward by urban historians concerning social change in *intra muros* Istanbul during the nineteenth century is one of decline and gradual impoverishment. As a result of institutional and economic change bolstered by a growing bureaucratic and governmental elite in love with European lifestyle neighbourhoods like Süleymaniye, Fatih, Çarşamba or Sultan Selim were abandoned by the rich. According to this thesis, towards the end of the century they resettled in areas like Ayaspaşa, Nişantaşı or Yıldız and triggered an outgrowth of the city to the North.[216] However, few is indeed known about the nature of the elites inhabiting and later leaving Süleymaniye indeed is known. Moreover, such an exodus of elites hardly could have happened within a short period of time, but was most probably indicated much earlier – especially in the face of fast institutional change throughout the entire century.

To observe social change requires a great amount of detailed information difficult to acquire. Instead of presenting a coherent picture of social change in Süleymaniye, I can therefore only present a number of tentative answers and even more new questions. A short "who is who" of the area will be followed by a zoom in on the area in 1873 and the tax registers (*vâridât defteri*). I will then discuss the most unexpected and surprising result (at least for me): The role of women.

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216 Tekeli 2006: p.373, Denel 1982: p. 46, Çelik 1993: p. 38.

"Who is Who" in Süleymaniye

The *şeri'yye sicilleri* and the *vâridât defterleri* provide a long list of inhabitants who lived in the neighbourhood in the years 1816/17, 1855, 1870 and 1873 of which only few can be identified with a rank and profession. Still, it gives an idea of the prominent inhabitants living in the area.

Among the inhabitants of Süleymaniye *mahalle*, we find Miralayzade es-Seyyid Mehmed Sa'deddin Aba ibn Veliyyüddin, the Voyvoda of Tire (who died in Süleymaniye in 1816)[217] and the former *Odun Emîni*[218] Mehmed Çavuş Ağa bin Osman bin Süleyman (who died there in 1827).[219] Still alive was in 1873 and at this point quite bankrupt as we will see in a short while - Hamdi Bey ibn el-Hacc (?) Osman Paşa, a functionary of the *Fevâid-i Osmaniye Kompanyasi* (the company providing passenger transport by ship across the sea of Marmara[220]). As mentioned in chapter 5.1., we also know – this time not from sources, but from touristic guidebooks - about Kayserili Ahmed Paşa's mansion in Kayserili Ahmed Paşa Sokağı. Minister of the Marine, Kayserili Ahmed Paşa was among those high state officials, who ousted Sultan Abdülaziz in May 1876[221]. He must have lived in his Süleymaniye *konak* between 1860 until his death in 1878.

Equally few inhabitants can be identified in Katib Şemseddin: 'Abdurrahman Efendi bin İbrahim, the Imam of Katib Şemseddin in 1815[222], es-Seyyid Mehmed Efendi ibn Ömer, firefighter in the neighbourhood who died in 1817 and Mustafa

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217 Ertuğ 2006: no. 122: 2-349/37a-3.2
218 the official in charge to organize the supply of construction material for the city
219 Özkan Gökçen, *İstanbul Bab Mahkemesi 149 No'lu Şer'iye sicili Defterine Göre Istanbul'da Sosyal Hayat* (MA thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2003), p. 248.
220 Dünden Bugüne Istanbul Ansiklopedisi, s.v. *"Fevâid-i Osmaniyye Kompanyasi"*, Ortaylı 2000: 227.
221 Davison 1963: p. 330.
222 Ertuğ 2006: no. 2-349/20b-1.w

Aga ibn el-Hacc (....), Nalbur Kethüdası (chief of the ironmonger guild) in 1817.[223]

In Hoca Gıyasüddin, the only inhabitants identified with some certainty are the *imâm* of the *mahalle* İsma'il Efendi bin Hasan[224] and Hasan Tahsin Efendi bin Haci Halil. Hasan Tahsin Efendi was probably a merchant granted the right to expand the gas plant in Yedikule.[225]

For Hoca Hamze and Sarı Bayezid, more as well as later data is available. In Hoca Hamze, we know about Sabit Efendi, official of the *Divan-ı Hümayun*, who has a *saadethane* in Dıvoğlu Yokuşu in 1817[226]. Mehmed Paşa, the *vâlî* of Tunus who lived there in 1873[227], Mumcular Kethüdası (chief of the candlemakers' guild) Haci Ahmed Ağa and the Konya Kethüdası Mehmet Halid Efendi were living in Hoca Hamze in 1873.[228] At some point after 1873 (his property is not included in the tax registers), Ferid Paşa must have moved to Hoca Hamze. Ferid Paşa was the steward of Âdile Sultan and later minister of state.[229] The inhabitants identified in Hoca Hamze are high-end bureaucrats.

In Sarı Bayezid, finally, besides the former *muhtâr* of the *mahalle* Mehmed Efendi bin Hasan, three persons with higher military posts can be listed in 1873: the naval colonel (Bahriye Miralay) Raşid Bey bin Es-Seyyid 'Ömer, the major (*binbaşı*) Tayyar Bey bin es-Seyyid Hacı Ahmed and the corps commander (*ferîk*) Zihni Paşa bin İsma'il.[230]

This is, admittedly, a rather poor listing of personalities living in the area.

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223 both Ertuğ 2006: no. 1-121/32b-3.1
224 BOA, ML.VRD.d.3717
225 Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani 1327/1909,* Vol. 2. (Westmead: Gregg International Publishers, 1971. p.55, Ergin 1995: p. 2636.
226 Ertuğ 2006: 17-129/46b-1.1
227 Süreyya 1971, Vol. 5.1.: p.55, Ergin 1995, p.136.
228 BOA ML.VRD.d 3807
229 Eldem 1984, Vol. 2: p. 96.
230 BOA ML.VRD.d 3842

Although it is impossible to observe elite change with such evädence, I still find the mixture of high posts – military, state and commercial - quite interesting. Süleymaniye until the third quarter of the nineteenth century offered a befitting habitat for Hamdi Bey, one of the employees of the first steamship company of the Ottoman Empire, politicians with radical methods to attain their goals like Kayserili Ahmed Paşa or Hasan Tahsin Efendi, operating the gas plant. Their existence in the quarter - even if they were exceptions - contradicts the statement that "modern men of state" left Süleymaniye towards the end of the century.

The area in 1873

The *vâridât* registers offer the opportunity for a more precise zoom-in on three neighbourhoods (Hoca Gıyasüddin, Sarı Bayezid, Hoca Hamze) in 1873. Besides giving an insight into the socio-economic structure of the area, this source is also telling with respect to the concept of *mahalle*. My conclusions are summarised under the following subheadings: distribution of wealth, the structure of the *mahalle* and property relations.

The distribution of wealth

A method to trace the distribution of wealth in the area is the comparison of taxes paid for real estate (*vergi-i emlâk*). On a mere numerical level, the following table shows the mean of taxes paid per street and *mahalle*.

Maslak Sokak accordingly has the lowest average of the real estate tax at 22,5 *guruş*,

	Hoca Gıyasüddin	Sarı Bayezid	Hace Hamza
Cami'-i Şerif-i Sokak	27,50	.	.
Çıkmaz Sokak	26,00	.	.
Harem Zokak	54,90	.	.
Maslak Zokak	22,50	.	.
Mehmed Pasa Yokusu	47,54	.	.
Tavanli Cesme Zokak	55,20	90,00	.
Türbe Sokak	41,64	.	.
Sarı Beyazid Caddesi	.	250,00	.
Cami Sokak	.	107,40	.
Abacı Çeşme Sokak	.	67,38	.
Vefa Caddesi	.	206,67	.
Çıkmaz Toprak Sokak	.	51,20	.
Kemer Altı	.	.	90,40
Dıvoğlu Yokuşu	.	.	107,33
Kepenekçi Sokak	.	.	105,00
Dıvoğlu Mekteb Sokak	.	.	67,20
Uzunçarşı Caddesi	.	.	356,31
Pacacı Sokak	.	.	177,33
Şekerci Sokak	.	.	213,60
Şeyh Davud Sokak	.	.	1041,60
Külhan Sokak	.	.	201,33
Odunkapusu Yokuşu	.	.	105,89
Şeyh-ül islâm Kapı	.	.	385,82
Mean per Mahalle	**39,32**	**128,77**	**259,26**

Table 4: Average of taxes paid according to mahalle and street

the type of property there invariably being houses with gardens. Not surprisingly, the

highest taxes are paid in the commercial area – Şeyh Davud Street, Uzunçarşı Street,

Şekerci and Pacacı Street. Excluding these from the calculation, Şeyh-ül islâm Kapı

Street leads the count for real estate tax paid with an average of 385.82 *guruş*, the

type of property here being invariably mansions (*konak*) with gardens and fountains.

The average of taxes paid cumulatively on a *mahalle* level varies considerably. While

the mean in Hoca Gıyasüddin is only 39.32 *guruş*, it more than triples in Sarı

Bayezid (128.77 *guruş*) and is more than seven times higher in Hoce Hamze (259.26

guruş). If again the commercial areas are excluded, the real estate tax in Hoca Hamze

still average at 151.85 *guruş* (the average of commercial real estate being 447.21

guruş). Thus, the mean of taxes paid in the residential areas of Hoca Hamze is more than four times higher than in Hoca Gıyasüddin.

There are two possible methods of mapping this distribution. A scale by percentile - what do 25 %, 50% and 75% per cent of the population in these neighbourhoods pay for their real estate – is more sensitive to changes on the lower levels of taxes. 25% of the inhabitants pay less than 28 *guruş* for their property, 50% pay less than 49 *guruş* and 75% less than 101 *guruş*. More valuable property – or property for which more than 300 *guruş* are paid – is however distributed indistinctly although they vary considerably and rise up to 4348 *guruş* (for a *han* with ten rooms). Besides this scale by percentile thus, another scale was used with equal differences between the categories in order to map differences in taxes on a higher level. It does not distinguish however between low and high amounts paid by 75% of the population (see maps 7-12). The picture emerging from the maps is one of sharp differences between the neighbourhoods and a residential mix to a varying degree. While in Hoca Gıyasüddin there are only three households and a *bakkal* (or five per cent of the property owners) paying more than 100 *guruş* (which anyways applies to less than 25% of the households in total), in Sarı Bayezid by contrast 47% of the households pay more than 100 *guruş*. In Hoca Gıyasüddin a third or 26 households pays less than 28 *guruş*, in Sarı Bayezid this is the case for only five or 15% of the households. These two neighbouring *mahalle*s contrast with Hoca Hamze where 36 or 36% of the households pay more than 100 gurus and only 8 households (14%) less than 28 *guruş*. While this is more or less similar to Sarı Bayezid, the differences in the higher amount of taxes paid are more pronounced in Hoca Hamze. In Sarı Bayezid 3 households pay more than 300, one household more than 400 *guruş*. In

Map 7: Hoca Gıyasüddin mahalle taxation

Map 8: Hoca Hamze mahalle taxation 1873

Map 9: Sarı Bayezid mahalle taxation 1873

Legend:
- 1 - 27
- 28 - 48
- 49 - 100
- 101 - 300
- < 301
- public building

Map 10: Hoca Gıyasüddin mahalle taxation 1 1873

Map 11: Hoca Hamze mahalle taxation 1 1873

Map 12: Sarı Bayezid taxation 1 1873

Legend:
- 1 - 100
- 101 - 200
- 201 - 300
- 301 - 400
- 401 - 500
- < 500
- public building
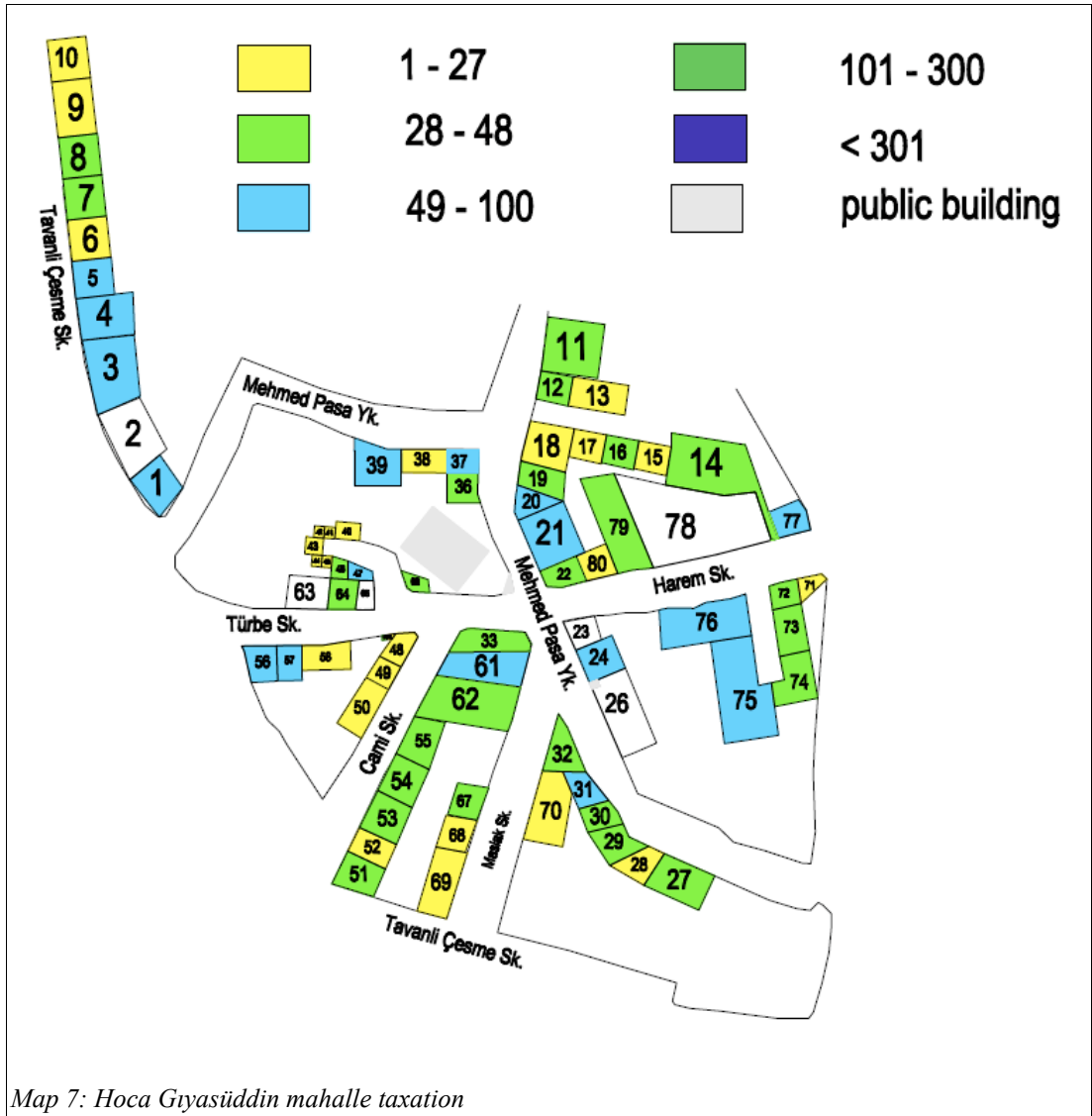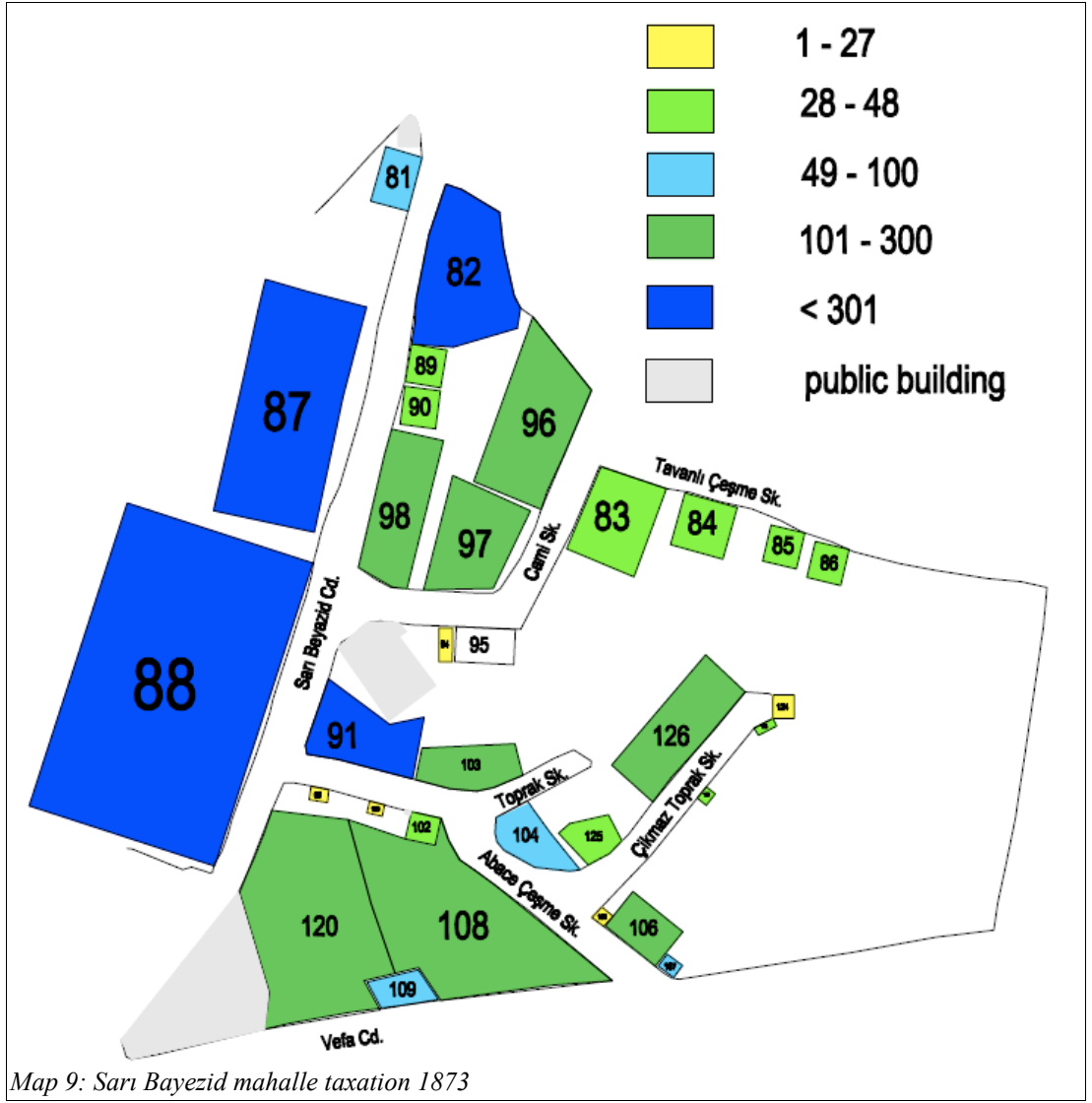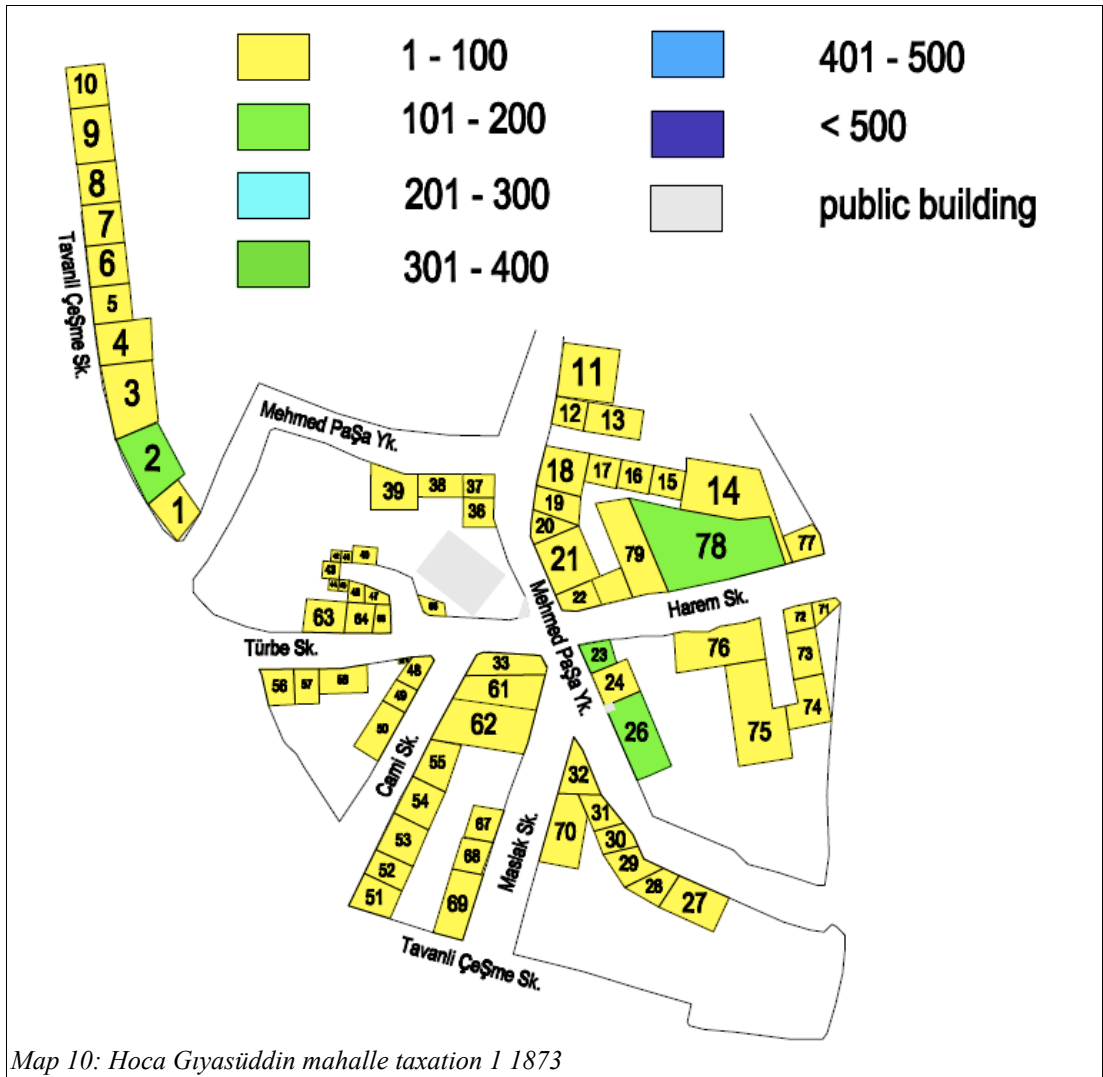
Hoca Hamze one household pays more than 300, none pays more than 400, but 3 households pay more than 500 *guruş* in the residential areas of the neighbourhood. The differences in taxes paid for property in Hoca Hamze are thus more pronounced than in Sarı Bayezid.

The value of a house (*kıymet-i emlak*) is another indicator in measuring the distribution of wealth. For the whole area the value of a house – or property categorised as *hâne* (house), *hâne ma' bâğçe* (house with garden) and *konak ma' bâğçe ma' sebil* (mansion with garden and fountain) - averages 27,100 *guruş*, 500 gurus being the cheapest and 800000 *guruş* the most expensive property. The average value varies between 32,362 *guruş* in Sarı Bayezid, 10,270 *guruş* in Hoca Gıyasüddin and 50,118 *guruş* in Hoca Hamze. Again, a similar distribution emerges with the lowest house values in Hoca Gıyasüddin, Sarı Bayezid taking a place in the middle and Hoca Hamze heading the table (see maps 13 - 15). Yet, as long as these figures are not set in relation with the purchasing power of the time, they remain relatively meaningless. We might thus calculate a price of a house in terms of working days for an unqualified construction worker in Istanbul, who earned about 8 *guruş* for a day's work in 1873.[231] To purchase an average priced house in Hoca Gıyasüddin thus, he had to work 1,284 days (3.5 years), 4,045 (11 years) to buy one in Sarı Bayezid and 6,264 days (17 years) to possess a house in Hoca Hamze.

Supposing that the value of a property equals the price for which it is sold opens up an opportunity for a tentative comparison between the value of property in 1873 and

231 according to the statistics prepared by Şevket Pamuk (ed.). *İstanbul ve Diğer Kentlerde 500 Yıllık Fiyatlar ve Ücretler 1469-1998 = 500 years of Prices and Wages in Istanbul and other Cities* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000).

prices of property in 1818 as indicated in the court records.[232] In 1818 a garden in

Map 13: Value of real estate in Hoca Gıyasüddin 1873

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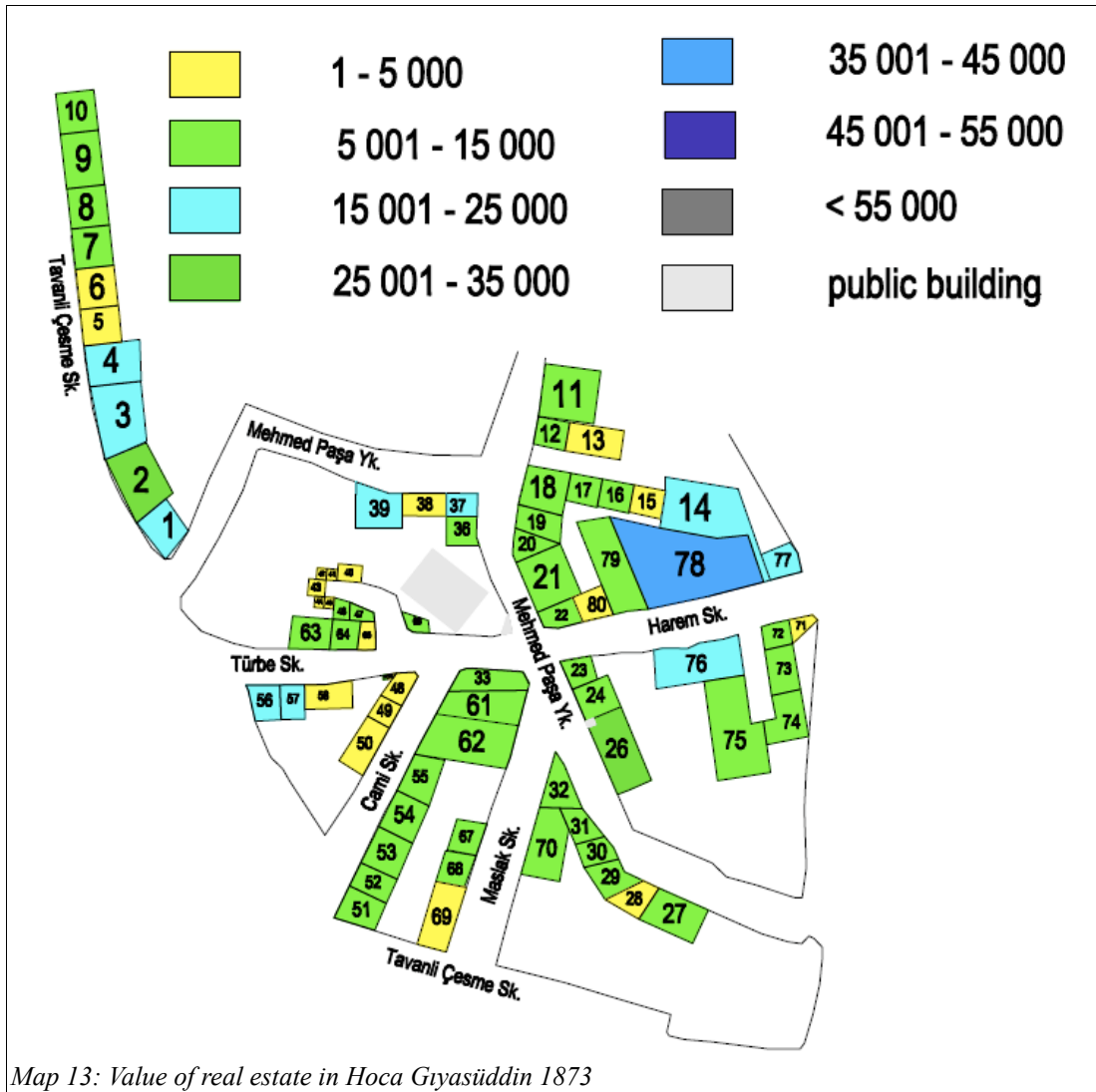
232 This supposition quite apparently involves again several problems connected to the nature of tax
registers. The interest of the homeowner in a tax registers naturally is to pay less tax and thus to
register his house at low value. This contrasts with purchasing a house, as the homeowner tries to
sell it at the highest value possible.

Map 14: Value of real estate in Sarı Bayezid 1873

Map legend:

1 – 5 000
5 001 – 15 000
15 001 – 25 000
25 001 – 35 000
35 001 – 45 000
45 001 – 55 000
< 55 000
public building

Map 15: Value of real estate in Hoca Hamze in 1873

99
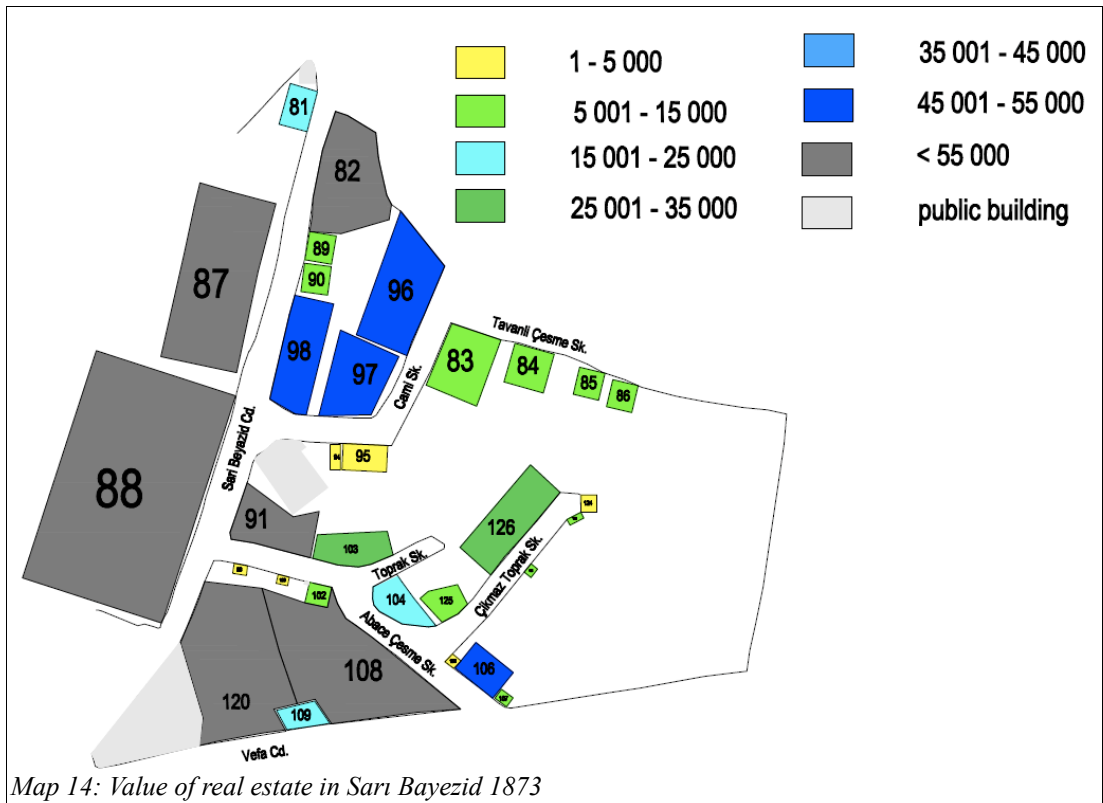
Hoca Hamze is sold for 260 *guruş*[233], a quilt- makers shop in Hoca Gıyasüddin for 2,000 *guruş*[234], and a *bakkal* shop in Tiryâki Çarşısı for 680 *guruş*[235]. Thus, to buy the garden in Hoca Hamze, an unqualified construction worker had to work for 170 days, after 1309 days (or 3,5 years) of work he could buy the quilt-makers shop in Hoca Gıyasüddin and after 445 days the *bakkaliye* in Tiryâki Çarşı. In another law suit in 1855, an oilmill (*yağhane*) located in Kemer Altı was sold for 22,000 *guruş* or, converted to the currency 'working days', 2,781 days (7.6 years) of work.[236] The price in the tax registers of 1873 for a garden averages 6,000 gurus (750 days, about 2 years) and the price for a *bakkal* 24,108 *guruş* (3,013 days, 8 years). These numbers imply an enormous increase in prices between 1818 and 1873.

Maybe a more direct comparison is possible: The register of 1873 most probably includes the quilt-makers shop in Hoca Giyasüddin – still owned by non-Muslims, next to the Mehmed Paşa Fountain, but no longer a quilt-makers shop, but that of an ordinary *bakkal*. The defter determined the value of the *bakkal* shop at 12,000 *guruş* – which is a moderate increase from 1,309 working days or 2,000 *guruş* in 1816 to 1,500 working days in 1873.[237]

To buy a house as an unqualified construction worker, who could supposedly save up to 10% of his income for housing, in any other area than Hoca Gıyasüddin was evidently impossible during a lifetime. With regard to real estate prices even Hoca Gıyasüddin seems to have been a rather wealthy area – our unqualified construction worker would have to save up money for approximately 35 years.

As already mentioned, calculations for the value of houses are based on the

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233 Istanbul Mahkemesi 122: 8-66/8b-1.4
234 Istanbul Mahkemesi 122: 1-120/9b-2.3
235 Istanbul Mahkemesi 122: 1-122/57b-1.4
236 Istanbul Mahkemesi 199: 17-3
237 Changes in the real value of the shop can be measured, by comparing the silver content. The increase is actually quite substantial from 7,44 gram in 1817 to 11,95 gram in 1873.

size of the plot with most houses including gardens – indeed the registers otherwise tell us nothing about the size of the house (see chap. 2). To balance this possible delusion, the number of rooms inside the houses can be compared (tab. 4). On average again, in Hoca Gıyasüddin houses contain three rooms contrasted by five and almost six rooms in the other two *mahalle*s, respectively. This confirms the notion of distribution of wealth, that we had been able to grasp so far.

		rooms	mean in the mahalle
Hoca Gıyasüddin	Cami'-i Şerif-i Sokak	3,5	
	Çıkmaz Sokak	3	
	Harem Sokak	3,4	
	Maslak Sokak	3,5	
	Mehmed Paşa Yokuşu	3,04	
	Türbe Zokak	3,38	3,3
Sarı Beyazid	Tavanli Çesme Sokak	3,6	
	Sarı Beyazid Caddesi	7,4	
	Cami Sokak	6,25	
	Abacı Çeşme Sokak	4,57	
	Vefa Caddesi	6,5	
	Çıkmaz Toprak Sokak	3,2	5,13
Hoca Hamze	Kemer Altı	3,63	
	Dıvoğlu Yokuşu	7,5	
	Kepenekçi Sokak	4	
	Dıvoğlu Mekteb Sokak	3,25	
	Külhan Sokak	10,25	
	Odunkapusu Yokuşu	4,9	
	Şeyhülislam Kapu Caddesi	8,11	5,95

Table 5: Average of rooms according to street and mahalle

Another good indicator for the distribution of wealth appears to be the existence of running water as it correlates with the amount of real estate tax, value and size of the property (map 16-18).[238] While only 3 houses in Hoca Gıyasüddin were connected to fresh water sources, in Sarı Bayezid 6 houses (17%) and 58

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238 this has been observed as well by Uğur Tanyeli, "Norms of Domestic comfort and Luxury in Ottoman Metropolises Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century," in eds. Faroqhi, Surayia; Neumann, Christoph, *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2003), pp. 301-316.

Map 16: Households connected to the water system in Hoca Gıyasüddin 1873

Map 17: Households connected to the water system in Sarı Bayezid 1873

Map 18: Households connected to the water system in Hoca Hamze 1873

household connected to the water system
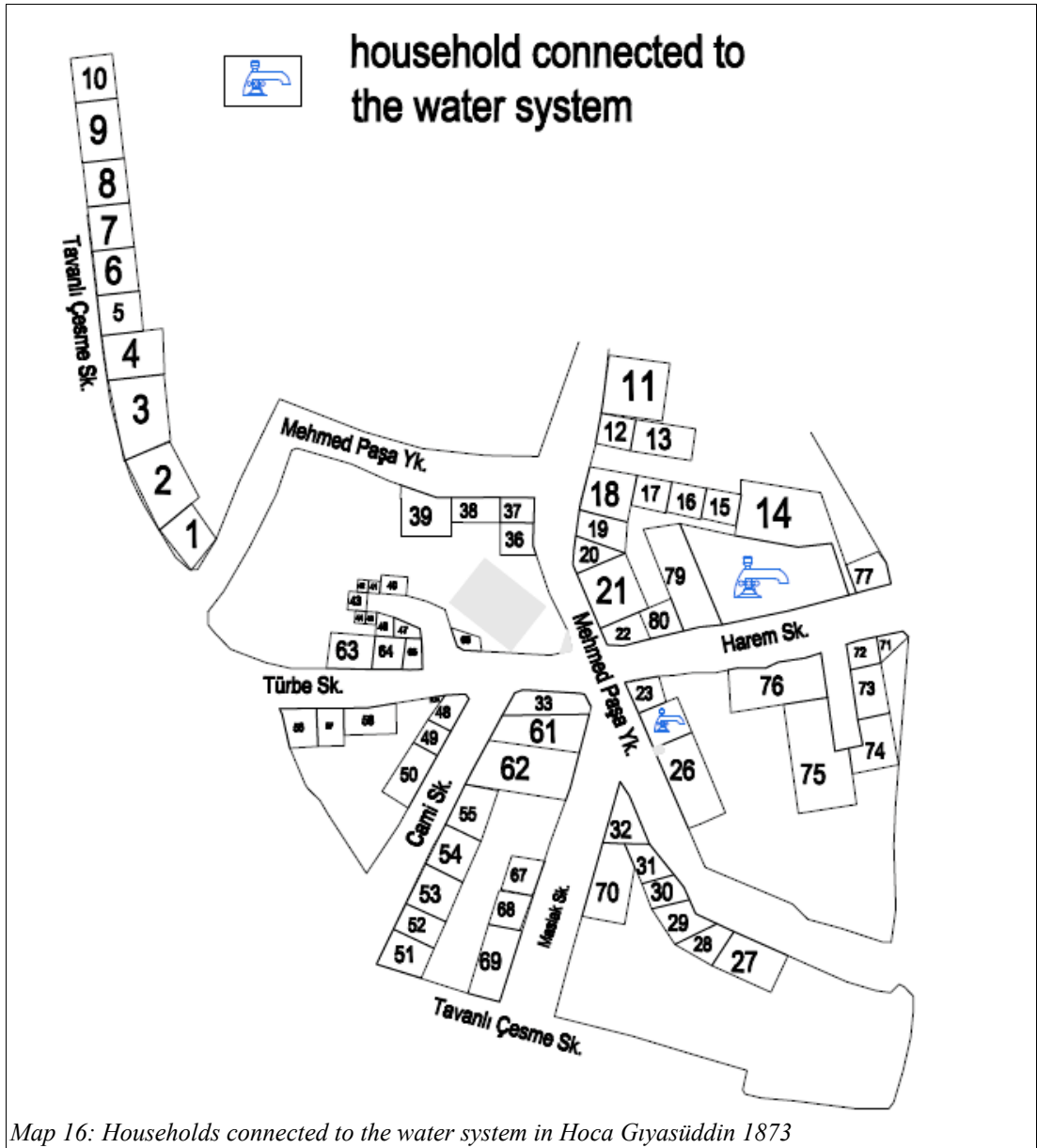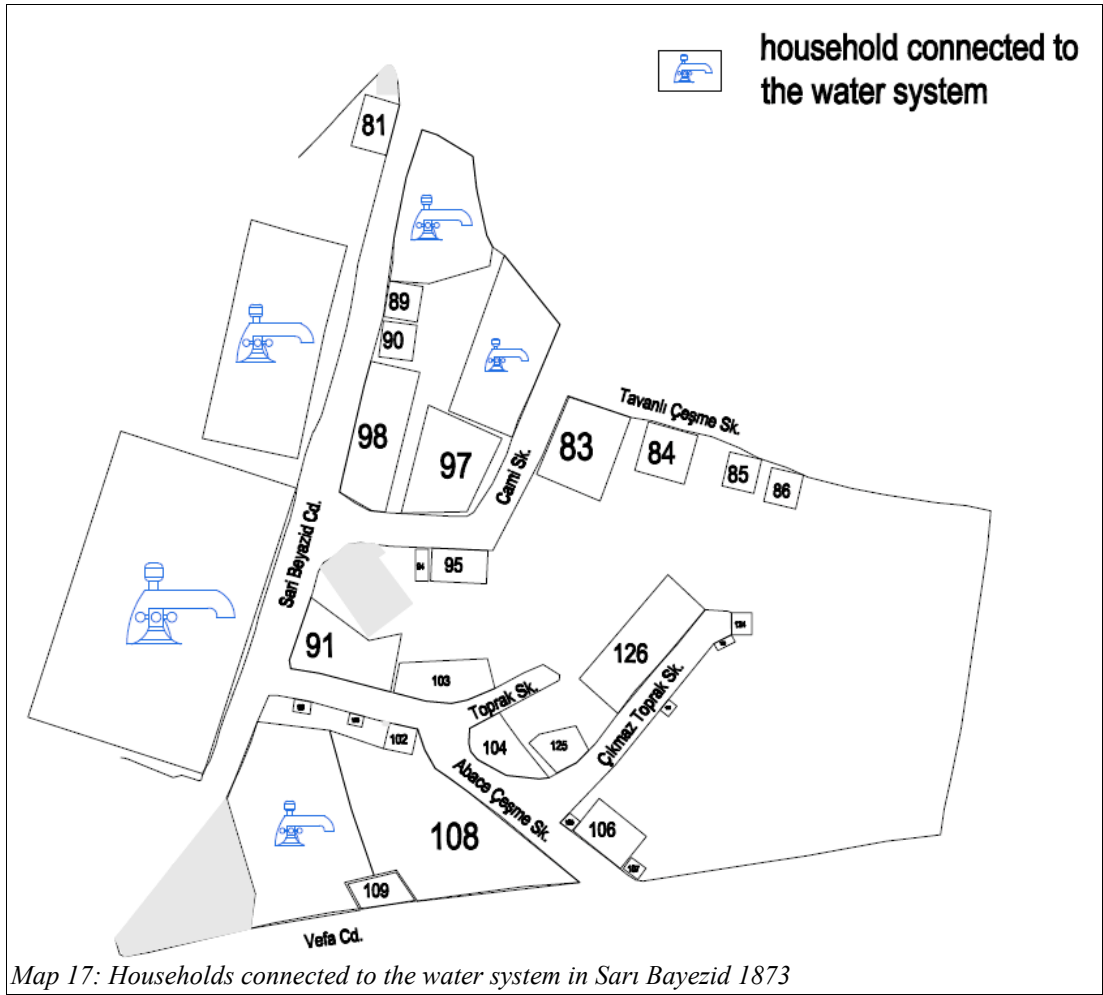
houses (75%) in the residential areas of Hoca Hamze were connected to the water system. Hoca Hamze quite clearly profited from the water system in place for its commercial area to which 82% of the houses were connected. These are, I think, quite surprisingly high numbers even if we compare them to an international context – in post-Haussmann Paris *"half the houses did not have running water in 1870, and the distribution system to commercial establishments was weakly articulated."*[239]

Taken together, these factors describe a clear distribution of wealth. While Sarı Bayezid and Hoca Hamze have a similar residential mix, Hoca Gıyasüddin is by far the most homogeneous, with a similar low to average amount paid for rather modest housing. Besides these differences between the *mahalle*s, two patterns in the distribution of wealth can be detected. The area covered by the registers is placed on the hill slopes leading down to the Golden Horn. As typical for Istanbul until present-day, the further up on the hill property is located, the more valuable it is, as these locations guarantee a view on the water. Likewise, the streets more or less on the ridge (Şeyh-ül islâm Kapı Caddesi, Vefa Caddesi and Sarı Bayezid Caddesi) house mansions or huge houses. A second intervening pattern is the width of streets. The aforementioned streets and additionally Tavanlı Çeşme Sokağı are thoroughfares and contrast with small streets and dead-ends like Çıkmaz Sokak in Hoca Gıyasüddin or Çıkmaz Toprak Sokağı in Sarı Bayezid. The smaller the streets, the cheaper the property along these streets.

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239 Harvey 2003: p. 251.

Illustration 13: Part of Hoca Hamze (20th century)

Illustration 14: Part of Hoca Gıyasüddin and Sarı Bayezid (20th century)

The structure of the *mahalle*

The observations made so far imply three very different *mahalle*s making it difficult to generalise on this topic. Hoca Gıyasüddin firstly, is a modest *mahalle* with a rather uniform stock of wooden housing. It consists of 76 residential buildings, one bakkaliye and three public-religious buildings organised along seven streets. Secondly, Sari Bayezid with its 33 residential buildings (one being brick construction), three public-religious buildings and six streets is far smaller and richer than Hoca Gıyasüddin. The huge quarter of Hoca Hamze, thirdly, is divided into a residential and a commercial area. While on the one hand, the 42 commercial buildings are brick structures, Hoca Hamze's residential area is made up of 129 buildings, only eight of which are partly brick construction. Thanks to its commercial area with its bekâr odaları[240], Hoca Hamze benefits from 12 public-religious buildings.

How does this diversity fit with the concept of *mahalle* summarised under four headings (namely, "*mahalle* in the city", "*mahalle* as Legal, Political and Social community", "*mahalle* as Private Space" and "*mahalle* as Social and Religious Entity) in chapter 1? With regard to size (as a short reminder, according to the literature 100 – 120 houses are an average size of a *mahalle* during the nineteenth century), Sarı Bayezid is miniscule and Hoca Hamze mammoth-sized. Moreover, as

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240 As the commercial area of Hoca Hamze leads to a completely different topic, I restrict myself here to a short comment. Bekar odalari are lodgings for (oftentimes seasonal, generally unmarried) labourers that are situated in commercial areas. In the commercial area Necis Hanı (26 oda and a toilet), Mehmed Emiroğlu Hanı (18 oda), Halil Efendi Hanı (20 oda and a toilet), Şeyh Davud Hanı (10 oda, toilet, türbe, mescid, şadırvan and a bakery) and one single oda are located. Except Şeyh Davud Hanı, these hans had no noteworthy infrastructure, so that daily needs had to be fulfilled in the *mahalle*. For more on this topic: Florian Riedler, "Wanderarbeiter (bekâr) im Istanbul des 19. Jahrhunderts: Zwischen Marginalität und Normalität," in eds. Pistor-Hatam A.; Richter, A., *Bettler, Prostitutierte, Paria: Randgruppen in Asiatischen Gesellschaften* (Hamburg: EB-Verlag, 2008).

regards the notion that *mahalle*s are supposed to be functionally different from the commercial areas of the city, Hoca Hamze as a mixed commercial-residential quarter is rather unconventional. To boot, the margin between commercial and residential dividing the *mahalle* in two, is a divide between bachelor's rooms and Tahtakale's wild life on the one and mansions of Süleymaniye's rich inhabitants on the other hand. Yet one has to note, that the commercial and the residential parts of the *mahalle* are well segregated parts divided by a steep geography. Still, I doubt that this proximity would not allow for interpenetration between the two areas – rendering the whole idea of semi-private female space in the *mahalle* ad absurdum. Cem Behar has observed the emergence of sub-areas in Kasap İlyas *mahalle*si and constant *"merges and acquisitions"*[241] of *mahalle*s. A possible and – given the fact that this is the only indicator - very cautious interpretation of this mixture is to understand it as a slow extension of the market area into Süleymaniye's residential quarters - a process which becomes very obvious in the 1950s.[242]

By and large, our three *mahalle*s are homogeneously Muslim quarters with non-Muslims present as shopkeepers, but apparently not as residents. Heterogeneous however, is the residential mix in Hoca Hamze and Sarı Bayezid. Although an upper-strata of society inhabits these quarters, they are not exclusive to moderate income groups. Indeed, palaces and huts are placed side by side. As we have seen, this contrasts sharply with Hoca Gıyasüddin.

241 Behar 2003: p.16.
242 Kıray 1998: p. 13.

Property relations

70 % of the building stock in the area under observation belongs to foundations (*vâkıf*), 20 % of which are in the hands of small foundations or foundations owning only little property in the area. 50% of the building stock is held by only 19 foundations (see maps f-h). 19 buildings are connected to the *Haremeyn-i Şerifeyn* foundations. The income of these foundations was collected and send to Mekka and Medina once a year (*surre*)[243]. A majority of them are located in Hoca Gıyasüddin. At second place and the biggest landlord turns to be the endowment of Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa with 15. Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa had been grand vizier, who launched the siege of Vienna in 1683.[244] In Hoca Hamze the mansions lined up along Şeyhülislam Caddesi (the konaks of Tahir Paşa with its annexes, Mehmed İzzet Bey and Mumcular Kethüdası Hacı Ahmed Ağa) and the houses in Kemer Altı and Kepenekçi Sokağı are connected to this foundation.

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243 Kahraman 2006: p. 3, Öztürk 1995: p. 30, 76.
244 Süreyya Vol. 4.2. 1971: p.478.

Map 19: Foundations in Hoca Gıyasüddin 1873

Legend:
- 1 Binbaşı Hacı Mustafa Ağa foundation
- 3 Harameyn-i Şerifeyn foundation
- 4 Hoca Gıyasüddin foundation
- 5 Izzet Paşa foundation
- 6 Kapudan Kaymak foundation
- 7 Katib Şemseddin foundation
- 8 Rusnamci Ömer Efendi foundation
- 9 Serpeykan Haci Mustafa Ağa foundation
- 12 Sultan Kethüdası El-Hac Mehmed Paşa foundation
- 19 Şeyhülharem es-Seyyid Mehmed Efendi foundation

Map 20: Foundations in Sarı Bayezid 1873

The legend of the map reads:

- **3** Harameyn-i Şerifeyn foundation
- **6** Kapudan Kaymak foundation
- **10** Sarı Beyazid foundation
- **11** Sipahilar Ağası Mehmed Emir Ağa foundation
- **12** Sultan Kethüdası El-Hac Mehmed Paşa foundation
- **13** Ruznamci Efendi Ali Efendi foundation

Map 21: Foundations in Hoca Hamze 1873

Legend:

1 — Binbaşı Hacı Mustafa Ağa foundation
2 — Ayasofia kebir-i foundation
3 — Harameyn-i Şerifeyn foundation
11 — Sipahilar Ağası Mehmed Emir Ağa foundation
14 — Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa foundation
15 — Emir Nurettin Efendi foundation

16 — Sheyyid Ali Paşa foundation
17 — Hoca Hamza foundation
18 — Gazi Murat Paşa foundation
19 — Şeyhülharem es-Seyyid Mehmed Efendi foundation

These are the most valuable regions in the registers.

The names and titles stated in the register as owners of a property or a share of it, shed a light on property relations in the area. To draw conclusions, however, is a partly dangerous undertaking, as titles - "Efendi" and "Haci" especially - seem to be ambiguous and are often used interchangeably.[245] Almost a third of the property is owned by more than one shareholder. Shops with Muslim and non-Muslim shareholders are not uncommon.

	Hoca Gıyasüddin	Sarı Beyazid	Hoca Hamze	Total
Efendi	24	9	14	47
Haci	4	0	14	18
Ağa	13	2	12	27
Bey	2	7	10	19
Paşa	0	3	12	15
es-Seyyid	3	3	2	8
Molla	1	0	0	1
Hanım	28	7	15	50
non-Muslim	1	0	4	5
non specific	4	0	0	4
other high (military)	0	3	0	3
Total	**80**	**34**	**83**	**197**

Table 6: Rank of first shareholder of property

Regarding only the owner or the shareholder named first in the registers as visible in tab. 6, the expected picture of high ranks in Hoca Hamze and low ranks in Hoca Gıyasüddin emerges. For instance, 12 of the owners in Hoca Hamza bear the high military rank of *paşa*, while in Hoca Gıyasüddin not a single person of this title can be identified.

A common practice appears to be dividing property between a married couple. Hence, a quarter of the persons named as second shareholders are female

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245   more on this problem see: Canbakal, *Ayntab at the End of the Seventeenth-Century: A study of Notables and Urban Politics,* (doctoral thesis, Havard University, 1999), p. 131.

with a great majority of them being the wife of the first shareholder. Thus, almost 30 per cent of the property is owned by women – a surprising finding, which I will deal with in the following.
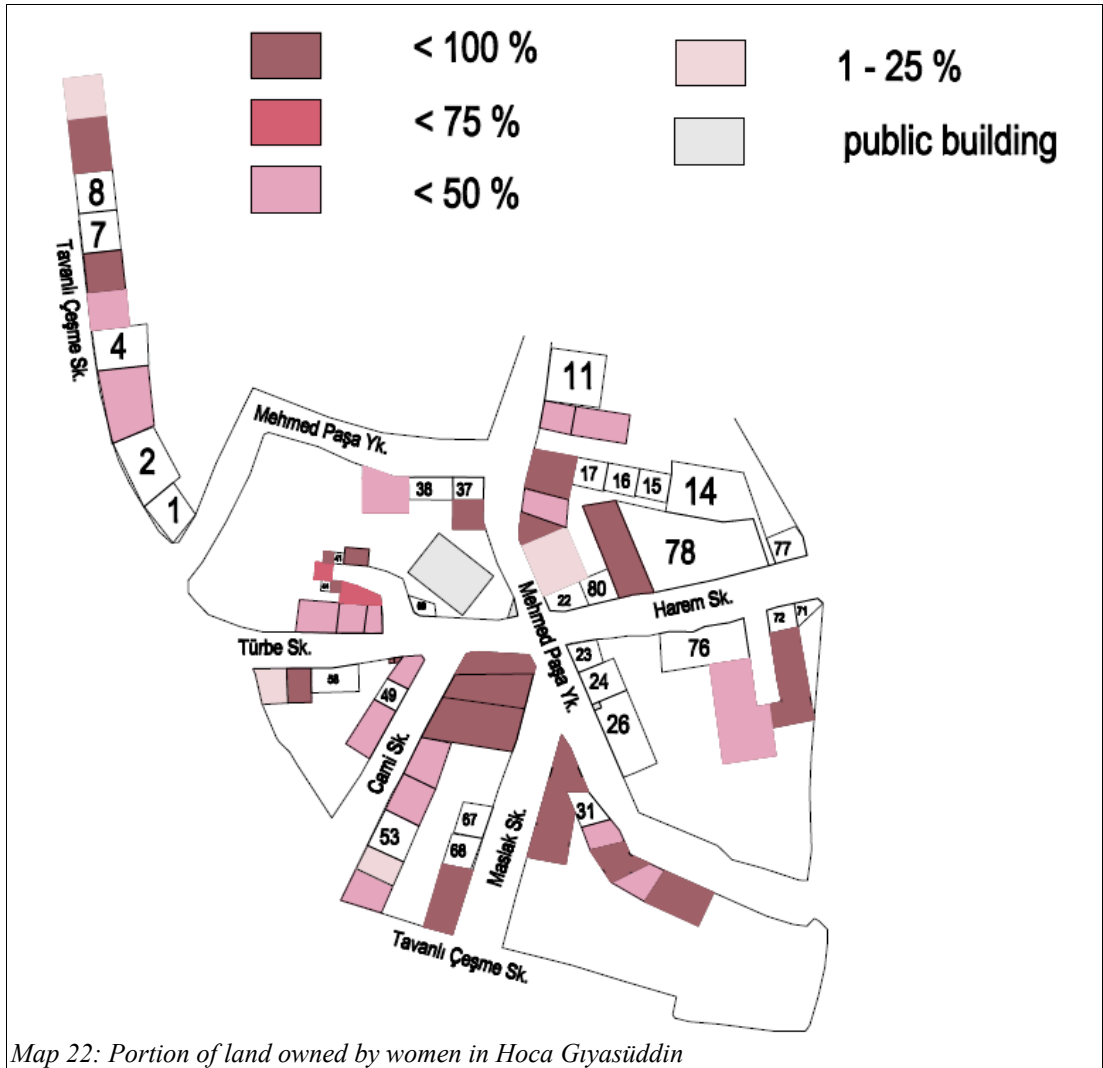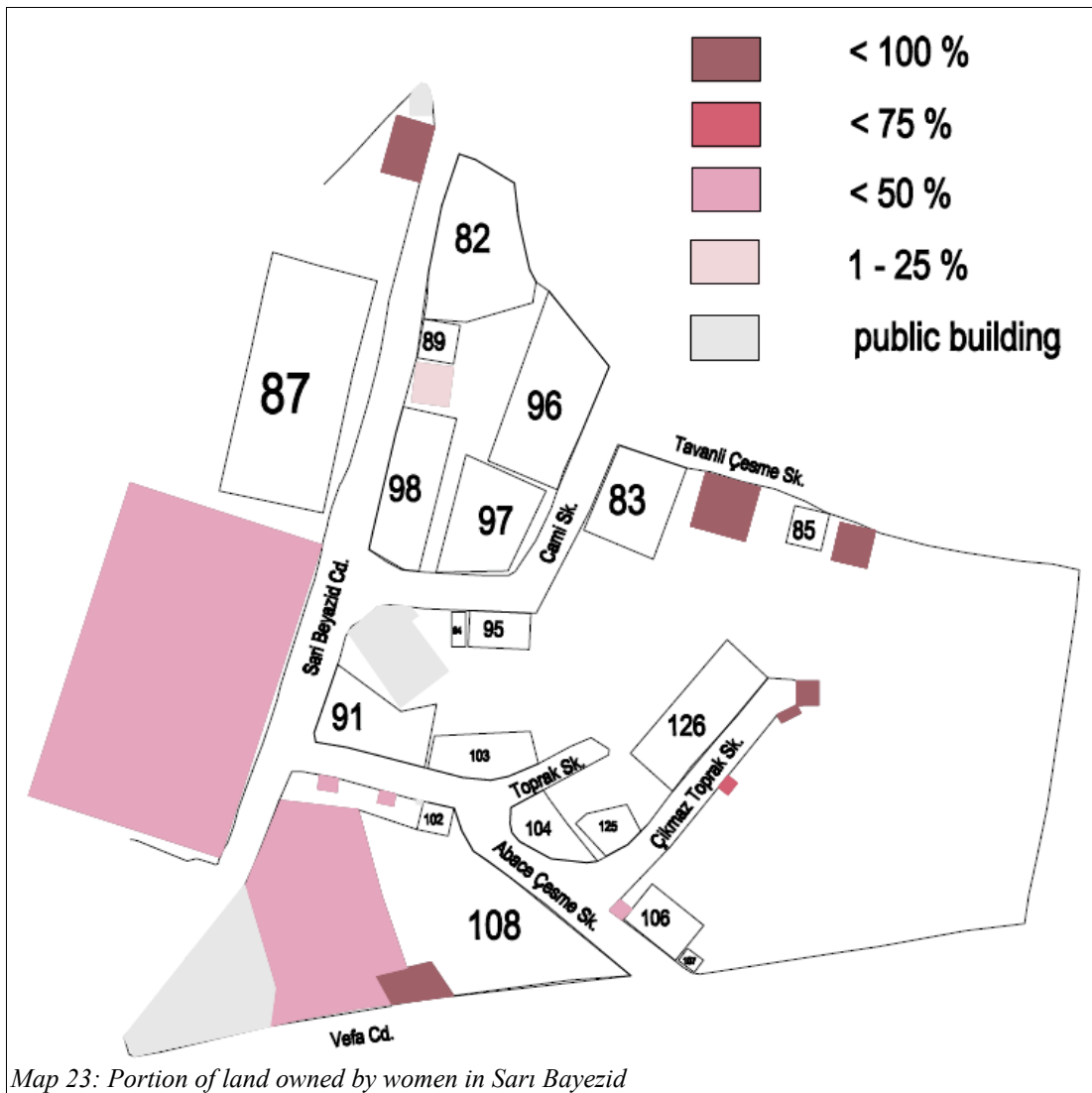
Women as homeowners

The female share of a total of 57 595 *zira'* land is 16 741,55 *zira'* or 29 per cent. This number however changes according to *mahalle*. The mean of female property in Hoca Gıyasüddin rises considerably in some streets up to 71, 65 and 62 per cent in Çıkmaz Sokak, Maslak Sokağı and Tavanlı Çeşme Sokağı (tab. 6). This stands in sharp contrast to streets in Hoca Hamze in general and more specifically to its

	Sarı Beyazid	Hoca Gıyasüddin	Hace Hamze	Percent of female property in total
Cami'-i Şerif-i Sokak	43,50	.	.	0,36
Çıkmaz Sokak	53,06	.	.	0,71
Harem Sokak	88,50	.	.	0,37
Maslak Sokak	67,50	.	.	0,65
Mehmed Paşa Yokuşu	46,25	.	.	0,35
Tavanlı Çeşme Sokak	40,25	79,17	.	0,31
Türbe Sokak	86,18	.	.	0,08
Sarı Beyazid Caddesi	.	310,80	.	0,26
Cami Sokak	.	0	.	0
Abacı Çeşme Zukağı	.	9,44	.	0,03
Vefa Caddesi	.	412,50	.	0,34
Çıkmaz Toprak Sokak	.	49,66	.	0,21
Kemer Altı	.	.	83,64	0,39
Dıvoğlu Yokuşu	.	.	76,76	0,5
Kepenekçi Sokak	.	.	42,50	0,34
Dıvoğlu Mekteb Sokak	.	.	22,10	0,13
Uzunçarşı Caddesi	.	.	11,64	0,24
Pacacı Sokak	.	.	0	0
Şekerci Sokak	.	.	2,34	0,03
Şeyh Davud Sokak	.	.	0	0
Külhan Sokak	.	.	375,00	0,4
Odunkapusu Yokuşu	.	.	65,73	0,26
Şeyhülislam Kapu Caddesi	.	.	206,25	0,32
TOTAL	**425,24**	**861,57**	**885,95**	

Table 7: Average of zira' land owned by women according to street and mahalle

commercial area. In

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Pacacı, Şekerci and Şeyh Davud Sokak women own nothing. As visible in the maps
(maps 22 - 24), a female-property geography extends from Tavanlı Çeşme Sokağı
(on

Map 22: Portion of land owned by women in Hoca Gıyasüddin

Map 23: Portion of land owned by women in Sarı Bayezid

Legend:
- < 100 %
- < 75 %
- < 50 %
- 1 - 25 %
- public building

Labels on map: 82, 89, 87, 96, 98, 97, 83, 85, 95, 94, 91, 103, 126, 102, 104, 125, 108, 106, Sarı Bayezid Cd., Camii Sk., Tavanli Çesme Sk., Toprak Sk., Çıkmaz Toprak Sk., Abacı Çeşme Sk., Vefa Cd.

Map 24: Portion of land owned by women in Hoca Hamze

the southern side, which belongs to Sarı Bayezid with 41 per cent of the property in the hands of women) to Hoca Gıyasüddin. Here, 20 of the houses are owned by women only. These numbers are, even by today's standards quite astonishing. It is clear that the bigger and wealthier the house, the larger the share owned by men. Although, as mentioned before, a part of this high share might be explained by strategies to save taxes and household formation by single women was not unthinkable[246], the coincidence of relative moderate or poor living conditions and female homeownership poses new questions. If a woman is the single owner, does this imply that she is the only breadwinner of the household? Is she a widow? If this was the case, female homeownership would be synonymous – and this again, unfortunately, has not changed until today – with poverty. Having said this, a look into the census of 1885 or rather the meagre yield provided by the 5% sample offers an alternative explanation.

<p style="text-align:center">Dubious Business in Süleymaniye</p>

The 5% sample of the census data only contains 3 households in the vicinity of Süleymaniye. All of them are located in Tavanlı Çeşme Sokağı numbers 3,7 and 9 respectively. Thus, these houses are situated down the hill in Hızır Bey *mahalle*si – and as the tax registers of 1873 contain the street numbers 17 to 31 – a direct comparison is impossible. The households included in the census however are noteworthy: All of them are owned by single females aged between 15 and 41 years, two of which are given as widows, one of them as living together with a co-resident without familial relationship. This "co-resident" is coming from Circassia and is working as a day labourer (*rençber*) only 21 years of age. One of the widows, who is

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246 Duben 1990: p. 428.

15-years old, shares her house with a 20-years old, unmarried farmer from Erzurum. Although the profession of these young "widows" is registered as "unknown" in the census, there can be little doubt to the means these women make a living. Obviously the three women living in three neighbouring houses in Tavanlı Çeşme Sokağı were prostitutes.

Of course it is difficult to travel back 12 years in time, 100 meter uphill and conclude that some of the female homeowners in Hoca Gıyasüddin were also prostitutes. This guesswork nonetheless is supported by another hint, I found in Cengiz Kırlı's work on the *havadis jurnalleri*. In 1840 one of the police officers overhears a conversation in a coffee house close to *Saraçhane*, where an officer complains about prostitutes in Süleymaniye:

> Devlet-i Aliyye'de bir zâbit olsam evvela Süleymaniye'de olan yalan şâhidleriyle fâhişelerin çâresine bakar idim. Bu çekilen sıkındı böyle hilâfı kabûl edüb âşikâre yalan şâhidleri bayağı bir esnaf. Fâhişeler dahi saçlarını aşsun, göğsünü açsun buna Hakk'ın rızâsı var mıdır? Ya'nî böyle şeyler şer'inin hilâfı olduğunu Kazasker ve hâkimler biliyorlar iken böyle kâziblerin şehadetlerini turub da'vâ görmelerine mu'cib olunur. Hakk teâlâ örf-i Osmaniyye'ye zevâl vermesin, kusûr yine bizdedir.[247]

Prostitutes strolling around in revealing clothes in 1840 and several whorehouses in a row in 1885 clearly does not match the narrative told about Süleymaniye (see chap. 4). Given the fact that Süleymaniye is full of secondary schools, close to the harbour and the market area, imagining young men searching for "distraction" is not so difficult and an integral part of daily life in big cities. Apparently, the existence of prostitution rather needs to be interpreted as an integral part of city life, than as an indicator for a dilapidated area or decline. Still, in order to come up with more than tentative answers, the topic is too neglected especially for intra-muros İstanbul and

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247 Cengiz Kırlı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu. Osmanlı Modernleşme Sürecinde "Havadis Jurnalleri" (1840-1844)* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2009). p. 171/172.

the evidence presented here insufficient.

Divorce rates in Süleymaniye

Indeed, the female population in the area under observation is a quite astonishing

one. Among the 23 cases of the *şer'iye sicilleri* analysed, five are concerned with

divorce. According to law,

divorce was only possible if

the husband ended the

marriage (*talak*), both

spouses agreed on a

dissolution of marriage (*hul*

divorce) or if a problem with

the dowry (*mehr-i müeccel*)

Illustration 15: Women in front of the Süleymaniye mausoleum (ca. 1890 - 1910)

appeared. *Hul* divorces were

common practice in the seventeenth and eighteenth century[248], but it is still hard to

estimate divorce rates and the proportion of *hul* divorces among divorces in general.

Among the 62 law-suits brought to the courts of Istanbul by women in 1675 only

three cases are concerned with *hul* divorce and another three with the dowry.[249]

Aköz's work on a marriage register (*nikah defteri*) of an *imâm* in a *mahalle* in

Beşiktaş might give another idea. Of the 267 marriages registered between 1869 and

1883, seven were ended by the man and one by the woman.[250] Seen in this light, one

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248 Madeline C. Zilfi. "We don't get along": Women And Hul Divorce in the Eighteenth Century," in ed. Zilfi, Madeline C., *Women in the Ottoman Empire. Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era* (Leiden/New York/Köln: Brill, 2007), p. 264-296.

249 Fariba Zarinebahr-Sahr, "Women, Law, and Imperial Justice in Ottoman Istanbul in the Late Seventeenth Century," in ed. Sonbol, Amira El Azhary, *Women, Law, and Imperial Justice in Ottoman Istanbul in the Late Seventeenth Century, Women, the Family, and Divorce Laws in Islamic History* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1996), p. 88.

250 Alaaddin Aköz, *Bir imâmın Nikah Defteri* (Konya: Tablet Kitabevi, 2006). p. 50.

talak divorce, three *hul* divorces and one woman applying to the court to get a higher dowry among 23 cases covering the years 1817, 1855 and 1870 only, is rather extraordinary. Two *hul* divorces are undertaken by women living in Hoca Gıyasüddin in the years 1827[251] and 1855[252], the third one in 1817[253] in Süleymaniye. The most interesting case, from my point of view, is the case of Fatıma Hanım ibnet-i Mehmed Ali who is divorced by the mentioned former functionary of the *Fevâid-i Osmaniye Kompanyasi* Hamdi Bey ibn Osman Pasa in 1870 in Süleymaniye. Hamdi Bey not only missed to pay the dowry of 5000 *guruş* to his former wife, but also used parts of her property (two shawls, 3 quilts, a golden watch, 2 silver spoons, 1 silver cup and her jewellery) as guarantees to lend money. Fatıma Hanım ibnet-i Mehmed Ali applies to the court claiming 6000 *guruş* from her husband – which is quite a substantial amount of money.[254] Hamdi Bey, however, seems to be unable to pay this amount as only four days later he applies to court to get back a certain golden watch worth 1000 *guruş* which he gave Ahmed Hulusi Efendi ibn Mehmed Ali for "repairs".[255]

Evidently, *hul* divorce and women exercising agency in law-suits using Islamic family law is not restricted to the independent but needy women of Hoca Gıyasüddin. The cases at hand cut across *mahalle*, rank and class: It is Hadice bint el-Hacc 'Ömer getting divorced from Mehmed Beşe ibn Memiş (holding a military title) in Süleymaniye as well as Ayşe Hatun binti Mehmed divorcing 'Şeyh 'Abdurrahman bin Tâhî (holding a high religious title) in Hoca Gıyasüddin and the mentioned Hamdi Bey, a former employee of the modern business *Fevâid-i*

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251 Gökçen 2003: p. 218.
252 Istanbul Mahkemesi 199: 47-1
253 Ertuğ 2006: no. 2-351/42b-2.1.
254 Şahin 2001: p. 181.
255 Şahin 2001: p. 174

Osmaniye Kompanyasi. Yet, to describe a pattern, one would need to read another hundred law- suits.

In conclusion, the data at hand does not provide the opportunity to observe social change. Besides this rather disillusioning fact, we are able to make the following remarks: High state officials are still moving to the area in the second half of the nineteenth century. To share a living environment with people involved in trade and people of not necessarily honourable social status – like prostitutes and divorced women – does not seem to have deterred them. Members of the religious classes are hard to trace in Süleymaniye, but seem to have constituted one small group among military officials and "modern" bureaucrats.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As soon as we direct our attention away from the minarets down to the ground and fix its history to the nineteenth century, an unexpected picture – though with many missing parts – emerges before our eyes. These concluding remarks try to tie together the little pieces mentioned in this thesis.

Attempt and failure to locate the *mahalle* Süleymaniye is a miserable outcome for a thesis committed to detect its everyday life. The absence of the *mahalle* in archival sources, however, is revealing. The Ottoman state had no influence in delineating the *mahalle* and was hardly able to grasp its changing borders. To some degree at least, the (in)ability of the administration to define Süleymaniye *mahallesi*, might interact with the strength of a *mahalle*-bound identity. This question however, can only be answered by further research comparing different *mahalle*. The insights we gain into the three *mahalle* in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, do not allow for any conclusion but one: Towards the end of the nineteenth century in Istanbul a great variety of neighbourhood formations was conceivable. On the one extreme stands Hoca Gıyasüddin as a modest quarter with uniformly small, wooden houses and an extraordinary high percentage of female property owners. Hoca Hamze, the other extreme, is a posh neighbourhood with wooden mansions lined up side-by-side in one of its parts and a commercial area in

the other. None of them fits the outlined concept of *mahalle*. This variety makes it hard to form an opinion on the question of the socio-economic distribution in the *mahalle*s. Is the difference between Hoca Gıyasüddin and Hoca Hamze one of coincidence or does it indicate the beginnings of class-based socio-economic differentiation? The observed patterns of concentration of wealth along the mountain ridge and wide streets very much points to stratification according to class within each of the *mahalle* and the *mahalle*s compared to each other. One could speculate that the beginnings of socio-economic segregation have to be dated earlier than to the Young Turk period and the exit of elites from intramural Istanbul[256], but started in intramural Istanbul in the second half of the nineteenth century.

If we juxtapose the three aspects institutional change, built environment and social change in an attempt to understand their interaction, we can reckon with the following:

1. The abolition of the Janissaries marks a radical change for Süleymaniye's built and social environment. Subsequent reforms of the foundations and the educational system likewise have an effect on the area. None of the Empire's attempts to regularise the built environment, find notable repercussion. Süleymaniye is and stays wooden until the very late nineteenth century.

2. The *Islahat-ı Turuk Komisyonu* is the only urban institution with an effect on Süleymaniye by contrast to any of the municipal undertakings in 1854, 1868 and 1885. The commission, as we see in the example of Süleymaniye, is not only concerned with rebuilding the areas destroyed by fire and with future fire prevention, but also is concerned with the display of mosques and traffic throughout the city. Even if the *Islahât-ı Turuk Komisyonu,* founded in 1865,

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256 Duben/Behar 2002: p. 31.

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is an ad hoc reaction to the devastating fires, it is the first time any body of the new governance models introduced in the nineteenth century acts effectively on genuine functions of a municipality.

3. Süleymaniye and its adjacent areas are residential quarters in the backwaters of the adventurous urban life of Tahtakale, Beyazit Square, Direklerarası and Unkapanı. Still, ordinary life in this neighbourhood is hard to imagine. During religious holidays, it seems, Süleymaniye was frequented by outsiders dining in the mansion of one of Süleymaniye's officials. Many students resort to the area using it also as a stage for their political disagreement in 1876. Adding women in revealing clothes earning a living in dubious business to this population does seem too far fetched and does not necessarily imply decline of the area.

4. The role of women in the neighbourhood is remarkable also with respect to their large share in real estate. The areas owned by women simultaneously have a homogeneously small and wooden fabric located on the steep hill slopes. We can thus conclude that female ownership of houses in Süleymaniye coincides with poverty and that many of these women were widows.

5. To observe elite change after the institutional change of 1826 (new religious functions, new and different military functions), sources are not sufficient. What I find surprising is the almost complete absence of religious elites in the *vâridât* of 1873. Members of the religious classes are hard to trace in Süleymaniye, but are seemingly one small group among military officials and "modern" bureaucrats.

6. Decline of the neighbourhood or exodus of the rich until 1885, with the sources at hand, is not observable. The housing stock in 1873 is only 15 years old and few plots remain empty plots. Until 1885 (some) elites still move to the area as the examples of Kayserili Ahmed Paşa, Ferid Paşa, Hamdi Bey and Tahsin Bey show.

With Tanpınar's guidance, we can lastly enter the house of Mısırlı Galib Paşa on the Simhane Street in Süleymaniye, close to the Bozdoğan aqueduct presumably around the 1930s. It underlines the just said:

> This Galib Paşa married three times, the third wife died. The first wife from Egypt with her topknot, headscarf and jewellery, walks around in the house with a walking stick and a whip in her hand. Kuması olan ikinci kadîn dahi bu kadîna hürmet eder, tavla oyunlarında ona yenilirmiş. In the house lives also the daughter of the second wife (Kerime Hanim). The husband of the daughter, the dentist Hâmit Bey (who also did the teeth of Atatürk) have different servants each. In the house there is also a cook, her husband and son, and a Russian gardener. They make the gardener plant hyacinths and tulips, the *hanım* wanders among them. Popular *saz* players and singers gather in this house every evening after the prayer during Ramadan and amuse themselves. Occasionally, they give a masked ball for 100, 140 persons, Feyhama Bey (Durab) comes to this ball as a zeibek, his wife Güzin Hanım with a costume of a Egyptian man on her head a *fes*.[257]

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257 Enginün/Keman 2007: p. 178. original quote: "Bu Galib Paşa üç defa evlenmiş, üçüncü kadîn ölmüş. Mısırlı olan birinci kadîn hotozlu, başörtülü, mücevherli, elinde baston ve kırbaç evde dolaşırmış. Kuması olan ikinci kadîn dahi bu kadîna hürmet eder, tavla oyunlarında ona yenilirmiş. Evde bu ikinci kadînın, ikinci kadînla kızının (Kerime hanım), bu kızın kocası dişçi Hamit Bey'in (Atatürk dahi dişlerini yaptırmış) birer ayrı hizmetçiler varmış. Evde ayrica bir aşçı, kocası ve oğlu, Rus bir bahçivan varmış. Bahçıvana sümbül ve lale diktirir, hanım bunların arasında dolaşırmış. Meşhur saz ve ses sanatkarları her gece teraviden sonra bu evde toplanırlar, eğlenirlermiş. Ara sıra 100, 150 kişilik maskeli balo dahi verilir, Feyhaman Bey (Duran) zeybek, karısı Güzin Hanım Mısırlı erkek kıyafetiyle başta fes baloya gelirlermiş."

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