

**A TRADITIONAL DISTRICT, A CONSERVATIVE IMAGE:**

**A HISTORY OF ÜSKÜDAR BETWEEN 1838-1914**

by

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# ABSTRACT

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In this thesis, Üsküdar, one of the four administrative districts of Ottoman Istanbul, has been analysed between 1838 and 1914 with reference to the concepts of “conservative” and “traditional”. Üsküdar’s cultural and economic structure has been analysed according to the changes undergone, or to the changes not undergone when compared with the other districts of Istanbul. The image of Üsküdar formed in that period has been analysed by looking at how Üsküdar and Scutarians were described in late nineteenth and early twentieth century texts such as novels, newspapers, guide books and travel books. In the last chapter, Üsküdar’s cultural structure and image has been re-evaluated in the context of the “conservative mode of thought” of late Ottoman modernists. The findings of this study, looking at Üsküdar through the concept of “conservatism”, have been used in order to understand the world of symbols that is related to the “conservative mode of thought” of late Ottoman modernists.

## ÖZET

GELENEKSEL BİR SEMT,  
MUHAFAZAKÂR BİR İMAJ:  
1838'DEN 1914'E ÜSKÜDAR'IN TARİHİ

Burak Onaran

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Bu çalışmada, Osmanlı İstanbulunun idari olarak dört ana parçasından biri olan Üsküdar semtinin, 1838-1914 yılları arasındaki tarihini “muhafazakâr” ve “geleneksel” kavramları yardımıyla analiz etmeye çalışıldı. Tez çerçevesinde, Üsküdar'ın kültürel ve ekonomik dokusu ele alınan dönem içerisinde bu dokularda gerçekleşmiş ya da kentin geri kalanının aksine gerçekleşmemiş olan değişikliklere de odaklanarak incelenmeye çalışıldı. Üsküdar'ın ve Üsküdarlıların özellikle on dokuzuncu yüzyıl sonu ile yirminci yüzyıl başına ait roman, gazete haberi, turist rehberi ve seyahatname gibi metinlerde nasıl tarif edildiklerine bakılarak, dönem içerisinde oluşturulan Üsküdar imajının genel karakteristikleri ortaya konulmaya çalışıldı. Son bölümde ise Üsküdar'ın kültürel yapısı, imajı, son dönem Osmanlı modernistlerinin “muhafazakâr düşünce üslubu” ile ilişkisi bağlamında yeniden değerlendirildi. Böylelikle muhafazakârlık kavramının izinde Üsküdar'ı incelemeyi hedefleyen bu çalışmanın bulguları aynı zamanda son dönem Osmanlı modernistlerinin “muhafazakâr düşünce üsluplarına” ait semboller dünyasını anlamakta da kullanılmış oldu.

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Obviously, all the possible mistakes in the thesis are only mine.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>ABSTRACT</b>	iv
<b>ÖZET</b>	v
<b>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</b>	vi
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b>	viii
<b>LIST OF MAPS</b>	x
<b>APPENDIX CONTENTS</b>	x
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	1
A Note on Conservatism	7
<b>I. THE PHYSICAL AND CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF ÜSKÜDAR</b>	21
I. 1. The Physical Landscape	21
I. 2. The Cultural Landscape	23
<b>II. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN ÜSKÜDAR AND THEIR     ROLE IN THE ECONOMY OF ISTANBUL</b>	36
II. 1. From The Reign of Süleyman To 1838	36
II. 2. The Anglo-Turkish Convention Of 1838 And Its Effect On The City	48
II. 3. The Sectors In Üsküdar During The Post Convention Period	58
<b>III. REPRESENTATIONS OF ÜSKÜDAR AND SCUTARIANS</b>	74
III. 1. Who Was the Scutarian in the Imagined Geography of the City?	74
III. 2. Üsküdar As Represented In The Novels	100
III. 3. The Üsküdar of /for European Visitors	113

**IV. ÜSKÜDAR:**

<b>A TRADITONAL DISTRICT, A CONSERVATIVE IMAGE</b>	124
IV. 1. A Traditional District	124
IV. 2. A Conservative Image	127
<b>CONCLUSION</b>	135
<b>MAPS</b>	142
<b>APPENDIX</b>	154
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	180

## **List of The Maps**

1) Map of Anatolian Trade Roads	143
2) Istanbul Municipality's Map of Üsküdar, 1925-1928	144
3) Map of Üsküdar's Water Supply Lines	145
4) Topographical Map of Istanbul	146
5) Map of the Mosques, Churches, Schools, Minority Schools, Madradas, Caravanserais in Üsküdar	147
6) Map of Tram and Omnibuses Routes	148
7) Map of Üsküdar, 1934	149
8) Map of Agricultural Areas	150
9) Current Map of Üsküdar	151
10) 64 <sup>th</sup> and 66 <sup>th</sup> sections of Pervititch's Plans	152

## **Appendix Contents**

1) List of the Mosques, Churches, Schools, Minority Schools, Madradas, Caravanserais, Khans	155
2) List of the Water Supply Lines in Üsküdar	164
3) A cartoon about Doğancılar Park	165
4) Photographs of Üsküdar	166

## INTRODUCTION

In the most general manner, the subject of this study may be summarised as the “History of Üsküdar”. Certainly, this title means nothing if the perspective of this study and its main questions are not brought up.

In Edward Hallett Carr’s words “the facts speak only when the historian calls on them: it is he who decides to which facts to give the floor, and in what order or context.”<sup>1</sup> In this introduction I will explain the problematic, the order and the main concepts of this study that have certainly been effective on the choosing and scrutinising processes of the data, documents and the facts related to Üsküdar.

What has influenced me to work on “History of Üsküdar” can be described as a simple contemporary sociological question.<sup>2</sup> First of all, as is obvious, in Istanbul –and possibly in every city of the world- districts that constitute the city do not bear the same –cultural, demographical et cetera- features. Additionally, for the people of Istanbul, it is a well-known fact that Üsküdar is (or is known as) a (more) conservative or traditional district. These two well-known data constitute the base of the question. The question is a simple “why” question (i.e “Why Üsküdar is -or is known as- a –more- conservative or traditional district in the popular urban memory?”)

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<sup>1</sup> E. H. Carr, *What is History?* (Penguin Books, 1990), p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> To show a contemporary question as a starting point of a history thesis may be conceived as an error or some kind of “anachronism”. However, I do not agree with this opinion. On the contrary, since, as is obvious, it is not possible to know the exact past, every representation of or narration about the past cannot avoid the effect of contemporary perspectives and questions. At least what we search or are curious about in the past is strongly related to present. As in Carr’s words, history is “ a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his fact, an unending dialogue between the present and the past” and “we can view the past, and achieve our understanding of the past, only through the eyes of the present.” [Carr, p. 30, 24] It does not mean to explain a historical fact with the contemporary concepts but be aware of the effect of the present on our studies. That is why I underline in this introduction my starting question, although there is almost no reference to today’s Üsküdar in the thesis.

In this thesis, all the data that I have collected about the history of Üsküdar have been scrutinised in the light of two basic concepts of the abovementioned question, namely conservative/conservatism and traditional. The period this study has focused on has been determined and the chapters of the thesis have been formed in the light of these concepts. Undoubtedly, there may be many aspects while handling the “History of Üsküdar”. However, this study has been organised in order to make clear the relation between Üsküdar and these concepts.

### *Periodisation*

As is already emphasised, one of the main concepts of the thesis is “conservatism”. Additionally, as will be explained in the following subchapter on conservatism, to call something “conservative” it is certainly necessary to be able to talk about the existence of the dominance (or at least a strong effect) of “modernisation”. If it is so, the starting date for the study should be the beginning date of the thorough modernisation of the city. That is basically why the Anglo-Turkish Convention of 1838 has been considered as the starting date for this study. 1838 does not of course mark the beginning of the westernisation/modernisation process of the Ottoman Empire and Istanbul. Western civilisation had begun to deeply influence the Empire several decades before the convention. There are three reasons that explain why the convention of 1838 is chosen for this study. The first reason that also includes the two following ones is this: During the process that followed the convention, modernisation, called westernisation by the contemporaries, became more observable in the city. Newly developing modern ways of life began to dominate the quotidian life of the city, and cast the traditional forms of life into shadow. The second reason is that, through the expansion of the foreign trade, the

economic structure and the traditional sharing of urban space related to commercial activities in the city were deeply changed. The third reason is the fundamental restructurings in the urban space and in the institutions relevant to the city. Modern urban planning ideas and municipalities began to dominate the city. By concentrating on this modernisation process, I have aimed to profit from its main characteristic and concepts to produce some keys, notions and conceptualisations, which may be useful in recognising and defining basically conservative and traditional elements of the city and its quotidian life. As is already underlined, to know what is modern it is certainly necessary to detect what is conservative.

As can easily be understood from the question that influenced me to work on the “History of Üsküdar”, frankly speaking, it does not seem possible to mention an exact ending date for this subject. I wish I could study all the period from 1838 up to today. However (especially in the level of an MA thesis), to handle such a wide period is obviously impossible, because of various reasons. First of all, the time devoted to the composition of the thesis would not be enough to scrutinise such a wide period. Furthermore, the abundance of data about more recent times would lead to the prominence of these periods over earlier ones. This circumstance would probably pave the way for casting into shadow the period in which the conservative image of the district began to be formed. Because of these, I have preferred to limit the period concerned in this study with the Ottoman times. Since World War I deeply influenced the city and introduced many extra factors and deeply affected the life conditions and the economic activities that basically belong to the pre-war period, 1914, the beginning date of The Great War is chosen as the ending date of the study.

Yet, however, I would like to emphasise that these dates should not be considered as exact dates. That is why I could apply and refer to some sources

related to the near past and future of the period in our concern, of course by showing the date of the sources. As a result the above-mentioned dates are not considered as dots but semicolons. In other words the sentence has started to be formed before the period concerned and somehow continued after that.

### *The Borders of the Area Concerned*

As will be explained with its reasons in a detailed manner in the chapter on the landscape of Üsküdar, in this study Üsküdar means mainly the centre of the district, which is surrounded by the quarters of Kuzguncuk (in the north), İcadiye (in the northeast), Altunizade (in the east), and Selimiye and the great Karacaahmet cemetery (in the southeast). Like the dates that define the periodisation of the study, these borders also should not be conceived as absolute but as permeable.

### *Chapters*

Above all else the subject of the study is related to “culture”. “Culture” with its widest definition is the manner of organisation of social relations that are caused by the production conditions of material life and the style of experiencing, perceiving and expressing of these manners/practices in a definite place and time and by a definite group of people.<sup>3</sup> Especially the first two chapters, which focus on the economic activities in and the physical and cultural landscape of Üsküdar, can fit into the abovementioned definition of culture.

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<sup>3</sup> Here I refer to the definition of the concept given by Meral Özbek with reference to the studies of “Birmingham Cultural Studies Centre” and especially the definitions in the article “Alt kültürler, Kültürler ve Sınıf” by a group of writers including John Clarke and Stuart Hall: “Kültür, belli bir yer ve zamanda belli bir insan topluluğunun maddi yaşamının üretim koşullarından kaynaklanan toplumsal ilişkilerinin yapılanma biçimi (genel yaşam tarzı, yaşam kalıpları/örüntüleri, nesnelere dünyası) ve bu biçimleri/pratikleri tecrübe etme (yaşantı/deneyim), anlamlandırma ve bunlarla başetme tarzıdır (ifade/temsil biçimleri, dil, fikirler, anlamlar, değerler, anlam haritaları, kodları, edim/eylem tarzları)”. [Meral Özbek, *Kültür Üzerine Düşünmek*, unpublished lecture notes, p. 2 ]

As is obvious, our concern is a place and when we ask the questions of “where” and “why there” we enter into the field of geography. However geography should not be perceived as a field independent from history. As Tmertekin emphasises “geography means the scrutinising of an area or a place” and “while studying history people also study geography”.<sup>4</sup> In the first chapter of the thesis, while keeping in mind this close relationship between history and geography and the above mentioned main concepts of the thesis, I looked into skdar’s physical and cultural landscape. First, physical characteristics of the districts are scrutinised and their possible effects on the social organisation and historical development of the urban space are questioned.<sup>5</sup> Then, in order to understand skdar’s cultural landscape this chapter focuses on the locations of public buildings, the routes of its water supply systems, the general features of its urban plan, and the effects of modern planning ideas on its urban fabric. The urban monuments, public buildings, water supply lines and transportation lines of skdar are also shown on maps. This chapter is formed as a descriptive one mainly in order to answer the question of “where”. While keeping in mind the question of “why there”, I tried to make some analytic relations between the main problematic of the study and skdar’s landscape.<sup>6</sup> Certainly this exposition of facts is not purely descriptive. The selection of some particular facts in order to describe the cultural landscape reflects an analytic design that tries to draw a coherent picture.

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<sup>4</sup> Erol Tmertekin, *İstanbul Mekan ve İnsan* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997), pp. 4-5

<sup>5</sup> Certainly, the meteorological conditions of skdar could also be scrutinised. However, even today, there is no meteorological information about any district in Istanbul, except for a few districts in which there are meteorological observation stations.

<sup>6</sup> Erol Tmertekin, *İstanbul Mekan ve İnsan* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997), 5: “...coğrafyada “nerede” sorusunun cevabı byk lde tasviri olurken, “niin orada”nın cevabı tamamen analitiktir.”

The second chapter is on the economic activities in Üsküdar. This chapter has four basic aims: to make clear the effect of the convention of 1838 on the economic activities in Üsküdar, to understand the economic function of Üsküdar for the entire city, to make clear its trade connections, and basically to have an idea about the effect of the economic activities on its cultural structure. The first subchapter aims to detect the economic activities in Üsküdar in the pre-convention period. The second one concentrates on the effect of the convention on the entire city. The third one tries to show the economic activities in Üsküdar during the post-convention period by looking for changes in the sectors already detected in the first subchapter, and by questioning the formation of newly developed ones in Üsküdar. However, because of the great lack of data on the economic activities in Üsküdar during the post-convention period (which can be conceived as a sign of how Üsküdar was ignored), sometimes I had no choice but to use some datum pieces and accept the data on the sectors in the entire city as equally valid for those in Üsküdar (especially for the workshops of textile and tannery).

The third chapter is about the representations of Üsküdar and Scutarians in novels, newspapers, guidebooks and travel books. The first and second subchapters scrutinise the descriptions of Scutarian characters and Üsküdar basically in the novels and secondarily in the news and then focuses on the common aspects of these descriptions. The third subchapter aims to show how Üsküdar was perceived by and described for the European visitors. By focusing on these descriptions of Üsküdar and Scutarians, I also aim to reach their images in the popular urban memory. Especially, the descriptions in the novels constitute the basic elements of the district's conservative image whose possible meanings and possible relations to the

cultural structure of the district are handled in the fourth chapter in a detailed manner.

The fourth chapter can be called the evaluation chapter. Although, as is already underlined, the previous chapters are also formed in order to scrutinise Üsküdar under the light of the concepts of “traditional” and “conservative”, in order to avoid repetitions as much as possible I did not prefer to constantly emphasise the connection of their outcomes with the general framework of the thesis. I preferred to make these connections in the last chapter. So, the last chapter aims to evaluate the outcomes of the previous chapters in the context of the relation between traditional Üsküdar and its conservative image, and also examines the possible meanings of the formation of such an image in the context of the “conservative mode of thought” of the Ottoman modernists and their requirements for such an image. Consequently, the history of Üsküdar that I have tried to write by following the trail of the concept of conservatism is used in order to help to understand the world of symbols that belongs to the concept, especially in the minds of the Ottoman modernists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Before passing to the main chapters, it seems necessary to mention the concept of conservatism in a detailed manner and make clear the importance of the concept for the Ottoman modernists’ thought and also its usage in this thesis.

### **A Note on Conservatism**

The most important thinker in the historical evolution of the concept of “conservatism” is Edmund Burke. As Robert Nisbet underlines “rarely in the history

of thought has a body of ideas been as closely dependent upon a single man and a single event as modern conservatism is upon Edmund Burke and his fiery reaction to the French Revolution.”<sup>7</sup> Although the concept is almost entirely dependent upon Edmund Burke, in his book on conservatism, Peter Viereck emphasises that “Burke himself did not use the noun ‘conservatism’ although he did use the verb ‘to conserve.’” And he carries on as follows, “wide usage of the noun first began among the European traditionalists of the early nineteenth century, groping for a new philosophical terminology against the French Revolution era of 1789-1815...”<sup>8</sup>

Conservative mode of thought was mainly formed as a reaction against the French Revolution, the Industrial revolution and the Enlightenment thought behind them.<sup>9</sup> To show the importance of the Enlightenment in the formation of conservatism, Nisbet says that it is not an exaggeration to claim that even if the Enlightenment had not occurred in Western Europe in the eighteenth century, it would have been necessary to invent it, as far as the conservatives are concerned.<sup>10</sup> This argument also emphasises the importance of “being an anti-thesis” for the nature of “conservatism”. In other words, the “conservative act” (and also conservatism) is determined basically by the motive, namely what must be conserved and from what. Because of the very clear stress on “opposition” in its definition, it is impossible to talk about a universal form of conservatism. Furthermore, although it has some common characteristics, a general framework, conservative action and that

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<sup>7</sup> Robert Nisbet, *Conservatism*, (Open University Press, 1986), p. 1

<sup>8</sup> Peter Viereck, *Conservatism*, (Van Nostrand, 1956), p. 10.

<sup>9</sup> Doğu Ergil, *İdeoloji: Milliyetçilik, Muhafazakârlık, Halkçılık*, (Ankara: “S” Yayınları, 1986), p. 111. and Robert Nisbet, *Muhafazakârlık*, in *Sosyolojik Çözümlemenin Tarihi*, Tom Bottomore & Robert Nisbet (ed.), (Ankara: V yayınları, 1990), p. 126.

<sup>10</sup> Nisbet, 1990, p. 102.

“18. yüz yıl Batı Avrupası'nda Aydınlanma olmasaydı, muhafazakârlar söz konusu oldukça, bir Aydınlanmanın icad edilmesi gerekeceğini söylemek pek de abartma olmazdı”

which is conservative generally are very dependent upon the epoch and the location / country / nation to which they belong, or, as Mannheim says, “dependent on a concrete set of circumstances”.<sup>11</sup> That is why Mannheim claims, “ ... how a conservative will react can only be determined approximately *if we know a good deal about the conservative* movement in the period in the country under discussion.”<sup>12</sup> Consequently, as Ahmet Çiğdem clearly expresses “the historical background to conservatism can indicate that there are many conservatisms, having different priorities and different inclinations as to decide what is to be conserved.”<sup>13</sup>

Conservatism is primarily considered in its political meanings and the concept refers usually to “modern conservatism”. This conceptualisation basically originated from Karl Mannheim’s quite famous article on nineteenth century German Conservatism. Mannheim claims that there are two basic types of conservatism: “Natural conservatism” and “Modern Conservatism”. He adopts “Max Weber’s term ‘*traditionalism*’ to denote the first type” and carries on as follows: “when we speak of ‘conservatism’ we shall always mean ‘modern’ conservatism –something

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<sup>11</sup> Karl Mannheim “Conservative Thought”, in *Essays on Sociology and Social Psychology*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1969), p. 95.

Without forgetting its main features, such as being a symptom of modernity et cetera, Mannheim’s definition and his many other descriptions of what conservatism is, make it possible to redefine conservatism for every country and epoch. This chapter is written using this opportunity in order to make clear the main characteristics of Ottoman conservatism.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. p. 95.

<sup>13</sup> Ahmet Çiğdem, “Muhafazakârlık Üzerine” in *Toplum ve Bilim*, n. 74 (Autumn 1997), p. 51.

Muller also underlines the impossibility of considering conservatism as if it is same in every where and the difficulty of studying conservatism: “The study of conservatism has proved difficult for modern social sciences (...) One reason is because of the difficulty of arriving at meaningful generalizations about conservatism, which displays less obvious uniformity across national borders and tends to be more nationally particular than liberalism or socialism, which aspire to be universal in their reach. Moreover, since conservatism emphasizes the need for institutional and symbolic continuity with the particular past, its symbols and institutional ideals tend to be more tied to specific, usually national, contexts” [J. Z. Muller, “Conservatism: Historical Aspects”, in *International encyclopedia of the social & behavioral sciences*, Neil J. Smelser, Paul B. Baltes (ed. in chief), (Amsterdam ; New York: Elsevier, 2001), p. 2624.]

essentially different from mere 'traditionalism'."<sup>14</sup> Moreover, according to Mannheim "Traditionalism is a general psychological attitude which expresses itself in different individuals as a tendency to cling to the past and fear of innovation."<sup>15</sup> He also emphasises that the term "conservatism" should not be understood in a general psychological sense<sup>16</sup> and attributes the psychological sense to traditionalism. "The word 'traditionalist'" according to Mannheim "describes what, to a greater or less degree, is a formal psychological characteristic of every individual's mind."<sup>17</sup> Although, the psychological connotations of the concept and the studies on "the psychology of conservatism" seem to provide us with some data that could facilitate the detection of the basic features of the conservative act and make clear its psychological motives; this kind of information makes it harder to define what conservative is, because in the psychological emphasis, there is a lack of concentration on the difference between "traditional" and "conservative". Consequently, in this study, for which the difference between "conservative/conservatism" and "traditional/traditionalism" is exceedingly important, the psychological connotations of the concept, which are not related to its

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<sup>14</sup> Mannheim, pp. 94-95.

<sup>15</sup> Mannheim, p. 99.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. p. 95.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. p. 95.

However, in his article on the concept of conservatism in the book titled "*The Psychology of Conservatism*" Wilson defines conservatism as follows: "The term conservatism is used in the border, more literal, sense of resistance to change and the tendency to prefer safe, traditional and conventional forms of institutions and behaviour". Although, he begins to define the concept by emphasising that "to a large extent voting behaviour and political opinions are presumed to reflect habit, social class, and personal expediency rather than any characteristic of personality", his definition of conservatism is much more similar with Mannheim's definition of "traditionalism" than that of "conservatism".

connection with modernity (and also modernism), and which blur its difference from “traditional”, will not concern us.<sup>18</sup>

The term Mannheim uses most to define the difference between “traditionalism” and “conservatism” is “consciousness”. According to Mannheim “Conservatism in a certain sense grew out of traditionalism: indeed, it is after all primarily nothing more than traditionalism become conscious.”<sup>19</sup> As Beneton underlines conservative thought has been formed at the junction of traditional social order and modern social order (or “modern disorder” as it is called by conservative thought).<sup>20</sup> The “consciousness” of conservative thought that is obviously strongly related to modernity<sup>21</sup> is the basic thing that determines which among the cultural elements of traditional social life and order should be conserved. It is clearly possible to claim that its strong connection with modernism and its “consciousness” (which is also closely related to its connection with modernism) distinguish “conservatism” from “traditionalism” and “conservative” from “traditional”. In other words, the persistent character of a tradition is not sufficient to call it conservative. Only its

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<sup>18</sup> In his book on “ideology” Doğu Ergil describes two types of conservatism before he begins to analyse political conservatism. The first is “conservatism as a personal tendency” and the second is “conditional conservatism”. [see Ergil, pp. 110-115.] Both types of conservatism include -furthermore are based on- psychological connotations of the concept and emphasise the role of the individual. Because of this, these types of conservatism are also not our concern. In this study, above all else, conservatism does not mean a personal opposition against change; it basically means a social attitude and “a mode of thought” that is formed against the great impact of modernism and the attack of the Enlightenment as can be obviously seen in the historical evolution of the concept.

<sup>19</sup> Mannheim, p. 102.

<sup>20</sup> Philippe Beneton, *Muhafazakârlık*, (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1991), p. 89.

<sup>21</sup> Not only its conscious but also the concept itself, as already emphasised, is strongly related to modernity and modernisation. As Tanıl Bora underlines conservatism can only be understood as an aspect of historical evolution of modernisation. [Tanıl Bora , “Muhafazakârlığın Değişimi ve Türk Muhafazakârlığında Bazı Yol İzleri”, in *Toplum ve Bilim*, n. 74 (Autumn 1997), p. 7.] Moreover, being an opposite is not the only form of its relation with modernism. According to Tanıl Bora it can also accompany modernism: “ ‘Militan’ Restorasyon uğrağını aşan Muhafazakârlık, Fransız Devrimi’nin alâmet-i farikasını teşkil ettiği ‘militan’ Aydınlanmacılık uğrağını aşan modernizmin zıddı değil, sürekli refakatçisidir.” [Ibid. p. 7] And according to Beneton it can also be conceived as an instructor of the modern social process: “muhafazakâr toplumsal düşünce modern toplum sürecini eğitmekten hiçbir zaman geri kalmamıştır” [Beneton, p. 89.]

connection with modernity and its selection by modern conservative consciousness (in spite of the strong effect of modernism in the destruction of old way/forms of life) makes it possible to call a particular traditional element “conservative”. In this context, it is possible to say that, although “conservatism” is a concept that has a strong connection with “traditionalism”, its sense is not limited to “traditionalism”. “Conservatism takes a particular historical form of traditionalism and develops it to its logical conclusion.”<sup>22</sup> As Beneton clearly states: “conservatism is traditionalism, however traditionalism is not conservatism.”<sup>23</sup> Conservatism differs from traditionalism, in that it defends only “some particular traditions”<sup>24</sup> and is in a relationship with modernism – (in Bora’s words) it “accompanies” and (in Beneton’s words) tries to “train” modernism.

The most common example for such selected “particular traditions” may be religion. Robert Nisbet underlines “the necessity of that which is sacred” as one of the basic features of conservatism. However, as is obvious, religion as a holy thing with divine aspects are not important for conservative thought. As Muller says, “while there is no necessary link between conservatism and religious belief, conservatives have tended to affirm the social utility of religion.”<sup>25</sup> Burke’s perspective, as the basic reference for the conservative thought, is the most important proof of that; he “praised Catholicism as ‘the most effectual barrier’ against radicalism.”<sup>26</sup> In the final analysis, as Nisbet says, “it is not wrong to claim that if the essence of the Enlightenment is basically a systematic attack on Christianity, and to

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<sup>22</sup> Mannheim, p. 98.

<sup>23</sup> Beneton, p. 113.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>25</sup> Muller, p. 2626

<sup>26</sup> Viereck, p. 16.

some degree on all religions, the essence or the main part of the essence of conservatism is based on a belief that assumes any society, community or a group can exist separately from a kind of religion".<sup>27</sup> As already underlined, for conservative thought the importance of religion lies in its social function; and for conservatives, the symbols and rituals of a religion and their functions in providing social unity are much more important than its sacredness. So, "all conservatives are not religious or fervently religious people; what determines their common attitudes is their insistence on the social utilities of the religion."<sup>28</sup> As a result, it is quite obvious that, contrary to popular opinion, the relationship between religious and conservative thought is established not from religion to conservatism, but from conservatism to religion. In other words, religion, particularly in its social usefulness, is a part of all kinds of conservative imagination and yet, although the most important and common one, is only one of the "particular traditions" selected (by "the conservative consciousness").

As we have seen, an emphasis on the concept of "consciousness" is one factor distinguishing this definition of conservatism from traditionalism. In addition, this definition leaves aside the psychological connotations of the concept and instead refers to and underlines the evolution of its political sense. Nevertheless, all these characteristics of the concept of conservatism should not lead us to make an evaluation that conceives its meaning as limited merely to political. As Mannheim emphasises "the term

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<sup>27</sup> Nisbet, 1990, p. 114.

*"Aydınlanma'nın özü Hıristiyanlığa ve bir ölçüde bütün dinlere karşı sistematik bir saldırıysa, muhafazakârlığın özünün ya da bu özün büyük bölümünün hiçbir toplum, cemaat veya grubun bir çeşit dinden ayrı olarak varolamayacağı inancına dayandığını söylerken haksız olmuyoruz."*

<sup>28</sup> Beneton, p. 110

*"...muhafızakârların hepsi mümin ya da ateşli mümin kişiler değildir; ortak davranışlarını belirleyen, dinin toplumsal işlevleri üzerindeki ısrarlarıdır"*

'conservatism' must not be assumed to be a purely political one, although on the whole (...) its political aspect is perhaps rather the more important one. Conservatism also implies a general philosophical and emotional complex which may even constitute a definite style of thought."<sup>29</sup> In this study "conservatism" refers to (in Mannheim's words) "a mode of thought" and (in Çiğdem's words) "an attitude" or "a state of mind" that can be included in or related to every kind of ideology and doctrine<sup>30</sup> – and has many features that are peculiar to a country and a period -. While remembering that all of them (i.e. the conservative "state of mind", "attitude" and "mode of thought") are closely related to politics, they should be conceived in the wider meaning of the concept that exceeds politics in its narrow sense.

This definition may help to eliminate various misunderstandings. By leaving aside the psychological connotations of the concept, we cease to perceive all traditional attitudes that can be observed in the urban quotidian life as though they were the symbols of or related to conservatism. Moreover, understanding conservatism not only as a political doctrine but also as "a mode of thought" and "a state of mind" allows us consider conservatism as having a world of symbols that is not directly related to politics, and makes it possible to take into account the texts and attitudes that do not have a clear political aim.

In his article on Turkish conservatism, Tanıl Bora suggests: "the Turkish modernization is to be considered as a 'conservative modernization'".<sup>31</sup> Although, the article is mainly concerned with the period of the Turkish Republic, "Turkish

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<sup>29</sup> Mannheim, p. 98.

<sup>30</sup> Çiğdem, p. 32.

<sup>31</sup> Bora, p. 31.

modernisation” also includes the Ottoman period of the modernisation process. Indeed, it is possible to claim that the conservative features of Turkish Modernisation are basically inherited from the Ottoman period and can be clearly observed in the Ottoman modernisation process in which the Islamic borders of the social order had always been considered as fitting the requirements of the modernisation into Islamic rules.<sup>32</sup>

Since the concept is closely related to modernity (and modernism), it seems possible that, in Tanıl Bora’s words “the constitutive (*bünyevi*) conservatism” of the Turkish (and the Ottoman) modernisation process can be considered using Marshall Berman’s definition of nineteenth-century modernity. Berman divides the history of modernity into three phases. He describes the second phase as follows: “Our second phase begins with the great revolutionary wave of the 1790s. With the French Revolution and its reverbrations, a great modern public abruptly and dramatically comes to life. This public shares the feeling of living in a revolutionary age, an age that generates explosive upheavals in every dimension of personal, social and political life. At the same time, the nineteenth-century modern public can remember what it is like to live, materially and spiritually, in worlds that are not modern at all.

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<sup>32</sup> Ahmet Çiğdem claims that “*Türk muhafazakârlığının cumhuriyetle ilişkisi, mahiyet olarak modernite ve muhafazakârlık ilişkisiyle özdeştir: Türk muhafazakârlığı bir cumhuriyet ideolojisidir ve kendi varoluşunu ancak cumhuriyetin ürettiği bir zeminde mümkün kılabilmiştir*” (Çiğdem p. 46). By this expression, Çiğdem underlines the importance of the republic for the formation of “Turkish Conservatism” and he also implies that before the emergence of the Turkish Republic there is no conservatism in Ottoman society. Although, it seems possible to claim that the emergence of the republic, as a great breaking in Turkish history and an attack against the tradition like the French Revolution, made conservatism visible and evident, it should be remembered that some conservative attitudes and ideas can also be observed at the Ottoman intellectuals of the nineteenth-century, especially as side effects of the *Tanzimat* reforms. In other words, like “the Turkish modernisation process”, “Turkish Conservatism” neither emerges in the republican period; they only accelerated in. Furthermore, as in Ahmet Çiğdem’s own words “*Muhafazakârlığın hakikati, bir politik doktrin, bir ideoloji ya da her ikisine nüfuz etmiş biçim ve Mannheim’in kastettiği anlamda bir “düşünce üslubu” olarak belirlenebileceği gibi, her türlü doktrine ya da ideolojiye eklenilen bir “tavır” ya da “ruh hâli” olarak da anlaşılabilir.*” (Ibid. p. 32) Consequently, it does not seem possible to claim that in the Ottoman period, through which the history of modernity stretches even to the pre-*Tanzimat* period, conservatism especially in such a wider sense has awaited the foundation of the republic to emerge.

From this inner dichotomy, this sense of living in two worlds simultaneously, the ideas of modernization and modernism emerge and unfold.”<sup>33</sup>

The nineteenth-century modernism has a “constitutive” (*bünyevi*) and “inner” dichotomy. However, this dichotomy did not force the thinkers to make an absolute choice for or against modernism. As Berman says, “our nineteenth-century thinkers were simultaneously enthusiasts and enemies of modern life...”<sup>34</sup> In a world in which the “past” or pre-modern way of life were still remembered (furthermore in some way still experienced), nineteenth-century thinkers had a chance to say (in Berman’s words) “Both/And”.<sup>35</sup> Consequently, when “the Turkish (Ottoman) modernisation process” is studied separately, the strong relationship between the “conservative mode of thought” and the modernisation process can be considered peculiar to it; however, (although Berman insists on not referring to the concept of “conservatism”) his description of nineteenth-century modernity makes it possible to

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<sup>33</sup> Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air*, (London - New York: Verso, 1995), p. 17.

<sup>34</sup> Berman, p. 24.

<sup>35</sup> Berman describes one of the basic differences between the visions of modern life of the nineteenth and twentieth-centuries as follows “Open visions of modern life have been supplanted by closed ones, Both/And by Either/Or.” [Berman, p. 24] This expression interestingly evokes some expressions, which may be conceived as the critique of the modernist perspective of the twentieth century (and “republican period”), in the novel “Huzur” by A. H. Tanpınar, such as “Yeniye başından beri bizim olmadığı için şüphe ile, eskiye eski olduğu için işe yaramaz gözüyle bakıyoruz” [Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Huzur*, (Istanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1996), p. 297] or “Ya hep ya hiç... O zamanki düşüncesi buydu... Ya hep ya hiç... Yani ölüm. Tıpkı Hitler gibi konuştuğunun farkına vardı. (...) Ya hep, ya hiç. Hayır her şeyden biraz.” [ibid. p. 452]

It should be underlined that not only for the nineteenth-century but also for the twentieth-century, the only and compulsory form of the relationship between “that which is modern” and “that which is traditional” is not conflict/contradictory or mutually exclusive. As Meral Özbek emphasises by referring to the Gusfield classification of the seven faults in the Modernisation Theory: “*Gelenekler çoğu kez, modern biçim ve süreçleri güçlendiren bir işleve sahiptir; modernleşme süreçlerinin gelenekleri zayıflatması zorunlu değildir; yeni değer ve kurumlar, büyük sıklıkla, eskilerle içiçe geçer, kaynaşır.*” [Meral Özbek, *Popüler Kültür ve Orhan Gencebay Arabeski*, (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994), p. 38.]

think that the “conservative mode of thought” can be conceived as a natural part of modern life in the nineteenth century.<sup>36</sup>

However, the relationship of the Turkish modernisation process and the modernisation process of non-western countries in general with “conservative mode of thought”, cannot be understood by referring only to Berman’s conceptualisation of nineteenth century modernity and modernisation that is built up by referring to central Europe. In the Ottoman Empire and (as Tamil Bora underlines by referring to Laroui) “in the non-western world generally, conservatism has developed by following in the footsteps of modernisation processes and traditionalism that aim to make possible the revival of the ‘authentic’ civilisation by returning to its essence.”<sup>37</sup> Kemal Karpat also emphasises that conservatism and “reactionism”, in the Ottoman Empire, arose in response to reforms that paved the way for alienation from the “traditional culture”, and the reformists of the Tanzimat period who prejudicially assumed the superiority of governmental constitutions of Europe, and consequently their political and cultural system.<sup>38</sup> In other words the history of conservatism in the Empire arose not only in reaction to the great Modernist challenge (threatening the existence of “traditional culture and way of life”) but also as a reaction to the Western challenge (threatening the survival of the “native culture”). Modernism was basically imported from the west, and so, during the Ottoman modernisation process

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<sup>36</sup> At this point it should not be thought that nostalgia and referring to the past mean a kind of “conservatism”. I would only like to emphasise that although merely referring to the past cannot be conceived as a “conservative attitude”, there is a strong relationship between doing that and the “conservative mode of thought”.

<sup>37</sup> Bora, p. 15.

*“Batı dışındaki dünyada muhafzakârlık, modernleşme süreçlerinin ve Batı uygarlığının meydan okuması karşısında, ‘otantik’ uygarlığın öze dönerek dirilişi için çağrı yapan gelenekselciliğin izinde gelişti.”*

<sup>38</sup> Kemal H. Karpat, *Osmanlı Modernleşmesi*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi 2002), pp. 80-81.

and even afterwards, the terms modernisation and westernisation were used as if they were interchangeable or synonymous.

As we know, westernisation was conceived as a way of reorganising the administrative order of the Empire to save it from a possible collapse or strengthen it. Moreover, it was considered an inevitable prerequisite to becoming civilised. Because of this, Ottoman intellectuals of the period were not only a part of the modern life that inevitably arose; they had to be supporters, advertisers and (even) propagandists of the westernisation (i.e. modernisation) process. However, during the epoch of great change wrought by modernisation producing an experience of living (in Berman's words) "in the midst of a great absence and emptiness of values and yet, at the same time, a remarkable abundance of possibilities",<sup>39</sup> they also felt charged with the duty of worrying that the changes would be out of control; they wished to limit the changes and become anxious about losing their "Ottoman" identity. Briefly, the Ottoman intellectuals felt they should detect what should not be changed, or be conserved, in the great "attack" of modernism and western civilisation, while at the same time supporting the westernisation process.<sup>40</sup> Consequently, this characteristic of the Ottoman modernisation process indicates a

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<sup>39</sup> Berman, p. 21.

<sup>40</sup> This dual attitude also paved the way for a dichotomy that can be summarised as "simultaneously accepting and rejecting the superiority of western culture". As Partha Chatterjee underlines, this kind of dichotomy can also be perceived in nationalist thought. According to him: "Nationalist thought, in agreeing to become 'modern', accepts the claim to the universality of this 'modern' framework of knowledge. Yet it also asserts the autonomous identity of a national culture. It thus simultaneously rejects and accepts the dominance, both epistemic and moral, of an alien culture." [Partha Chatterjee, *Partha, Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*, (London: Zed Books, 1993), p. 11]. In the final analysis, especially in non-western countries, while considering western culture (or as in Chatterjee's words an alien culture) as a model, feeling the duty of emphasising the superiority of their own cultures can be conceived as the inevitably common attitude of the nationalists and the modernists, which is the source of the above-mentioned dichotomy. That is not surprising if it is considered how modern a thought nationalism is.

strong relationship between “the imagination of its modernity” and “conservatism”.<sup>41</sup> The representation of Üsküdar, which is the main concern of this study, fits well into the “conservative” aspect of the above-mentioned political imagination, which, from a categorical point of view, can be called “eclectic”.

However, at least at the beginning, symbols are not independent from reality; they are strongly related to it. This is also true for the relationship between Üsküdar and its image. Because of this, it would not be sufficient to analyse merely its image to understand why and how Üsküdar became a conservative symbol. Furthermore, it is also necessary to scrutinise its “reality”, as much as possible, to reach a better understanding of why Üsküdar and Scutarians have always been considered, described and narrated using conservative symbols in the novels of the period and are still today in the popular urban memory. The first and second chapters aim to draw a portrait of Üsküdar during the period of the modernisation of the city, a time in which, increasingly, modernity dominated the lifestyles in the urban space. While these chapters have been basically written in order to understand the social and physical environment and the economic structure of the district during the period concerned, it should be emphasised that one of the main aims of these chapters has been to shed light on the relationship between the district and its conservative image. In other words, although there may be various ways of describing the structure and the quotidian life of the district, the main problematic of the thesis has been a determining factor in the shaping of the content of the economic, social and physical portrait of Üsküdar. The third chapter, in which portrayals of Üsküdar and Scutarians

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<sup>41</sup> Tanıl Bora also underlines the strong relationship between conservatism and modernity and its reasons in the late modernised societies as follows: “*Otantik kültürün Özünü/Aslını koruma, işin doğrusu yaratma hedefiyle toplumu modernleştirme hedefi arasındaki iç bağlantı ve süreklilik, muhafazakârlığı modernleşmenin ve liberalizmin gölge-olgusu kıldı. (...) muhafazakârlıkla modernlik arasındaki bu refakat ilişkisinin, modernleşmeyi ‘gecikerek’ yaşayan toplumlarda daha bariz göründüğünü söyleyebiliriz*” [Bora, p. 16]

in novels, guide books, travel books and also newspapers are scrutinised, concerns itself with the main characteristics of the image of Üsküdar. The last chapter, as an evaluative chapter, aims to make the connections between the previous chapters and also scrutinise the data in these chapters in terms of their relationship with the district's traditional structure and conservative image and the general characteristics of the "conservative mode of thought" of the period. In other words, the last chapter is charged with the duty of weaving together the threads from the previous chapters.

## I

### **THE PHYSICAL AND CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF ÜSKÜDAR**

The basic aim of this chapter is to acquaint the reader with the district as a geographical and urban space, and also to seek some possible answers for the main assumptions of the thesis in Üsküdar's urban space. First, the main characteristics of Üsküdar's physical landscape will be presented and the possible effects of the landscape on its historical urban development will be examined. Then the social organisation and the structure of its urban space will be scrutinised by focusing on the locations of some of its important public buildings (such as Mosques, Churches, Schools, Caravanserais et cetera), the routes of its water supply systems, general features of its urban plan, and the effects of modern planning ideas on its urban fabric.

#### **I.1. The Physical Landscape**

Üsküdar, which was one of four administrative divisions, and one of three main geographical parts of Istanbul, was founded on a headland of Asia Minor and the Bosphorus on the Asian side of the city that stretches towards Istanbul. Its geographical location makes it an important station not only for intracity transportation but also for all of the trade and transportation activities between Asia Minor (also Asia) and Istanbul. All the hajj caravans and military companies to the East made a start from Üsküdar. As is obvious in the map of the trade routes in Asia

Minor prepared by Taeschner,<sup>42</sup> there was no trade road that missed Üsküdar en route to Istanbul. “Üsküdar is the gateway to Asia” and this well-known function of the district is a result of its location.

Morphological and geological characteristics of this location are not different from the plateaus of Beyoğlu and Istanbul. Thrace and Kocaeli peneplains have similar features. That means Üsküdar, like Beyoğlu and Istanbul, consists of narrow and winding ridges that arise between valleys deeply eroded by water.<sup>43</sup>

All the guidebooks compare the view of the district to an amphitheatre. Undoubtedly, the stage of this amphitheatre is the main square (*İskele Meydanı*) of the district surrounded by three elevations: Sultan Tepesi in the north, Şemsi Paşa elevation in the south, and Toygar Tepesi (or Toygar Hamza hill) in the east.<sup>44</sup> The valleys between these elevations constitute the main arterial roads of the district. Hakimiyet-i Milliye road that goes from *İskele Meydanı* to the great cemetery (Karacaahmed) and then to Kadıköy is located between Şemsi Paşa and Toygar Hamza elevations. Selman-i Pak (or Bülbülderesi) road that climbs to Bağlarbaşı is between Toygar and Sultan hills and as can easily be understood from its second name, this road follows the channel of an old river. The third main avenue that reaches towards the centre is Selamsız road. It is divided into two main streets, located on both sides of Toygar Hamza hill and Çavuş Dere Bostanları (large vegetable gardens). One of them again follows an old river channel (Çavuş Deresi). Both roads meet around Bağlarbaşı. All of the above mentioned roads intersect on Nuh Kuyusu Street, which is located between the great Cemetery and Bağlarbaşı.

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<sup>42</sup> see Map 1

<sup>43</sup> Şeref Kayaboğazi, *İstanbul ve Dolayı Coğrafyası*, (Istanbul: Tecelli Matbaası, 1942), p. 78.

<sup>44</sup> For the topographical map of the district see Map 4 and also Maps 2 and 3.

The main square and the flat area behind it have probably been formed by alluvia carried by the rivers.<sup>45</sup> This is the only flat area in the district except for some other narrower ones at the top of some hills. In fact there is no other place along the coast that has a similar facility of transportation with the main square. To the north and south of the main square the hills begin to rise quite sharply very close to the sea. This geographical shape makes it hard to reach the coast of these regions. This is probably why, although the main connection of the district was with the historical peninsula, Salacak, its closest point to Istanbul, was not formed as a port. Üsküdar, as a land port of the city, needed a wider and easily accessible dock to transfer goods to the Istanbul side. The current location of the piers was the only place in Üsküdar where a port could be formed. Thanks to the above-mentioned geographical features of the district, this was the place that was easiest to access. Moreover, this place is sheltered by the projecting part of Şemsi Paşa and this geographical shape constitutes a cove that makes docking relatively easy, at least for caiques and some small ships.<sup>46</sup> Thus, at least at the beginning, the landscape of the district was quite influential in the social formation of its urban structure and its geographical location made it an important land port of Istanbul for centuries.

## **I.2. The Cultural Landscape**

The determinative effects of the physical landscape on the social organisation of urban space are certainly important but limited. To have a better portrait of the

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<sup>45</sup> Tahsin Yazıcı, "Üsküdar", in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (Istanbul: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1986), v. 13, p. 127; Kazım Çeçen, *Üsküdar Suları*, (Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Su ve Kanalizasyon İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü, 1991), p. 21.

<sup>46</sup> However, because of the various currents on the Bosphorus it is not a suitable port for the big ships. For more information about the various Bosphorus currents see Pierre De Tchihatchef, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000), pp. 4-5.

cultural landscape of Üsküdar it is necessary to concentrate on the urban monuments, buildings and basic usages of the urban space. In this subchapter, to gain a better understanding of the cultural landscape of the place in which Scutarians have lived and the historical formation of the urban space, I will basically focus on how the geographical space has been filled and used both by its inhabitants and also central administration. However, the cultural landscape of a place cannot be understood by merely analysing the manners in which space is used. As Tümertekin and Özgüç emphasise “the cultural landscape is basically revealed by buildings, roads, fields and many other things. However, at the same time it has also a characteristic, atmosphere or taste, a feeling of space that usually can be easily perceived but cannot be defined/described.”<sup>47</sup> For this study, I think the feelings and the descriptions of the writers concerning Üsküdar may (at least partly) represent the missing part of its cultural landscape. Therefore, to acquaint oneself “the indefinable features” of the district’s cultural landscape, especially during the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the chapter about the place of Üsküdar and Scutarians in the popular urban image of the city may be helpful.

### *The Borders of Central Üsküdar*

Üsküdar was one of four administrative sections of the city and its borders extended to Şile in the north and İzmit in the east. After the foundation of the municipality in 1857 its borders were redefined, to extend to Anadolu Feneri in the

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<sup>47</sup> Nazmiye Özgüç & Erol Tümertekin, *Beşeri Coğrafya*, (İstanbul: Çantay Kitabevi, 2002), p.124

“...kültürel coğrafi görünüm binalar, yollar ve tarlalar ve daha bir çoklarından oluşurken, aynı zamanda da, algılanması çoğu kez çok kolay fakat tanımlaması henüz çok güç olan elle tutulamaz bir nitelik, bir atmosfer ya da tat, bir yer duygusu da taşımaktadır”

north (without including Beykoz), Kısıklı in the east and Haydarpaşa in the south.<sup>48</sup> In this study Üsküdar means mainly the centre of the district, that is surrounded by the quarters of Kuzguncuk, İcadiye, Altunizade, and Selimiye and the great cemetery (Karacaahmet). Kuzguncuk can be described as a Bosphorus village rather than as a part of central Üsküdar; Altunizade and Bağlarbaşı were places where the settlement became sparse and functioned mainly as summer residences; Selimiye was founded together with the military barracks there at the beginning of the nineteenth century and its urban fabric differs totally from that of the centre. The great cemetery that forms a large part of the border has prevented Üsküdar from spreading towards to Kadıköy by constituting a wide area in which it is impossible (or at least unsuitable) to settle. But still, these are fictive borders of central Üsküdar and they should not be conceived as absolute. It is only possible to say that the above-mentioned quarters and some quarters of central Üsküdar which are close to them, constitute a very wide permeable borderline together.

### *Buildings, Waterlines and Historical Formation of the Urban Space*

Mosques, schools, madrasas and caravanserais in the above-defined area of central Üsküdar are listed and numbered in chronological order and placed on the map.<sup>49</sup> As is known, the locations of mosques indicate the locations of settlements in Islamic cities. If that is the case, is it possible to find out how the settlement of Üsküdar has spread over time by only analysing only the construction dates of the

<sup>48</sup> Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediye*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1995), p. 966.

*“Yedinci Daire: Merkezi Üsküdar Çarşısı’nda büyük Karakolhane’nin zarfında. Hudûdu Anadolu Feneri’nden sahilen Beykoz karyesi hariç olarak Üsküdar’a oradan Haydarpaşa iskelesiyle İbrahim Ağa çayırının beri tarafından Koşuyolu’yla Tophanelioğlu’na, oradan Kısıklı tarikiyle Büyük Çamlıca ve Göksu verâlelerinden Anadolu Feneri’ne müntehi olduğu...”*

<sup>49</sup> see Map 5 and appendix 1.

mosques? Tahsin Yazıcı claims that, from the construction dates of the mosques we can see that the first quarters in Üsküdar were close to where the location of the current pier is and from there the settlements spread up and over the ridges.<sup>50</sup> However that is not a true assumption. Firstly, the first mosques in Üsküdar were constructed around Şemsi Paşa and Toygar Hamza. Moreover, to find out how the district spread and grew by analysing the construction dates of the mosques, is not as simple as it seems. There are many mosques constructed on very different dates very close to each other. For example the construction dates of the mosques around the main square are as following: SelmanAğa Mosque in 1506, Mihrimah Sultan Mosque in 1548, Kumru Masjid in 1646-1650, Yeni Valide Mosque in 1711. Another example are the mosques in Salacak: Fatih Sultan Mehmet Mosque near the coast in Salacak was built around 1453 and Salacak Mosque, very close to it in 1761. Moreover, the first mosque in the area between Fatih Sulan Mehmet Mosque and Rum Mehmet Paşa Mosque (1472) is Ayazma Mosque, constructed in 1760. Obviously, it is not possible to consider the construction date of this mosque as a sign of the beginning of the formation of a quarter in Ayazma. As a result, it does not seem possible to perceive the building of mosques as exact indicators of the spread of settlements without having any other information about the scrutinised settlement.

In the final analysis, Üsküdar's connection with Istanbul has always been the most important factor in its historical development; so, it seems logical to claim that the coast of the district was probably the area of primary development. However it was not the only place to develop. The area at Toygar Hamza Hill was probably another settlement founded early in Ottoman times. As can be seen on the map of the

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<sup>50</sup> Tahsin Yazıcı, p. 128.

*“Üsküdar'ın bugünkü iskele civrândan başlayarak sırtlara doğru geliştiği anlaşılmaktadır. En eski 3-4 câmiiin (Rum Mehmet Paşa, Kaptan Paşa Davud Paşa câmileri gibi) burada bulunması, bu husûsu te'yid eder. Câmilerin inşâ tarihlerine bakarak, Üsküdar mahallelerin takribî teşekkül devrelerini tâyin etmek de mümkün görünmektedir.”*

water supply lines,<sup>51</sup> the Solak Sinan line which brought water to Solak Sinan quarter (which is located on the same hill) was constructed in 1547, and similarly so with the Mihrimah Sultan line which extended to Mihrimah Sultan Mosque at the main square. These were the first water lines of the district. Moreover, one of the first mosques in the district was constructed in Toygar Hamza. In this case, the construction date of mosque and water supply line together seems to be an indicator of the important old settlements of Üsküdar.

The routes of the other water lines, constructed later than the above-mentioned ones, also indicate that some of the quarters on the hills of the district were probably as important as the quarters around the coast. For example the Atik Valide Sultan line was constructed thirty-five years later than the first two lines. This third line was basically constructed for Atik Valide Sultan Mosque in Toptaşı and but it still extended almost to the main square by following Çavuş Dere Street. The Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi and Çinili Mahipeyker Sultan lines were the fourth and fifth to be constructed and brought water respectively to the Şemsi Paşa quarter, and the Çinili Külliyesi, near the eastern border of central Üsküdar. Consequently it seems that the quarters on the hills such as Solak Sinan, Toygar Hamza, Toptaşı and the quarters near the coast were developed simultaneously.

In the nineteenth century, four more water supply lines were added to the previous thirteen. Only two of them were constructed in the above-defined central Üsküdar. These were the Selimiye and Mihrişah Sultan lines. These lines directly reached Selimiye and İhsaniye, next to Selimiye. Their construction date (1802) is the same as that of the foundation of the Military Barracks and the quarter of

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<sup>51</sup> See Map 3 and appendix 2.

Selimiye. As a matter of fact, this area was developed after the foundation of the Military Barracks, and it was the extended part of Üsküdar towards Haydarpaşa.

The Military Barracks was founded on an elevation overlooking the Marmara Sea. This was not a coincidence. Like the Sultanic Mosques, all military barracks in the city were constructed on areas that could be easily seen from the sea. Besides their basic functions, these building can also be considered as urban monuments of the nineteenth century.<sup>52</sup>

During the nineteenth century only six new mosques were constructed and some of the old mosques were repaired. Almost half of the seventy-eight mosques and more than half of the nine madrasas in central Üsküdar were constructed during the sixteenth century. Mosque construction gradually decreased during the following centuries. However, the same cannot be said for schools. As the number of these constructed and opened during the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries is almost the same. However, most of those constructed during the last quarter of the nineteenth and early twentieth century were high schools (*İdâdi, Rüşdiye and Kolej*), school for girls (*Kız mektebi*) and minority schools, a situation obviously arising from the modernisation of the education system within the Empire.

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<sup>52</sup> According to Saint-Laurent it is also true for Bursa:

“...konum olarak seçilen bu yerler yeni değildi; tam tersine Osmanlı mimarisinin bir özelliğini oluşturmaktaydı. Bursa'daki camiler ve imaretler uzaktan görülebilmeleri için tepelere inşa edilmişti. Yeni olan husus, dini anıtların yerini iktidarın göstergeleri olarak sivil ve laik binaların almasıydı”. [ Béatrice Sain-Laurent “Bir Tiyatro Amatörü: Ahmed Vefik Paşa ve 19. Yüzyılın Son Çeyreğinde Bursa'nın Yeniden Biçimlenmesi”, in *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, Paul Dumont & François Georgeon (ed.), (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), p. 97

Semavi Eyice describes the impression of the people about the Selimiye Barrack and its effect on the city view as following:

“Esası III. Selim zamanında başlayan fakat sonaları yapımı sürdürülen Anadolu yakasındaki Selimiye kışlası büyüklüğü ile hayret uyandırdığı gibi, XIX. yüzyıl ortalarında, bilhassa Kırım savaşı sıralarında İstanbul'a gelen yabancıların, gerek o çağa göre e modern ve en sıhhi bir tesis olduğundan gerek mimari özelliği bakımından hayranlığını çekmiştir. Eski şehrin içinde veya surların dışında doğan ve gelişen mahallelerde artık Devlet binaları bu Neo-Klâsik üslupta, bir bakıma devlet otoritesinin temsilcisi gibi yükselmeye başlamıştı.” [Semavi Eyice, “Tarih İçinde İstanbul ve Şehrin Gelişmesi”, in *Atatürk Konferansları VII*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1975), p. 135.]

There were nine minority schools in Üsküdar, eight of them belonging to the Armenian community and one to the Greeks. It is known that the Greek, Armenian and Jewish communities within the administrative borders of Üsküdar and near its centre had settled in Kuzguncuk and Bağlarbaşı. As can be seen in Map 5, all the minority schools within the border of the central Üsküdar were around Bağlarbaşı. Furthermore, all the churches were in the same region that is quite near the eastern limits. That means mosques only could dominate the view of the heart of the district. This is one of the factors that have probably given it a completely Muslim city aspect constantly emphasised by all the guides and travel books.

In trying to understand the district's cultural landscape, I have also scrutinised the locations of the khans and the caravanserais which may indicate areas where trade activity was dense and thus where foreigners (i.e. not Scutarians) stayed.<sup>53</sup> In Ottoman cities, these buildings were located at the centre and inside or close to the quarters.<sup>54</sup> It was the same in Üsküdar. As can be seen in Map 5, the Caravanserais were located around the main square (i.e. around the piers connecting Üsküdar to Istanbul) and in the vicinity of Toptaşı. Although the exact locations of many khans are not known, it is known that most of them were also around the main square of the district and at *Atpazarı*, which was around Beygirciler Street<sup>55</sup> that connects Toptaşı and Ferah Streets. *Atpazarı* was a place where the saddle horses and other animals used for riding were sold. As can be clearly understood from the

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<sup>53</sup> It is known that in the big cities, especially in the nineteenth century immigrant single male workers, such as boatmen, gardeners and porters were also resident in the khans. [Işık Tandoğan-Abel "Hanlar ya da Osmanlı Kentinde Yabancı" in *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Yaşamak* François Geogron, Paul Dumont (ed.), (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000), p. 392.]

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 387.

<sup>55</sup> It is just around the 62<sup>nd</sup> mosque on Map 5. In the current map (Map 9) it is called Boz Street. On Map 2 (dated from 1925-28) a part of Toptaşı Street that crosses the Beygirciler (or Boz Street) is called *Atpazarı*.

expression of Mehmed Râ'if if it was still a very busy and important bazaar at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>56</sup> If we consider Üsküdar was as the land port for all caravan routes to Istanbul, the function of these places clearly explains why many of them had been founded around or near these areas.

There is no specific architectural feature of the above-mentioned buildings (Mosques, Churches, Schools, Caravanserais et cetera) peculiar to Üsküdar. It is also same for houses. However it should be underlined that most of the Scutarian characters in the scrutinised novels of the period concerned live in large mansions (*Konak*). Traditionally, the *Konak* is a wooden house that has a large garden and at least 10-20, and possibly 20-40 rooms, opening on to a central hall.<sup>57</sup> In many novels, *Konaks* symbolise a traditional way of life, while stone houses (*Kargir Ev*) or flats indicate a modern way of life. During the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the number of *Konaks*, especially in the historical peninsula and Galata, rapidly decreased<sup>58</sup> as they were replaced by *Kargir* and apartment houses.<sup>59</sup> Great fires and following these, the local administration's decrees forbidding the construction of wooden houses, especially in Istanbul and Galata sides

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<sup>56</sup> Mehmed Râ'if, *Mir'ât-ı İstanbul*, (Istanbul: Çelik Gülersoy Vakfı Yayınları, 1996), p. 72.

"Çarşısı yalnız nefsi-i Üsküdar ile civarının ihtiyacına masustur. Yalnız hayvanat pazarı hayli işlektir."

<sup>57</sup> see Doğan Kuban, "Konaklar", in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1994), v. 5, pp. 50-55.

<sup>58</sup> In his novel "*Jön Türk*" (1910), A. Mithat Efendi describes this process as following:

"Vakıa şu "konak yavrusu" tabiri bugünkü günde âdetâ unutulmuş bir tabir hükmüne girdi. "Konak" kalmadı ki yavrusu olsun. Eski zamandan kalma koca koca konaklar bir yangında yandıkça arsaları parça parça satılarak mahalleler teşkil eyledi. Yanmayanlar da verese tarafından evvalı enkazı bu ticaretle iştigal edenlere satılıp yıkıldıktan sonra arsaları ezâlik yeniden yeniye mahlle olmak üzere parça parça satıldı. Konak da kalmadı yavrusu da." [Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Jön Türk*, (Istanbul: Oğlak Yayınları, 1995), p 9.]

<sup>59</sup> Zeynep Çelik emphasises that although these new *kargir konaks* had a Western façades, their interior organisation followed the principles of a traditional Turkish house. Furthermore, as in Çelik's words "In Istanbul, they often merged into the existing fabric but on the northern side of the Golden Horn, erected along the recently opened straight, wide streets, they helped create a new cityscape." [Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, (University of California Press, 1993), pp.137-138]

were the most important factors in paving the way for the disappearance of *konaks* from the cityscape of these areas. The decreasing number of *konaks* in the rest of the city probably made Üsküdar's *konaks* a distinguishing feature of its urban fabric.

### *Üsküdar's Urban Fabric and The Effects of Modern Planning Ideas on it*

As can be seen in Maps 2 and 7, there were many wide empty areas in central Üsküdar. When these maps are compared with the detailed plans of J. Pervititch it is seen that many of these areas were vegetable gardens (*Bostan*) and fields.<sup>60</sup> According to Pervititch's plans, in the 1930s, Üsküdar was a district which still had many small and large fields, gardens, and which was surrounded by large vineyards. Çavuş Dere Gardens especially, quite near the town centre, still covered a very large area, even in 1930s. In other words in the 1930s a considerable part of the district's urban space was still utilised for agricultural production.

In the various plans of the district, especially around the main square and generally in the central quarters, the proliferation of winding streets and cul-de-sacs which have been perceived as symbols of "traditional eastern city" or "Islamic city" planning, can be clearly seen. Towards its borders, this structure unites with, and disperses into, some orthogonal plans. The plan of the two frontier quarters of the district (Selimiye and İcadiye) is totally orthogonal.

All the plans and detailed maps that we have date from after 1925 and this makes it impossible to find out how much the urban fabric had changed during the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, we can guess that, at least at the centre of the district, the traditional plan was relatively better conserved than that of the other districts. We know that in the nineteenth century the urban planning aims of the local

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<sup>60</sup> See Map 8.

administration were the transformation of the old fabric of the city, especially those areas destroyed by fire to a new orthogonal plan.<sup>61</sup> However, in the 1920s, the plan of the centre of the district was still not as eclectic as that of the historical peninsula. This urban fabric, which had been relatively better conserved, together with the great mosques around the main square, has probably made it easy to describe Üsküdar as “a traditional eastern city” by many of the European travellers.

Even if Üsküdar had a relatively better conserved traditional fabric, it was not saved completely from the interference of the modern urban planning ideas that were affecting the central and local administrations.

The concept of public parks first emerged in Istanbul during the 1860s, and the first two were constructed in Taksim and Tepebaşı. In 1916 a part of the Topkapı Palace Garden was converted into a public park.<sup>62</sup> This was the first public park in the historical peninsula. The first public park in Üsküdar was constructed after the declaration of the second constitutional monarchy.<sup>63</sup> Although there were many recreation spots (*Mesire yeri*) around central Üsküdar (such as Millet Bahçesi, Duvardibi et cetera) during the period concerned the only public park in the area was the Doğancılar Park located at Doğancılar Square. It is one of the oldest parks in the whole city. It covers almost 8.000 m<sup>2</sup>, and has a quite modern structure. A cartoon published in a magazine, “*Resimli İstanbul*”, after the foundation of the park concerns the difference between the park and the other recreation spots and also between the typologies their visitors.<sup>64</sup> First of all, as in other public parks of the

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<sup>61</sup> See Çelik, the third chapter “Regularization of the Urban Fabric”, pp. 49-81

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., pp. 69-70

<sup>63</sup> Faik Yaltrık, “Doğancılar Parkı”, in *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1994), v. 3, p. 81

<sup>64</sup> See appendix 3.

period, there is a ticket seller at the entrance of the park, meaning that unlike the other kind of recreation spots, this public park was not free. Furthermore, it is implied by the cartoon that this park was in the service of some “modernised” high class Scutarians. It is also interesting that during the first decades of the republican period, on national holidays the municipal marching band gave some jazz and classical music concerts in this public park.<sup>65</sup>

Another main impact of new urban planning ideas on central Üsküdar can be seen in the main streets. As we have already underlined the courses of these main roads had been clearly determined by the landscape of the district. These streets were widened in accordance with the directions of “the regulation about streets and buildings” (*Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi*) and the necessities of new transportation vehicles. These vehicles were phaetons, the widespread use of which began during the nineteenth century, trams and omnibuses. After the introduction of the car ferry between Kabataş and Üsküdar in 1872, carriage traffic probably became relatively heavy on the main roads and at the main square. The roads that could be used by omnibuses, buses and cars were limited by “The terms of the Contract of Dersaadet buses and Omnibuses Ottoman Joint-Stock Company” (*Dersaadet Otobüs ve Omnibüs Osmanlı Anonim Şirketinin Şartnamesi*) dated from 1909.<sup>66</sup> As can be seen in Map 6, they were not allowed to enter the main square at the coast.

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid, p.81.

<sup>66</sup> Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediye*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1995), v. 5, pp. 2582-2585.

“Otomobil, otobüs ve omnibüs arabalarının seyr ü seferne müsaade olunan sokak ve caddeler ber-vech-i âtidir:

... Üsküdar'da Şeyh Câmî '-i şerifi önünen bülbüderesinden çamlıca cihetlerine ve ilerisine kadar. Üsküdar'da Paşakapusu 'ndan Haydarpaşa eski istasyonuna kadar.”

I would like to note that as it is written in the document, if the route of private cars were also limited with these streets, it interestingly but clearly means that they would not use the ferry. Due to the fact that it seems logical to think that the practice had to be different than the written rules -at least in the case of private cars-.

Trams constituted the main connection between the district and the more remote areas such as Kısıklı and Alemdağ. In fact the routes followed by both trams and omnibuses in central Üsküdar were almost the same, except of course that trams were allowed to approach the piers.<sup>67</sup> We can see in an official document from 1911 that, in order to facilitate tram routes in Üsküdar the main streets would be widened to fifteen meters, their inclines decreased to seven percent, and the main square rearranged to provide enough space for the main tram station to be built. However, although most of the work, such as laying the tramlines on the streets, was almost finished, the importation of some equipment necessary for the running of the trams was delayed because of World War One and so, the planned operation date for the tram between Alemdağı and Üsküdar had to be postponed.<sup>68</sup>

All in all, it seems quite hard to realise the effects of all of the above-mentioned changes and later ones during the republican period, on “the feeling of the space”, that indefinable part of the cultural landscape. Although it seems impossible to claim that it has not been affected by the changes, it can still be argued that this feeling has more or less been somehow retained today. Described by nineteenth century writers, travellers etc., as an oriental, traditional, provincial district of the city, it is today still defined using these same adjectives in the popular urban memory. The urban fabric of a place certainly represents its cultural structure and carries it from the past into the future. However, changing the urban fabric does not totally transform its cultural structure and is not sufficient to totally abolish the cultural continuity and “atmosphere” in that place. Memory of the previous way(s) of life is somehow still alive. In the final analysis, the great changes in the old urban

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<sup>67</sup> See Map 6

<sup>68</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 2486-289.

fabric of some quarters in the historical peninsula (such as Aksaray, Samatya etc.), especially after the huge fires of the nineteenth century, did not convert them into petit-bourgeois settlements such as Nişantaşı or Kadıköy. It seems possible to claim that although the cultural landscape and structure of a place is closely related to its urban fabric, it is not limited by it. As for Üsküdar, the eradication of the continuity of its atmosphere could not be expected by the above-mentioned relatively less important rearrangement in its urban fabric. Üsküdar has been marked by and perceived and expressed in terms of the traditional way of life. In other words it was not a “no man’s land”; it was the oldest Ottoman settlement in the Capital city.

## II

# ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN ÜSKÜDAR AND THEIR ROLE IN THE ECONOMY OF ISTANBUL

### II. 1. From The Reign of Süleyman To 1838

Before beginning to analyse the economic condition of Üsküdar and its importance in Istanbul's economy in the nineteenth century, it seems necessary to focus on economic activities in Üsküdar before 1838. It may make it easy to understand the differences –if there are any- between the pre and post convention periods. Therefore, the main aim of this chapter is to try to make an inventory of economic activities in the district from the reign of Süleyman to the Anglo-Turkish convention of 1838. Because of the length of this period, I have decided to concentrate more on the eighteenth century, which is just before the period considered in the thesis. The previous centuries are only mentioned in order to present a background and so, for these centuries, I have basically referred to the main sources that may provide some information on the economic activities in Üsküdar such as Mantran's "17. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İstanbul", Evliya Çelebi's "Seyahatname", Yvonne Seng's "The Üsküdar Estates" etc.

Yvonne Seng, in the introductory chapter of her above-mentioned dissertation tries to explain the meaning of Üsküdar for Istanbul at the beginning of the sixteenth century by using an illustration of Istanbul drawn by Nasûh al Matrakçı. Seng briefly claims that in the illustration while Eyüp, Galata and the walled city of Istanbul are well described; Üsküdar is almost omitted since it was not considered part of the city. According to Seng, Üsküdar had to wait until the reign of Süleyman to be perceived

as one of the main parts of Istanbul: "During the reign of Süleyman Üsküdar burgeoned in size and importance. As the doorway to the capital, it is an important example of the urban growth which occurred during the reign of Süleyman, for it was during this period that the town gained in commercial and religious importance and was integrated into Istanbul."<sup>69</sup> "At the beginning of the reign of Süleyman, the area of Üsküdar had yet not fully attained its urban character and although a recognized town center existed, radiating from around the docks and its encumbent bedestans, on its periphery, the town was interpenetrated by the rural character of the outlying villages."<sup>70</sup> Although Evliya Çelebi does not give any information about a growth in commerce he underlines the increasing importance of the district during the reign of Süleyman.<sup>71</sup>

In spite of the growth in commerce during the reign of Süleyman, according to Seng the dominant characteristic of the region was still rural. Most of the cross-examined estates that belonged to the town centre and its periphery included farm implements and some other tools relevant to farming.<sup>72</sup> Even though, it is not possible to know where the marketplace was for the agricultural produce in Üsküdar, it seems logical to assume that one of these market places was possibly Istanbul. As we know, Eyüp was the most important agricultural area of the city. Faroqhi

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<sup>69</sup> Yvonne J. Seng, *The Üsküdar Estates (Tereke) as Records of Everyday Life in an Ottoman Town, 1521-1524*, (The University of Chicago, unpublished PhD dissertation, 1991), p.23.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 169.

<sup>71</sup> Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi I*, transcribed and edited by Orhan Şahik Gökyay, (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996), pp. 201-202.  
"Badel-feth Ebû'l-feth dahı ma'mür olur, amma zaman-ı Süleyman Han'da dahı ziyade 'imar olup ila yevmina haza Battal Gazi duası berakatıyla ma'mur olmalıdır"

<sup>72</sup> Seng, pp. 169-179.

It does not mean that central Üsküdar was undoubtedly an agricultural area at that time. As Faroqhi underlines: "In the vicinity of both larger and smaller Anatolian towns, a certain amount of land was owned and often worked by townsmen", [Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 242]. So, the central area may or may not be an agricultural area; however the crucial point is that this information underlines agriculture as a considerable (and probably economic) activity of the central Üsküdar's inhabitants.

underlines that fact for the eighteenth century in the following: "For this area formed part of the zone supplying Istanbul with goods which could not be transported over any distance."<sup>73</sup> However that zone was not limited by Eyüp. Faroqhi says that "Istanbul's consumption of fruits and vegetables surpassed what could be produced in the immediate neighbourhood, and villages along the Sea of Marmara were called on to supply pomegranates and other fresh fruits". In this context while she accounts for the principal commercial centres supplying Istanbul, she also gives an example that is relevant to Üsküdar: "Fresh grapes arrived from the vineyards which were taking the place of the fields and meadows surrounding Üsküdar by the last quarter of the sixteenth century."<sup>74</sup> So, like Eyüp, Üsküdar, as a part and a close periphery of the city, may also be conceived as one of the fresh fruits and vegetables providers for the city.

The most detailed information on all trade activities in seventeenth century Üsküdar is provided by Evliya Çelebi. Although the numbers in the text are not reliable, the proportions may give us a clue towards a better understanding of the relative growth of the sectors and can also give some information on some features of Üsküdar's economic life. According to Evliya there were twenty thousand and sixty shops but no *bedestan* and there was no bazaar (*çarşu*) for any particular group of tradesmen in Üsküdar; there were tanneries in Üsküdar in two different places. Then, he informs us about the agricultural areas: according to Evliya, there were forty thousand vineyards and three hundred flower gardens (*bostan-ı gülistan*) in

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<sup>73</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, "Migration into Eighteenth century 'Greater Istanbul' as reflected in the Kadi registers of Eyüp" *Turcica* 30(1998), p. 166.

<sup>74</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, "Trade: Regional, Inter-Regional and International", in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire: 1300-1914*, edited by Halil İnalcık & Donald Quataert, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) p. 493.

Üsküdar.<sup>75</sup> Although the unreliable statistical knowledge of Evliya sets a limit to our comments, I would like to underline the huge differences between the numbers of shops and those of agricultural areas (number of *bağs* and *bostans*). According to Evliya Çelebi there were almost two times more vineyards than shops. However, we should keep in mind that Üsküdar's border in the above-mentioned text of Evliya is probably much wider than the borders of our concern.

The maps at the end of R. Mantran's famous work, "17. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İstanbul" show the locations of tradesmen, artisans, workshops, markets and trade centres in Üsküdar. These maps –according to Seng especially map 11- are based on Evliya Çelebi's information.<sup>76</sup> According to map 11, there are craftsmen such as arrow makers, tanners<sup>77</sup>, lumber workers,<sup>78</sup> pipe makers, candle makers and

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<sup>75</sup> "Aded-i evsaf-ı dekakin-i esvak-ı sultani: Cümle ikibin altmış dükkandır lakin bedezastanı yokdur. Amma yine cümle zi-kaymet mevcuddur. Zira cemi ehl-i huref güna-gün mevcuddur. Tertib üzre bir esnafa mahsus çarşusu yokdur. Heman cümle ehl-i sanayi-i mahlutdur. Hatta tabbahanesi bile iki yerdedir. Amma Sipah {Bazarı bir sukür iki canibi kapuludur}. Ve adedi bağ-ı engür dörd bindir. (--) ve aded bostan-ı gülstan üç yüzdür ve aded (--) bunların her birinde niçe bin elvan-ı şükufe ve ezharat hasıl olur kim rahiyasından ademin dimağı muattar olur" (Evliya Çelebi, 1996, p. 204)

<sup>76</sup> Seng, p. 27, footnote 69.

<sup>77</sup> According to Kömürçiyân the location of tanneries in the seventeenth century was nearby Şemsi Paşa Camii [Eremya Çelebi Kömürçiyân, *İstanbul Tarihi: XVII. Asırda İstanbul*, (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1988), p. 48]. And as can be seen in the published documents on tanneries in eighteenth century Üsküdar most of them belong to the waqfs such as Atik Valide Sultan, Safiye Sultan and Mihrimah Sultan. [see the document dated from 1755 in *İstanbul Ahkâm Defterleri İstanbul Esnaf Tarihi – I*, edited by Ahmet Kal'a, (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı İstanbul Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1997) p. 122. and see the document dated from 1745 in *İstanbul Ahkâm Defterleri İstanbul Esnaf Tarihi – II*, edited by Ahmet Kal'a, (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı İstanbul Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1998) p. 16.]

<sup>78</sup> According to two documents dated from 1749 and 1757 there were two hundred eight lumber shops in İstanbul and eight of them were in Üsküdar (*İstanbul Esnaf Tarihi – I*, pp. 60-61, 155-156). By the way, most of them (102) were between Odunkapısı and Ayazma –in the historical peninsula- and both of the documents were written to forbid opening a lumber shop inside of any quarters because of their negative effects on possible fires.

However if we look at the usages of lumber, we can be aware of the importance of lumber and other works related to wooden such as firewood for the urban life. First of all lumber has been primarily used to construct and repair the wooden houses and buildings. The second important usage of lumber is related to graves. Moreover, need for firewood of the city is also an important and well-known fact.

Lumber usage for graves seems strange but as is known after putting their dead into graves Muslims covers them with lumbers before filling the graves with earth. So, this tradition was one of the causes of need for lumber. For example in a petition (*Arzuhal*) dated from cemaziyelâhir 1181 (October-November 1767) local people in Kuzguncuk and Öküzlimanı want to have a lumber shop

yoghurt makers in Üsküdar. Map 13 shows the locations of the markets for grapes, fruit, yoghurt, bread, fish and clotted cream, and also the location of a slaughterhouse. Seng adds pickles and syrup (*pekmez*) to the above-mentioned list. However these were produced in Darıca, Maltepe and Kartal, not in or near the centre of the district.<sup>79</sup> As is underlined in the previous chapter, these quarters do not concern us.

The workshop belonging to the waqf of the new mosque in the masjid of *Ayazma Sarayı* (*Ayazma Sarayı mescidinde camii cedid evkafında*) had been determined as the only snuff producer for the city by the central administration.<sup>80</sup> According to a document dated from 1766, there were forty snuff shops that were

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nearby Öküzlimanı. They show two reasons for their request: houses and graves. (Başbakanlık Arşivi Cevdet Belediye Kataloğu, vol. 96, No.4687) Moreover, lumber usage for graves probably was more important here than it was in other districts because of the existence of the greatest cemetery of the city in Üsküdar.

Lumber was not the only sector related to cemetery. While Evliya Çelebi gives information on the mines in and around Istanbul, he accounts a mine in Üsküdar as the eleventh mine of the city. According to Evliya Çelebi this mine had been used to provide a kind of stone that have been usually used for graves (probably as a gravestone). [Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyehatnamesi* vol. I, edited by Zuhuri Danişman, (Istanbul: Zuhuri Danişman Yayınevi, 1969), p. 64 and Nicolas Vatin & Stéphane Yérasimos, *Les Cimetières dans la ville*, (Istanbul: IFEA, Varia Turcica XXXV,2001), p. 64.]

“Onbirinci maden, Üsküdar dağlarında bir çeşit köfeki kayağan taşı hâsıl olur. Büyük ağırlıktaki parça parça kopar, acayip taşır. Ekseriya mezarlıklar için kullanılır” [Evliya Çelebi, 1969, 64 and Vatin -2001, 64]

Besides that, as Théophile Gautier describes in his memories, the grave stones have been processed in or around the cemeteries. [Théophile Gautier, *İstanbul*, (Istanbul: İstanbul Kitaplığı, 1971) p. 165] May be it was not a great economic sector but still it should be remembered that the greatest cemetery of the city was in Üsküdar

<sup>79</sup> Seng, p. 28.

<sup>80</sup> “Kârhanesi Mezkûrdan gayrı gerek Asitane-i Aliyye’ın ve civarında ve gerek İzmir ve Bursa ve Edirne ve Selanik ve Mora ve Yanya vesair memalik-i mahrusemde bir mahalde min bad enfiyye karhanesi ihdas ve i’mal olunmayup san’atı mezkûreyi i’male bir ferde rusat verilmeyüp ...” (dated from 17-25 June 1759) [*İstanbul Esnaf Tarihi - I*, p. 237]. For a quite similar document dated from 1766 see *İstanbul Ahkâm Defterleri İstanbul Ticaret Tarihi - I*, edited by Ahmet Kal’a [Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı İstanbul Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1997], p. 238. By this document, the central administration also forbid the snuff shops to buy snuff from anyplace except the workshop in Ayazma and all other entrepreneurs to produce snuff in Istanbul or for the market of the capital. It is easy to find many other example documents that have almost same contents. The repetition of the same order makes us think about the difference between the expectation of the government and the reality. So, even though it is obvious that, the central administration wanted the above-mentioned workshop to be monopoly for the snuff market of the city, it does not seem possible to call it monopoly because of the above-implied common incomppliance with this orders.

formally allowed to sell snuff in Istanbul.<sup>81</sup> Even if it is not possible to know the amount of snuff that was sold in the city or was illegally produced or imported (for instance for one year), it should be underlined as a fact that there was a workshop in Üsküdar that was allowed and responsible for selling snuff to forty shops in Istanbul.

Looms in Üsküdar show the existence of another manufacturing activity, especially a special kind of textile manufacture called “*çatma yastık yüzü*”, a well-known product of these looms. The experts call the products of these looms “*Üsküdar Çatması*”.<sup>82</sup> In 1758, around the mosque of Ayazma, four workshops of “*çatma yastık yüzü*” were founded.<sup>83</sup> In these workshops, besides looms, there were forty pillow makers (*yastıkçı*) and one silk workshop (*harir bükümcü kârhanesi*) and also one guild room (*lonca odası*).<sup>84</sup> Besides these, different kinds of textile products, especially printed cloth (*basma*), were also manufactured on the looms in Üsküdar. According to İnciciyan who wrote about eighteenth century Istanbul, there were printed cloth makers (*basmacı*) in Bebek. However, in his own time the majority were in Yenikapı of Langa and some of them were behind the shore walls and also in Üsküdar.<sup>85</sup> İnciciyan’s explanation on looms producing *basma*, like the above-mentioned information on the manufacturing activity of *çatma yastık yüzü*, points to the eighteenth century as the start century of textile manufacturing in Üsküdar.

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<sup>81</sup> *İstanbul Esnaf Tarihi – I*, p. 323.

<sup>82</sup> Nevber Gürsu, “Çatma Yastık Yüzleri”, in *Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* vol. II, n. 6, (December 1989), p. 50.

<sup>83</sup> Before the foundation of these workshops, probably “*çatma yastık yüzü*” had not been made in Üsküdar. For example, even though Evliya Çelebi gives some detailed information about “*Esnaf-ı Basmacıyan-ı yasdik*” [Evliya Çelebi, 1996, p. 293] and “*Esnaf-ı Yasdikçıyan Sereng ve kadife*” (ibid. p. 294) he does not say that they existed in Üsküdar.

<sup>84</sup> Gürsu, p. 49,50

<sup>85</sup> “*İmarından evvel, Bebekte basmacılar kârhanesi vardı. Şimdi ise tülbenkten rengarenk ve nakışlı yemeni imal eden basmacıların büyük bir kısmı Langa Yenikapı’ında, sahil surunun arkasında ve bir kısmı da Üsküdar’da bulunur.*” [İnciciyan, p. 162]

The looms not only appeared in Üsküdar, but they were also founded or supported by the central administration in other districts of Istanbul during the eighteenth century. Increasing trade relations with European governments meant the domination of European products on the local market. The central administration wished to circumscribe the supply of the goods by European governments. Founding some textile workshops was only one of the measures taken. Göçek describes the process as follows: "In 1720, for example, the sultan brought in master workmen from Chios to found a broadcloth manufactory and silk looms in Constantinople. Similarly, in 1729 he financed the organization of Ottoman cloth manufactories, which were established with the explicit intent to imitate foreign prints. In 1777, the Ottoman sultan founded more broadcloth and cloth factories in Constantinople to compete with the European cloth that was entering the Ottoman markets in ever increasing amounts."<sup>86</sup>

Although all the aforementioned information points to the eighteenth century as the beginning of the development of textile manufacturing in Üsküdar, Faroqhi, in the map of textile production which she made out for western Anatolia 1500-1650, points out that Üsküdar was one of the centres for raw cotton, hemp and cotton fabrics.<sup>87</sup> Moreover, according to Faroqhi, in the area between Kocaeli, İzmit and Üsküdar flax was also cultivated.<sup>88</sup> That is to say Üsküdar was situated near cotton, flax and silk (from Bursa) cultivation areas. That is probably one of the important

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<sup>86</sup> Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie Demise of Empire*, (Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 89.

<sup>87</sup> Faroqhi, 1984, p. 134.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.* p. 153

factors that explains why Üsküdar was promoted as one of the textile manufacturing places of the city by the central administration.<sup>89</sup>

Üsküdar was on the important trade roads to Asia Minor and the Silk Road. Moreover it was the ceremonial starting point of the pilgrimage road from Istanbul to Mecca and military campaigns to the East.<sup>90</sup> R. Mantran, summarises the role of Üsküdar for the city as a connection point to Asia as follows: “. . . Üsküdar was dependent to Istanbul. However, Istanbul also needed a bridgehead to Asia. This district was developed as one of the three centres of the city: Istanbul-Galata-Üsküdar.”<sup>91</sup>

There was no seaport in Üsküdar and additionally, the seashore of the district was not suitable as a docking area for any kind of ship. To be the connection point of the city to Asia was the main role of the district. As Mantran underlines, Üsküdar, connecting all the above-mentioned roads to Istanbul was a transit land port of the

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<sup>89</sup> Besides these activities, according to the documents published in “*İstanbul Beldesi Esnaf Tarihi*” there were also shoes makers (*Çarıkçı Esnafı*) in nearby the Doğançılar Square (*İstanbul Esnaf Tarihi – I*, p. 325) and *Akçı ve Boyacı Esnafı* [dated from 1758 *ibid.* p. 172] glazier (*Camcı Esnafı*) [dated from 1755, *ibid.* p. 99] *Attar ve Barutçu Esnafı* [dated from 1762 *ibid.* p. 334]. These kinds of tradesmen were in every part of the city and probably they were only interested in satisfying the demand of their region. So the existence of these businesses in Üsküdar is not significant. Moreover, some other trade activities that were the necessities of urbanised daily life such as mills, bakeries, greengrocers and et cetera are also not listed in this chapter. Consequently, since we know that Üsküdar was a part of the city and had urbanised features, to insist on showing the existence of these kind of shops in Üsküdar would be to prove the known. That is why they are not included in this chapter.

<sup>90</sup> *Ayrılık Çeşmesi* (that is the name of a fountain outside a town where travellers take leave of their friends) in Haydarpaşa (it may be called the border quarter between Üsküdar and Kadıköy) is an important sign of the above-mentioned activities concerning Üsküdar. The fountain was first used for a ceremony prepared for the military campaign of Murad IV to Baghdad in 1683. Then the road that was followed by the army was called “*Bağdat Caddesi*” and the fountain was called “*Ayrılık Çeşmesi*” [Ziya Nur Sezen, “*Ayrılık Çeşmesi*”, in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* vol. I, (Istanbul : Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1993) p. 488]. For more information about *Ayrılık Çeşmesi* also see Semavi Eyice, “*Ayrılık Çeşmesi*” in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. IV, [Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1991), pp. 284-285.]

<sup>91</sup> Robert Mantran, *17 Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İstanbul, Kurumsal, İktisadi, Toplumsal Tarih Denemesi*, (Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1990), vol. I. p. 80.

“Demek ki Üsküdar İstanbul’a bağımlı kalmaktadır, fakat İstanbul’un da Asya’da bir köprü başına ihtiyacı vardır; işte bu semt böylece üç başlı kentin üçüncü başı olarak gelişmiştir. İstanbul-Galata-Üsküdar”

city for goods coming from Asia.<sup>92</sup> However, at this point, we come up against another important question: Does this mean that these goods were sold in Üsküdar or were they transferred directly from Üsküdar to Istanbul? To examine the existence of a *bedesten* (of considerable size for this kind of busy caravan traffic) in Üsküdar may provide an answer to this question. In her book "Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia" Faroqhi, in her search for reasons that might lead to the foundation of a covered market mentions a document. This document underlines the non-existence of a *bedesten* in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. According to the document, a delegation from among the inhabitants of Üsküdar applied to the *kadı* in 997/1588-9 for permission to construct a *bedesten*. The central administration gave permission to anyone who wished to construct a *bedesten* using private means to do so.<sup>93</sup> On the other hand, for the seventeenth century, Evliya Çelebi and R. Mantran say that there was still no *bedesten* in Üsküdar, with Mantran insisting on that, the non-existence of a *bedesten* is a sign of its relatively low importance for trade activities.<sup>94</sup> Only, İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı talks about a *bedesten* in Üsküdar.

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<sup>92</sup> Mantran describes all the Anatolian roads passing through İzmit (and Üsküdar) as follows: "Anadolu'da İzmit Edirne'ninkine benzer bir konuma sahiptir, çünkü İstanbul'a yönelik bütün Anadolu yolları bu kentten geçmek zorundaydılar. Bu yollar İran ve Erzurum'dan gelip, Sivas ve Ankara'dan geçtikten sonra, buradan güneyde Eskişehir, kuzeyde Bolu'ya yönelen büyük yol veya Adana, Konya ve Afyon Karahisar tarihiyle İran yoluna Eskişehir'de kavuşan Halep, yolu; ve aynı zamanda Burdur ve Afyon üzerinden gelen Antalya yolu ve Manisa, Balıkesir, Bursa tarihiyle gelen İzmir yolu gibi yollardır. Bütün bu yol ağı İzmit'e doğru daralmakta ve buradan da Üsküdar'a ulaşmaktadır" [Ibid, vol. II, p. 83]

<sup>93</sup> The translation of the petition given in the book as following: "In recent time, the number of people visiting the town having much increased, a place was needed where merchants and tax collectors could safely store their goods. Moreover in winter, when the arrival of boats was delayed, the lack of a *bedestan* often led to scarcity and inconvenience." [Faroqhi, 1984, p. 28]

<sup>94</sup> Evliya Çelebi, 1996, p. 204. and Mantran, vol. I, p. 79.

Mantran uses contradictory expressions while talking about the importance of Üsküdar for trade activities. Although, he says, in page 79, that: "Aynı zamanda fark edilmesi gereken bir husus da, Üsküdar'da bir *bedesten* olmadığı ve esnafın burada, İstanbul'da olduğu gibi belli bir yerlerde olmayıp, karışık durumda olduklarıdır. Bu da kentin yerel ticaret düzeyinde büyük bir rolünün olmadığını kanıtlamaktadır", in page 80, he claims that "...kervanlar boğazı aşmadan önce değerli yüklerini burada açmaktadırlar. Demek ki bu kent ticari açıdan belli bir öneme sahiptir, çünkü o mutlak gerekli bir aşama bir merhale-kenttir." Moreover, he does not explain how he knows that caravans had unwrapped their goods in Üsküdar.

Although he does not give any information about the construction date, we can assume that it was probably built in the eighteenth century.<sup>95</sup> According to Konyalı this *bedesten* consisted of only forty shops.<sup>96</sup> To say something about the sufficiency of this *bedesten* for all the caravans coming from above-mentioned routes may be speculative without having the exact number of caravans and goods. However, if we consider the number of shops in other *bedestens* in Anatolia, it would be easy to guess that the *Üsküdar Bedesteni* was not of considerable size. According to Faroqhi there were slightly more than thirty shops in small constructions such as Beypazarı and Sivrihisar, sixty-five shops in the *bedesten* of Konya prior to its seventeenth century restoration, and over ninety shops in both the old and new *bedestens* of Ankara.<sup>97</sup> So, it seems that Üsküdar was a transit port and one of the gateways to the city rather than a commercial centre. Although there was no great *bedestan*, the existence and the size of the caravanserais, khans, *imarethanes* and *menzilhanes* are the important proofs of this. According to Evliya Çelebi there were 11 *kervansaray*s in Üsküdar. He describes two of them near the piers. One of them is *karbansaray-ı Orta Valide Camii*. Evliya Çelebi describes it as one of the biggest caravanserais having a stable with a capacity for a thousand horses and another for camels. The other one is *mihmansaray-ı Kösem Valide*. He explains the function of this caravansary as follows: “a’yan [u] kibar sakın olmağün”.<sup>98</sup> Mantran calls this

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<sup>95</sup> İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Âbideleri ve Kitâbeleriyle Üsküdar Tarihi* vol. II, (Istanbul: Türkiye Yeşilay Cemiyeti Yayınları, 1977), pp. 428-429.

The only date given by Konyalı about the *bedesten* is about its collapse in an earthquake in 1795. This date merely shows that, it must obviously have been constructed before 1795, unfortunately nothing more.

<sup>96</sup> I would like to underline that this number is based on his visit in 1941 and we do not know if there are some added/removed parts before this date.

<sup>97</sup> Faroqhi, 1984, p. 28.

<sup>98</sup> Evliya Çelebi, 1996, p. 203.

caravansary a “luxury caravansary”.<sup>99</sup> According to Evliya Çelebi there were 500 *hans*, both large and small, in Üsküdar for the merchants.<sup>100</sup>

The number of *kayıks* and any other sea transportation vehicles which belong to the piers in Üsküdar, is another sign that shows its importance as a city gateway to Asia, its role in transit commercial activities and increasing urban mobility. According to Cengiz Orhonlu, there were two *hassa peremes* in charge of going to Üsküdar in 1565 and this could mean that Üsküdar perhaps was not a crowded district. However, he also adds that there would have been private *peremes* the number of which is not known.<sup>101</sup> During the following years a great increase was experienced in the kinds and the number of the *kayıks* reflecting the growth in population of the city.<sup>102</sup> According to Orhonlu there were 1,400 *kayıks* in 1680 increasing to 3,996 by 1802 and 19,000 by 1844.<sup>103</sup> Unfortunately Orhonlu does not make clear how many of them belonged to the piers of Üsküdar. However according to the summary of a record in the catalogue of *Cevdet Belediye* in 1748, there were 784 *kayıks* belonging to the piers of *Büyük İskele* in Üsküdar and Balalaban, Salacak, Kuzguncuk.<sup>104</sup> The great increase in the number of *kayıks* is, of course not surprising in the case of a city established on an area divided into three parts by the sea. But still

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<sup>99</sup> Mantran, vol. I, p. 78

<sup>100</sup> Evliya Çelebi, 1996, p. 204

“*Evsaf-ı han-ı tüccaran berr ü biharan seyyahan-ı han-ban*”

<sup>101</sup> Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Şehircilik ve Ulaşım*, (İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1984), p. 84.

<sup>102</sup> For more information about sea transportation in Istanbul and the number of *kayıks* on the Bosphore in different years see Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı'da Şehircilik ve Ulaşım*, especially pp. 97-103, and Hayati Tezel, M. Erem Çalikoğlu, *Boğaziçi ve Saltanat Kayıkları*, (İstanbul: Cem yayınevi, 1983).

<sup>103</sup> Orhonlu, p. 100

<sup>104</sup> *Cevdet Belediye Kataloğu*, vol. 96, document number 3411

it seems necessary to underline that the number of *kayiks* in different years shows the increasing need for mobility in the city and the city's need for integration of its parts.

In conclusion, Üsküdar, as a periphery of Istanbul, had more "rural" characteristics than the city centre. Although the sources are not sufficient to claim that the "rural" characteristic dominated the economic character of the district, none of the above-mentioned economic activities seem more significant than agriculture. This does not mean that Üsküdar was countryside. As Faroqhi clearly shows in the case of central Anatolia for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, agricultural activities were a part of daily life of cities, and many townsmen had land in the vicinity of their cities.<sup>105</sup> The second important economic activity was obviously a result of the historical role of the district as the gateway to Asia. However, this activity indirectly affected Üsküdar, providing a transaction between Üsküdar and Asia, and Üsküdar and Istanbul. It seems logical to claim that the social role of this trade activity was more significant than its economic importance for Üsküdar. The third significant economic activity was that of the workshops. They generally appeared in the eighteenth century and as will be mentioned in the chapter 1.3, gradually disappeared during the nineteenth. These workshops, especially those centred on textiles, did not have a chance to constitute the dominant economic activity of the district because of the rapidly developing industrial technology in Europe.

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<sup>105</sup> see Faroqhi 1984 and 1987

## II. 2 The Anglo-Turkish Convention Of 1838 And Its Effect On The City

By the 1820s, not only the territory of the Ottoman Empire but also all the Middle East and the rest of the world had begun to witness the great and rapid expansion of Capitalist Europe over their lands using modern transportation vehicles such as steamships.<sup>106</sup> During the second half of the nineteenth century some “modern” communication methods, such as the telegraph had accompanied this expansion.<sup>107</sup> At the beginning of the 1820s, Britain, which had completed the process of industrial revolution without any competitor in the international market, began to focus on Asia and South America in order to sell its industrial products and to provide raw materials for its production. Between 1820 and 1840 Britain, using diplomacy, and where necessary force, signed commercial agreements all over the world, thus providing great advantages to its merchants and government.<sup>108</sup> The convention signed between the Ottoman and the British Governments is only one of these.

Anglo-Turkish Convention of 1838 includes eight articles concerning the tax rates and the rules and the conditions of international, internal and inter-regional trade for British merchants, giving them a very profitable trading opportunity. According to the agreement, they would have more advantageous trading circumstances than Ottoman merchants or at least equal with native merchants under some conditions. Moreover, only British merchants would be exempt from all

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<sup>106</sup> The first English steamship had entered to the city in 1827. [Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul Limanı*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1988) p. 95.]

<sup>107</sup> Cahrls Issawi, *An Economic History of the Middle East and the North Africa*, (Colombia University Press, 1982), p. 1.

<sup>108</sup> Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Dünya Kapitalizmi (1820-1913)*, (Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1984), p. 19.

monopolies in the territory of the Empire. However, this convention was followed by quite similar conventions signed with the French and other European governments.<sup>109</sup>

These commercial conventions rapidly increased the already existing effects of European Capitalism within the Empire and of course on the Capital. As Quataert underlines "...foreign trade grew very rapidly between the early 1840s and 1870s. Imports and exports each annually increased at compound growth rates of c. 5.5 percent, nearly doubling in each successive decade."<sup>110</sup> As this statistical knowledge proves, the help of foreign trade continuously settled foreign capital in the territory of the Empire.

In Istanbul, foreign merchants and their native colleagues preferred to inhabit Galata. Two features of Galata paved the way for this preference; first, as Çelik underlines "Galata had been the non-Muslim center of the capital since the conquest"<sup>111</sup> and that made settling there possible and easy for non-Muslim foreign tradesmen<sup>112</sup>, and second, although Galata had not been the formal commercial

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<sup>109</sup> Şevket Pamuk, 100 Soruda Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi 1500-1914, (Gerçek Yayınevi, 1988), p. 164.

The reasons that paved the way for the 1838 convention do not concern us. For detailed information about these reasons, see Reşat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and The World Economy-The Nineteenth Century-* (State University of New York, 1988); Şevket Pamuk, 1984; for a brief explanation, see Şevket Pamuk, 1988, pp 151-171; for a nationalist interpretation and the full text of the Anglo-Turkish Convention of 1838, see Coşkun Ünlü, *1838 Ticaret Sözleşmesi*, (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlık Müşavirliği, 1975)

<sup>110</sup> Donald Quataert, "Commerce", in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire: 1300-1914*, edited by Halil İnalçık & Donald Quataert, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 828.

<sup>111</sup> Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, (University of California Press, 1993), p. 42.

<sup>112</sup> Edhem Eldem objects to the common opinion which perceives Galata as a centre of non-Muslim population. According to Eldem this mistake has been commenced by Evliya Çelebi. Besides this, most of the Western travellers ignored the Muslim quarters of the district since they focused on its some familiar fabric. By making quotation from these sources many historians have insisted on this misinformation. Eldem claims that in the eighteenth century half of the population of Galata should be Muslim. [see Edhem Eldem, "Galatanın Etnik Yapısı", in *İstanbul Dergisi*, no. 1 (Toplumsal ve Ekonomik Tarih Vakfı, 1992), pp. 58-63]

But still the urban fabric of the region that was familiar to European travellers gives us a clue to find an answer to the question of why nineteenth century foreign merchants preferred the district to settle in. Of course the similarity between the cultures and the urban fabrics is not the only reason.

centre of the city, it had been an important port and trade centre from the time of the Genoese onwards.<sup>113</sup>

With the great expansion in foreign trade, Galata became the new trade centre of the city. This alteration greatly changed the map of the settlements of this side of the Golden Horn. Zeynep Çelik describes this major change begun at the 1840s as follows:

“In Galata, the vacant spaces observed in Pera on the 1840 map were filled in by the 1870, and by the turn of the century, the built-up area had expanded considerably to the north and to the northwest. Another major development was from Taksim toward Harbiye. The Taksim-Harbiye strip became more densely built during the Abdülhamit period. By the first decade of the twentieth century, the Harbiye-Şişli route, which is marked on the 1840 map as a country road with no concentration along it, was converted into a residential settlement in about seven decades. The second vector of expansion was toward the Bosphorus. The vacant zones on the shoreline between Fındıklı and Dolmabahçe gave way to a continuously built strip by the 1900s. The third development was around Dolmabahçe Palace in 1856, the

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There is another explanation that can be found by analysing the very rapidly developed relations between non-Muslim minority merchants and European merchants. For a detailed presentation of the reasons that lie under this situation, [see Göçek, especially pp. 96- 97.]

<sup>113</sup> “... Galata, aynı karşı kayıdaki İstanbul gibi, bütün kazancını limandan sağlamaktadır: İngiliz, Fransız, Hollandalı ve Venediklilere ait yabancı gemiler burada karaya yanaşmaktadırlar; bunlar kendilerini burada adeta “dost bir toprakta” hissetmekte ve sol yaka iskelelerini Osmanlı İmparatorluğu limanlarında dolaşan Türk ve Rum teknelerine bırakmaktadırlar. Galata, deniz ticareti sayesinde yaşamaktadır. Burada yalnızca elçilikler yerleşmemiş -biraz daha yukarıda Pera’da- fakat aynı zamanda çok eski olmayan bir tarihten beri tüccarların ticarethaneleri ve dükkanları da yer almıştır. Sonuç olarak burası Konstantinopl’un “uluslararası” ticaretinin - merkezidir ve bu ticaret yalnızca Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ürünlerine yaslanan, kentin iaşesine yönelik eski İstanbul’un ticaretinden çok değişiktir” [Mantran, p. 71]

According to Edhem Eldem until the eighteenth century there were considerable commercial activities only along the coast and around Lonca Mahallesi and Perşembe Pazarı in Galata, the rest of the district consisting of residences. It had become a commercial centre thanks to the developments that had been experienced during the eighteenth century and it reached its peak in the nineteenth century. [Eldem, 1992, p. 61.]

neighbourhoods around it developed rapidly. The bare hills of Beşiktaş provided convenient sites for new settlements, close to the imperial headquarters and pleasantly located on green slopes with spectacular views of the Bosphorus. Construction on these hills, first recorded in the 1870s, reached a peak at the turn of the century when the neighbourhoods of Teşvikiye and Nişantaşı acquired their definitive structure. This residential area was conducted to the Taksim-Şişli artery at Harbiye in 1865.”<sup>114</sup>

Consequently, the great development experienced in the case of foreign trade and the huge increase in the amount of foreign capital caused the rebirth of Galata as the new economic centre of the city. Even though the old trade centre of the city had lost its importance, the quarters that constituted the old centre such as Eminönü, Beyazıt and Unkapanı were still significant places in terms of trade, craft and storage activities.<sup>115</sup>

The busiest sea transportation line of the city had always been the line between Galata and Eminönü.<sup>116</sup> However, after the great expansion of Galata, *kayıks* were not sufficient for the increasing transportation demands between these trade centres. “The growing importance of Galata as a commercial center and the increase in its population after 1838 necessitated a fast and convenient connection between Karaköy and Eminönü. The first Galata Bridge was built at this point in 1845 under the Patronage of Bezmi Alem Valide sultan, Mahmut II’s mother.... In

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<sup>114</sup> Çelik, p. 42.

<sup>115</sup> Ayhan Aktar, “Şark Ticaret Yıllıkları'nda "Sarı Sayfalar": İstanbul'da Meslekler ve İktisadi Faaliyetler Hakkında Bazı Gözlemler 1868-1938” in *Toplum ve Bilim* no. 76, (İstanbul: Birikim yayınları, 1998), p. 117.

<sup>116</sup> Orhonlu, p. 84.

1863 it was replaced by another larger and sturdier timber bridge.”<sup>117</sup> Then, this bridge was also replaced with a new, wider iron bridge in 1878.<sup>118</sup>

The bridge facilitated the integration of the old centre in the new economic process maturing in Galata. Even if the historical peninsula had never been a nuclear like Galata, it was possible to find the names and addresses of many tradesmen and shops in Unkapanı, Beyazıd, Eminönü and the Grand Bazaar in the *Annuaire Orientals*. These were usually traditional tradesmen. Ayhan Aktar underlines the fact that each year the number of the addresses of tradesmen settling in the above-mentioned quarters in *Annuaire Oriental* had continuously increased.<sup>119</sup> It could be wrong to interpret this information as a sign of an increase in the number of tradesmen in the historical peninsula. As Haydar Kazgan says, thanks to the developments brought on the scene in European commerce a great growth appeared in the need for shops to market the goods imported from Europe, for example in the Grand Bazaar, Eminönü, Sultanhamam and the other commercial centres. *Gedik* owners made great incomes by renting their shops to the new kinds of merchants and salesmen without selling their *gedik* rights to them.<sup>120</sup> However, as can be estimated, according to the *Annuaire Orientals* the number of the shops related to the new/westernised quotidian life style were much fewer than the number in Galata-Pera.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Çelik, p. 88

<sup>118</sup> The first bridge over Golden Horn was built between Azapkapı-Unkapanı in 1836. [Ibid. pp. 88-89]

<sup>119</sup> Aktar, p. 131.

<sup>120</sup> *quoted in* ibid, p. 131, footnote 30.

“Avrupa ticaretinin gelişmesi ile örneğin, Kapalıçarşı, Eminönü, Sultanhamam ve benzer iş merkezlerinde, Avrupa’dan ithal edilen binbir çeşit ürünü pazarlamak için işyeri talebinde büyük artış olmuştur ve bu durumda Gedik sahipleri, haklarını mahfuz tutmak suretiyle işyerlerinin yeni tip pazarlayıcılar ve tüccarlar tarafından kullanılması karşılığı büyük gelirler elde etmişlerdir”

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., p. 129.

This dissimilarity points to a difference between consumption patterns as an indicator of everyday life style. The inhabitants of Galata-Pera were people who had a relatively high income compared to the rest of the city. Their economic level provided them with an opportunity to consume the products that could be perceived as necessities of the new quotidian life. This does not mean that all the rich or high-income people settled in this district. This only shows how homogeneous the inhabitants of the region were in terms of their economic level. Undoubtedly, there were people in the rest of the city who were richer than the inhabitants of Galata-Pera. However, they usually lived among average or low-income people. So, the inhabitants of Galata-Pera were people relating to an upper economic level who had chosen to be integrated into the new, modernised every day lifestyle.

The inhabitants of the Galata-Pera region were different from the inhabitants of Kasımpaşa – which is near Pera (Beyoğlu) in terms of their income. This can be obviously understood from the words of Ahmet Vefik Paşa on the wideness of the municipalities' borders: "You must know the thing you talk about. There are some poor quarters in Kasımpaşa. What is the relationship between the shops in Beyoğlu renting for five liras for one minute and these quarters? They want coal gas; others cannot find a goose. That is what I know."<sup>122</sup>

As all the above-mentioned signs prove, the region Galata-Pera had a class peculiar residence pattern. Indeed, the class peculiar residence pattern was not the usual pattern of Istanbul.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> quoted in İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimatdan Cumhuriyete Yerel Yönetim Geleneği*. (Istanbul: Hil Yayın, 1985), p. 150.

*"Bir şeyi bilip de söylemeli. Kasımpaşa'nın fakara mahalleleri var. Beyoğlu'nda dakikası beş liraya verilen dükkânlar ile bunların münasebeti nedir? Onlar gaz isterler, bunlar kaz bile bulamazlar. Benim bildiğim budur."*

<sup>123</sup> As Edhem Eldem underlines: *"İmparatorluğun başkentinde, daha önceleri sosyoekonomik statüye göre oluşmuş önemli bir mekân farklılaşması yoktu. Ama başkent, yavaş yavaş da olsa, bazı bölgeleri işlev, şu ya da bu sektörün yoğunlaşması, hatta simgesel olarak geleneksellikten ya da modernlikten*

Having a municipality was also not a familiar idea for the majority of the city. The foundation of a modern municipality was, before all else, a necessity for the port. So, like the emergence of new products, or a new life style, the foundation of a municipality is another result of the rapidly developing foreign trade and the port. The modern administrative institution of the municipality was initiated in Istanbul before coming into force of law for municipalities for the whole territory of the Empire in 1877. Istanbul was not the only Ottoman city that had a municipality before the law mentioned above; there were also municipalities in some other Ottoman cities too. These cities were on the international trade routes, such as Smyrna, Thessalonica, Beirut and Baghdad. European Governments wanted problems such as substructure and transportation to be solved in order to easily carry on and enlarge their commercial activities. That is why the only functional municipality of the city was founded in the district Beyoğlu which was a trade centre and includes the port in Galata.<sup>124</sup>

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*yana olma anlamlarında kesin özellikler taşıyan daha heterojen bir dış görünüşe doğru gidiyordu.”* [Edhem Eldem, “Istanbul: from imperial to peripheralized capital” in *The Ottoman Cities Between East and West*, edited by Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 295-296.]

<sup>124</sup> Ortaylı, 1985, pp. 31-32.

In 1855 the *Şehremaneti* and in 1856 the *İntizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu* were founded; then in 1857, Istanbul was divided into fourteen local municipalities. [Doğan Kuban, *Istanbul An Urban History*, (Istanbul: The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey, 1996), p. 382.] *Altıncı Daire*, (i.e. Beyoğlu) was chosen among fourteen local municipalities to become a representative model, thanks to the above-mentioned reasons. The European population of this region was another effective factor for this choice. Foreign people of the district could become members of the municipality council. That was impossible for the other districts [Ortaylı, 1985, pp. 130-137]. According to Osman Nuri Ergin, everything related to Beyoğlu was dependent on Europeans; even the name of the municipality was a reminder of the famous 6<sup>th</sup> district in Paris. In a footnote of his massive work “*Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediyeye*”, Ergin argues that: “İlk defa olarak açılan bir numûne dairesine “Birinci Daire” demek lazım gelirken altıncı denilmesinin sebebi: Belediye teşkilâtında numûne itihaz edilen Paris’in en ma’mur yerini Altıncı Dâire-i Belediyeye itibar olunan kısmı teşkil etmiş ve İstanbul’un da -tebligât-ı resmîyyede imâ edildiği üzere- nisbeten ma’mur yerinin Galata ve Beyoğlu cihetleri olmasıdır.” [Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediyeye*, (Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1995), pp 1307 – 1308, footnote 94] That is not surprising, as it is claimed as above, Beyoğlu has also been much more similar with a district in Paris than Üsküdar.

According to Ergin, this name had been saved in 1285, 1293 and 1296 laws. However the name of the sixth municipality was given (ironically) to Üsküdar in 1328. Than Beyoğlu was called “Üçüncü Daire.” [Ibid., p. 1308]

The coexistences of upper class inhabitants who approved of new consumption patterns and the only functional municipality of the city in the same district was not a coincidence. Galata was the international port and finance centre of the city. The economic relations of the district determined the new developing social fabric. The new-westernised life style spread out from the port into the district. However the port did not affect the rest of the city on the same level. The cultural separation that has usually been observed between port cities and the cities near them by land has also been experienced within the borders of the city of Istanbul.<sup>125</sup>

Although transportation in the city was not as difficult as transportation between the cities, the effect of the port on the different districts reminds us of the aforementioned process.<sup>126</sup> While the region behind the Port of Galata had experienced the new quotidian life style, and the walled city had also been affected in

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<sup>125</sup> I mean the development process of the port-cities that is well described in "Port-Cities of The Eastern Mediterranean 1800-1914". As Keyder, Özveren and Quataert underline "...as late as the turn of the twentieth century, sea routes were much faster and cheaper than land routes. Hence, not only were many port-cities ethnically and culturally differentiated from their hinterlands, but also they were not well connected with them until the realization of expensive railway and carriageway projects." [Çağlar Keyder; Y. Eyüp Özveren; Donald Quataert, "Port Cities in the Ottoman Empire: Some Theoretical and Historical Perspectives", in *Review*, vol. XVI, (1993), pp. 556]. Consequently, as is obvious, these cities have been more affected by the far port cities with which they had a trade connection by sea than by the cities that seem quite near by land.

<sup>126</sup> Analysing Istanbul as a port city has some traps. As Tanatrah-Baruh underlines "Consequently, the city and its inhabitants shared the same destiny of other similar ports in the Eastern Mediterranean. But, as the capital, this huge city had its own requirements and even if it undertook similar changes to other ports of the Empire, it was unique in some other aspects. Therefore, the economic history of the city, at the turn of the century, could not be easily classified at macro level under the peripheralization theories." [Lorans Tanatrah-Baruh, "At The Turn Of the Century, Textile dealers in an International Port City, Istanbul", in *Boğaziçi Journal Review of Social, Economic and Administrative Studies*, (1997), pp. 45-46]. By the way Baruh also conceives these extra features of the city as an answer for the question why was not Istanbul included in the book *Doğu Akdeniz'de Liman Kentleri (1800-1914)* [Ibid., p. 50, footnote 37]

E. Eldem underlines the oversimplification trap of using the term "port city" for Istanbul and also ads "Istanbul was unthinkable without its port..." [Eldem, 1999, p. 137].

For this subchapter, my aim is not to analyse Istanbul by only using the concepts of the peripheralization theory. I don't call Istanbul "port city" I am just trying to underline the importance of the effects of the port on the city. It is obvious that Istanbul, with its unique place among the other Ottoman cities cannot be conceived only as an Islamic city or merely a port city; and of course, more than one factor has been effective on Istanbul. First of all, since it had been the capital city of the Empire where the Ottoman Sultans lived, it obeyed to special rules. To be aware of these features does not mean to ignore the other theories about the historical evaluation of cities that can also be helpful for us while we are trying to find an answer for some questions that do not seem possible to be given by using only the above-mentioned unique features of the city.

a limited way by the new developing everyday life, Üsküdar had almost totally stayed out of this process. It seems possible to claim that the everyday life pattern of the region Galata-Pera was more affected by Paris, London or Venice than that Üsküdar or the historical peninsula. The quarters which did not strongly feel the effect of the life style that spread out from Galata, have constituted the traditional sides of the city. For instance, İzmir experienced quite a similar process. The urban space of the city had been divided into two parts; first was the quarters of conspicuous consumption and the second was the spaces that were dominated by traditional tradesmen and craftsmen selling their goods to the relatively low-income Muslim population.<sup>127</sup> According to Kasaba, the Greek merchant community in İzmir in the nineteenth century “was divided between those who served only the local markets and those who were involved in foreign trade. The former rallied the members of local guilds to their cause and moved closer to the conservative positions advocated by the church hierarchy; whereas the latter, with the aid of some intellectuals, set up a new school, the Gymnase Philologique. This school was seen as the symbol of the growing power of the more cosmopolitan merchants and businessmen in the Greek community.”<sup>128</sup> Consequently it seems logical to claim that the existence of an international port in a city, not only distinguishes it from its neighbouring cities but also separates the district that has a port from the others in terms of quotidian and economic life patterns.

To sum up, during the decades following the convention, Istanbul witnessed the growing prevalence of European products in the urban markets and became

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<sup>127</sup> Aktar, p. 114.

<sup>128</sup> Reşat Kasaba, “İzmir”, in *Review*, vol. XVI, (1993), p. 404.

For more information on İzmir’s urban transformation also see Mübeccel Kıray’s famous book “*Örgütlemeyen Kent: İzmir*” and especially its first chapter “*Sanayi Öncesi Kent ve Değişme Süreci*”. [Mübeccel B. Kıray, *Örgütlemeyen Kent İzmir*, (Istanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 1998)]

familiar with modernised consumption and production patterns and a new developing quotidian life style. The city began to be (or at least seemed to be) dominated by a showy modernised way of life. However the question is: was the rest of the city, excluding Galata-Pera, influenced by this way of life and if so, to what extent? Most historians who have worked on nineteenth and early twentieth century Istanbul have usually been interested in Pera-Galata because of the existence of a relatively plentiful supply of the systematic documents on the region, the dominance of the concept of modernism on the theoretical framework of the researches on this period and common curiosity on the history of the region which derives from its continuing importance today. However, the popular point of view has generalised their information on Galata-Pera to the entire city and it has assumed the history of the region as the history of Istanbul. The other districts have not had a chance to turn the eyes of visitors or inhabitants on them. Maybe, that is why Yahya Kemal wrote the line “Az sürer gerçi fakir Üsküdarın saltanatı”.<sup>129</sup> We really do not know if it was poor or not, but it is certain that the inhabitants of Üsküdar did not have a life-style which was as showy as that of Pera.

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<sup>129</sup> *Git bu mevsimde grup vakti, Cihangir'den bak!  
Bir zaman kendini karşıdaki rü'yâya bırak!  
(...)  
Az sürer gerçi fakir Üsküdar'ın saltanatı;  
Esef etmez güneşin şimdi neler yıktığına;  
Serviler şehri dalar kendi iç aydınlığına,  
Ezeli mağrifetin böyle bir ikliminde  
Altının göz boyamaz kalpi kadar halisi de.  
(...)*

[Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, *Kendi Gök Kubbemiz*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1997), pp. 30-31]

### II. 3. The Sectors In Üsküdar During The Post Convention Period \*

As is described in the previous chapter, during the process after the convention of 1838 the city experienced a much greater impact of modernism than it had before, and some of its parts and inhabitants oriented themselves to the newly appearing production and consumption patterns and investment methods. The main aim of this chapter is to examine the impact of the agreement on the economic life of Üsküdar and thus on its role in the economy of the city.<sup>130</sup> In order to do that, I am going to look for changes in the three main sectors already detected in the chapter 2.1- workshops, economic activities related to its connection with the city centre and its land port function and agriculture- and search for the existence of newly developing businesses in Üsküdar.

#### *Workshops (Textile and Tannery)*<sup>131</sup>

As is widely known, all over the world the industrialisation process has deeply threatened the existence of every kind of workshop. In the case of the Empire the effect of the process was the same. Since the Empire had not been industrialised it felt the impact of the process owing to the rapidly developing foreign trade.

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\* The businesses which were necessities of the everyday life of the period or only interested in satisfying the demand of the district such as lumber works, marble works, bakery, mill, grocery, halvah shop et cetera are not included in this chapter. First, because, while handled businesses have the possibility to provide some clues to make clear what the role and the importance of Üsküdar was for the city in terms of economic life, the others have not. Moreover, the existence of these kinds of businesses can only be meaningful –just in terms of quotidian life style- when the other shops, which appeared as a necessity of newly developing every day life and did not exist in Üsküdar, are considered. So the lack of the new kind of businesses/shops is more significant than the existence of the others. That is the second reason why these businesses are not scrutinised in this chapter.

<sup>130</sup> It does not mean that the business which have been scrutinised in this chapter, were only peculiar to Üsküdar. It means that these businesses were directly a part of the economic life of the city.

<sup>131</sup> In this case, snuff production cannot be handled although a snuff workshop was detected in Üsküdar in the chapter 2.1. The reason of the absence of snuff production in this chapter is the lack of information on this manufacturing activity either in the Empire or in Üsküdar. But still, it seems logical to think that increasing importation may had affected the sector in a negative way.

Therefore, especially after the convention of 1838 almost every kind of workshop in the territory of the Empire experienced a great depression followed in most cases by collapse. The workshops in Üsküdar could not fail to be affected by this regression.

Textile production was the most affected sector by the process. As Quataert underlines, after the Tanzimat: "...the state withdrew its protection for monopolies thus destroying a guild's privileged status and exposing it to unaccustomed open competition."<sup>132</sup> In 1868, "İslâh-ı Sanâyi Komisyonu" (The committee responsible for the improvement of the industries) wrote an official report (*mazbata*) to declare the establishment of the company of fabric producers (*Kumaşçılar Şirketi*). According to the report the number of the people whose occupation was related to textiles in Istanbul and Üsküdar had decreased dramatically, even unbelievably, in the three decades preceding its publication.<sup>133</sup> The committee took some measures to stop the decline of the textile sector in Istanbul. First of all they decided to gather the loom owners, establish a textile company and then request extra tax incentives from the central government in order to save and reanimate textile production. The last step would be to establish a factory. This formula is almost identically repeated in the other official reports prepared by the "İslâh-ı Sanâyi Komisyonu" such as reports titled *Sarraclar Şirketi*, *Debbağlar Şirketi* et cetera.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Donald Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of Industrial Revolution*, (Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 54.

<sup>133</sup> "İstanbul ve Üsküdar'da minel kadim iki bin yedi yüz elli yedi aded kumaşçı destgahı bulunarak bu sanatla İslam ve Hristiyan tebea-i Devlet-i Aliyye'den üç bin beşyüz kadar nüfus taayyüş etmekte iken otuz kırk sene zarfında bu destgahlar yirmi beşe ve kumaşçı esnafı usta ve kalfalar olarak kırk nefere tenezzül etmiş ve kemahçı esnafının üç yüz elli destgahı olup kendileri yedi yüz nüfusu mütecaviz olduğu halde şimdi dört destgah ile sekiz kişi kalmış ve yüz yirmi nüfusu havi olan çatma yastıkçılar on dört nefere ve altmış kadar destgahları dahi sekize tedenni eylemiş olduğu bir müddetten beri İslâh-ı Sanâyi Komisyonu'nda icra olunan tahkikat ile tebeyyün ederek..." [Ergin, p. 728]

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 691-736

It is obvious that establishing a company was not the main aim. The aim was to provide the necessary capital to found factories in order to develop industry in the city. However, as the commission clearly declared, neither the central government nor the tradesmen had the capital to found factories.<sup>135</sup> Therefore, the commission preferred to gather the potencies of the tradesmen and increase the capital of the company by selling shares in the company. Thus they were planning to have modern factories full of modern machines they wished for.<sup>136</sup> So they were planning to gather all the loom owners in the city in a factory. That means the looms would no longer exist in any great number also in Üsküdar.<sup>137</sup>

As a special textile manufacture, *çatma yastık yüzü*, had also vanished during the process. According to the official report the number of the looms of *çatma yastık yüzü* had decreased from 60 to 8 in the entire city.<sup>138</sup> Even though it is not possible to know how many of them were in Üsküdar, it is easy to guess that there cannot have been more than a few. However, probably, the reason for the disappearance of the limited number of manufacturers of *çatma yastık yüzü* is indirectly related to the industrialisation process. *Çatma yastık yüzü* had become useless and outdated.<sup>139</sup> In one of his writings dated from 1871, Basîretçi Ali Efendi mentions the opening of a new workshop near Ayazma. However, the expression of

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<sup>135</sup> "...işin asıl mevkufun aleyhi sanayi-i mezkureyi fi'l-cümle meydana çıkaracak surette sermaye tedarikine münhasır olarak esnaf-ı merkumenin bulunduğu hal-i zaruret şu ümniyeye müsait olmadığı gibi Hazine-i Celile'den sermaye tahsisine dahi müsaade-i zamaniyye olmadığından..." [Ibid., pp. 728-729]

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., pp. 728-730.

<sup>137</sup> For detailed information about the history of textile manufacturing in the city and in the Empire during the nineteenth century see Donald Quataert, 1993 and Lorans Tanatar-Baruh, *A Study in Commercial Life and Practices in Istanbul At The Turn of The century: The Textile Market*, unpublished MA thesis, (Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Department of History, 1993)

<sup>138</sup> Ergin, p. 728.

<sup>139</sup> According to Nevber Gürsu even in the second half of the eighteenth century *çatma yastık yüzü* has begun to fall out of favour especially for the palace because of the increasing interest on the European art and life style. [Gürsu, p. 50]

Ali Efendi shows that *çatma yazstık yüzü* was generally accepted as abandoned and had become a thing of nostalgia even in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.<sup>140</sup>

Osman Nuri Ergin, in his massive work -first printed in 1922-, also describes the reason for the disappearance of some local textile products, such as *çatma yazstık yüzü*, as being related to the increasing demand for the European products of an inferior quality to the Ottoman products. Moreover his expression also shows how nostalgic the use of these products was even in the 1920's.<sup>141</sup>

The destiny of the tanneries was no different to that of the textile manufacturers. According to the official report of the "*Islâh-ı Sanâyi Komisyonu*" (dated from 1867) there are two reasons for the regression of the sector. First, they lost the right that allowed them to have the hides of all butchered animals in the city, and thus lost their cheap source of raw material. Second, they did not keep up with the technological developments related to their occupation; so, the sector did not become industrialised.<sup>142</sup> The committee was planning to found a company and thus hoping to save and improve the sector.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Basiretçi Ali Efendi, *Istanbul Mektupları*, (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2001), p. 443.

"...Ayazma civarında mensûcat-ı haririyyeye mahsus bir mahal küşadıyla, memâlik-i mahrûsenin en meşhur metaından olup metruk hükmüne girmiş olan çatma ve pullu atlas döşemelik ile melbûsâta dair her türlü akmişe imal olunmakta idüğüne dair bir varaka gördüm. Ve filhakika ziyadesiyle memnun oldum."

<sup>141</sup> Ergin, p. 1027.

"Sanâyi-i milliye'nin inkişâfâtını görmek için asıl içeri girmek lâzım gelir. Şimdi frenk halılarını, Avusturya basmaları gibi üç günde solan bu paçavraları evlerimize sokmuş bulunuyoruz. Halbuki eskiden odaları, sofaları Gördes'in, Uşâk'ın, Sivas'ın Harput'un veyâ Acemistan'ın nefis halıları örter idi. Duvar boyunda, köşelerde, geniş aralıklı minderler görülürdü ki Üsküdar'ın, Bilecik'in babadan evlâda miras kalacak kadar dayanıklı olan "çatmaları" ile tefriş edilirdi."

<sup>142</sup> Ergin, pp. 724-725.

Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey underlines absolutely the same points as a cause of the regression of the sector. [Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, *Eski Zamanlarda İstanbul Hayatı*, (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2001), pp. 258-259]

<sup>143</sup> Ergin, p. 726.

"...Esnaf-ı merkumenin islah-ı sanatlari bahsine gelince bunlar evvelki gibi münferiden ve müteferrikan icra-yı sanat etseler şu hal -i iğtişâstan kurtulamayacaklarından heyet-i mecmuası birleştirilerek her bir işlerine müctemian ve müttehiden çalışmak üzere umumundan bir şirket teşkiliyle..."

According to the committee, the number of tannery in Istanbul, with their families, was four or five thousand.<sup>144</sup> According to an article written by Balikhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey in 1921, there had been tanneries in the districts of Eyüp, Kasımpaşa, Tophane, Üsküdar and Yedikule. He says that in every above-mentioned district there had been fifteen or twenty shops (*gedikli dükkân*) and in every shop there had been one master (*usta*), experienced apprentice workmen (*kalfa*), apprentices (*çırak*) and for each *çırak* and *kalfa* there had been ten or fifteen workers.<sup>145</sup> As is obvious, these are conjectural numbers and therefore it is not possible to know how many of them were in Üsküdar.

Even though a factory was founded in Beykoz and some medical science students who had been sent to Europe to study modern tannery work were employed in the factory when they returned, the company was not successful. Following the bankruptcy of the company the tanners who had been employed could not go back to the city, as it was officially prohibited to tan in the city owing to the fact that it could be harmful to public health.<sup>146</sup> Consequently, like looms, tanneries also would no longer exist (at least in any great number) also in Üsküdar.

#### *Economic Activities Related to the Connection with the City Centre and the Land-Port Function of Üsküdar*

Naturally, most commercial activities, especially at the coast of the district, were related to its connection with the city. *Kayiks*, an important element of the

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<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 727.

<sup>145</sup> Balikhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, p. 258.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 259.

classical Istanbul image and the view of Üsküdar coast, were used for public transportation and to transfer goods coming from Asia or Anatolia to Istanbul. Even in the maps drawn by Pervititch around the 1930s, there were still row upon row of quays and warehouses along the coast.<sup>147</sup> Moreover, the number of the *kayiks* and *kayıkçis* (boatmen) and their important place in the popular image of Üsküdar also show how significant the existence of *kayıkçis* was for the quotidian life of the district –especially for that experienced at the coast-.

In terms of the boatmen, the most significant change in the nineteenth century, undoubtedly, was the introduction of steamships to the city. First some foreign companies, which benefited from the capitulations, and then the *Şirket-i Hayriye* became involved in with sea transportation on the Bosphorus. The *Şirket-i Hayriye*, which organised its first ferry journey to Üsküdar, had been organizing ferry journeys between the Galata Bridge and Bosphorus line six times a day from 1860.<sup>148</sup> According to the “*Şirket-i Hayriye Şartnamesi*” dated from 1888, ferries would operate to Harem, Salacak and Kabataş piers in line with demand. A ferry would operate from Üsküdar to the Galata Bridge, in every twenty minutes or half an hour until midday; between Üsküdar and Beşiktaş, in summer and winter, in every hour and a half.<sup>149</sup>

Foot passenger ferries were followed by the introduction of car ferries in the city. The first modern ferry in the world was put into service in Istanbul in 1872; it

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<sup>147</sup> See Map 10

<sup>148</sup> Eser Tutel, *Şirket-i Hayriye*, (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997), pp. 25-33.

<sup>149</sup> Ergin, p. 2310.

“*Harem ve Salacak ve Kabataş iskelelerine ihtiyaca göre ve Üsküdar’dan köprüye zeval vaktine kadar kâh yirmi dakika, kâh yarım saatte bir ve Üsküdar ile Beşiktaş arasında yazın ve kışın nihayet bir buçuk saatte bir vapur işletilecektir.*”

was called *Suhulet*.<sup>150</sup> In the following two years, two more ferries began to function in Istanbul: *Sahilbend* and *Meymenet*. Three piers were constructed for the car ferries in Üsküdar, Kabataş and Sirkeci, and then, two more in Büyükdere and Hünkar.<sup>151</sup> Thus, one pier was constructed for each critical area of the city. These ferries would be quite useful in war times. For instance, on its first journey *Suhulet* transported an artillery unit from Üsküdar to Kabataş. This huge carrying capacity of the car ferries and the operation of steamships for public transportation on the Bosphorus probably dealt a blow to the business of *kayıkçı esnafı*. However they would not disappear for a long time. During the times when the car ferries were not on duty special kinds of *kayiks*, such as *mavnas* (barges) and *salapuryuas* (single-masted sailing vessels) were allowed to carry goods between Üsküdar and Kabataş and Sirkeci.<sup>152</sup> Moreover, as Cengiz Orhonlu underlines, even though the *kayıkçı esnafı* were not happy with the operation of steamships on the Bosphorus, the importance of *kayiks*, especially for the people living on the shore, were not reduced.<sup>153</sup>

One of the reasons for the founding of the *Şirket-i Hayriye* was the increasing population of the Asian side of the city and the shores of the Bosphorus. However, it should also be considered that the existence of the *Şirket-i Hayriye* meant regular,

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<sup>150</sup> Eser Tutel, "Araba Vapurları", in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. I, (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı., 1993), p. 285.

<sup>151</sup> Ergin, p. 2302.

"*Şirket-i Hayriye* 'ye Üsküdar ve Kabataş ve Sirkeci iskeleleri beyninde kemâkân ihtiyaca kâfi araba vapuru işletmeği ve ileride mevsimine ve lüzümüne göre Büyükdere ve Hünkar iskelelerinde araba vapuruna göre iskele tesis etmeyi taahhüt etmiştir" (dated from 1888, *Hükümet-i Seniyye ile Şirket-i Hayriyye Beyninde Akd ve Teâtî Olunan Mukâvelenâme* ).

<sup>152</sup> Ergin, p. 4293.

"...salifü'z zikr mavanalar derûnunda dörder beşer kişi bulunup her bireleri esnaf ve şehriye tezkireleri ahz ve resimlerini tesviye ile mükellef oldukları gibi kesb-i sanatları da yalnız araba vapurunun bulunmadığı müddetten bi'l-istifade her ne eşya bulurlar ise beş kuruştan yirmi beş kuruşa kadar gayr-ı muâyyen bir ücretle nakletmekten ibaret ve temettü ve istifadeleri cüz'i ve mahdud bulunmasına..." (dated from 24 Kânûmevvel 1317/1901)

<sup>153</sup> Orhonlu, p. 103.

formal and secure transportation between Istanbul and the above-mentioned parts of the city, and constituted a new reason for the population increase in these areas. This company transported 8,634,535 people in 1880 and 15,896,730 in 1914.<sup>154</sup> So, the company had almost doubled the number of its customers in thirty-five years. However, that does not only show how demand was increased for the service of the company, but can also be considered a result of the increase in the city's population<sup>155</sup> and the rising mobility of the people in the city.<sup>156</sup> As a result, all of the developments explain how the *kayıkçı esnafı* could continue in their livelihoods in spite of, or (if the influence of the company on the population increase in the Asian side and Bosphorus coasts is considered) thanks to the existence of the *Şirket-i Hayriye*.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Murat Koraltürk, *İstanbul'da Şehirçi Ulaşımında Şirket-i Hayriye (1850-1945)*, unpublished MA thesis, (Istanbul: T.C. Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü İktisat Anabilim Dalı İktisat Tarihi Bilim Dalı, 1992), p. 30.

According to "İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası" dated from 1330/1914 the details of the number as follows Rumeli Ciheti (European side of the city) 9,626,672, Anadolu Ciheti mada Salacak (Anatolian side including Salacak) 6,270,058 and Üsküdar Ciheti (Üsküdar side) 3,212,288 [*İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası*, (Dersaadet/İstanbul: Matbaa-i Arşak Garoyan, 1330/1914), p. 404] As is seen, the total of three numbers has almost 4 million extra than the above-mentioned total which is also shown as a total of the three numbers in the table. Moreover, passenger numbers of the piers Kadıköy, Haydarpaşa, Adalar are not recorded in the table.

<sup>155</sup> see Stanford J. Shaw, "The Population of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century", *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, n. 32, (1979), pp. 403-414.

<sup>156</sup> Basiretçi Ali Efendi, describes a ferry coming from Üsküdar in one of his "*İstanbul Mektupları*" dated from 20 August 1287 as follows: "Geçen salı günü Üsküdar'a gitmek için köprüye inmiş idim. Üsküdar'dan vapur geldi. Malum ya, sabahları Üsküdar'dan gelen vapurlar ne kadar kalabalıktır. Bin ayak bir ayak üstüne.." [Basiretçi Ali Efendi, p. 53] The ferries, especially in the mornings probably have always been crowded (as it is today). This much thick of people transportation, especially in the mornings can also be considered as a transportation of a productive power from Üsküdar to Istanbul. As is obvious, there were some people who worked in walled city and Galata while they lived in Asian side of the city, even though we do not know the number of these people. To know the number and the occupation of these people could also give us an idea to better evaluate the economic structure of the inhabitants of Üsküdar. However, unfortunately it seems impossible.

<sup>157</sup> While Zeynep Çelik describes the developments in water transportation on the Bosphorus in the chapter on transportation in her book "The Remaking of Istanbul" says that: "The establishment of this transportation network finally linked the previously isolated Üsküdar to the capital. This new ferry system now permitted many people residing in Üsküdar to commute to Istanbul for work" [Çelik, 85.]. It should be underlined that even though the existence of the company, as it is already explained, probably increased the connection between the sides of the city, the foundation of the

During the nineteenth century, in both interregional and international commercial transportation, sea routes became preferable to overland routes thanks to technological developments, such as the invention of steamships and the creation of new routes such as the Suez Canal. As a result, sea transportation was much faster and cheaper than overland transportation.<sup>158</sup> However, it should be underlined that, caravan trade did not end until the beginning of World War I. Orhonlu talks about three crucial reasons that made it impossible for caravan trade to continue: the need for beasts of burden of local and central administrators; increasing numbers of bandit attacks and very bad road conditions, demolished bridges et cetera.<sup>159</sup> Consequently, Üsküdar, which was the connection point of all overland routes coming from east to Istanbul, began to lose its main function.

In its early dates, the opening of the railroad connection from Haydarpaşa through Asia was conceived as an opportunity to make Üsküdar once again an important land-port. For example, having underlined the negative effects of rapidly developing sea transportation on Üsküdar's land-port function, Mehmed Râ'if says "It is expected that by finishing the railroad connection to Baghdad and then to India, Üsküdar will gain its lost importance in terms of trade activity."<sup>160</sup> However,

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company was based on the already existing demand. As Eremya Çelebi K m rciyan underlines even in the seventeenth century most of the people in Üsk dar had frequently gone to Istanbul [K m rciyan, 47]. So, to call Üsk dar "isolated Üsk dar" means to ignore the role of more than 19,000 *kayiks* in the city (see chapter 1.1 for the numbers of *kayiks* in different years). Do not considering Üsk dar in the works on Istanbul is one of the most important reasons of these kinds of common mistakes. As is underlined Üsk dar has not more long been isolated after the reign of S leyman when it has become one of the three parts of the city.

<sup>158</sup> As can be understood from the following expression of A. Mithat Efendi, this was a well-known but simultaneously surprising fact for the people of the period: "*Filhakika bu vapurlar pek uzun seferlerin pek b y k me akkına o kadar tahamm l i in yapılımlardır ki bunlar Londra'ı, Odessa'ı  deta Balıkesir'in İstanbul'a kurbundan ziyade takarr p eylemi lerdir. Mesel  Balıkesir'de y z kantar ta ınız bulunsa onu İstanbul'a nakil i in Londra'daki y z kantarlık y k n zden ziyade zahmet  eker ve bin nisbe daha ziyade masraf ve ziyade zaman sarfeylersiniz.*" [Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Ac yib-i  lem*, (Ankara: T rkDil Kurumu Yayınları, 2000), p. 47.]

<sup>159</sup> Orhonlu, p. 146.

<sup>160</sup> Mehmed Ra'if, *Mir'at-ı İstanbul*, (İstanbul:  elik G lersoy Vakfı Yayınları, 1996), p.72.

although Haydarpaşa is quite near Üsküdar, the construction of the Station and the opening of the railroad to Baghdad later on have also almost left Üsküdar outside the trade routes to Istanbul.<sup>161</sup>

The khans and caravanserais should have been affected in a negative way by this process. However according to “*İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası*” there were 38 old (*kadim*) *hans* in Üsküdar in 1914.<sup>162</sup> Nevertheless, with the exception of the speculative information of Evliya Çelebi we do not know the exact number of khans in Üsküdar during the previous centuries.<sup>163</sup> Although, the lack of exact information on the number and the size of khans in Üsküdar makes it very hard to interpret the given number for the early twentieth century, because of the above mentioned developments in transportation and the negative events such as the Great War that deeply influenced caravan trade, the number of khans and caravanserais must be decreased during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>164</sup>

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“Vaktiyle Üsküdar (Üsküdar lafzı menzilhane manasını mufti bir lafz-ı farisidir) Anadolu, İran ve Arabistan’a âmed-şüd eden kervanların ser-menzili olmağla hayli ehemmiyet-i ticariyes var idiye de bugün bu ticaretler bahren icra olduğundan Üsküdar’ın ticaretçe ehemmiyeti kalmayıp o ehemmiyet İstanbul’a intikal etmiştir. (...)

Anadolu demiryolunun Bağdat’a ve ordan Hindistan’a kadar temdidi bu şehrin eski ehemmiyet-i ticariyesini yeniden ihya edeceği memuldür.”

<sup>161</sup> Deniz Mazlum “Üsküdar” in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. VII, (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1994) pp. 345.

<sup>162</sup> *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası*, 1330/1914, p. 15.

In the following page of the journal the number of khans and *bekarodası* is shown as 66. It is not possible to know this number includes new khans or only includes the number of *bekarodası* and that of *kadim hans*.

<sup>163</sup> As it is mentioned in the subchapter 1.1 according to Evliya Çelebi there were 500 khans in seventeenth century.

<sup>164</sup> According to Doğan Kuban one of the most important caravansary of the district, *Kurşunlu Han* has been already demolished during the World War I: “1933 tarihli Pervitiitch haritasında yakın bir tarihte yıkıldığı yazılan bir Kurşunlu Han’ın konturları gösterilmiştir. Oysa I. Dünya savaşı sırasında yapılan bir haritada, bu hanın arsası bir ada olarak durmakta, fakat üzerinde bir tarihi yapı işareti bulunmamaktadır.” [Doğan Kuban, “Mihrimah Sultan Külliyesi”, in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. V, (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1994) p. 457] However, Konyalı’s expression about the demolishing of the khan confirms the information given by Pervitiitch: “Kervansaray Üsküdar kaymakamı İzzeddin Çağpar tarafından yıktırılarak yok edilmiştir. Cumhurbaşkanı Atatürk benim neşriyatım üzerine onu kaymakamlıktan uzaklaştırmıştır” [Konyalı, 1977, p. 387]

## *Agriculture*

Even in the 1930s, Üsküdar still was a district with small and large vegetable gardens (*bostan*), vineyards and orchards in and around its centre. As can be seen in Map 8, even around the central bazaar of the district there were many vegetable gardens.<sup>165</sup> Moreover, there were obviously many more agricultural areas in the region between Bağlarbaşı, Çamlıca and Bulgurlu than in central Üsküdar. Even the name of some quarters and streets in Üsküdar may also explain how much they had been related to agriculture, such as Bağlarbaşı, Çiçekçi, Salacak Bostan Sokağı, Şemsi Paşa Bostan Sokağı, Bostaniçi Sokağı et cetera. Of course, the size and the numbers of agricultural areas had been increasing in regions far from the centre. According to "İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası" (Statistic Journal of the city of Istanbul) printed in 1919 figs, apples, pears, plums, apricots, cherries and sour cherries, pomegranates, mulberries, almonds, walnuts and hazelnuts were cultivated within the border of the district of Üsküdar.<sup>166</sup> According to the journal there were

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<sup>165</sup> As is seen in Map 8, Çavuş Deresi quarter has the largest agricultural areas of the central Üsküdar. The description of this quarter given by Mehmed Râif in 1314 (1896/1897) is confirms Map 8 that bases on the plans of Pervititch dated from 1930s: "*Mahalle-i mezkûre, Atîkvalide ile Atpazarı arasında kâin tulânî bir cadde olup bir ciheti kâmilen bostandır*" [Mehmed Râ'if, p. 127].

<sup>166</sup> *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası*, (Dersaadet/İstanbul, Matbaa-i Osmaniye, 1335/1919), p. 153. The numbers of recorded above-mentioned fruit' trees are as follows: 740 fig, 260 apple, 348 pear, 2460 plum, 360 apricot, 800 cherry and sour cherry, 240 pomegranate, 4000 mulberry, 38 almond, 1360 walnut, 240 hazelnut. Although these numbers are not exact, the numbers of the trees in comparison to each other interestingly has some similarities with the information given in a descriptive book on Üsküdar dated from 1984 "*İlçemizde başta sebze bahçeleri olmak üzere üzüm bağları ve meyve bahçeleri geniş yer tutar. Ağaç bakımından erik başta gelir. Bunu dut, incir, armut, kayısı, şeftali, elma ve vişne izler*" (Gökçen 1984; 12).

also large vineyards in Üsküdar.<sup>167</sup> However, although it is evident that there were many *bostans* in Üsküdar, they are not recorded in that journal.<sup>168</sup>

Üsküdar was not the only district that had agricultural areas in Istanbul. It is a well-known fact that there were large *bostans* in Kasımpaşa, on the historical peninsula and especially in Eyüp. It is also known that the surplus crops of each region were exported to the other regions.<sup>169</sup> However still, it is not possible to know exactly which kinds of crops were cultivated in these areas and where the market(s) of those crops was/were. The owners of *bostans* and the number of *bostans* which belonged to waqfs or private are also unknown. Filling these gaps may give us a chance to have an idea about economic condition of many people in Üsküdar. Unfortunately it does not seem possible to learn this information. But still, it should be remembered that, as Dina Rızık Khoury underlines, in case of Mosul, “the groves were usually not subject to any prebendal tax as they were regarded as absolute mülk that could be sold at a hefty profit.”<sup>170</sup> Moreover, during the second half of the nineteenth century, agriculture became a commercial activity. According to Keyder, Özveren and Quataert: “In agriculture, there was an increasing commercialization over the period as a whole, for sale in both domestic and international markets. On the domestic side of demand, the urban population rose, both in relative and absolute

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<sup>167</sup> İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası, 1335/1919, p. 154.

<sup>168</sup> “İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası” printed in 1330/1914, in the case of agriculture has no information on any district except Makri Köy (Bakırköy). The journal of the year is also mainly concentrated on Makri Köy. That is obviously written below the tables how deficient the information is. [İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası, 1330/1914, p. 231] So, possibly, that is why in the case of *Bostans Üsküdar* –and also other districts even Eyüp– are not included in those journals.

<sup>169</sup> Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey says in an article dated from 1921 “*İstanbul suru hariç ve dahilinde Üsküdar, Eyüp, Kasımpaşa ve Boğaziçi havalisinde ve mahalle aralarında bile bostanlar vardı. Bu bostanlarda külliyetli meyve ve sebze yetiştirilir ve bu mahsulat, sekenesinin ihtiyacını telafi ettikten başka harice de ihracat vuku bulurdu.*” [Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, p. 266]

<sup>170</sup> Dina Rızık Khoury, “The Introduction of Commercial Agriculture in the Province of Mosul and its Effects on the Peasantry, 1750-1850” in *Landholding and Commercial Agriculture in the Middle East*, Çağlar Keyder and Faruk Tabak (ed.), (State University of New York Press, 1991), p. 161.

terms. Most of this increase was due to the growth of the port-cities, and required increased supplies of foodstuffs and raw material.”<sup>171</sup> All the above-mentioned developments must have made commercial agriculture much more profitable than it had been for some people. Undoubtedly, they were not workers. Increasing population, probably, made the productive power cheaper than it had been. However, it seems logical to claim that, the process may be turned out to be profitable for middlemen and the owners of *bostans*.

It is obvious that information on economic activities in Üsküdar is quite limited. In other words, we do not have a clear picture of economic life and economic structure of the population of Üsküdar. Even so, the blurred picture that we do have may make it possible to reach some meaningful conclusions.

First of all, it is known that Üsküdar was not a petite bourgeois settlement. There were two main ways in which the bourgeoisification process can be experienced by a district: First, the inhabitants of the district could be integrated into the modernisation/westernisation process of production and consumption, and second –that usually experienced by newly founded or developed districts- and as has been observed in case of Kadıköy, the bourgeoisie may choose a district in which to settle and so become dominant over the existing population of the district. Üsküdar experienced neither of these.

However, what does being a bourgeois mean in the Ottoman world? E. Eldem answers that question as follows “What makes him/her a bourgeois is not necessarily his/her social and economic status but simply his/her involvement in what we perceive to be a capitalist type of investment and a western type of network.

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<sup>171</sup> Keyder, Özveren ; Quataert, p. 532.

Two elements seem to determine the definition: investment within the spectrum of options provided by the capitalist system of the time and integration with western-oriented or dominated net works.<sup>172</sup> Probably, Eldem uses a sub-question in describing the main features of an Ottoman bourgeois: "What did a bourgeois do with his/her money or simply how did a bourgeois save his/her money?" If the definition can be brought one step further, it could be possible to say that the characteristics of an Ottoman bourgeois are first, his/her investment methods and spending patterns, and second, his/her occupation, but not the amount of his/her money. The inhabitants of Üsküdar had no opportunity to spend their money like/as a bourgeois or to use modern investment methods in Üsküdar. The most definite evidence for this judgement can be found in the "*Annuaire Orientale*"s.<sup>173</sup> In these annuals there is not even an address in Üsküdar (except those of some officers and some schools). This means that there were no shops in Üsküdar that appeared as a necessity of a westernised quotidian life such as piano repairmen, or seller of pianos, gloves, hats or coiffeurs and there were no tradesmen working in cooperation with Europeans. Maybe, this does not mean an absolute absence of these shops, even though that would not be an absurd claim. However, this certainly proves how extremely limited these activities in Üsküdar -if they existed-. When considering the importance of westernisation in terms of bourgeoisification and modernisation of economic and quotidian life,<sup>174</sup> the connotation of the absence of Üsküdar in these

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<sup>172</sup> Edhem Eldem, "Istanbul 1903-1918: A quantitative Analysis of A Bourgeoisie", in *Boğaziçi Journal Review of Social, Economic and Administrative Studies*, Istanbul Past and Present Special Issue vol.11, n. 1 – 2, (1997) p. 56. See for more detailed information on "to be a bourgeois" or the meaning of the term bourgeois in the Ottoman context *ibid.*, pp. 54-57

<sup>173</sup> Four "*Annuaire Orientale*"s, printed in 1868, 1883, 1889-90 and 1912 are scanned.

<sup>174</sup> "By the second half of the nineteenth century the capitalist/bourgeois system had become established and powerful enough to integrate –albeit in a passive way– individuals who did not correspond to the 'orthodox' definition of a bourgeois. Surprisingly enough, this phenomenon can be witnessed even more clearly in a western context: from Louis-Philippe –*le roi bourgeois*– to all sorts

annuals can be better understood. That is to say, the great majority of its inhabitants either through preference or lack of opportunity, did not spend their money like a bourgeois, and had such occupations that did not make necessary the establishment of a relationship with Europe or Europeans. The Ottoman Bank's customers records, which include a very small number of personal cards relating to customers from Üsküdar are also support that judgement. As in Eldem's words "Üsküdar, a traditional and well established extension of the city, housing an approximate tenth of its population, represents a mere 3% of the sample while Kadıköy, of more recent development, leaps from an actual weight of 3 to 6% to almost 13% in the sample."<sup>175</sup>

It should also be remembered that the economic activities that existed in Üsküdar were different from those in Galata-Pera. Moreover, Üsküdar was still the gateway to Asia and so was the last stop before entering Istanbul for many travellers and merchants and possible immigrants coming from Anatolia and Asia. According to "İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası", there were 21 hotels in Beyazıt, 48 in Beyoğlu, 14 in Yeniköy, 8 in Anadoluhisarı, 11 in Kadıköy, 18 in Adalar, 2 in Makri Köy, but there were no in Fatih and Üsküdar. The reason is not the residential features of these districts. According to the same records there were 166 khans in Fatih and 38 in Üsküdar -36 in Beyoğlu, 252 in Beyazıt, 1 in Anadoluhisarı, 2 in Kadıköy, 3 in Makri Köy.<sup>176</sup> These numbers indicate a difference in the origins of the visitors (i.e. merchants, immigrants or travellers) of the districts. Hotels appeared

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of other individuals not fitting the classical definition of a bourgeois –peasants, workers, artists... - European society in the nineteenth century is full of *embourgeoisés* whose integration has more to do with a way of life than with their actual role and function in the socio-economic configuration of the time. The same is true of Ottoman society, even if the process remains much more marginal and to a large extent dependent on channels of integration linked to west." (Eldem 1997: 55-56)

<sup>175</sup> Eldem, 1997, p. 65.

<sup>176</sup> *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası*, 1330/1914, p. 15.

in the city as a result of the growing relationship with Europe.<sup>177</sup> Their existence corresponds to the need for a different type of temporary accommodation than that offered by khans. So, the lack of hotels in the district and the existence of so many khans explain what sort of people (i.e. regarding their origins -Asian or European- and ways of life) usually came to Üsküdar to stay at least a night.

Consequently, all the existing economic activities and its strong relation with Asia and Anatolia must have an affect on its quotidian life style. As is obvious, the quotidian life determined by farmers, boatmen, lumber workers et cetera and merchants from the east would be clearly different from the quotidian life determined by bankers, European merchants and those merchants working in cooperation with them.

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<sup>177</sup> Işık Tamdoğan-Abel underlines the relation between the establishment of European style Hotels and the opening of the Railway connection to Europe [Işık Tamdoğan-Abel, "Hanlar ya da Osmanlı Kentinde Yabancı" in *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Yaşamak*, François Georgeon & Paul Dumont (ed.), (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000), p. 405]. As Van Millinger says "The completion of the railroad between Constantinople and Vienna... may be regarded as the conquest of the city by foreign thought and enterprise". [quoted in Çelik, p. 106] Consequently, in this way, the European impact on the city that gained momentum by the invention of steamship had been reaching its peak for the nineteenth century.

### III

## REPRESENTATIONS OF ÜSKÜDAR AND SCUTARIANS

### III. 1. Who Was the Scutarian in the Imagined Geography of the City?

In this sub-chapter I will look for a popular image of Scutarians in the urban memory by using some novels and newspapers.<sup>178</sup> To understand if there was a popular image of Scutarians, I will try to concentrate on the common features of the types who were presented as Scutarian in the above-mentioned texts. While trying to find the social type of Scutarians in the popular imagination, my main concern will be the conservative identity of Üsküdar that constitutes the main issue of the thesis, and hence all Scutarian characters, especially in the novels, will be scrutinised primarily in terms of their relationships with the conservative identity of Üsküdar.

In this chapter, although the information that I expect to glean from the novels, the newspapers will of course not present a portrait of a “real” Scutarian, and will not explain the “real” quotidian life of Üsküdar and the lifestyles of Scutarians, it is still possible to claim that the writers’ preferences in describing, drawing or constituting a Scutarian character in a novel, and the reasons which lead them to choose Üsküdar as a place of residence for some of their characters may reflect a reality, even if at a minimum level. There was uncertainty about what city news was. In different years different types of news were gathered under the title of city news, such as news concerning the Sultans and other people related to the palace in the city and also news about everyday life (i.e. about various

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<sup>178</sup> All of these sources are dated from the last forty years of the nineteenth century. Because of that, the popular image of a Scutarian which I hope to reach during the following pages, may basically represent the Scutarians who lived in the period concerned.

crimes or theatre performances et cetera). In other words, in different years newspapers focused on different aspects of city life. As is obvious, news consists of events chosen and written in a suitable manner to be news. Because of this, news related to Üsküdar and its inhabitants that constitute the secondary material of the chapter will be scrutinised primarily as a part of the fiction, though of course not as much as the novels, that forms the image of Üsküdar. Moreover, both sources were the basic equipment that helped people who were not Scutarian or were not (frequent) visitors to Üsküdar, to form an image of the district in their minds. However, I would like to emphasise that although I believe that the fiction and the image of Üsküdar were of course not totally independent of Üsküdar, that which I am looking for and trying to understand is not who the Scutarian was in “reality” during the period concerned?” I just wish to find out what a Scutarian (and Üsküdar) corresponded to in the imagined geography of the city and to unearth the reasons for the constitution of this image.

The one common feature of main Scutarian characters in the novels is their low level of interest in the newly developing European -“*Alafranga*”- lifestyle. Although some characters, such as the female character of the novel “*Vah*” (which will be discussed in detail), have some occidental aspects to their lives, it is always possible to unite these aspects with their “Ottoman identity”. In other words they have merely agreed to accept “the positive features” from the west such as technology, and add them to their “original” cultures. Hence, they do not imitate the European lifestyle. The “*Alafranga*” lifestyle and Üsküdar are not observed together in any example.

The best novel character in proving the impossibility of the coexistence of these two elements is Merâkî Efendi. Mustafa Merâkî Efendi is not among the main

characters of the novel “*Felâton Bey ile Rakım Efendi*” by Ahmet Mithat Efendi. However, he is biologically and culturally the father of Felâton Bey, is the first “European style dandy” (*Alafranga züppe*) type which would have the leading role during the following years in the Turkish novel. The writer of the novel, A. Mithat Efendi says clearly that it is necessary to know Merâkî Efendi in order to easily understand who Felâton Bey is.<sup>179</sup> Merâkî Efendi is a person who wants to imitate the European lifestyle. A. Mithat underlines that he was one of the “*Alafranga*” people, in a way that had been observed in Istanbul, fifteen or twenty years before the time of the novel.<sup>180</sup> He sells his large mansion (*konak*) to live in European style, and have a stone (*kâgir*) house built on the Beyoğlu side of Tophane and settle there.<sup>181</sup>

According to the writer this change in the life of Merâkî Efendi is extreme; he has passed from an ideal Turkish (*Alaturka*) lifestyle to an ideal European (*Alafranga*) one.<sup>182</sup> A. Mithat Efendi has a clear didactic aim in this novel,<sup>183</sup> which

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<sup>179</sup> Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Felâton Bey İle Rakım Efendi*, (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2000), p. 4.

“Bizim asıl maksadımız *Felâton Bey*’i haber vermek yani *erbâb-ı müt’alaa*ya tanıtmak olduğuna göre pederi *Mustafa Merâkî Efendi* hakkında böyle malûmat-ı atîka vermeğe lüzum yoktur zannetmeyiniz. *Felâton Bey*’i güzelce tanımak için kendisinin menşeyini görmek elbet lâzımdır. Böyle bir menşeden neşet eden zatın hâl ve tavır daha kolay anlaşılabilir.”

<sup>180</sup> The novel was written in 1875.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

“Bizim *Mustafa Merâkî Efendi alafranga meşrep* bir adamdı. Hem de hangi *alafranga meşreplerden* biliyor musunuz? Hani ya bundan on beş yirmi sene evvel *İstanbul*’da *alafranga meşrepler* yok muydu? İşte onlardan. Hâl ve vakti pek yolunda hem de ziyadece yolunda olduğundan kendisi zaten *Üsküdarlı* olduğu ve orada güzel konağı, bağı bağı bahçesi dahi bulunduğu hâlde mücerret *alafranga* yani rahat yaşamak için cümlesini ucuza pahalıya bakmadan satıp gelmiş *Tophane*’nin *Beyoğlu*’na civar bir mahallesinde müceddeden güzel bir hane inşa ettirip sakin olmuştu. *Alafrangaya* olan merakın derecesini şundan anlayınız ki, yaptırdığı hane mutlaka *alafranga* olmak için *kâgir* olarak yaptırılmıştı.”

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

“*Mustafa Merâkî Efendi kemal derece alaturkalıktan yine kemal derece alafrangalığa birden sıçramış bir adam* olduğu...”

<sup>183</sup> Not only in this novel but also in his other writings he had a didactic aim. He always underlined that his main goal was to inform people. Due to this, one nickname of A. Mithat Efendi, the writer of almost two hundred fifty books including many popular novels, is “the first teacher” (*hace-i evvel*).

is constructed around two different characters symbolising two different ways of westernisation. These can be summarised as “the honourable way of westernisation” (i.e. knowing what the west is and conserving Ottoman identity) on the one hand and “total imitation of the west” (i.e. total ignorance about the West and also the East and thus losing Ottoman identity – the result is of course always imitating the worst features of western civilisation-) on the other. He generally aims to present the right (or preferable) way of westernisation and warn his readers against the false way by showing the extreme difference in behaviour of the two characters. I would like to emphasise that in this novel, which focuses primarily on these dualities, while the writer prefers Mustafa Merâkî Efendi to settle in Beyoğlu for his life’s “*Alafranga*” phase, he chooses Üsküdar as a place of residence for the preceding “*Alaturka*” phase of his life. These can not be conceived a coincidence. He would like to show the great change in the life of Merâkî Efendi and a move from Üsküdar to Beyoğlu is one important sign of this great alteration. Moreover, even if it were a coincidence, the writer’s unconscious preference can also be evidence which indicates the place of Üsküdar in the popular urban image. In both meanings of the description, in the physical and in the imagined geography, there is Beyoğlu (as a sign of the “*Alafranga*” lifestyle) on one side and Üsküdar (as a sign of the “*Alaturka*” lifestyle) on the other side of the city.

Many other things also accompany the great alteration in his lifestyle that is primarily symbolised by his move from Üsküdar to Beyoğlu. A. Mithat presents the basic elements of “*Alafranga*” living in Beyoğlu and “*Alaturka*” living in Üsküdar. Above all else, having a stone house seems necessary for a wealthy “*Alafranga*” lifestyle and having a (nice) mansion that has a large garden or/and a vineyard is one of the important elements for a rich “*Alaturka*” life in Üsküdar. To have an

*Alafranga* life or (as A Mithat says) to live in comfort seems impossible in a mansion that represents the quotidian life of the district with its large garden and vineyard needing attention. The mansion and the stone house are opposites. However, it does not mean that Merâkî Efendi could have an “*Alafranga*” life by having a stone house in Üsküdar. Merâkî Efendi’s moving out of Üsküdar indicates that whatever the wealth of a person s/he could not live in an “*Alafranga*” way in Üsküdar. To be an “*Alafranga*” was primarily correlated to the person’s manner of spending money rather than the amount of his/her money. Beyoğlu was the best place to spend money in a “European manner”. The Beyoğlu phase of Merâkî Efendi’s life is basically dominated by the theme of the spending of his wealth in accordance with newly developing European patterns. The money is spent on Greek and Armenian maids,<sup>184</sup> French teachers and on the maintaining the extravagant reckless life style of Felatun Bey who is never dressed in the same clothes on consecutive days and tries to match himself to the mannequins presenting the latest fashions in the windows of the dressmakers’ shops in Beyoğlu.<sup>185</sup>

The signs of wealth in the first phase of Merâkî Efendi’s life are also used to describe the wealth of other rich Scutarian characters. In his famous novel “*Taaşşuk-ı Tal’at ve Fitnat*”, Şemseddin Sami shows the wealth of Ali Bey, who wants to marry

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<sup>184</sup> “Şimdi böyle bir semtte böyle bir hanede bu kadar alafranga olan adam artık hanesine arap çorap doldurur mu? Bahusus ki, aralıkta bir alafranga dostları gelmekte olduğundan bunlar meyanında hizmet etmek için Rum ve Ermeni hizmetçiler ihtiyacı derkardır.” [Ibid., p. 4]

Probably, A. Mithat implies that Merâkî Efendi, or other wealthy Scutarians have Black or Arabian maids in their mansion. The information given by M. Nermi Haskan reinforce that argument, according to him there was a street in Üsküdar (in Toygar Tepesi) known as “*Zenciler Sokağı*” and some of the Black people living in that quarter had been working in some mansions especially as a sitter. [Mehmet Nermi Haskan, *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Üsküdar*, (Istanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi Yayınları, 2001), p. 176]

<sup>185</sup> I would like to remind that, as is underlined in the chapter 2.3, there were no any of this kind of shops in Üsküdar according to the *Annuaire Orientale*.

Fitnat and is presented to her as a rich, good and ideal candidate husband<sup>186</sup> by her stepfather by describing his real estates in a similar way to that of Merâkî Efendi's life *Alaturka* phase.<sup>187</sup> A large mansion with a large garden and two gardeners are among the first mentioned elements of his wealth. Another Ali Bey, who is the main character of the novel "*İntibah*", and described as "the son of a rich family" (*ağniya evladından*),<sup>188</sup> also lives in a mansion in Üsküdar. His mansion is not as large as those of the above-mentioned characters' and although there is a garden belonging to the mansion<sup>189</sup> there is no information that indicates the existence of gardeners or maids. Lastly, two similar rich characters in the novels "*Obur*" and "*Kambur*", Neşati Efendi and Üzeyr Bey who as will be mentioned are very different from the other rich Scutarian characters in terms of their personalities, also live in large mansions in Üsküdar

Besides these common symbols of wealth, there is another common feature, which is not being ignorant and uneducated. Writers tell the reader about almost every character's educational level. Although most of them are presented as being

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<sup>186</sup> By the way, Ali Bey is Fitnat's real father but neither they nor we find out until near the end of the novel.

<sup>187</sup> Şemseddin Sami, *Taaşuk-ı Tal'at ve Fitnat*, (Istanbul: Oğlak Yayınları, 2001), pp. 86-87.

"Üsküdar'da Toptaşı'nda bir büyük konak vardı -ve belki daha vardır-. Bu konağın haremlik -selâmlık olarak yirmi-otuz odası var. Her tarafı âlâ, müzeyyen, kaymetli mefrûşat ile döşenmiş. Gayetle geniş bir bahçesi var ki, içinde bir iki bahçıvan daima çalışır. Büyük ahır var, içinde beş-altı âlâ at bağlanmış. İki üç araba var. Beş-altı uşak var. İspir, seyis, bilmem ne de ayrı. Haremlikte beş-on cariye var, bazısı ihtiyar, bazısı kız. Nihayet büyük bir konak. Oldukça büyük ve zengin bir adamın konağı vesselâm."

<sup>188</sup> Namık Kemal, *İntibah-Sergüzeşt-i Ali Bey*, (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1971), p. 40.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174

"Canım! Şu üç gün evvel önünden geçtiğimiz mavi konaktaki kız... hani sağ tarafında bir harap mesçit, karşısında bir yoğurtçu kârhanesi, bahçesinin yanında mahut İstavri'nin bostanı olan mavi konak..."

familiar with western culture, none of them has lost the awareness of the difference between knowing about western culture and imitating it.<sup>190</sup>

One of the best examples for the above-mentioned argument is Ferdane Hanım who is the main character of the novel “*Vah*” written by A. Mithat Efendi. After some amusing information about the usages of the word *vah* (i.e. what a pity), this novel starts with a conversation between Behçet Bey, who has a house in Aksaray and a *yali* (water side mansion) in a village on the Bosphorus, the name of which is not mentioned and Necati Efendi, who lives in the same village. They are on board a ferry to Galata Bridge and discussing the necessity of ferries calling at Üsküdar. However, when the ferry calls at Üsküdar, a beautiful woman boards, and having been seen by the two gentlemen, she becomes the main subject of their conversation and the main character of the novel. Her beauty and the freedom (*serbestlik*) of her behaviour and costume attract Behçet Bey’s attention and he becomes curious about her. On disembarking, Behçet Bey pursues the woman. Thanks to his pursuit followed by enquiries he has made with the help of Despina, a Greek *bohçacı* woman we find out the entire life story of Ferdane Hanım. Later, Necati Efendi becomes acquainted with Ferdane Hanım by chance. At first, they write to each other and then frequently meet as friends. However, Behçet Bey becomes jealous of them, unconvinced that their relationship is platonic, and tries, using various intrigues, to prevail upon Ferdane Hanım to have a relationship with him. Ferdane Hanım politely but insistently refuses Behçet Bey’s advances. Behçet

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<sup>190</sup> If some of them get into trouble, usually the events have begun with an instant losing of the balance in their relationship with western culture (i.e showing a tendency to imitate the western culture, as *alafranga* persons do) have been supported by a (bad) feature of their personality and have reached their peak with the help of some “bad” persons who misuse the situation originating in the first two reasons. For example, the tragic events that are experienced by Ali Bey (*Taaşuk-ı Tal’at ve Fitnat*), are the result of Ali Bey’s quick-tempered personality, and his trying to flirt with a woman in Çamlıca in an unsuitable way, and the prostitute Mehpeyker’s traps; Ferdane Hanım (*Vah*) is the victim of the events originating in having a photograph taken and flirting with a man, trusting a *bohçacı* women (i.e. a woman who peddles cloth and women’s garments) and the traps of an *Alafranga* coxcomb Behçet Bey.

Bey then indulges in further and more complicated intrigues eventually causing the death of Ferdane's jealous husband, Talat and her disfiguring of her face to destroy her own beauty, which she has come to see as the cause of all her troubles. Necati Efendi on finding out about the intrigues and Behçet Bey's part in them, brings a suit against him and Behçet Bey is punished by seven years of imprisonment. In the last paragraph of the novel A. Mithat proclaims that, Necati Efendi and Ferdane Hanım married three months later.

Ferdane Hanım, who has grown up in quite a wealthy family is a literate person. She can read and write excellently, her writing ability being reflected almost in every letter written to Necati Efendi, A. Mithat underlines the perfection of her writing and makes almost every character of the novel praise her reading and writing ability.<sup>191</sup> She is also a good reader who reads widely (books, magazines and newspapers et cetera).<sup>192</sup> Thanks to this, Ferdane Hanım as a learned person, instantly understands the intrigues of Behçet Bey, which he had prepared using the latest developments in photography and lithography technology. This lady informs Despina (and the readers) in a detailed way about these technological developments and solves mysteries using her intelligence and knowledge, knowledge moreover, based on western technology.

Although free (*serbestlik*) in some of her behaviour Ferdane Hanım as a learned woman, who can write and read "as good as a man can do", is completely faithful and excessively devoted to her husband despite his being extremely jealous

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<sup>191</sup> The families of both Ferdane Hanım and her husband were rich. However, the wealth of both families was exhausted after the deaths of their fathers. Then they became middle class. A. Mithat does not inform us about the houses or properties of those families, therefore their families were not mentioned in these paragraphs about the signs of wealth in Üsküdar.

<sup>192</sup> For example Despina describes Ferdane Hanım's reading and writing ability to Behçet Bey as follows "Kitapları devrediyor. Kaleminden kan damlıyor. Zaten o kadar güzel söz söyleyebilmek benim gibi cahillerin kârı mıdır? Ferdane Hanım beyitler bile düzüyor" [Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Vah*, (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2000), p. 70]

and very uneducated. After their engagement, as arranged by their families, she never shows any hesitation. Although during their engagement, Talat, whose education has been neglected by his family, becomes quite badly disfigured because of smallpox, she has never thought to leave him. In fact using some tricks she has prevailed upon Talat, who feels himself to be unworthy of her, to marry her.

During the novel a few times Ferdane Hanım is perceived as (or accused of being) “an *Alafranga*”,<sup>193</sup> or “loose” (*hafifmeşrep*)<sup>194</sup> woman, whenever her inner world has been forgotten or not been very well known. However, after A. Mithat explains the details of her behaviour, or the motives behind her actions, and makes the reader listen to the inner voice of Ferdane, no one can doubt her. The event that attests to the truth of this honour is that Necati Efendi, who is depicted as the most positive character in this novel and who also has doubts sometimes about her honesty finally marries her.

Some of Ferdane Hanım’s actions and attitudes can come under the title of “*serbestlik*” and be described as “*Alafranga*”, such as having a photograph taken,<sup>195</sup> smoking in the ferry,<sup>196</sup> going from one side to the other side of the city alone,

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<sup>193</sup> Ibid., p. 150.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., p. 179.

<sup>195</sup> Having a photograph taken seems a complicated issue. Necati Efendi who is quite a conservative character of the novel says: “*Resim aldırır hafifmeşreplerden olduğu muhakkak*” (Ibid., p. 179) for Ferdane Hanım and Ferdane confesses having her photograph taken as follows “*Resim aldirmek cinayetiyle mahkum Ferdane bu cinayeti yalnız bir kerecik ihtiyar etmiştir.*” (Ibid., p. 193) However, A. Mithat informs the reader about the technology of photography by using Ferdane Hanım’s sentences and praises her knowledge on the technological developments. To sum up, while the woman’s knowledge on photography is affirmed (moreover lauded), having a photograph taken seems a complicated issue that should be approached with suspicion.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

“*Uzun boylu hanım ise hem pek güzel, hem pek süslü olduğu hâlde, hem de pek serbest bir şey olduğundan sigara muhafazasını çıkarıp bir sigara yakarak püfür püfür içmeye başladı ise de yüzünü deniz tarafına çevirerek telâtum-ı bahr ile eğlenmekte olduğu cihetle şu vaz’ını beğenmeyen Behçet artık başka türlü teskin-i tessüre yol bulamayarak kadınların sigaraya alışmaları ve hele bazı serbestçe olanlarının böyle vapurlarda dahi sigara içmeleri ne kadar fena bir şey olduğunu muhakemeye başladı.*”

corresponding with Necati Efendi and meeting him in some recreation spots (*mesire yeri*). However the reader never witnesses any dishonourable behaviour from Ferdane Hanım. Maybe her actions are quite new, modern and a bit strange but they can never be called shameful, since she always naturally knows (or feels) the balance which makes possible having some modern attitudes without being “an *Alafranga*” or bereft of honour. This is the equilibrium that was looked for in many other writings of A. Mihat Efendi and also in the whole early Turkish modernisation process. None of the elements that occurred as a result of the westernisation/modernisation process were considered detrimental if they could be conceived together (and basically under the dominance of) Ottoman (native) culture, moral values and commonsense. Thus, while, basically, the meeting of a man and a woman (and especially a married one) would be frowned upon, A. Mihat would like to convince the reader that their relationship is platonic. They are neither the kind of person who can abuse this situation like some European style coxcombs (*Alafranga Züppe*) do, nor the kind of person who believe that women must avoid the company of men like some “backward” people. They are people who comprehend the westernisation / modernisation issue correctly like Rakım Efendi has done,<sup>197</sup> and so would not have a problem because of their close and friendly relationship. In other words they are almost perfectly aware of how they can introduce some new modern/western elements into their lives and which elements of the Ottoman culture should be conserved. However, Behçet Bey as a “chic” (*sık*) and an “*Alafranga*” person<sup>198</sup> cannot (or has not got a chance to) understand and believe that

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<sup>197</sup> Berna Moran says that Rakım Efendi represents an Ottoman man who understands westernisation correctly [Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış / I*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995), p. 45]

<sup>198</sup> I would like to underline that in this novel, like “*Felâh Bey ile Rakım Efendi*” one of the most important axis is the tension and the opposition between an “*Alafranga*” man and an “Ottoman” man.

their relationship is platonic. His desire to misuse Ferdane Hanım's non-traditional attitudes becomes the cause of every trouble they would experience.

Is there any connection between Ferdane Hanım's attitudes and her place of residence i.e. Üsküdar? Behçet Bey insists that the reason he is following the woman is not passion but curiosity, at least at the beginning. When Behçet Bey and Necati Efendi see her for the first time, the reason Behçet Bey is astonished at and curious about her is not only the lack of restriction (*serbestlik*) in her behaviour or her travelling in the city alone but also that she boarded the ferry at Üsküdar.<sup>199</sup> In other words Behçet Bey's curiosity is aroused by the existence of a woman such as this in Üsküdar. If Behçet Bey met her by chance in Pera, he probably would not be curious and would not follow her. That fact can be interpreted in two possible ways. First, if meeting a woman like Ferdane Hanım by chance in Üsküdar was an extraordinary event, it seems possible to say that Ferdane Hanım is not an example that represents women living in Üsküdar. In other words, Scutarian women were not this "free"/"unrestricted" (*serbest*). If the first premise is true, the answer to the question of why A. Mithat Efendi chose Üsküdar, known as a district in which the women have not "*Alafranga*" costumes or attitudes, as the place of residence for Ferdane Hanım constitutes the second interpretation. Above all, it is obvious that he wanted the main male characters of the novel to be astonished at the women. However, probably, he also wanted to show how Ferdane Hanım is different from "*Alafranga*" women (especially those living and walking around Pera), despite her somewhat "*Alafranga*" appearance. Ferdane Hanım is a woman who is thought to be

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In both of the novels the "*Alafranga*" man is called "*Bey*" and the other is called "*Efendi*". And of course, the negative (and guilty) character is the "*Bey*" and the negative action is to be "*Alafranga*".

<sup>199</sup> Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Vah*, pp. 16-17.

"Behçet Bey bu kadının şöyle yalnız başına Üsküdar gibi yerden sokaklara düşmesine bir türlü mana veremediğinden dolayı merakından çatlایarak..."

"*Alafranga*", especially at the first encounter because of her appearance, but she is actually not. To understand which kind of woman Ferdane Hanım is –*Alfranga* or *Alturka* or both-, her place of residence Üsküdar is one of the most important elements. Probably, whether the writer had thought about it or not, it was much easier to make the reader of the period imagine that a woman living in Üsküdar,<sup>200</sup> rather than a woman living around Pera and Galata, has never done anything dishonestly despite her "*Alafranga*" appearance, her writing letters to a man who is not her husband and moreover meeting him in some recreation spots. Üsküdar was the place that made it possible for the reader to believe in Ferdane Hanım, and formed the "*Alaturka*" framework of all her behaviour that is sometimes called "*Alafranga*" in the novel. She has done something "*Alafranga*" but never exceeded the limits. She has married Talat because of her great respect for their families, who deemed them suitable for each other and she has never opposed her husband, never said anything bad about him, never thought about leaving him or deceiving him with Necati Efendi or anyone else. She reads a lot and she is a learned person but she does not despise her quite ignorant husband and has never thought to use her knowledge as the "chic" and "*Alafranga*" Behçet Bey has done. All of her behaviour can be made to fit into the "conservative mode of thought" of Ottoman modernist, the motto of which can be summarised as follows "to westernise/modernise without losing Ottoman culture and without being disobedient to Islamic rules".<sup>201</sup> To read, to write

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<sup>200</sup> Although it seems that A. Mithat could choose a district in the walled-city as the place of residence for Ferdane Hanım, Merâki Efendi's life story and the non-existence of any "*Alafranga*" character in any scrutinised novel (however there are two important European coxcomb characters in these novels who lives in the walled-city: Bihruz Bey in Süleymaniye and Behçet Bey in Aksaray) also explains why he chose Üsküdar.

<sup>201</sup> As Jale Parla underlines among the normative priorities of the period's writers, the first thing is to base the reformation movements on the worldview of the East with its ethic structure and cultural dimensions. [Jale Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar: Tanzimat Romanının Epistemolojik Temelleri*, (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), p. 19] And especially, for the "New Ottomans", Berna Moran states that

and be educated was perceived as a beneficial thing for a woman and there was no objection to the meeting of a woman with a man, if she does not intend to exceed the limits of traditional culture or be insubordinate to her husband under any condition.

Ali Bey, is the main character of the novel “*İntibah*”, was also a brilliant student and like Ferdane Hanım, a well-educated person.<sup>202</sup> As his father noticed when he was a child, his only weakness is extreme obstinacy and ambition, and a quick temper. However, as is underlined a few times during the novel, they are immutable natural features of his personality. The novel describes the tragic events, which are experienced by Ali Bey and his family and caused by his nature and someone else who misuses it.

At the beginning of the novel, Ali Bey is described as a dutiful son who has been taught good manners by his family. His life passes between his work and his home. He has never stayed anywhere other than home, even for one night. However, after the death of his father, he begins to keep all his problems and worries to himself. He begins to feel the lack of a spouse in his life (*zevce eksikliği hissiyle*), and he appears sad. His mother wants him to go to *Çamlıca*, a recreation spot that is near their house, to free him from these feelings of melancholy. All the ensuing troubles begin with his passion for *Çamlıca*.<sup>203</sup> After Ali Bey begins to go to *Çamlıca* frequently, (almost every other day), his colleagues want him to take them to

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they would like to benefit from the West without losing their Ottoman identity and without abandoning Islamic ideology. [Moran, p. 14]

<sup>202</sup> Namık Kemal, p. 40

*“Anasının, babasının bir tanesi olduğundan ve hususıyla pederi evlât kadrini gerçekten bilenlerden olduğundan –İstanbul’da bulunduğu halde- tahsiline, maarifçe terakkinin aksa-yi meratibine varmış olan yerler zadedemi kadar, itina olundu. Çocuk o yaşta iken bir kaç lisan bilir; udeba arasında nevrüstegân-i maarifin en müstaitlerinden adlonulurdu.”*

<sup>203</sup> As is already mentioned in the chapter 1, *Çamlıca* -and also *Bağlarbaşı*- was not part of central *Üsküdar*. For example, Şerif Mardin when he mentions Bihruz Bey’s life, he describes his and his mothers’ residential places, *Süleymaniye* and *Çamlıca*, as “the modern quarters of Istanbul”. [Şerif Mardin, “Super Westernization in Urban Life in The Ottoman Empire in The Last Quarter of The Nineteenth Century” in *Turkey Geographic and Social Perspectives*, P. Benedict, E. Tümertekin, F. Mansur (ed.), (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), p. 407]

Çamlıca. The conversation among them to decide which day they will go to Çamlıca underlines his “Ottoman character”. While Ali Bey suggests going on one of the days when the place is quite empty, they insist that they would like to go there when it is crowded.<sup>204</sup> As can be obviously seen, especially in the novel “*Felatun Bey ile Rakım Efendi*”, preferring recreation spots when they are crowded can be counted among the “*Alafranga*” trends of the period. When Rakım Efendi offers to take Jozefino his friend and mistress, to Kağıthane he insists that it is better to go on any day except Friday or Sunday.<sup>205</sup> After A. Mithat described this trip called “*Alaturka* style of entertainment” by Jozefino,<sup>206</sup> he describes the trip to Kağıthane of Felatun Bey and his mistress Polini. This trip has been organised for “a Friday, furthermore, on one of the most crowded Fridays in Kağıthane.”<sup>207</sup> In contrast to Rakım’s tour, which is basically a tour of the natural beauties of Kağıthane, the Golden Horn and Istanbul generally with the primary aim of entertaining all the people participating in the activity, Felatun Bey’s main aim is to display his wealth, be seen and to put on airs.

Like those of Felatun Bey, Bihruz Bey’s trips to recreation spots also aim to show off himself and his landau and to observe other people and their phaetons.<sup>208</sup>

On one of his trips to Çamlıca, he is very attracted to a girl in a very beautiful landau

<sup>204</sup> Namık Kemal, pp. 45-46.

“Bir gün kalem arkadaşlarıyla Çamlıca’ya olan meykinden bahsederken kendinden orada bir ziyafet isterler. O da maalmemnuniyye kabul ile : «Yarımdan tezi yok buyurun» deyince –meğer mühasebe bir salı gününe tesadüf eylediğinden- arkadaşları gülmeye başlarlar. Ali Bey ise bu handelere hiç bir mana veremeyerek sebebini istihza eder. Anlar ki rüfekası indinde Çamlıca’da cuma ve pazarın gayri –tenhalık cihetiyle- eğlenmek gayr-i kabil sayılır.”

<sup>205</sup> Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Felatun Bey...*, p. 77.

“Kağıthane vakta dünyanın en güzel yerlerinden birisidir. Lâkin oranın zevki Cuma ve Pazar günleri çıkmaz.”

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>208</sup> As is seen, Felatun Bey’s and Bihruz Bey’s tours bear some characteristics of modern city life such as strolling through the city and among its people (i.e. *temâşâ etmek*, *flâner*) and exposing himself/herself in the public. These people were not the *flâneurs* in the Benjaminian meaning of the word, but they still represent the idea of promenading in the city.

and tries to talk to her. Although Bihruz Bey has not done anything immoral, many other novels describe similar scenes in which men make improper remarks to women in these recreation spots with the aim of flirting or just for fun. In the novel "*Taaşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat*", Fitnat's stepfather Hajji Mustafa, quite a religious person -as is underlined in the novel-, gives this kind of immoral behaviour as the reason for why he forbids his stepdaughter to go to these places.<sup>209</sup> In the novel "*Vah*" the event that paves the way for the first meeting of Ferdane Hanım and Necati Efendi is the interference of Necati Efendi in some "ill-mannered men's (*edepsiz beyler*) annoyance of Ferdane Hanım in *Millet Bahçesi*.<sup>210</sup> The news published in "*Tercüman-ı Hakikat*" dated from 7 August 1899 corroborates the fact that events such as these happened on days when these recreation spots were crowded. The event related in the newspaper occurred on a Friday, described in the Novel "*İntibah*" as one of the most crowded days in Çamlıca. According to the news, entitled as "From Our Reporter of Üsküdar" (*Üsküdar Muhabirimizden*), in a Çamlıca street, a *Bey* who verbally harassed three women in a carriage was perfectly (*mükemmelen*) thrashed by some drivers.

When Ali Bey goes to Çamlıca with his colleagues, all of his friends also begin to make improper and flirtations remarks to women. However, since this kind of behaviour is totally contrary to Ali Bey's nature and his good (Ottoman) manners and morals, he feels very discomfited by the situation.<sup>211</sup> In short, Ali Bey, as a

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<sup>209</sup> Şemsettin Sami, pp. 58-59.

"*Fakat ben kazımı çıkarıp seyre göndersem; kız güzel, herkes arabanın arkasına düşecek. Kimi yüzüne bakıp bıyık buracak, kimi sigara atacak, kimi bilmem ne halt edecek. Benim gayretim, namusum böyle rezaletleri tahammül edemez. Bizde, şimdi, edep kalmadı, namus kalmadı. Senin seyir yerleri dediğin yerler rezalet yerleridir. Edepsizler, ırsızlar mahalleridir. (...)*

*-Öyledir. Hakkın var. Ama modalar, Alafrangalar böyle çıkardılar. Ne yapalım?  
-Affedersiniz, bu Alafranga da değil. Alafranga bunu kabul etmez."*

<sup>210</sup> Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Vah*, pp. 54 -57.

<sup>211</sup> Namık Kemal, p. 47.

person who goes to these kinds of places on quiet days, would never annoy women or approve of such behaviour is morality akin to Rakım Efendi. Nevertheless, he is not the flawless character that Rakım Efendi is, and so, having made one of the gestures that his friends have been making, to a carriage, without knowing its meaning, he paves the way for the birth of a love that will fill his life with calamities. The real guilt for all the trouble lies of course in his introverted quick-tempered personality and his extreme obstinacy and also with the person who misuses these negative traits in his character.<sup>212</sup> Even though Ali Bey's good manners and morality could not save him from trouble, he has not behaved like Felatun Bey. Moreover, when he wished to get rid of Mehpeyker, his beloved who is really a prostitute, whom he met and flirted with (which is quite modern), he is consoled by a morally upright odalisque (i.e. Islamic -and Ottoman- style of relationship) who is chosen for him by his mother.<sup>213</sup>

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*"Bu haller ise Ali Beyin fitratına, terbiyesine bütün bütün mugayyir olmak cihetiyle bu eğlenceden bayağı bir felâket kadar müteazzi idi"*

<sup>212</sup> This person is Mehpeyker. She is the most important negative character of the novel. According to Tanpınar, she is not actually a bad person. Namık Kemal's dichotomy and perspective makes and presents her as a bad person:

*"Pek az kitapta muhayyilenin yarattığı şahıs o muhayyilenin kendisine bu küçük hikâyede olduğu kadar itiraz eder. Bu yüz kırk sahife boyunca muharririn sesinden fazla biz behemehal olduğunun dışına çıkarılmak istenen biçare kadının itirazarını duyarız.(...)"*

*... Namık Kemal her defasında onun sözünü keser, yahut onu en kât'i hükümlerle ve en ağır kelimeleri kullanarak çerçeveler. Hiç bir romancı onun kadar kahramanının açıktan düşmanı değildir. Hakikatte Nâmk Kemal bu hikâyede bir nevi ikilik içerisindeydi.(...)"*

*Hakikatte kadını anlamayan bir erkeğin romanını yazmak istiyordu. Bu pişmanlık romanı Nâmk Kemal'e hiç şüphe yok ki Dumas Fils'in «La dame aux Camelias»sından gelmişti. Fakat Namık Kemal'in sünni ahlâkı içtimaî hayatı evin ve aile bağlarının etrafında toplamak arzusu düşmüş bir kadını haklı çıkaramazdı."* [Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, 19. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi, (İstanbul: Çağlayan Kitabevi, 1997), pp.401, 402, 403]

<sup>213</sup> Özbek underlines that by referring to Bakhtin, novel is actually a love story. And she adds that, in the Turkish novel that was born in a society in which women and men rarely came together in such strict conditions, the writers should find some ways to create love stories. The concubine is one of the most important figures that make it possible. [Çiçek Özbek, "Türk Romanında Efendiler ve Hizmetçiler" in *Toplum ve Bilim*, n. 92, (2002), pp. 208-209]

*"Osmanlı erkeğiyle aşk ilişkisine girmeye müsait kadınlar ancak azınlık ya da İstanbul'da yaşayan yabancı kolonilere mensup kadınlardı; cariye ise bu azınlık kadınların yanında beyaz Müslüman bir seçenek oluşturuyordu. Üstelik de evde her an hizmete hazırdu. Cariye figürünün Müslüman Osmanlı aydınlarının tezahürlerindeki aşka ve zevklerine denk gelen bir figür olduğu söylenebilir."* [Ibid., 209]

In the novel “*Taaşuk-ı Tal’at ve Fitnat*”, there is no information about the educational level of its Scutarian male character. However, through the matchmaker sewing teacher’s references we can understand that he reads and writes.<sup>214</sup> So, it is obvious that he is a literate person. Although, sometimes he is described as “refined” (*kibar*), this word does not imply that he is an “*Alafranga*” person. It basically refers to his wealth.<sup>215</sup> He lives like an Ottoman. The already mentioned manner of his house, his concubines, and his attempt to marry Fitnat Hanım on the advice of the concubines’ sewing teacher are some of the elements of his traditional lifestyle.

A. Mithat’s novels “*Obur*” and “*Kambur*” include two more rich Scutarian characters, Neşati Efendi and Üzeyr Bey, who love joking. The characters, and the subject of the novels are quite similar. Both are about people who make a living by fawning upon some rich people and the thoughtless jokes organised by some of these rich people.<sup>216</sup> Neşati Efendi, the rich Scutarian character of the novel “*Obur*” lives in a mansion in the Ihsaniye area and owns much real estate for rent in Istanbul and also in the provinces, and has hundreds *akçes* in income. He does not need to work, and he does not. He is not one who enjoys reading, or other intellectual pursuits, so he spends his time planning some inappropriate jokes. Üzeyr Bey, who is the rich Scutarian character of “*Kambur*”, is a spendthrift (*mirasyedi*) who like Neşati Efendi

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<sup>214</sup> For example “*Şerife Kadın böyle diyerek kalkar, Ali Bey’in odasına girer. Bir şey yazarken bulur. Kendisiyle söze girer.*” [Şemsettin Sami, p. 94] or while Şerife Kadın presents Fitnat in her absence as a girl suitable to marry, she underlines that the girl has learned to read and to write. [Ibid., p. 95]

<sup>215</sup> For example “*O, kibar adamlardan.... Biz, fukara adamlar...*” [Ibid., p. 99]

<sup>216</sup> The person in a news, which seems quite fabrication, in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* dated from 20 January 1899 has some startling similarities with A. Mithat’s novel character “*Fil Tahsin*” whose other nick name (*Obur*) is also the title of the novel that has been written thirteen years later than the novel. I would like to quote that funny news without any comments:

“*Biraz da letaiften bahsedelim: Evvelki akşam Üsküdar’da obur lafiyla maruf bir adam ağniyeden fakat erbab-ı hussetden birisinin iftarına gider. Sofrada hazır cevaplardan birisi de bulunuyor imiş top atılmasına intizar edildiği sırada hane sahibi tabla ile gelen yemekleri Obur’a göstererek:*

- *Nasıl? Bu yemekler sizi doyurur mu? Diye sormasıyla hazır cevap:*
- *Efendim a o kadar yemek midisini değil gözünü bile doyurmaz.*

*Demıştır.” (Tercüman-ı Hakikat, no. 6376 p. 3)*

does not need to work, and lives in a yellow mansion in the İcadiye area. These two characters are very different from the others abovementioned. First of all, they are in all ways negative characters since they do not work and do not like to read. A. Mithat counts these among the biggest failings a character may have.<sup>217</sup> However, since they are basically the “*Alaturka*” (i.e. Ottoman) type of coxcomb they and their type of prodigality (*mirasyedilik*) and style of entertainment are very different from those of the other negative “*Alafranga*” characters such as Behçet Bey and especially Felatun Bey. Neşati Efendi and Üzeyr Bey are the people who like to host dinners in their mansion and yet mock and belittle their guests. There are no luxury carriages, dressmakers from Beyoğlu, gambling, drinking, or chic women (actually no women except their wives, mothers, maids and concubines) in their life.<sup>218</sup> As is obvious, these features of this kind of spendthrifts’ lifestyle are not only different from but are opposite to the features of Felatun Bey who has a spendthrift living around Beyoğlu. Consequently, it is possible to claim that, like the above-mentioned Scutarian “positive” characters, the negative ones living in Üsküdar have also a life that is based on “*Alaturka*” motifs. In other words Üsküdar is described as a place in which even its spendthrifts do not (or cannot) exceed the limits of “*Alaturka*”.

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<sup>217</sup> As Şerif Mardin underlines, in all Ahmet Mithat’s writings “emerge periodically the themes of thrift, abstemiousness, and hard work” [Mardin, p. 415]. And in his many writings it is possible to find expressions that indicate the advantages of reading such as “*Eğer sen romanları okumuş hem de kemâl-i dikkat ve itina ile okuyarak erkeklerin ve kadınların ahvâlini lâıyıkı vechile öğrenmiş olsaydın kendini bu vartaya duçar etmezdin.*” (Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Dürdane Hanım*, (Ankara, Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2000), p. 124.]

<sup>218</sup> While A. Mithat describes Üzeyr Bey, he underlines that these kind of people constitute a social type and explains their basic features as follows: “*Bu tipteki insanlar cümlece malûmdur. Babalarından kalan servet sayesinde bir işle meşgul olmağa ihtiyaç duymazlar. Fakat içki ve kadına da kendilerini kaptırmazlar. Hele kumara katıyen iltifat etmezler. Çünkü bu üç iptilaya, değil zengin babasının mirası, Karun hazineleri bile dayanmaz. Yani Üzeyr efendi tipleri sadece bol sofraya kuran ve sofralarında her zaman bir kaç misafir olan insanlardır. Yemek yedirmekle de zengince insanlar yıkılmayacağı için ömürlerinin sonuna kadar bu halde devam edebilirler.*” [Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Kambur*, (İstanbul: Bedir Yayınevi, 1975), p. 61.]

Most of the foremost Scutarian characters in the scrutinised novels are well off.<sup>219</sup> This is basically a result of the general characteristic of the period concerned. Their subjects are usually rich or middle-class people.<sup>220</sup> So, it does not prove that most of the Scutarians were well-off people. But still it is possible to say that these novels present a different category of wealthy Scutarians. In these novels, they have not separated their life areas from the low-income or lower class people<sup>221</sup> and have insisted on living with concubines instead of maids in their mansions. While “*Alafranga*” persons, like Bihruz Bey or Merakî Efendi have foreign or Greek or Armenian maids and servants, almost all the Scutarian characters have concubines. Concubines are not simply maids; in these novels their status varies from being a servant to a wife or a daughter who has to be educated and married a good and wealthy man. In other words these men are not simply bosses, they are protectors not only for those living in their mansion but even for the people living around their

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<sup>219</sup> There is only one exception in the novels, which I have scrutinised: the janissary-boatman who is the main male character (Civelek Hüsni) of the novel “*Yeniçeriler*” written by A. Mithat. The period in which the events occur is the eve of the abolition of the Janissaries. While the writer describes the badness and the flaws of the institution to the government and the society, he also tells the story of a janissary-boatman working at the Üsküdar piers who finds his lost family by chance. When Civelek Hüsni is a baby his father, also a janissary, had suspects that he is being deceived by his wife and then decides to make a close friend kill his wife and the baby. This baby is “Civelek Hüsni”. However, his father’s friend cannot kill them and he leaves the baby in front of a grocery in Kadıköy and marries the mother. After many years he meets by chance his mother and then his father. However, before he finds out that they are his parents, he is wounded in a struggle related to the abolition of the janissaries, and dies. [Ahmet Mithat Efendi, “*Yeniçeriler*”, in *Letâif-i Rivâyat*, (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 2001)]

<sup>220</sup> This opinion is primarily based on my personal readings of some novels of the period concerned. There is no statistical knowledge that shows the economic status of the foremost characters of the novels. However, at least, it is a well-known fact that the spendthrift (*mirasyedi*) is one of the most important characters of these novels. Nurullah Çetin also underlines same point in his article on the Turkish novel between 1878-1908 as follows: “*Romanların önde gelen kişileri genellikle 20-30 yaş arası gençlerden seçilir. Erkek kahramanlar genellikle zengin aile çocuğu ve mirasyedirler.*” [Nurullah Çetin, “II. Abdülhamit Dönemi Türk Romanı (1878-1908)” in *Hece*, n. 65-66-67, (2002), p. 50]

<sup>221</sup> As is already mentioned in chapter 2.2, especially during the second half of the nineteenth century Istanbul was developing the idea of class-peculiar residence and the urban space began to be divided according to the incomes of its inhabitants. This new trend basically was observed in Beyoğlu.

residence.<sup>222</sup> In addition, most of them are described as a kind of elite person who is (well) educated and knows western culture very well but never tries to imitate it. Consequently, in these novels there is no person who can be called “*Alafranga*” and living in Üsküdar, although they are described as wealthy enough to have the opportunity to live in this style. However, Üsküdar is not represented as a place that can be the centre of such an “*Alafranga*” life. In these novels there is only one Scutarian who developed a great passion for “*Alafranga*” life. That is Merakî Efendi. His attitude explains what a Scutarian should do if s/he gives up living like an “*Alaturka*” Ottoman, or in other words crosses the border shaped by Üsküdar should do: Simply to move away from Üsküdar.

### *Secondary characters*<sup>223</sup>

In these novels there are some people in the service of the above-mentioned well-off characters; such as gardeners, boatmen, drivers (*arabacı*) and porters etc.,

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<sup>222</sup> The best example for these kinds of Scutarian wealthy is Osman Bey, the male character of fantasy novel “*Dünyaya İkinci Geliş Yahut İstanbul’da Neler Olmuş*”. When he inherits his father’s wealth after unbelievable plots, he becomes the protector of Üsküdar. He pays the blood money of some persons who are condemned to death, marries off people, replaces poor boatmen’s old *kayiks* with new ones et cetera.

Because of the novel’s fantasy elements, such as Osman Bey and his beloved’s seven years imprisonment in a cave on a small island in the Marmara Sea or their finding of a treasure, spendthrift Osman Bey are not mentioned in the paragraph on the basic features of Scutarian riches in the novels. Moreover, the events that are narrated in the novel are taking place around 1805. But still, if it is necessary to underline some similarities between the above-mentioned characters lifestyles and Osman Bey’s, he also has lived in a mansion in Üsküdar (Ahmediye) before and after his imprisonment and his father has concubines (one of them would be his beloved and then his wife). [Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Dünyaya İkinci Geliş Yahut İstanbul’da Neler Olmuş*, (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2000)]

<sup>223</sup> For this part of the chapter, a great contribution is made by the conversations that I have had with Işık Tamdoğan-Abel who has already been studying on “The Crime and The Criminals in the Eighteenth century Üsküdar”. During these conversations, we were sometimes been quite surprised that there are some great similarities between the information provided by the eighteenth century’s *sicils* and nineteenth century’s novels and news. For example, according to both types of the sources, crimes and criminals are from quite similar social status and professions. However, in short, I would like to say that while writing this part of the chapter I thought about our conversations and the similarities between the information we exchanged. In other words, this part includes her interpretations as much as mine. Moreover, I really don’t know if she had not worked on the crime and the criminals in Üsküdar, whether I could have noticed the relationship between crimes and these secondary characters. I would like to thank her for allowing me to use some of these findings.

who are presented as important figures of the daily life in Üsküdar and constitute the main secondary roles in the novels.<sup>224</sup> They are usually mentioned in the context of rude behaviour or quarrels and thefts.

In the novel "*Araba Sevdası*" when Periveş Hanım gets off the ferry at Üsküdar, the throng that annoys her is composed of men belonging to the above-mentioned professions (except gardeniag).<sup>225</sup> Among these secondary characters, boatmen are the most frequently seen in the novels. When we consider that because of some topographical necessities that have already been mentioned in chapter 1 i.e. the centre of the district being on the coast, and that Üsküdar as a real part of the city is generally connected to the others by sea, it is much easier to imagine how important these boatmen were in the everyday life of the district. Moreover, in any scrutinised novel, Üsküdar is shown as the only place in which all the narrated events of the novel occurred. That means the characters at one time or another must be transported from Üsküdar to another part of the city or vice versa. Hence, boats and boatmen constitute one of the basic sets of the novels that take place in Üsküdar. However, like other secondary characters, they have quite a bad "register", including rude behaviour to their customers (especially in "*Yeniçeriler*"),<sup>226</sup> cheating customers (for example Bihruz Bey's money has been cheated a few times by the boatmen), attempting to rape (in "*Dünyaya İkinci Geliş*"<sup>227</sup>).

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<sup>224</sup> It may be possible to add concubines and maids in to this list. However, as has been mentioned, concubines' status is quite complex and moreover, maids and concubines have almost never been described in public spaces, as if they are an inseparable part of private life and an absolute part of the mansions. [for more information about the role of concubines and maids see Çiçek Özbek, "Türk Romanında Efendiler ve Hizmetçiler"]

<sup>225</sup> Rezaizade Mahmut Ekrem, *Araba Sevdası*, (İstanbul: İnkılâp Kitabevi, ND), p. 41.

"O mevkide bulunan kayıkçı, hamal, beygir sürücüsü kabîlinden birtakım esafil-i eşhas Periveş Hanımın etrafına toplanarak galiz galiz harfendazlıklarla nazenini rahatsız etmeye (...) başlamış idi "

<sup>226</sup> see especially pp. 178-179

<sup>227</sup> see pp. 52-55

There are basically two types of boatmen in these novels: The boatmen who work privately (they attend their boss and his household at the piers or in the cafés around the piers) and the boatmen who work for the public (they usually wait for customers at the piers, attack each other and harass the customer when s/he comes close to the piers). Some of the novels, especially “*Kambur*”, “*Dünyaya İkinci Geliş*”, and “*Araba Sevdası*”, provide a detailed description of the basic features of these characters. They are shown as quarrelsome, irritable and unreliable. Especially in the novel “*Kambur*”, it is underlined that they are immigrants and (as can be easily guessed) totally ignorant. According to one of the boatmen in this novel, the overwhelming majority of those who frequent one of the boatmen’s cafés, in which they chat and wait for their possible customers like the others, are from northern Anatolia (*Karadenizli*).<sup>228</sup> Moreover, these two boatmen’s families are living in their hometowns and they have to send any extra money home to them.<sup>229</sup> Besides, because of their families’ status they cannot be conceived simply as immigrants, since, while “ordinary” immigrants have a chance to settle in new residences, boatmen are left no choice but to live with the feeling of being lifelong immigrants.

Drivers (*arabacı*), like boatmen, can be divided into two basic categories: private drivers and “public drivers” who use carriages for rent (*kira arabası*). However, as opposed to the boatmen, the scrutinised novels do not provide enough material for us to draw a portrait of the drivers. They are almost completely silent. Moreover, the number of carriages and drivers that were undoubtedly important components of the crowd at the shore, should be increased with introduction of the

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<sup>228</sup> Ahmet Mithat Efendi, 1975, p. 135.

<sup>229</sup> Eighteenth century, *kadı* registers also include some suits that confirm the above-mentioned information that is derived from the novels. According to the registers, it appears that all of the boatmen were immigrants from northern Anatolia, the Balkans and many other places and if they married before they come to Istanbul, their wives and families were legally prohibited from moving to Istanbul. (*Üsküdar Kadı sicili No: 474 p. 74/3/B; 86/3/B*, from the database of Işık Tamdoğan-Abel)

car ferries between Kabataş and Üsküdar in 1872. As these ferries made it possible to go on trips in the city by carriage it meant many people living in other districts could go to Kadıköy and some recreation places such as Çamlıca in their own carriages, all of which firstly had to go to Üsküdar to cross the Bosphorus.<sup>230</sup> The carriage was not only a private transportation vehicle; thanks to it, a new economic sector, a new way of earning one's living was introduced. An important number of carriage factories and repair shops were founded in Istanbul. However, as can be understood from a remark by Andon, the private driver of Bihruz Bey, there was a repair shop in Kızıltoprak, but it was not complete in every aspect. The best one was in Feriköy. However, there was no place in Üsküdar to repair these type of new carriages.<sup>231</sup>

Although, in the novel "*Taaşuk-u Tal'at ve Fitnat*" it is underlined that Ali Bey has two carriages, the writer never describes Ali Bey while using these carriages for ostentation, like Felatun Bey and Bihruz Bey do. The Ottoman *Efendi*'s ("*Alaturka*" man) and "*Alafranga*" Bey's goals in using their carriages are clearly different. Moreover, it is interesting that there are not many scenes that describe an "*Alaturka*" man using a carriage. In the novel "*Felatun Bey ile Râkım Efendî*", Râkım Efendî has never been willing to travel around in the city by carriage. Moreover, he prefers not to go from one place to another by carriage unless he is obliged to do so. He only gets in a carriage going to and coming from the private

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<sup>230</sup> An expression in the novel "*Araba Sevdası*" also shows that it appears inevitable to pass from Üsküdar to go to Kadıköy by a carriage: "*Beyoğlu kira arabalarından bir lando Kadıköyü'ne bir hasta götürerek Üsküdar'a avdetle araba vapuruna muntaziran çeşmenin yanında durmakta idi*" [R. M. Ekrem, p. 40]

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 177-178.

"- Çarptı bizim araba... dingil na böyle çarpılmış bir tarafta...

- Ey sonra?...

- Korktum cenabını... evelki sefer ki Kızıltoprak gitti... marka bozuldu... nasın ki cenabını bilir...

(...)

....Beyden korktuğu için bozuğu derhal yapturmayı düşündü. Fakat Andon iyi bilirdi ki o işi Üsküdar'da yapacak ne boyacı, ne de bir demirci vardı."

lessons he is giving to the daughters of an English family, as they have paid some extra money for that purpose.<sup>232</sup> Moreover, while Felatun Bey goes to Kağıthane in a showy carriage (*kupa*), Rakım Efendi prefers to go there by caique. Besides, the fetish object of Bihruz Bey, is one of the most important “*Alafranga*” characters in the Turkish novels, is also the carriage. Maybe, as a result of the great difference between the above-mentioned “*Alafranga*” characters and the Scutarian characters, there is detailed information about the boatmen in these novels, while information on carriages and their drivers is totally lacking.

Porters and gardeners, like drivers, are extras, mentioned only by occupation in the novels. They have no names and no cues. Porters as a part of the ordinary life at the coast, are among the crowd that annoys Periveş Hanım. It does not seem absurd to think that they were immigrants like the boatmen. News about a robbery from “*Tercüman-ı Hakikat*” dated from 17 March 1899 could provide us with some clues about the origins and the records of the porters. This news is about a *sarraf*<sup>233</sup> who is robbed by two Kurdish porters (*Küfeci Kürdlerden*) according to witnesses.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Felatun Bey...*, p. 21.

<sup>233</sup> Moneychanger and moneylender.

<sup>234</sup> “Üsküdar’da yeni çeşme karşısında sarraflık etmekte olan Şeyh Camii şerifi mahallesi sakinlerinden Vidinli Âdem Efendi evvelki sabah saat on bir buçuk raddelerinde dükkânına gelmek üzere hânesinden çıkıp meyit kapısı nâm-ı mahâlden mürûr eylediği sırada İngiliz eczanesi önünde durmakta olan iki şahs-ı meçhûl bağteten mümaileyhin üzerine hücum ile yere çarpmışlar ve bunlardan birisi derhal ellerini tutup boğazına bastığı gibi diğeri de hâmil bulunduğu saldırmaya bitteşir Âdem Efendinin boynunda asılı bulunmakta olan çantanın kayışlarını keserek çantayı gasp ile orada bulunan selhane sokağına doğru firara başlamışlardır. Bu sırada mümaileyh Âdem Efendi cebinde bulunan revolverini çekerek arkalarından dört el endaht etmiş ise de merkumlar tahta perdeden bostana atlamış olduklarından isabet ettirememiştir.

Revolver sesini istimâ eden civar ahali derhal mahâl-i vakâya şitâb ederek gâsıbları takibe başlamışlardır. Gâsıblar pek ziyade sıkıştırılmış olduklarını görünce çantayı bostana attıktan maada ayaklarındaki yemenileri dahi bırakarak Evliyahoca Mahallesi imamı Hafız Ahmed Efendinin hânesi bahçesine atlayarak Boyacı Sokağı’ndan firara muvaffak olmuşlardır.

Mümaileyh Âdem Efendiye taarruz edildiği sırada gasıbların birisinin teşhir ettiği saldırma nasılsa kendi elini kesmiş olduğundan bostanın tahta perdelerinde ve İmam Ahmet Efendinin kapısı üzerinde kan lekeleri görülmüştür.

Bunların küfeci kürdlerden olduğu gerek Âdem Efendinin gerek sair görenlerin ifadesinden anlaşılmaktadır.

As can be seen in the paragraphs about the descriptions of the mansions, gardeners are generally shown as an ordinary part of everyday life in a mansion. In addition, in some novels, there are gardeners cultivating some gardens in and around Üsküdar and selling their crops in the markets and to some mansions in Üsküdar. For example Köse Mehmet, in “*Dünyaya İkinci Geliş*” is one of them.<sup>235</sup> However, in the novels and newspapers, gardeners, like all the above-mentioned secondary characters are also sometimes represented as potential criminals. For example, news in “*Tasvir-i Efkâr*” dated from 14 February 1864 tells us that two gardeners robbed the house in front of a garden in which one of them had worked and stayed, after they had murdered the landlady, Emine Hatun who was known as a rich woman.<sup>236</sup> In the

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*Bundan iki sene mukaddem bir akşam mümaileyh Âdem Efendi Hanesine gitmek üzere dükkânını kapamak için elindeki çantasını ittisalındaki attar dükânının önüne bırakmış ve bu sırada bir şahs-ı mechûl Âdem Efendinin çantasına müşâbih ve derûnunu portakal mamulü bir çantayı bırakıp Adem Efendi'nin çantasını alarak ferec-yâb-ı firâr olmuş idi.*

*Gâsibler memûrîn-i zabuta tarafından kemâl-i keremî ile taharrî olunmakta olduğundan kariben der-dest olunacakları memuldür. Kûfecilerden Veli ve Hasan nâm şahuslar maznunen taht-ı tevkîfe alınmış ve bu babda ta'mik-i tahkikat müsarat edilmiştir.”*

<sup>235</sup> Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Dünyaya İkinci...*, p. 28.

*“Köse Mehmet bahçenin mahsulâtından pek az bir miktarını ucuz bir baha ile Üsküdar cuma pazarında satıp mahsulâtından ekserisini Ahmedîye'de bir konağa götürüp gerek veresiye ve gerek peşin para ile satardı. Hatta bu dahi halk içinde darb-ı mesel yerine geçip malını satmak kaydında olmayanlara 'Herifin Köse Mehmet'in müşterilerinden daha yağlı müşterisi varken malını satmakta kasvet mi çeker?' derlerdi.”*

<sup>236</sup> “\*Cânib-i zabtıyyeden verilen ilm-i haberin hülâsasıdır\*”

*Üsküdar sakinelerinden Emine Hatun servet-i hissetle marûfe olarak hânesinde yalnızca ikamet etmekte olduğu halde bir gün ondan harice çıkmamış olduğundan ve kendisinin ise zaten her gün gezmek mutadî bulunduğundan komşuları merak ederek hâneyi açtırıp eşyasını karma karışık ve kendisini odanın bir köşesinde meyyit olduğu halde bulmuş ve keyfiyeti cânib-i hükûmete ledel-ihbar gönderilen tabib mahnukan vefat ettiğini haber vermiş olup mezkur hânenin arkası bostan olduğundan ve bu bostana nazır bir odanın penceresi kırılarak haneye oradan girildiği müşahede olunmuş ise de bostan tarhi ve içinde bulunan istintak olundukta bir serrişte alınamamıştı.*

*Geçenlerde Tahir isminde bir bahçevan ile Dimitri nâm bir kasap (şyreye?) gidecek olan Yunan vapuruna girmek için Üsküdar'dan bir kayığa râkip olduklarından ve orada dolaşmakta olan gümrük denizcilerinden biri üzerlerine vararak eşyalarını muayene eyledikte merkûm kasapta bir gümüş divat ve Tahir'de dahi yedi parça mücevher bulmuş olduğundan merkûmları cânib-i gümrüğe götürmekle ve eşyayı merkûmenin bunların elinde bulunması münasebet almamakla keyfiyetin tahkiki zamanında merkûmlar cânib-i zaptiyyeye gönderilip ledel-istintak evvela inkar seddinde bulunmuşlar ise de nihayet merkûm Dimitri ustası kasap Hristo'nun sandığını kırıp mezkûr divat ile 2600 kuruşunu sirkat ettiğini ikrar etmiştir. Merkûm Tahir ise eşyayı merkûmeyi mukaddemleri zikrolunan bostanda işleyip şimdi boşa bulunan İbrahim nam bahçevanın kendisine verdiğini ifade etmesiyle merkûm İbrahim dahi ahz ve tevkîf ile istintak olundukta kendisi mukaddema mezbûr bahçede işleyip o cihetle merkûmenin ahvalini bildiğinden ve şimdi açıkta kalarak merkûm Tahir'in yanında yatıp kalkmakta olduğundan beynlerinde merkûmeyi ehkak etmeye karar verip ikisi bir gece sokaktan bostana ve*

novel “*Dünyaya İkinci Geliş*”, while the writer tries to describe what a good person Osman Bey is, even according to the criminals in Üsküdar, he mentions gardener thefts, as if gardener theft was a well-known type.<sup>237</sup>

Undoubtedly, it does not seem reliable to arrive at an exact opinion about the people who lived in Üsküdar and were members of the above-mentioned professions, by using the novels and some news. However, I would like to underline that in this chapter, I am only interested in the representations of all the above-mentioned Scutarian characters in these texts and just trying to understand how they were envisaged. The above-mentioned secondary characters are generally represented as rough, unreliable and potential criminals. If there was a crime, especially related to robbery or burglary, suspicion usually fell on them. I think the key question is: Why were they so easily banded as criminals? Firstly, they were all immigrants, meaning being unknown, strange, suspicious person for the majority of the inhabitants. Moreover, their economic status also made them usual suspects especially in the committing of crimes related to money. They lived in *Bekarodaları* or if they could find a job, they probably used the accommodation opportunity provided by their employers (as the gardeners in the news and in the novels did).<sup>238</sup> Furthermore, it is a

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*oradan haneye aşarak merkümenin yattığı odaya gelip kapısını kapalı bulmuş olmalarıyla kendisini işgal için sofada bulunan kediyi bağırtmış oldukları cihetle biçare kadın kapıyı açmasıyla beraber merkûmlar içeriye girip Tahir'in yanında bulunan ip ile merkûmeyi boğmuş ve bade yüklükte bulunan sim zarf ve mercan tespih ve çubuk takımları ve sair bazı eşya ile 2 saat ve 2500 kuruş kadar para almış ve saatlerle parayı paylaşıp kendisinin yeri olmadığından eşyayı saire merkûm Tahir'de kalmış olduğunu ve sandığı kırdıkları sırada ellerinde bulunan mum sönererek kendisi yakmağa gittiği cihetle mücevherâtı mezkûreyi görmediğini beyan etmiş ve merkûm Tahir ise merkümenin hîn-i katlinde hazır bulunduğunu katiiyen inkar etmekte ise de elinde bulunan eşyayı merkûmun dahi bu maadada medhal ve müsârahatına müsâpet bulunmuştur.”*

<sup>237</sup> Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Dünyaya İkinci...*, p. 111.

“Kezâlik naklederler ki Çamlıca bağcılarından bir Hırvat mı, Boşnak mı her ne ise ki üç refikini sirkat için bir gece Memiş Bey'in hanesine davet eder.”

<sup>238</sup> In her study, Işık Tamdoğan-Abel also emphasises that the ordinary people had one more reason to get suspicious about these people: they could not control them, because they usually did not live in the quarters, but instead far from the inspecting eyes of the people. In other words they were twice outsiders and consequently suspicious.

well-known fact that, central and local administrations was always suspicious about the people living in these places and also wanted to get these places under control and limit the number of the immigrants.<sup>239</sup> Consequently, for these kinds of people, being considered a problem, or thought of as criminal seems to be part of an old story that must have been written in the popular memory of the city.

### III. 2. Üsküdar As Represented In The Novels

The main concern of this subchapter will be the representation of Üsküdar – as an urban space and as a part of the view of Istanbul- in the novels. During the following paragraphs, we are going to stroll through the Üsküdar of the novels. While walking, we are also going to look for possible answers to the following questions: How do the novels describe Üsküdar? What do they choose to mention in the urban space? To what do they give preference? Which kinds of urban elements are mentioned? And how are these elements described? What do they emphasise when describing Üsküdar as a part of the city view? Of course, not only buildings, views and places mentioned in the novels but also the words that are chosen or used while describing Üsküdar will also concern us.

Before beginning our stroll in Üsküdar, we must first get to Üsküdar. The only entrance to and exit from Üsküdar for all the novel characters is its coast. Only Bihruz Bey, who actually lives in a summerhouse in Çamlıca, sometimes prefers Kadıköy in going to and coming from the historical peninsula. If we forget the map, it is possible to think that we can go overland to Üsküdar only from Çamlıca,

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<sup>239</sup> see Ahmed Refik, *Onikinci Asr-ı Hicri'de İstanbul Hayatı (1689-1785)*, (Istanbul, Enderun Kitabevi,1988), p. 199.

Bağlarbaşı and Kadıköy. If we come from any other place, even Kuzguncuk, we must approach Üsküdar by sea. In the novels, no one goes to or comes from Kuzguncuk by land. For example, Fil Tahsin (“*Obur*”), who lives in Kuzguncuk has never gone overland to Üsküdar. Behçet Bey and Necati Efendi (“*Vah*”), who live in a village on the Bosphorus, always go to Üsküdar by sea. Moreover, sometimes they get off the ferry in Kuzguncuk (because from time to time these ferries did not stop by Üsküdar) and take a caique to reach Üsküdar. It is also possible to come to Üsküdar by carriage. As we know from the novels (especially “*Araba Sevdası*” and “*Vah*”), there is a pier for car ferries that ply between Kabataş and Üsküdar. Consequently we will see a chaotic crowd on this lively, bustling shore composed of people getting off the ferries and caiques, boatmen, and the carriages and their drivers. Some of them are getting off the car ferry and some of them are waiting for the next ferry, and some for their customers and last, there are porters, as were mentioned in the previous subchapter. However, during the night there is no one at the seashore except the boatmen, who are waiting for customers a few hours more, after the last journey of the ferries. At this time, the only signs of life along the shore are the cafés of the boatmen in which they chat and also gamble until late into the night.<sup>240</sup>

It is interesting that the main elements that fill the large square at the coast such as the three great Sultanic mosques and the market place (*Çarşı*) are only mentioned a few times in the novels. In these novels, only an expression in “*Obur*” reveals the existence of a mosque at the coast: “While they are passing through Şemsi Paşa (by a caique) the azan is being called from the Ayazma mosque”.<sup>241</sup> In

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<sup>240</sup> see Ahmet Mithat Efendi, 1975, p. 91-92.

<sup>241</sup> Ahmet Mithat Efendi, “*Obur*”, in *Letaif-i Rivayat*, (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 2001), p. 390.

addition, the calling of an Armenian locksmith from the market in Üsküdar (*Üsküdar Çarşısı*) in the novel "*Dünyaya İkinci Geliş*"<sup>242</sup> and in the novel "*Vah*" the jealous husband, Talat's walking up to the *Üsküdar Çarşısı* when he leaves his house in anger,<sup>243</sup> are the only events in these novels that testify the existence of a market place at the coast. When we read that Köse Mehmet, a gardener in the novel "*Dünyaya İkinci Geliş*", has sold his produce in the Friday bazaar in Üsküdar,<sup>244</sup> we become aware of the existence of the great Friday bazaar of Üsküdar. So, why did all the writers almost ignore the existence of these basic structures of the coast while they were describing it? It does not seem possible to claim that the structure of the novels made it impossible for them to mention these elements of social life and urban fabric. Maybe it is true that most of the events that are described in the novels occur in houses and private space and consequently the writers did not need to describe external aspects. However, as will be mentioned, they did very detailed descriptions of Çamlıca, Bağlarbaşı (and Pera), with their theatres, buildings and shops. Moreover, to include many irrelevancies about the environment in which the characters are living or just passing by in order merely to inform the reader, was not an unusual thing for most of the writers of the period (and especially for A. Mithat) who had conceived the novel as a way for enlightening people. If this is so, why then would they persistently chose not to these basic elements of the coast in Üsküdar in their descriptions or at least not to mention them in their novels? I suppose the answer is hidden in the basic function of the Üsküdar coast at that time as it is still is today, i.e. as a transit port that connects the Asian and European sides of the city and thus provides ease of transportation. As a result of its important role in transportation

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<sup>242</sup> Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Dünyaya İkinci...*, p. 104.

<sup>243</sup> Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Vah*, p. 185.

<sup>244</sup> Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Dünyaya İkinci...*, p. 28.

in the city, at first sight, the coast was probably seen as a place that was dominated by boatmen, drivers and porters rather than its local market and urban monuments. Because of that, probably, it has taken its place in the popular urban memory with its chaotic crowd. Also, for the writers, the most characteristic feature of the Üsküdar coast and its square, was its chaotic crowd composed of the people related to transportation activities, rather than the things such as the local market and mosques, bazaars that also existed in many other places in the city. Consequently, when the writers mentioned the coast, they were easily contented with describing the most dominant feature of it.

The first things that attract our attention as we begin to penetrate the district, are its narrow, winding steep streets and the many mansions (*Konak*) and gardens between these streets. In the novel "*Vah*" when Behçet Bey follows Ferdane Hanım from the pier at Üsküdar, she goes through these winding streets to reach her house in Şemsi Paşa.<sup>245</sup> To go to Üzeyr Bey's mansion in İcadiye it is necessary also to climb the hill.<sup>246</sup> Although, it is possible to show a few more examples that include some more descriptions of the shapes of the district's streets', there are not many examples and they actually do not emphasise the shape of the streets and do not aim to attract the reader's attention to them. As is emphasised in chapter 1, the main topographical features of Üsküdar are not very different from the rest of the city. Narrow, winding steep streets constitute the basic feature of the city's urban fabric and usually events related in novels usually occur in private space, especially houses. The shape of the streets was not peculiar to Üsküdar and so the writers probably did not need to give detailed descriptions of these streets.

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<sup>245</sup> Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Vah*, p. 28.

<sup>246</sup> Ahmet Mithat Efendi, 1975, p. 78.

In complete contrast to this lack of street description, as can be seen in the previous subchapter, it is possible to find many detailed descriptions of the houses. With the exception of Ferdane Hanım, all the characters live in mansions. All of these mansions have (or at least are close to) a garden (*Bostan*). In fact, not only according to the novels but also according to the advertisements in the newspaper “*Ceride-i Havadis*”, all the houses have large gardens.<sup>247</sup> If we think about the possibility that, large expensive mansions could be the subject of advertisements, it seems possible to claim that they cannot represent the majority of the houses in Üsküdar. Despite of this, we can expect to see many mansions and gardens in Üsküdar. Even in the plans of Pervititch dated from late 1930s, it is still possible to see many large mansions with gardens, vineyards and orchards

“*İntibah*” reminds us of a rather frightening function of these mansions: Abdullah Efendi, having decided to murder Ali Bey on behalf of Mehpeyker, chooses a mansion with a large vineyard (*bağ köşkü*) as the place for the murder.<sup>248</sup> In the novel, it is also underlined that this mansion had been constructed as a suitable place for dissoluteness and murder with its secret compartments and passages.<sup>249</sup> The

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<sup>247</sup> I would like to quote some of these advertisements as examples. All of these examples has been published in the years 1846-1848 in “*Ceride-i Havadis*” on its fourth (the last) page that is allotted for advertisements:

“*Üsküdar'da Nuh kuyusu civarında derununda üç oda ve bir mutbah ve fırın ve samalnik ve bir uşak odası olan Basmacı El Hac Salih Ağanın yirmi beş dönüm miktarı bağı satılık olduğu ilan olunmuştur.*

*Yine Üsküdar'da Paşa Kapısı karşısındaki harem ve selamlık altı oda ve iki kuyu ve bin arşın miktarı bahçesi olan hane satılık olup sahibi dahi mezkûr Salih Ağaydı ki haber verilmiştir.” (Ceride-i Havadis, no: 319, p. 4)*

“*Üsküdar'da Atik Valide Sultan Camii Şerifi civarında harem ve selamlık on bir oda ve bir hamam ve mutbah ve iki adet ma-i lezizi ve bir ufak kuyu ve derununda bir köşk ve bir bostan kuyusu olarak iki bin beş yüz arşın miktarı bahçesi olan Mesud Efendi'nin hanesi satılık olup istekli olan zevatı karşısındaki komşunun gezdireceği ve pazarlık dahi Beşiktaş'ta Çarıkçılar kethüdası El Hac Mustafa Ağanın kahvesinde olacağı bildirilmiştir.” (Ceride-i Havadis, no: 317, p.4)*

“*Üsküdar'da İhsaniye mahallesinde deniz üzerinde üç oda ve bir sandık odasıyla iki yüz arşın miktarı bahçeyi şamil olan hane on beş bin guruşa satılık olup meftah-ı hanemiz kör kurbunda kain kahvesi İsmail Ağa'nın dükkanında olduğu ilan olunmuştur.” (Ceride-i Havadis, no: 386, p.4)*

<sup>248</sup> Namık Kemal, p. 205.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 213.

existence of a large vineyard is another feature of this mansion that makes it a good choice as a murder scene. A man called "Hırvat" (Croat) who is given the job of murdering Ali Bey by Abdullah Efendi, says that even if Ali Bey screams no one could hear him, since there is no house and no street around the mansion.<sup>250</sup> Also, as can be seen in the murder and burglary news that are quoted in the previous subchapter, large gardens and vineyards, appear as the important places for these crimes. The men who robbed the *sarraf* used the gardens to hide in and escape. And the men who murdered Emine Hatun and burglarised her house also used the large garden behind the house to enter without being seen. It is of course not surprising why these places were used for or mentioned in relation with crimes.

They were lonely and must have been very difficult to patrol. In the last analysis, city means a place that is controlled by the (local) government or at least by its own inhabitants. During the nineteenth century local administration tried to enlarge the streets, get rid of the cul-de-sacs and transform the old urban fabric to a new orthogonal one as far as possible. Its efforts, especially in the walled city after the great fires,<sup>251</sup> and the fabric of the quarter Selimiye that was founded together with the military barracks in 1801 clearly show the main aim of the local administration. Moreover the newly developing urbanisation culture in Istanbul was calling for the illumination of the streets. According to an *irade-i seniye* that was declared on 17 April 1864, illumination indicates development and civilisation, and is a necessary part of crime prevention.<sup>252</sup> In this *irade*, the government required

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<sup>250</sup> Ibid., p. 217.

"«- Efendim! Beklemeye ne hacet! yanına çıkışımla işinin bittiği bir olur. Velev ki bağırsın! sokakta adam, etrafta komşu mu var ki duyacak? »"

<sup>251</sup> see Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, (University of California Press, 1993), pp. 52-64.

<sup>252</sup> quoted in İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimatdan Cumhuriyete Yerel Yönetim Geleneği*, (Istanbul, Hil Yayın, 1985), p. 199.

firstly, civil servants and later the entire population to put a kerosene lamp in front of their houses.<sup>253</sup> Later, in 1891, the local administration signed a contract with the (coal) gas company, according to which the company would as a start, place a total of seventy lanterns, one every fifty metres, in the streets of the municipalities of Kadıköy and Üsküdar.<sup>254</sup> In short, they wanted to make the city a safer place that could be easily controlled. However, large gardens, vineyards and orchards were naturally outside these new arrangements and continued to constitute unsafe and ill-omened (*tekinsiz*) areas of the district (and of the entire city). Maybe it is true that these areas provided great opportunity for “criminals” to hide, escape or commit crime without being seen. However, it can also be true that, while safety had become one of the most important concepts of urban planning, and all public space was being made safer, the inhabitants could perceive large gardens, vineyards and orchards as insecure uncontrolled places. So, the newspapers and the novels advise us to avoid these areas, especially at night.

In these novels, there is nothing more in central Üsküdar. As with the market place and the mosques in the centre, no buildings such as schools, dervish lodges, turbehs, fountains, public baths etc. are mentioned in these texts. The military barracks in Selimiye, the graveyards (except Karacaahmed) and the only park at Doğancılar Square are not mentioned either. Consequently, we can rapidly climb to

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*“Sokakların gece kandil ile aydınlatılması, birinci dercede mamuriyet ve medeniyete delâlet eder ve amme menfaatinden olup, bir takım uğursuz eşhasın kabahatine meydan bırakmamak bakımından zabıtaca dahi gereklidir”*

<sup>253</sup> Ibid., p. 199.

<sup>254</sup> Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediye*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1995), p. 2655.

*“İkinci madde: Sâhib-i imtiyâz Kadıköyü ve Üsküdar dâ’ire-i belediyeleri dahilinde beynlerindeki mesafeleri ellişer metreden dûn olmamak üzere meccânen yetmiş aded fener ikadına mukâvelenâmenin beşinci maddesine tevfiken gazhaneyi işletmeğe mübaşeretini tarihinden itibaren mecbur olup bunlardan başak ileride dâ’ire-i belediyelerce lüzum görüldüğü takdirde vaz’ olunacak fenerler beynindeki mesafe dahi ellişer metre olacaktır.”*

Bağlarbaşı and then Çamlıca, seeing only a few police stations, the jail in Paşakapısı and the insane asylum in Toptaşı.<sup>255</sup>

Bağlarbaşı and Çamlıca are the places outside central Üsküdar. In the novels it is easy to see how they are different from central Üsküdar. While central Üsküdar is represented basically as a residential area in which there is nothing but houses and gardens, Bağlarbaşı and Çamlıca are described as being among the preferred meeting points of the entire city. With their parks, theatres and peddlers these places are more comprehensively described than Üsküdar. In the novel “*İntibah*” Ali Bey compares the crowd in Çamlıca on Fridays and Sundays with that in Beyoğlu.<sup>256</sup> Just as the liveliness of Beyoğlu made it the most important setting for the period’s novels, probably the crowds in Çamlıca and Bağlarbaşı also made them much more attractive than central Üsküdar for the writers.<sup>257</sup> Moreover, these kinds of areas are necessary for the plot of the novels. Because most of the novels are basically based on love stories and these areas were one of the few places where men and women could meet.

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<sup>255</sup> The insane asylum in Üsküdar is only mentioned in the novel “*Vah*”, with a sarcastic expression of Behçet Bey: “*Ne o? Korkarım sen aklını bozuyorsun Necati! Vakıa seni filosof bir adam tanır idiysem de mecnun tanımazdım. Toptaşı na şurada yakındır.*” [Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Vah*, p. 10.] In this context, Toptaşı designates “*Valide-i Atik Darü’ş-şifası*” that has been constructed as a hospital in 1583 by Mimar Sinan and converted into an insane asylum during the reign of Abdülhamit II. [Haskan, pp. 1251 – 1254.] It was one of the most important insane asylums in the city and, it appears that the sarcastic meaning of the expression “to send someone to Toptaşı” was the same with the contemporary idiomatic expression “to send someone to Bakırköy”.

The jail is mentioned also in the same novel. After Necati Efendi fought with the men who annoyed Ferdane Hanım, he is arrested in the jail in Paşakapısı. [Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Vah*, p. 348.] There is no any other novel that mentions or touches on the existence of these buildings in Üsküdar.

<sup>256</sup> Namık Kemal, p. 46.

<sup>257</sup> Especially Beyoğlu as a meeting point of the city was also the place where the writers could observe many kinds of people. In the novel “*Müşahedat*” A. Mithat writes as if he would explain the cause of the strong relation between the novels and Beyoğlu: “*Şu Beyoğlu ne yaman memlekettir! (...)* *Hangi tarafa bakılsa bir roman görülür. Hangi adama tesadüf edilse mutlaka bir romanla alakası vardır.*” [quoted in Parla, pp. 74-75.]

In the novel “*Vah*”, as Behçet Bey follows Ferdane Hanım, she enters a house in Fındıklı. While Behçet Bey waits for her in a café in Fındıklı and he thinks, “I can wait here till two or three o’clock at night, until the café closes. After that, in any case she would not cross the Bosphorus by sea. After three o’clock, I can go to Beyoğlu and spend the night in a hotel. Tomorrow morning at daybreak, I can come back to the café and continue to wait.”<sup>258</sup> Behçet Bey then follows Ferdane Hanım until she arrives at her house in Üsküdar. When he comes back to the piers he realises that it is too late to find a ferry or even a caique to go to his village. Moreover, this time it is not possible to spend the night in a hotel. The writer expresses this as follows: “What can he do now? There is no good hotel in Üsküdar!”<sup>259</sup> This is not only because of the residential feature of the district. As is underlined in subchapter 2.3, although there were many khans in Üsküdar, there was no European style hotel. In other words, as can be understood from the “good (*muntazam*) hotel” expression of the writer, the accommodation opportunities in Üsküdar were not suitable for a chic “*Alafranga*” person, like Behçet Bey.

However, Behçet, thinks about another possibility: that of climbing to Bağlarbaşı. As is underlined in a chapter “*Bağlarbaşı ve Necati*” of the novel, it was the most brilliant of times in Bağlarbaşı.<sup>260</sup> There were theatres and outdoor cafés

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<sup>258</sup> Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Vah*, p. 22.

“Gece saat ikiye üçe kadar âdeta kahve kapanıncaya kadar beklerim. Ondan sonra da hanım çıkıp gece yarılari denize binecek değil a! Saat üçten sonra şuradan Beyoğlu’na çıkar bir otelde yatarım. Sabahleyin seher vakti yine gelip beklerim.”

By the way, the mentioned time is “*Alaturka* time”. According to “*Alaturka* time” after the sunset a new day starts. Two or three o’clock in summer should be around ten o’clock pm.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

“Şimdi ne yapısın? Üsküdar’da öyle muntazam otel falan yok ki!”

<sup>260</sup> Since, A. Mithat implies the entertainments in the mansion of Mustafa Fazıl Paşa (1829-1875) as a sign of the shiny period of Bağlarbaşı, it is possible to suppose that this period was between the late 1860’s and early 1870’s. [for more information about this mansion and Mustafa Fazıl Paşa see Haskan, pp. 1390-1391]

(*gazino*) which means entertainment till late into the night in Bağlarbaşı . That is why Behçet Bey chooses to go to Bağlarbaşı to spend the night.<sup>261</sup>

One of the basic meeting points of characters such as Ali Bey and his friends (in “*İntibah*”), Bihruz Bey and Periveş Hanım (in “*Araba Sevdası*”) and Necati Efendi and Ferdane Hanım (in “*Vah*”) is Çamlıca. It was, like Bağlarbaşı, a place of recreation and entertainment and was especially crowded on Fridays and on Sundays. However, during the rest of the week, Çamlıca was famous for its natural beauty and especially its amazing view of Istanbul.<sup>262</sup> That view causes Ali Bey to love Çamlıca at the beginning and Behçet Bey to think about going there to watch the sunrise after the entertainments in Bağlarbaşı.<sup>263</sup> Briefly, we can put an end to our trip in Üsküdar with this glorious city view, Çamlıca’s most important feature, written of again and again in the tourist guides that are scrutinised in the following subchapter.

It is now time to come back to the coast and depart from Üsküdar. While leaving, let us talk about its own view from the sea or from other parts of the city. To do that, it is necessary to concentrate on how the view of Üsküdar was described in these novels. I think these descriptions by using only a few words or sentences are the best expressions which show the place of Üsküdar in the imagined geography of the city.

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<sup>261</sup> Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Vah*, p. 28.

“Pazar akşamları Bağlarbaşı’nda şenlik olur. Oraya kadar giderim. Zarurî ve mecburî bir eğlenti yaparım. Ama orada dahi yatacak bir yer bulunmazsa geceyi dahi sabaha kadar uyanık geçiririm. Zaten geceler kaç saat ki? Büyük bir kısmı tiyatro, gazino falan eğlenceleriyle geçer; birkaç saati de nasıl olsa geçiririm”

<sup>262</sup> In “*İntibah*” to describe the view that could be seen from Çamlıca Namık Kemal writes: “*İstanbul* denilen mecmua-i bedayiin hazi olduğu her türlü nevadiri bir bakışta gösterecek bir nokta ise Çamlıca’dır: Boğaziçi’nde bir büyük orman veya bir küçük körfez dahi yoktur ki Çamlıca’nın pamal-ı nezareti olmasın. Payitahtımızın Beyoğlu gibi, Galata gibi, Babıâli gibi, Sultan Bayezit gibi hangi mamur ciheti görülür ki Çamlıca’nın nazar-i temaşasından kendisini saklayabilsin. İstanbul’da tesisat-i atikave ebniye-i meşhureden hiç biri var mıdır ki Çamlıca’dan tasvirini almak mümkün olmasın?” [Namık Kemal, pp. 36-37.]

<sup>263</sup> Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Vah*, p. 28.

“Hatta Çamlıca’ya doğru aheste aheste bir gezinti yapsam bile sabahı ederim. Bahusus ki Çamlıca’dan tulû-ı şemsi seyretmek dahi haylice safalı olur”

Mansur, the main character of Mehmed Murad's famous novel "*Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*", is an idealist intellectual who describes himself as a Turk and an Ottoman. On arriving in Istanbul by ship (*Varna Postası*) having completed his education in France, he describes the view of all parts of the city from the sea. He firstly details the mosques of the city. Then he describes districts' physical appearance or just mentions their names. While describing their appearance, he also uses some expressions that include some opinions not directly related to their appearance. For example, he names Moda and Fenerbahçe(si) as rivals of Sarayburnu and he describes the Princes islands as living pleasantly in a sweat mist. In describing Üsküdar, he focuses on its cypress trees and uses the adjective "moving" (*hazin*) to characterise the view.<sup>264</sup>

Ahmet Cemil, the main character of the novel "*Mai ve Siyah*" (by Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil), also describes the view of Istanbul as he departs by ship. According to Ahmet Cemil, Beyoğlu looks as if it is trying to escape and hide; over the hills of Istanbul (i.e. the historical peninsula), the imposing silverlike heads of the mosques rise, their minarets like fountain heads wishing to burst forth into the sky; Fener and Moda seem as if they would like to separate from land and drift into the sea; the Princes Islands constantly float, now apart, now together; Çamlıca (as usual) is watching the Marmara. In his description there is only one district not on the move and has no desire to move. That is Üsküdar. It only receives the colour, as exactly it is presented by the sunset. It does not, as Fener and Moda do, wish to separate from

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<sup>264</sup> Mehmed Murat, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 1999), p. 16.

*"İşte servilere bürünmüş hazin Üsküdar, Çamlıca, Kadıköyü!  
İşte Sarayburnu, işte rakipleri bulunan Moda ve Fenerbahçesi!  
İşte tatlı bir duman içerisinde keyif süren adalar!"*

Although, it seems like the above-mentioned description of Üsküdar (as a place with cypresses characterised by its sadness) also concerns Çamlıca and Kadıköy, it should be conceived as only designating Üsküdar. At least Çamlıca, as can be easily understood from its name was known with its pine forest not the cypresses.

the land, nor tries to hide itself like Beyoğlu does. Nor does it rise its head to the sky as Istanbul does. Üsküdar is in the background of the view, made red as all its windows reflect the last light of the evening sun.<sup>265</sup>

This description of Üsküdar was not peculiar only to the novel "*Mai ve Siyah*". It was quite a common portrayal. The portrayal of Üsküdar in "*Felatun Bey ile Rakım Efendi*"<sup>266</sup> is quite similar to it and the line "*Az surer gerçi fakir Üsküdar'ın saltanatı*" in Yahya Kemal's poem "*Hayâl Şehir*" also refers to the same portrayal.<sup>267</sup> He implies, it is probably the only moment when the city's eyes turn towards Üsküdar.

While some districts that appear in Ahmet Cemil's description of the city view, are portrayed in a detailed manner (i.e. with their quarters, streets, upward slopes et cetera) some of them are only mentioned by names. While İhsaniye's windows, red at the time of sunset represent Üsküdar, Galata, Beyoğlu and Cihangir are described one by one in detail. In the final analysis, he is describing the city he knows and is leaving. The districts and the quarters he had frequented, have more of a chance of finding a detailed place in his city view than others, which had in any case been nothing more than a part of the view during the novel. He goes to the

<sup>265</sup> Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Mai ve Siyah*, (Istanbul: İnkılap ve Aka Kitabevleri, 1980), p. 347.

"Uzaklaşıkça, karşısında Cihangir tepesinden denize doğru inen bayır, küçük renkli taş parçalarından üzerine bir tablo işlenmiş uzun, yüksek bir duvar şeklinde yükseliyor; öteden parça parça kaçarak saklanıyor gibi görünen Beyoğlu sırtıyla Galata yokuşlarının üzerinden kalkmış da ne olup bittiğini öğrenmeye çalışan bir baş gibi yangın kulesi iri gözleriyle bakıyor, öte tarafta İstanbul tepelerinin üzerinde camilerin birer gümüş miğferle örtülü gösterişli başları yükseliyor, minarelerin semalara fişkırmak isteyen birer beyaz fiskiye şeklinde uzanan ince boyları yer yer akşamın esmer havası içinde sanki titreyordu.

Beride güneşin son ziyalarıyla tutuşmuş camlarıyla kırmızılıklara boyanan İhsaniye, Üsküdar, daha yüksekte yeşil tepelerin üzerine eteklerini sererek Marmaraya bakan Çamlıca, biraz daha ileride topraklardan ayrılarak kendisini denize salıvermek istiyormuş zannedilen Fener, Moda; vapur ilerledikçe vaziyetlerini değiştiren –yerlerinden oynuyorlarmış, bazen birbirlerine sokularak, bazen birbirlerinden kaçışarak dalgaların içinde yüzüyorlarmış kuruntusunu veren- Adalar..."

<sup>266</sup> Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Felatun Bey...*, 95.

"Onlar ise ezana on dakika kalarak tamam Tophane önlerinde bulunup güneşin son ziyaları Üsküdar'ın ne kadar camı varsa cümlesini nûr-i zerrine gark etmiş olması süret-i lâtifisini dahi temaşa ederek tamam ezanı çeyrek geçiyor idi ki, bunlar hanelere vasil oldu."

<sup>267</sup> See the last footnote of chapter 2.2.

Taksim Park with his friends to read poems “toward the picture of Üsküdar that is looking to the sea”.<sup>268</sup> Üsküdar here again is in a position that is the passive background of a view.

I would like to add on a speculative note that although this portrayal was primarily a description of natural beauty it could also be interpreted as a farewell to things of old, that are fading from view, under the last rays of the sun. In the above-mentioned descriptions, one more thing is also interesting. Most of them are describing a view of Üsküdar from Galata and from its surroundings. Üsküdar was opposite Galata, not only geographically, but also as an image. Maybe, because of that, when A. Hamdi Tanpınar wakes up suddenly on a foggy Istanbul night and finds Üsküdar completely lost from view, he feels sad, like a person who has lost his image in the mirror.<sup>269</sup> Can Üsküdar be conceived as a mirror image of Beyoğlu (or vice versa)? They need each other to exist, yet move in opposing directions.

Üsküdar is one of the three main parts of the city that has never had the leading role, in contrast to Galata. As Yahya Kemal writes, it is Üsküdar that has seen the conquest of Istanbul.<sup>270</sup> It completes Istanbul and watches it. It provides a magnificent sunset view for the entire city, except itself. It possesses places from where all the beauty of the city can be ideally observed. There are not various descriptions of Üsküdar view in the scrutinised texts. Throughout the years, it has not changed much. The writers have not referred to its streets, its imperial mosques or any other urban monuments or governmental buildings such as the military barracks in Selimiye. It has been called “moving”/“sad” (*hüzünlü*) and the portrayal of it has

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<sup>268</sup> Uşaklıgil, p. 41.

<sup>269</sup> Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Tanpınar'dan Hasan-Âli Yücel'e Mektuplar*, (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1997), p. 68.

<sup>270</sup> Beyatlı, pp. 28-29.

always been dominated by the cypresses of its great cemetery and its view at the moment of sunset. As can be obviously seen in the expression of Ahmet Cemil, it was perceived as the only part of the city view that did not move (even slightly).

### - III. 3. The Üsküdar of/for European Visitors

In this sub-chapter we will try to find out, mainly by referring to tourist guides and some travel books, how Üsküdar was seen by the European visitors to the city and how it was presented to them. Although these foreign writers made some mistakes and had a habit of looking for and exaggerating the oriental features in eastern countries, it still should be considered that, the eye of the foreigner had an ability to detect some different and original aspects of these places, which were not so easy for the insiders to notice. Moreover, guidebooks, which have been written in order to present countries, cities, towns et cetera to tourists who have got limited time, aim especially to emphasise the cultural, physical and architectural originalities of the places. Consequently to scrutinise Istanbul guides, may give us an idea about features that distinguish Üsküdar from other parts of the city. However, it should be kept in mind that these features will be mostly the things that would be interesting for a European tourist.

Probably because of the profusion of touristic sites in the historical peninsula, Üsküdar is not much mentioned in the tourist guides. Furthermore, in these guides, it is possible to come across expressions such as “ The village itself presents no attraction.”<sup>271</sup> In the chapters on Üsküdar, almost all the scrutinised guides mention

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<sup>271</sup> Coufopoulos Demetrius, *A Guide to Constantinople*, (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1910), p. 179.

the legends about the etymological origin of its name, Leander's Tower and the legends concerning it, the Sultanic mosques, their locations and basic architectural features. They suggest a course for their readers to follow while strolling through Üsküdar, as for example in "*Konstantinopel Balkanstaaten, Kleinasien, Archipel, Cypren*" the most comprehensive course covers Çamlıca – Haydarpaşa - Büyük Mezaristan (i.e Karacaahmed) and the Howling Dervishes' Lodge (*Rufai Tekkesi*).<sup>272</sup> Before describing these places and the possible methods of transport that can be used to reach them, they underline Üsküdar's "narrow and ill paved streets", implying that they are the result of its oriental character. As is known, many European travellers also mention this feature of the roads of Üsküdar as a characteristic feature of the entire city. As with most of the guides that consistently emphasise this, Burnaby, who passed through on his way to Anatolia, also named the dirty lanes and filthy streets as the main feature of Üsküdar.<sup>273</sup>

A visit to Çamlıca, as already emphasised in the previous subchapter, was basically necessary to get the best view of the city. The tourist guides and the travel books rarely describe Çamlıca, and are usually content with only portraying its view and praising this view effusively. In other words the view was the only thing that needed to be seen in, actually from, Çamlıca. Thus, Bædeker could advise a visit to *Frenk Tepesi*, from which there was an almost equally wonderful view, to the tourists who did not have time to go to Çamlıca.

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For a similar expression see *Voyageur en Orient*: "Après le grand incendie de 1872, la ville de Scutari été presque entièrement reconstruite sur le même plan, de sorte qu'en dehors de son admirable situation, elle n'a, par elle même, rien de bien attrayant." [*Voyageur en Orient* (Constantinople: Cervati & C, 1912), p. 50.]

<sup>272</sup> Karl Bædeker, *Konstantinopel, Balkanstaaten, Kleinasie, Archipel, Cypren*, (Leipzig: Verlag von , 1914), p. 221.

<sup>273</sup> Frederick Burnaby , *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 27.

"Presently, leaving behind the dirty lanes and filthy streets, the main features of Scutari, we emerged upon the open country"

Karacahmed, called *Büyük Mezaristan*, is usually defined as the biggest cemetery of the city and even of the East. The guides perceive it as an important component of Üsküdar. For example, according to the "*Voyageur en Orient*" "the thing that gives Üsküdar its own character as a grand town of Islamizm is this large cemetery."<sup>274</sup> A visit to this cemetery is of primary importance in becoming acquainted with the graveyards of the East. It is also essential to see very interesting gravestones and to witness the splendour of cypresses, seen as emblems of immortality because of their evergreen foliage. Every writer who mentions this graveyard also tries to explain why it is so huge. They usually point to its location (on the Asian side of the city) as the main reason. For example Walsh writes as follows:

"Below this is the vast cemetery, the largest necropolis perhaps in the world, extending its cypress shade for three miles in length. It is increased to its present size from the eagerness of the Turks in Europe to occupy a grave in it. They have been long under an impression that they will be driven out of Constantinople, and sent back to the country from whence they came, and with this anticipation they are anxious that their bones should be laid in it."<sup>275</sup>

Some other writers' views do not emphasise the implied idea in Walsh's expression that can be summarised as follows "Turks are not European and in someday they will be sent to their home lands." They show an other reason that also seems illogical:

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<sup>274</sup> *Voyageur en Orient*, p. 50.

"Mais ce qui donne à Scutari son caractère particulier de Grand ville de l'islamisme, c'est le Bouyouk Mézaristan..."

<sup>275</sup> Robert Walsh, *A Residence at Constantinople* (in two volumes), (London: Richard Bentley, 1838), vol. II, p. 297.

“Because of the Moslem preference for burial on the side of the water nearest the holy cities of Mecca and Medina Karacahmed is the most used cemetery of the city.”<sup>276</sup>

There are also some texts that use both these expressions. For example according to the “*Handbook For Travelers in Constantinople, Brûsa, and the Troad*”:

“The cemetery is favourite burial-place for the Turks, who love to be buried in the land of Asia, from whence they came, and in which are the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina; and there are many fine tombs.”<sup>277</sup>

Another point about the cemetery, mentioned in almost all the scrutinised guides “is a dome resting on six columns, which marks the resting place of the favourite charger of Mahmud II”<sup>278</sup>. It appears that, drawing attention to the “strange” “oriental” behaviour and facts was the primary aim of these writers. It was not the result of simply being a tourist and thus noticing differences; it was also a result of the orientalist perspective of these authors, which can be obviously seen in

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<sup>276</sup> Coufopoulos, p. 181.

<sup>277</sup> *Handbook For Travelers in Constantinople...*, p. 114.

Norwegian writer and traveller H. C. Andersen writes almost the same things “Türkler Kendilerini *Avrupa*'da yabancı hissettiklerinden ebedi huzura anayurtlarında kavuşmak istemişler; İstanbul'un enbüyük kabristanı *Asya* yakasında *Üsküdar*'dadır.” [K. Hamsun & H. Andersen, *İstanbul'da İki İskandinav Seyyah*, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1998), p. 113.] According to, Countess Dash the reason behind this attitude was a widely believed prediction that states Turks will be very definitely driven out from Europe and they just trying to guarantee peace for their bones and souls [Countess Dash, “Une Amère Mystification –extrait de Memoire des Autres (1896-1897)” in *İstanbul Rêves de Bosphore*, T. Muhidine & A. Quella-Villéger (ed.), (Paris: Omnibus, 2001), p. 71.] Hans Peter Laqueur also underlines this prevalent opinion in his book “*Hüve'i-Baki*” that is about Ottoman cemeteries and gravestones. [see Hans-Peter Laqueur, *Hüve'i Baki*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997), p. 9]

<sup>278</sup> *Handbook for Travelers in Constantinople, Brûsa, an the Troad*, (London: John Murray, 1900), p. 114 ; also see P. A. Dethier, *Der Bosphor und Constantinopel*, (Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1876), p. 79 and *Voyageur en Orient*, p. 51.

their above-quoted explanations about the location of the great cemetery. To believe these kinds of rumours it was clearly necessary to be ignorant of the well-known orders that forbid forming a graveyard in the walled city and to totally forget the many Ottoman sultans (most of whom were also caliphs) that had been buried on the European side of the city.

The subject of the "Howling Dervishes' Lodge" constitutes the largest part of the chapter on Üsküdar, especially in the guides. It includes a description of the lodge's location, the architectural features of its buildings and a detailed depiction of the religious ceremony, which took place every Thursday. That is why all tourist guides advise Thursday as the best day to visit Üsküdar. The "*Voyageur en Orient*" underlines that there were some places reserved for the tourists in this lodge and according to Coufopoulos admission was 5 piastres per head (in 1910). As can be clearly understood from the above-mentioned, it was the religious ceremony that had become a touristic activity and furthermore, the greatest tourist attraction in Üsküdar.

Three of the scrutinised tourist guides that were published in London and British travellers all mention Haydarpaşa only in connection with "the British Cemetery where many soldiers who died during the Crimean War are buried".<sup>279</sup> These books were written for English readers and as is written in "*Hand Book for Travellers in Turkey in Asia*", in Üsküdar "the most touching sight to an English traveller is the *English Burial-ground*."<sup>280</sup> Furthermore, Georgiana Max Muller who came to Istanbul in 1893 to visit her son who was on duty in the British embassy, describes Üsküdar as a place in which the British cemetery exists.<sup>281</sup> Her description

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<sup>279</sup> Coufopoulos, p. 181.

<sup>280</sup> *Handbook for Travellers in Turkey in Asia*, (London: John Murray, 1878), p. 124.

<sup>281</sup> Georgiana Max Müller, *Istanbul'dan Mektuplar*, (Istanbul: Tercüman, 1978), p. 15.

can be shown as the best example that proves how dominant an element the British cemetery was, not only in their view of Haydarpaşa but also that of the entire Üsküdar for the British visitors of the city.<sup>282</sup>

Non-British guides and travel books do not concentrate that much on the British cemetery. In general, Haydarpaşa is described as the quarter that has the main station of the Anatolian railroad and constitutes the border between Üsküdar and “modern” settlement of Kadıköy. The descriptions of Haydarpaşa in these books, especially in Bædeker’s guidebook and “*Voyageur en Orient*” may make clear why Üsküdar was perceived as so oriental by the European travellers. They underline that Haydarpaşa had a European appearance, especially with the railroad station constructed in a European style and illuminated with electricity. There was one more important thing that gave it a European look. It was the restaurant of the station where, as Bædeker emphasised, it was possible to find Munich beer.<sup>283</sup>

To make clear the importance of the above-mentioned information given by Bædeker it is sufficient to quote another of his sentences about the restaurants. At the beginning of the chapter on Üsküdar, having informed the reader about the different ways to reach Üsküdar, the cost of the transportation and the time schedule of the ferries, he continues as follows “There are no restaurants in Üsküdar. However it is possible to find restaurants in Haydarpaşa and Kadıköy.”<sup>284</sup> It appears that Üsküdar

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“Tophane rıhtımına çıktık. Boğazın karşı kıyısında Kırım muharebelerinde hayatlarını kaybeden bir çok meşhur insanın son istirahatgâhı olan o güzel İngiliz mezarlığının bulunduğu Üsküdar yükseliyordu”

<sup>282</sup> Another example for the dominance of the Crimean War memories in the Üsküdar chapters of the British guidebooks can be the following expression of Coufopoulos: “*Scutari*, or properly *Uskudar*, is familiar to Britons as the scene of Miss Florance Nightingale’s devoted ministrations to the British wounded brought down from the Crimea” [Coufopoulos, p. 179]

<sup>283</sup> Bædeker, p. 225 ; *Voyageur en Orient*, p. 53.

<sup>284</sup> Bædeker, p. 221.

“RESTAURANTS findet man in Skutari nicht, wohl aber in Haidar Pascha und Kadıköi.”

set aside less space for European visitors in its everyday life than the number of pages that are set aside for it in the travel guides.

According to the guides and travel books one of the dominant features of Üsküdar is the religious orientation of the majority of its population.<sup>285</sup> Almost all the guides begin their description of Üsküdar very similarly, the only discrepancy being differing population figures. The description in "*Voyageur en Orient*" is a representative one: "Üsküdar is the most important suburb of Constantinople, it has a population about 50,000 that is almost exclusively Muslim."<sup>286</sup> In other words all of the guides and travel books primarily emphasise that Üsküdar was basically a quarter in which mostly Turks (or Muslims) lived. As can be understood from the following pieces taken from these books, in fact, while emphasising on its almost completely Muslim population, they are preparing to present an oriental town to their readers. For example Bædeker, having emphasised Üsküdar's role as the biggest suburb of Constantinople", continues as follows:

"Very few of its 90,000 population are Armenian and Greek. It has better conserved its oriental character than Istanbul. Its view quite fits its character because, the groups of buildings rise between the gardens and fields. Inside the district, its winding streets, beautiful mosques and wooden houses still exist, in spite of the great fire in 1872. (...)

The porters who are dressed in colourful costumes; little wooden cafés, barbers, tobacco shops and greengrocers at the piers' square, and further on, the carriages and the saddle horses beside the Big Mosque give Üsküdar

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<sup>285</sup> For example, after underlined "Istanbul has been divided into three parts", "*Guide Illustré de Constantinople*" explains the main features of these parts as follows:

"*Stambul, quartier des bazaars habité par des Turcs, des Juifs et des Grecs*  
*Galata Pera, quartier franc habité par des Européens.*

*Scutari, quartier essentiellement turc, situé sur la côte d'Asie.*" [*Guide Illustré de Constantinople*, (Paris: édition Nilsson, n.d.), p. 67.]

<sup>286</sup> *Voyageur en Orient*, p. 48.

its oriental character. Anatolian style of clothing and Turkish shop signs predominate it. In the side streets especially, windows are covered with very closely woven lattices.”<sup>287</sup>

The “*Guide Illustré de Constantinople*” also continues to mention Üsküdar by emphasising how oriental it is:

“After departed from the pier you come to an interesting square where scenes of oriental life are manifest. Here, there is constant comings and goings, women in black *çarşafs*, ragamuffins, and respectable old people who smoke their water pipes in front of the little cafés and beside the drivers who wait beside their carriages for their clients.”<sup>288</sup>

Andersen describes Üsküdar as a town whose inhabitants are faithful to Islamic traditions and he (hesitantly) calls them Orthodox Turks. He then continues to talk about Üsküdar, mentioning only a caravan and its camels.<sup>289</sup>

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<sup>287</sup> Bædeker, p. 222.

“*Es ist die größte Vorstadt Konstantinopoles; unter den 90 000 Einwohnern sind verhältnismäßig wenige Armenier und Griechen; die ganze Stadt hat den orientalischen Charakter noch bedeutend fester bewahrt als Stambul. So entsprechen auch dem schönen Anblick, den Skutari mit seinen Gebäudemassen zwischen üppigen Gärten und Fluren aus der Ferne bietet, im Inner winklige Straßen und, außer den schönen alten Moscheen, geringe viel fach hölzerne Häuser, die auch nach dem großen Brand von 1872 nicht stattlicher wiedererstanden sind. (...)*

*Der platz bei der Landebrücke, mit seinen buntgekleideten Hamals, den kleinen hölzernen Kaffeehäusern, den Barbierstuben, Frucht- und Tabakläden, und weiterhin bei der Großen Moschee den mannigfaltigen Wagen und Reittieren, bietet gleich einen ganz orientalischen Anblick. In der Stadt herrschen anatolische Tracht, türkische Firmenschilder, und besonders in den Seitengassen sind die Fenster mit dem dichten Lattengitter, dem Kafesß verwahrt.”*

<sup>288</sup> *Guide illustré de Constantinople*, p. 150.

“*En quittant le débarcadère, on débouche sur une curieuse petite place où toute les scènes de la vie orientale se manifestent. C’est un va-et-vient incessant de femmes aux tchartchafs sombres, d’enfants en guenilles, de vieillards vénérables, qui fument paisiblement leur narghilé devant des petits cafés, tandis que des cochers, auprès de leur attelage, y attendent patiemment l’excursionniste.”*

<sup>289</sup> Hamsun & Andersen, p. 105.

The clearest expression of the opinion that is implied in the above-mentioned quotations is that Üsküdar “was more thoroughly oriental in character than Istanbul”.<sup>290</sup> Although they primarily underline that Üsküdar was a Turk or Muslim dominated town, the elements used to prove how very oriental it was are not limited to the religious orientations of the majority of its population or the number of its religious buildings. Although they intended to show the other elements as cultural features of its almost wholly Muslim population, they also mention its urban fabric (including elements such as wooden houses, the shape of its streets, the existence of the large fields that encroach on the town centre et cetera), and its quotidian life (with the descriptions of old people who smoke water pipes in front of the wooden cafés, the women in black *Çarşafs* and the Turkish shop signs et cetera) as signs of its oriental character. It appears that the European travellers who saw the European quarters and pretended not to or failed to see the Muslim quarters in Galata<sup>291</sup> probably preferred to dwell persistently on Üsküdar’s (as they said) “oriental” features such as camels, oxcarts in its crooked, ill paved and filthy streets and “beautiful” mosques in order to compose (as they said) the “picturesque” view of the orient that they had been looking for.<sup>292</sup> They perceived Üsküdar as a part (or the starting point) of the stable orient and so chose to concentrate on its silent streets rather than its permanently crowded piers. For example, as François-Xavier Lobry did, they intended to describe Üsküdar as a dead and silent city.<sup>293</sup> While describing

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<sup>290</sup> *Handbook for travellers*, 1900, p. 111.

<sup>291</sup> see Edhem Eldem, “Galatanın Etnik Yapısı”, in *İstanbul*, n. 1, (Istanbul: Toplumsal ve Ekonomik Tarih Vakfı, 1992), pp. 58-63.

<sup>292</sup> *Guide Illustré de Constantinople*, p. 74; *Voyageur en Orient*, p. 50; Dethier, p. 79.

<sup>293</sup> Rinaldo Marmara, “1905 Senesinde François-Xavier Lobry’nin Boğaz Turu”, in *İstanbul*, n. 39 (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2001), p. 87.

“Üsküdar herşeyden önce bir türk kenti. Ticaret yapılan bir kaç sokağın dışında, insan ölü ve sessiz bir kentteymiş gibi dolaşiyor orada.”

the piers, as can be seen in the above-mentioned quotation, they gave the chief role to the old people who were just sitting and smoking their water pipes, a picture which, often all, constitutes the famous image of the “old”, “stable” and “unproductive” orient. All of these portrayals intending to show Üsküdar as a tranquil and stable oriental city<sup>294</sup> remind us of Ahmet Cemil’s description of Üsküdar as the only stable quarter in the view of the entire city. However, although the perception of the European travellers, sensitive to oriental elements, greatly emphasised its oriental character, it is still significant that they chose Üsküdar as the most oriental part of the city. Just as orthogonal urban planning and the presence of the churches were not sufficient to call a place western; so also was the presence of cul-de-sacs or winding streets and the mosques (which exist in every district of the city) insufficient to declare a place more oriental. While Bædeker, apart from its mosques and the shape of its streets and houses, points to the Turkish shop signs and the lack of restaurants in Üsküdar, he provides us with some clues regarding what made the European travellers call Üsküdar oriental. Like the British writers who single out the British cemetery, all the travellers have been looking for a familiar sign like a restaurant and Munich beer or a shop sign written in (at least) the Latin alphabet. The lack of these kinds of European elements in Üsküdar probably made them concentrate much more on its oriental features and made it almost impossible for them to act as if they were on a familiar ground there. In addition, after the Anglo-Turkish convention of 1838 which greatly enhanced the effect of the European lifestyle on the city, the number of the districts where European foreigners could find much more familiar signs has

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<sup>294</sup> I would like to separate the Üsküdar description of Edmondo de Amicis, that does not include any information about the religious origin of its population and any expression that implies the existence of a stable life in Üsküdar. On the contrary to the other travellers, he describes Üsküdar as a town that is merrier and fresher than Istanbul. Although he emphasised that Üsküdar seems as a group of villages, his delightful Üsküdar portrayal generally focuses on the scenes that show it and especially its centre as a vivacious and active place that is in confusion. [Edmondo de Amicis, *Istanbul (1874)*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınları, 1993), pp. 340-347.]

been increased. However, it was still not possible to find even a restaurant in Üsküdar. On the other hand there was still “a kitchen for the poor (*imaret*), where they each received 2 meals a day... Strangers receive the same, and food for each of their horses for 3 days.”<sup>295</sup> As a result, it seems possible and maybe appropriate, to claim that Üsküdar, as a district that conserved its traditional structure better than many other parts of the city, could be called (more) “oriental”.

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<sup>295</sup> *Handbook for Travellers*, 1878, p. 123.

#### **IV. ÜSKÜDAR: A TRADITIONAL DISTRICT, A CONSERVATIVE IMAGE**

In this chapter, the outcomes and assumptions about Üsküdar and its image mentioned during the previous chapters will be evaluated. In addition, the conservative image of the district will be reanalysed in the context of the dominant political streams of nineteenth century Ottoman Society by focusing on the possible political functions and meanings of the formation of such an image.

##### **IV. 1. A Traditional District**

From its cultural landscape and cityscape to its economic activities, Üsküdar was a traditional district. As can be seen in the chapters on economic activities in Üsküdar, during the pre and the post convention periods the considerable economic activities of the district did not change. Although we know that in the city in general, after the Anglo-Turkish convention of 1838, some economic activities began to disappear, yielding to some new sectors which began to dominate trade activities, no new economic sector formation in Üsküdar was observed. Although it is not possible to know or estimate the number or the proportion of Scutarians working on the European side of the city, it is still possible to say that the people working in Üsküdar probably continued doing their previous jobs.

The agricultural and trade activities which resulted from its geographical position and were directly related to the caravan trade and the land-port function of the district were still considerable during the first decades of the twentieth century. During the post convention period while Galata became the main connection point of the city with Europe and rapidly changed and modernised, Üsküdar still constituted

the city's main connection with Anatolia and Asia, until the Anatolian railroad began to ply effectively and the caravan trade was interrupted by World War I. As a result of its strong connection with Anatolia, Üsküdar basically remained under the influence of Eastern and Anatolian (or in other words Ottoman provinces') culture, while European culture, spreading basically from the Galata port, pervaded the city. For example, in Galata-Pera and also in the historical peninsula, modern municipalities were founded and worked effectively, many restaurants were opened, many hotels built, basically to meet the various requirements of European visitors and merchants. However, as for the influence of foreign merchants and visitors in Üsküdar, it does not seem possible to talk of any such influence in paving the way for modernisation of the cityscape and quotidian life of the district. Most of its visitors had always been caravan traders and it seems that during the centuries, neither its visitors nor their requirements had changed, or at least not as much as those of Galata-Pera's and had not forced Üsküdar to be modernised. On the contrary, they had paved the way for conserving and stabilising its traditional fabric with its khans, caravanserais et cetera.

Traditional Üsküdar, unlike the other main parts of the city, did not or could not integrate with the newly developing economic sectors and modern consumption, production and money saving patterns. The consumption patterns of Scutarians did not change to any extent that was reflected in the urban space. Although, in the historical peninsula and Galata-Pera there were many new kinds of shops, symbols of the modern quotidian life, such as piano repairmen, or seller of pianos, gloves, hats or coiffeurs et cetera, no clue that they ever existed in Üsküdar can be detected.

Üsküdar is the oldest Ottoman settlement in Istanbul and its urban fabric represents the features of traditional eastern cities and that of an old settlement. Like

the other old settlements in the capital, its urban space has been dominated by many mosques, big and small, and some monumental Sultanic ones. At the centre of the district especially the predominance of winding streets and cul-de-sacs can be observed clearly even in maps dating from the 1930s. Furthermore, as can be understood from the writings of the novelists, large mansions (*Konak*), the traditional house type of upper-class Ottomans, had by that time begun to disappear in Galata and the historical peninsula, but were still dominated the district's cityscape. Of course, there were some traces of modern urban planning ideas on its fabric, such as the military barracks in Selimiye, founded together with an orthogonal quarter just on the borders of central Üsküdar at the beginning of the nineteenth century; or the widened arterial roads and the public park in Doğancılar, all of which were constructed during the first two decades of the twentieth century. However, these limited changes did not affect the predominance of the traditional urban fabric. During the period dealt with in this thesis the urban fabric of Üsküdar was not as modernised as that of the other main parts of the city. The above-mentioned features of its cityscape probably constituted an important reason that made European travellers, particularly those of late nineteenth and early twentieth century, think that they had arrived in the Orient, especially having visited Galata-Pera, and almost certainly when they saw the camels in the streets of Üsküdar.

Although close physically to the core areas of modernisation in the empire and to the districts symbolising this process such as Galata, constituting the vanguard of the modernisation of the city's quotidian life, and Kadıköy, known as a petite-bourgeois settlement, Üsküdar stayed relatively distant from the impact of the modernisation process. Its urban fabric, predominated by the symbols of a traditional way of life, its important role for the caravan trade and its position as the Eastern

connection point of the city, must undoubtedly have been the most important factors that saved it to a great extent from this impact.

Üsküdar had two important traditional cultural backgrounds. It had been developed as an extended part of Sultans' city and the province of Anatolia. Üsküdar was the gateway to Asia and equally the spearhead of Anatolia in Istanbul. In the final analysis, the developments in the city certainly had some effect on Üsküdar, but it was influenced to a much greater extent by the traditional (and provincial) culture that had been a part of its own cultural landscape and strongly existed in its hinterland and continued to flow in its quotidian life.

#### IV. 2. A Conservative Image

During the post-Tanzimat period, Ottoman modernists' search for perfect equilibrium in their relations with western/modern culture can be summarised in the following expression "being modernised without losing Ottoman identity". This motto constituted the base of "the constitutive conservatism" of the Ottoman modernisation process.

In their programme, published in 1895, the Young Turks show a clear desire for progress in the manner of "civilisation" but also emphasise that "the Ottoman element" should not be impoverished during this process.<sup>296</sup> The main objection of the New Ottomans to the Tanzimat regime can also be summarised in the same way.

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<sup>296</sup> Şerif Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri*, (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları: 1964), p.60.

*«Medeniyet yolunda ilerleme» arzusu izhar ediliyor fakat bunun «Osmanlı unsurunu» zayıflatacak şekilde yapılmaması gerektiği söyleniyordu. Program, Osmanlıların «Doğu medeniyet»lerinin «orjinalite»sini muhafaza etmeleri gerektiğini ve «Batıdan ancak ilmi eğitimin genel neticelerini, ancak tam manasıyla meczedebilecekleri ve bir milletin hürriyete doğru yolunu aydınlayabilecek olanları» almakla iktfa edeceklerini anlatıyordu.»*

They accused Ali Pasha and Fuat Pasha of “understanding modernisation as imitating the west”.<sup>297</sup> According to the New Ottomans, reforms became imitation due to the absence of a philosophical base for the reforms and the lack of a background in which the moral values could be rooted. They suggested utilising the philosophy of Islam in order to fill this vacuum.<sup>298</sup> Moreover, they tried to justify the reforms by using some verses of the Koran.<sup>299</sup> Even according to Ahmet Rıza, a positivist and the only Young Turk who could confess that he did not pray five times in a day, Islam as a social unifier was important and necessary.<sup>300</sup> These contradictory (or what at least seem to be contradictory) ideas of the New Ottomans and Young Turks were not a result of their political strategy or a kind of hypocrisy but rather a direct outcome of the effect of “the conservative mode of thought” on their somewhat modernist ideology. As is indicated in the subchapter on the concept of conservatism “all conservatives are not religious or fervently religious people; what determines their common attitudes is their insistence on the social utilities of the religion.”<sup>301</sup> Furthermore, by placing Islam at the centre of their modernist perspective, perceiving it as a social unifier and trying to explain the requirements of the modernisation process in the context of the codes of Islam and traditional culture, they not only

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<sup>297</sup> Ibid., p. 86.

<sup>298</sup> Şerif Mardin, “19. Yüzyılda Düşünce Akımları ve Osmanlı Devleti”, in *Türk Modernleşmesi*, (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000), p.88

<sup>299</sup> For example, Tanpınar writes about A. Mithat Efendi as follows:

“Bir taraftan yeni öğrendiği Avrupa ilmi ve felsefe tarihi ile dinî akideler arasındaki o rahat, buhransız sallanışı ve pozitivist felsefenin, Lamarkizmin verileriyle İslamî esasları birleştirmeye çalışması, hatta Kuran’da, Hâdiste onlara dayanak araması...” [Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, (Istanbul: Çağlayan Kitabevi, 1997), p. 449. and also quoted in Mardin, *Jön Türklerin...*, p. 28]

This attitude was not only peculiar to the New Ottomans and Young Turks. While Saffet Pasha (The Minister of Education) was explaining the necessity of “women education” he also referred to Islamic codes and some verse of the Koran. [Alev Erkilet Başer, *Ortadoğu’da Modernleşme ve İslami Hareketler*, (Istanbul: Yöneliş Yayınları, 1999), p. 145.]

<sup>300</sup> Mardin, *Jön Türklerin...*, pp. 127, 130-131.

<sup>301</sup> Philippe Beneton, *Muhafazakârlık*, (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1991), p. 110.

displayed an example of a well-known attitude of conservative thought but also suggested one of the most traditional references of the Ottoman Empire as a base on which the modernisation process would be erected.

The question of modernisation deeply affected the formation of the political ideas and was also the main subject occupying the writers. As Jale Parla clearly expresses, the writers of the period took pains to define all “*innovator principals*” within the framework of the norms of the traditional culture.<sup>302</sup> Consequently, as Berna Moran indicates, the matter of westernisation/modernisation also determined the formation, function, subjects and characters of the novels (and the Turkish novel in general).<sup>303</sup>

There are two basic types of main characters in these novels: on the one hand, (in Mardin’s words) “Super Westernised” characters such as Bihruz and Felatun Beys and, on the other, their opposites, those who achieved the perfect equilibrium in their relations with modern culture, such as Rakım Efendi and Ferdane Hanım (although she is not as successful as Rakım). It should be underlined that the characters put in opposition to “super westernised characters” are not those that could be called “traditional” or “reactionary”, such as Hajji Murat (Hajji Baba) in the novel “*Taaşuk-ı Tal’at ve Fitnat*”. In fact, there are fewer traditional or reactionary characters than the above-mentioned types. Furthermore, they are represented almost as negatively as the “super westernised characters”. As is obvious, the writers’ main concern was modernisation and they certainly did not reject it. They only rejected

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<sup>302</sup> Jale Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), p. 13.

“ ‘Yenilikçi’ ilkelerin tümünü geleneksel kültürel normlar çerçevesinde, hatta bu normların terimlerine ‘tercüme’ ederek tanımlamaya özen gösteriyorlardı.”

<sup>303</sup> Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış / I*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995), p. 19

“Batılılaşma Türk romanının ana sorunsalını oluşturmakla kalmaz, aynı zamanda onun işlevini, kuruluşunu ve tiplerini de önemli ölçüde belirler.”

“super westernisation”, as represented by characters such as Bihruz Bey and Felatun Bey.

In this context, looking briefly at Şerif Mardin’s answer to the question concerning the extent to which the anti-Bihruz stance is an anti-modern stance<sup>304</sup> and then trying to answer the question again can help us to understand the complex relationship between Ottoman intellectuals and modernisation and make my point clear.

Mardin answers the question on two levels: the communitarian and the instrumental. According to Mardin “At the communitarian level, it is conservative and anti-modern.”<sup>305</sup> The instrumental level, however, is related to the modernists. In Mardin’s words “To the extent that they wanted to appeal to the non-elite, modernists who were interested in social mobilization had in part to use these values. Here the anti-Bihruz stand becomes instrumental.”<sup>306</sup> Mardin’s answer can be summarised as follows, the anti-Bihruz stance and values that symbolise an anti-modern stance at the communitarian level, were advantageously exploited for social mobilisation by the non-elite modernists and especially by the Young Ottomans. However, Mardin also adds, as a final point: “Last but not least, modernizers are never completely instrumental in their use of anti-Bihruz values in Turkey. It is a stand which they also adopt willingly.”<sup>307</sup>

The answer I will try to give to Mardin’s question will be mainly relevant to Mardin’s last analysis above. In other words, I will try to show how relevant the

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<sup>304</sup> Şerif Mardin, “Super Westernization in Urban Life in The Ottoman Empire in The Last Quarter of The Nineteenth Century” in *Turkey Geographic and Social Perspectives*, P. Benedict, E. Tümertekin, F. Mansur (ed.), (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), p. 440.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 440.

<sup>306</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 441.

<sup>307</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 442.

Ottoman modernists' ideological position are to the Anti-Bihruz stance. Above all, as previously emphasised, in any sample novel the opposite character of "super westernised" ones (i.e. Anti-Bihruz characters) are never depicted as completely traditional or reactionary. As can be seen clearly in the personal characteristics of Rakım Efendi, they are people who have gained "perfect equilibrium" in their life (being modernised without losing traditional Ottoman values and identity). In other words, they can somehow be called "conservative" but never "anti-modern". It is also obviously impossible to call them "anti-modern" when the basic features of modern conservatism are considered. Additionally, in the final analysis, the novels, written basically to educate the people by using examples simply aim to show the "right" and "wrong" ways to become modern. In this context, the Anti-Bihruz values can be considered as an indicator of "the ideal way of becoming modern" in the mind's eye of the Ottoman modernist.

Ottoman modernists, because of their obvious modernist stance, seem to be exploiting anti-Bihruz values by using them as an instrument to increase social mobilisation. However, if we consider how the "conservative mode of thought" influenced their modernist perspective, it is possible to evaluate differently their attitudes towards anti-Bihruz values. It does not matter whether or not they have intimately believed in Islam and anti-Bihruz values. Nevertheless, it is important to note that Islam and the values of traditional communities constitute two basic reference points for "the constitutive conservatism" of the Ottoman modernist's perspective.

With its traditional structure, Üsküdar began to appear as an image of the above-mentioned "conservative mode of thought" or at least began to be described with conservative signs by the writers of the period closely related to politics. The

life styles and personality traits of the Scutarian characters of the novels especially represent the most evident motto of “the constitutive conservatism”. First of all, it should be underlined that none of the scrutinised novels describe a Scutarian character similar to Felatun Bey. All of the main Scutarian types represent the features of traditional Ottoman culture in their personality and lifestyle. However none of them limits him/herself to traditional culture. They also have a strong relationship with modern western culture. While their traditional cultural origins usually help them save themselves from the “degenerative effects” of modernisation, thanks to the modern culture that they have they can easily detect and eliminate the reactionary sides of the traditional culture.<sup>308</sup> They are neither “nonreligious” and nor “fervently religious” people. Like the Ottoman modernists, they also take pains to absorb all “new values” and “modern codes of behaviour” in accordance with Islamic rules. In the final analysis, their lifestyle symbolises the possible daily practice of “the perfect equilibrium” that the Ottoman modernists were searching for.

It is certainly possible to show some other characters from novels who are described as inhabitants of another district of Istanbul and have the above-mentioned personality and lifestyle. However, what is interesting for us to think about are the answers to the following closely related questions: Why were all of the main Scutarian characters described within the above-mentioned conservative framework? And why was Üsküdar considered so suitable as a place of residence for characters representing the conservative perspective of Ottoman modernists? Or, in other words why didn't (or couldn't) the writers imagine any ‘super westernised’ character living in Üsküdar?

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<sup>308</sup> As is underlined in chapter 3.1, if some of them get into trouble, usually the events have begun with an instant of loss of the balance in their relationship with western culture.

As has been underlined before, Ottoman modernists were anxious about the loss of "Ottomanness" in society during the modernisation/westernisation process and to ease this anxiety they tried to redefine the requirements of modernisation within the framework of traditional culture.<sup>309</sup> It is obvious that for non-elite modernists, traditional culture was not the culture of the Ottoman dynasty but the culture of the "people", so the writers, as non-elite modernists, needed places and communities that were not at all, or only little influenced by the impact of modernisation and were able to save their traditional features.

It seems possible to mention three basic reasons for the above-mentioned need for "traditional" places, communities and ways of life. First of all, they needed to show that "modernisation is possible in a traditional society; 'the excessiveness' of modernisation can be limited by traditional culture". Secondly, they wished to prove that "the only version of modernisation is not imitation; traditional culture can be conserved while becoming modern". In the final analysis, what they required to graft innovations onto "traditional societies" and curb "excesses" of modernisation was 'the sanction of precedent' that could be given by 'custom' - in the sense of the concept defined by Hobsbawm -.<sup>310</sup> Consequently, the modern stances of Scutarian characters can be conceived as stances to gain the approval of " 'custom' which dominates so-called traditional societies."<sup>311</sup> If a character's modern stance could not

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<sup>309</sup> Certainly, it does not mean that they wanted to save all customs and traditions as is obvious that such an attitude is clearly opposed to modernisation. They only aimed to save "some selected particular ones" as conservatives have always done.

<sup>310</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions", in *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 2

" 'Custom' in traditional societies has the double function of motor and fly-wheel. It does not preclude innovation and change up to a point, though evidently the requirement that it must appear compatible or even identical with precedent imposes substantial limitations on it. What it does is to give any desired change (or resistance to innovation) the sanction of precedent, social continuity and natural law as expressed in history."

<sup>311</sup> Ibid.

be thus sanctioned, it seems that there was only one choice: the character was to be excluded, as Merâkî Efendi was, or in other words moved to another place such as Pera where innovation was not supervised by traditional culture.

For the third and last reason, I would like to refer to Mannheim. As he clearly expresses, modern conservatism's "germinal 'basic intention' had to exist as an authentic style of experience within certain traditional groups."<sup>312</sup> If we consider how conservatism constitutes an important part of the perspective of Ottoman modernists, it can be easily understood why they needed a traditional district and why they absorbed to such an extent the "anti-Bihruz" stance and values of the traditional groups. First of all, traditional groups (and also ways of life and places) bear "an unconscious" and "an unreflective" form of modern conservatism, so there is quite a close connection between traditional groups and a modern conservative stance. Secondly, for the modern conservative perspective, these groups, ways of life and places are obviously necessary to select the traditions to be conserved.

Consequently, Üsküdar as a certain traditional district which easily met all the above-mentioned needs of the Ottoman modernists' "conservative mode of thought", paved the way itself for the writers' conception of it as a suitable place to be represented with conservative symbols, and their envisaging it as a place of residence of the somewhat "conservative" characters of their novels. In other words, whether they were aware of it or not, Üsküdar was the ideal place they had been looking for.

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<sup>312</sup> Karl Mannheim "Conservative Thought", in *Essays on Sociology and Social Psychology*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1969), p. 116

## CONCLUSION

In the preceding chapter, I made some concluding remarks aiming at summarising the main points of the thesis. In this conclusion, I will first shortly discuss the differences between the images of Üsküdar and those of Istanbul *intra muros*, and then show the image of Üsküdar as it still persists today. I hope that these references to contemporary sources will help us think about the meaning of the continuity of this image. Moreover, such an inquiry into these contemporary texts has also the merit of showing eventual pathways of study that came to my mind while writing the thesis, but that were left aside for the sake of convenience.

As a natural result of the perspective of this study that scrutinises Üsküdar basically by following the concept of “conservatism”, I have preferred to compare Üsküdar to the districts of Galata and Pera, which are known as the forerunners of modernisation in the city rather as opposed to the walled city. Obviously, to compare Üsküdar with this region was necessary in order to detect possible differences between traditional and conservative during the conservative period, as well as the traditional aspects of the district. However, although the differences between Üsküdar and the walled city are rarely underlined in this study, it should not be considered that there was no considerable difference between the two. Explicating these differences seems also necessary in order to underline the differences between the comparison of Üsküdar and Galata-Pera and the well-known comparison of the walled city and Galata-Pera.

However, to compare Üsküdar and the walled city is a complicated issue. First of all, what we have called Üsküdar is limited to central Üsküdar as we have defined it in the chapter on its landscape. In other words, many districts lying within

in its administrative borders were not included. However, when we mention the walled city as a whole, we inevitably fall into the error of referring to many districts and quarters that have different cultural and demographical characteristics from each other, as if they were totally same. That is why I have avoided comparing Üsküdar to the walled city in the thesis. But still, I would like to mention some speculative thoughts as further notes about the differences between Üsküdar and the walled city and especially between their images.

First of all, it is rather obvious that the walled city was much more integrated with the modernisation process than Üsküdar. Although there were no *alafranga* novel characters in Üsküdar, some *alafranga* characters such as Bihruz Bey and Behçet Bey lived in the walled city. Its urban fabric was transformed into a relatively modern one. Furthermore, the walled city as the old finance centre had to integrate with the newly developing economic patterns.

Second, the traditional culture of the walled city presented some major differences with that of Üsküdar. The traditional culture of Üsküdar was under the influence of Anatolia. It was the spearhead of Anatolia in Istanbul. However, the walled city was basically the area where the palace and the main structures of power had been located. It was ruled by special regulations. It was the city of the sultans and had symbolised the traditional culture of the Ottoman dynasty.

During the process of modernisation/westernisation, the walled city began to lose its central importance and began to symbolise the 'losers' of the process. The districts of Galata-Pera replaced the walled city on the throne of power. However, Üsküdar was not affected at the same level from that process. In the last analysis, contrary to the walled city, Üsküdar had never been the centre of Istanbul. It had always been at the margin, more or less like a provincial extension of the city. Before

and during the process Üsküdar was merely a suburb of the city. That is probably why, although the walled city adapted much more to the new forms and format of daily life than Üsküdar, the contrast between the images of the walled city and of Galata-Pera involves much more tension and contradiction.

As a result, it seems possible to claim that the study of the effects of the process of modernisation on the city in the context of the walled city-Pera-Üsküdar axis, could provide some clues about differences in the dynamics of modernisation and in strategies of resistance against the strong effect of the modernisation. In other words, an analysis that focuses on the differences between these three settlements may be helpful in order to differentiate various levels and dimensions of the complex issue of the modernisation process of Ottoman society.

Today, the conservative image of Üsküdar still survives in the popular urban memory and is consistently reproduced, especially by certain milieus that share a conservative mode of thought. The memoirs of Ahmed Yüksel Özemre, native of the district, provide good examples for the above-mentioned image.<sup>313</sup> In his memoirs, Özemre writes with an intense nostalgia. This nostalgia alone is not remarkable in itself. Obviously, similar nostalgic feelings are seen in most authors writing on the places of their childhood or adolescence. What is relevant for our concerns is the fact that most of the elements presented by the author as well as by others as the components of the identity of a Scutarian are in accordance with traditional cultural codes and moral values, and that those are related as characteristics specific to Üsküdar itself. Though Özemre complains about some “lost voices” of the district like old houses and shops, artisans, etc., these obvious changes in Üsküdar do not

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<sup>313</sup> Ahmed Yüksel Özemre, *Üsküdar'da Bir Attar Dükkânı* (Istanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı, 1997), and *Üsküdar, Ah Üsküdar* (Istanbul: Kaknüs, 2002).

seem to affect his image of Üsküdar. In his writings, the image of Üsküdar at the end of the twentieth century is not different than the image formed in the nineteenth century.

With regard to the nineteenth-century image of Üsküdar, Özemre's text, his choice of words and the general feelings conveyed by his narrative, a book of memoirs published first in 2002 seems to have been composed in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. For example, in a passage about the qualities of a Scutarian, Özemre says that being a Scutarian is an exceptional trait that shows itself, above all else, in human relationships. This trait is mainly determined by visits to the ill and needy people in the neighbourhood, by a local solidarity that takes care of the poor and the weak, etc. It is also necessary to know the past and the saints of this sacred district and to look after its traditions and customs, to experience them.<sup>314</sup>

We come across a certain number of similar expressions on the culture and identity in Özemre's memoirs. Moreover, Özemre's remarks about the people who appropriate this culture supports my previous contention about the fact that provincial culture (i.e. Anatolian culture) has a considerable impact vis-à-vis the formation of Üsküdar's traditional structure. According to Özemre, the disappearing culture of Üsküdar has been carried and preserved by the descendants of Anatolian immigrants to the district.<sup>315</sup>

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<sup>314</sup> Özemre, 2002, p. 128.

*“Üsküdarlılık” kendini her şeyden önce insan ilişkilerinde belli eden müstesna bir haslettir. Güler yüze candan bir selâm vermek; nezâketle hâl hatır sormak, muhatâbının sevinç ve kederine yapmacıksız bir şekilde, samimiyetle iştirâk etmek; hizmet ve yardımda gönüllü öne çıkmak; komşu hakkını ve hatırını kendi ailesinininkiyle aynı düzeyde tutmak; hasta ziyâretini ihmal etmemek; ticârette muhatâbının hakkını sehâvetle korumak; fukarâ-i sâbirini kollayıp gözetmek; mahallenin ırzına, nâmûsuna, terbiyesine, düzenine sâhip çıkmak; komşularının, mahallesinin, beldenin bütün sâkinlerinin sıhhat ve âfiyeti için ve kezâ beldenin her türlü tabii ve ictimâî âfetten korunması için Cenâb-ı Hakk'a her gün samimiyetle niyâzda bulunmak bu hasletin en belirgin özellikleridir. Üsküdarlılık aynı zamanda Üsküdar'dan büyük bir haz duymak ve bunu iftihârla ifâde edebilmektir. Üsküdarlı olabilmek için bu mübârek beldenin geçmişini ve evliyâsını tanımak, yüz yılının tesis ettiği örf ve âdetlere sâhip çıkmak, bunları korumak ve bizzât yaşamak lâzımdır.”*

<sup>315</sup> Ibid., p. 112.

The biography of Özemre reminds us of the Scutarian characters in nineteenth century novels. The author, defending traditional cultural codes and moral values and identifying these with being a Scutarian, is a graduate of Lycée de Galatasaray, the Mathematics-Physics Department of Istanbul University, and the National Institute of Nuclear Sciences and Technology in France. According to his autobiographical data, he is the first atomic engineer of Turkey and speaks English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish. To put it in a nutshell, he could be portrayed as an “ideal Turkish conservative” who does not deny the value of traditional culture, while he has also accumulated the technological knowledge of the West.

To be sure, the texts that display a continuity are not restricted to those of Özemre (which, by the way, are the clearest reflections of that continuity). For instance, a collection of photographs published by the Üsküdar Municipality bears the title, “Dignity and Sadness” (*Vakar ve Hüzün*). This title is reminiscent of a nineteenth century novel character’s, Mansur’s description of Üsküdar (“*servilere bürünmüş hazin Üsküdar*”). The actual mayor of Üsküdar, Yılmaz Bayat, in his foreword to an Üsküdar city guide, dates back the foundation of Üsküdar to Orhan Gazi’s location of Muslim folk to the district in 1352. Bayat’s words showing Üsküdar as the representative of Anatolia and the Anatolian-Turkish Muslim tradition further emphasize the Üsküdar-Anatolia (the provinces) connection, also inherent to Özemre’s writings, that I have tried to put to the fore in the thesis. Again,

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“... Üsküdar hayatının gündelik pek çok unsuru yavaş yavaş ortadan silinip gitmiş ve eski üsküdarlılar kendi beldelerinde ekalliyete düşmüşler, bu büyük çaptaki sosyal gelişmeyi ibret ve hayretle seyrederek köşelerine çekilmişlerdir. Bununla beraber Üsküdar’ı istilâ eden bu birinci kşak taşraluların çocuklarını, bu kültür erozyonuyla hayâtiyetini kaybetmiş olan Üsküdar kültüründen ne kalmışsa (!?) ona daha iyi intibak sağladıkların Üsküdarlılık bilincine sâhip çıkmaya başladıklarını söyleyebilirim.”

Bayat's foreword is another significant indicator showing the continuity of the image.<sup>316</sup>

I think that the analysis of that continuity from 1914 to the present is as interesting as analysing the formation of that image itself – the formation of an image that I tried to analyse in the thesis. More than all, even if Üsküdar in these different periods is defined with the same formulas, creating a similar atmosphere and feeling of space, today's Üsküdar may be deemed a quite “modern” district. It should however be kept in mind that what is accepted as “traditional” and “conservative” is closely related to what is seen as “modern”. What is seen as modern differs according to different periods. In 1973, an ex-mayor of Istanbul, Fahri Atabey, was telling how he changed and renovated the face of Üsküdar with his activities. However, decades after the publication of his book, Üsküdar still represents a conservative image, and is persistently described with the same nineteenth-century formulas. As a consequence, to analyse the history of Üsküdar from 1914 to the present by asking how the image remained the same despite the important changes in demography and the urban fabric would provide us with interesting insights into the imaginary of Turkish conservatism. In more general terms, such analysis is also

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<sup>316</sup> *Yeni Bin yıla Girerken Üsküdar Rehberi*, (Istanbul: Üsküdar Belediye Başkanlığı, n.d), p.5

“Coğrafi olarak Anadolu topraklarında yer alan Üsküdar, 1352 yılında Orhan Gazi'nin müslüman halkı Üsküdar'a yerleştirmesiyle de farklı bir ruhu içinde barındırır. Osmanlı döneminden günümüze Üsküdar sadece coğrafi konumuyla değil, kültürel farklılığı ifade eden bir bölünme içerisinde de Anadolu'yu ve Anadolu Türk-İslam geleneğini temsil eder. O ruh ile yoğurulan Üsküdar gerçekte gezilmeye görülmeye aday bir yerdir.”

It is possible to quote various texts written between 1914 and today, showing this continuity of the image. I think that the previous quotes are sufficient. Nevertheless, I would like to make a final reference to a passage by Mehmet Kaplan, comparing Üsküdar in 1945 and in the seventies, showing the perception of “old Üsküdar” in the 1970s:

“Hayat ve hareket dolu çağdaş medeniyet, kapı ve pencerelerini tabiata ve rüzgâra açmış modern mimari, bol elektrik ışığı, konfor, neşeli ve mesut insanlar, sinema, tiyatro, sokaklarda parklarda hiç korkmadan ve çekinmeden dolaşan genç aşıklar, benim gizli bir melankoli ile dolu şarklı ruhuma, yaşama kuvveti veriyordu. Bundan dolayı hiç bir zaman Üsküdar'da oturmayı düşünmemiş, yeni semtleri ve binaları, yeni insanları tercih etmişim.” [Mehmet Kaplan (1973) “Değişen Üsküdar”, in *Üsküdar ve Hizmetlerim*, Fahri Atabey, (Istanbul: Kardeş Matbaası, 1973), p.11.]

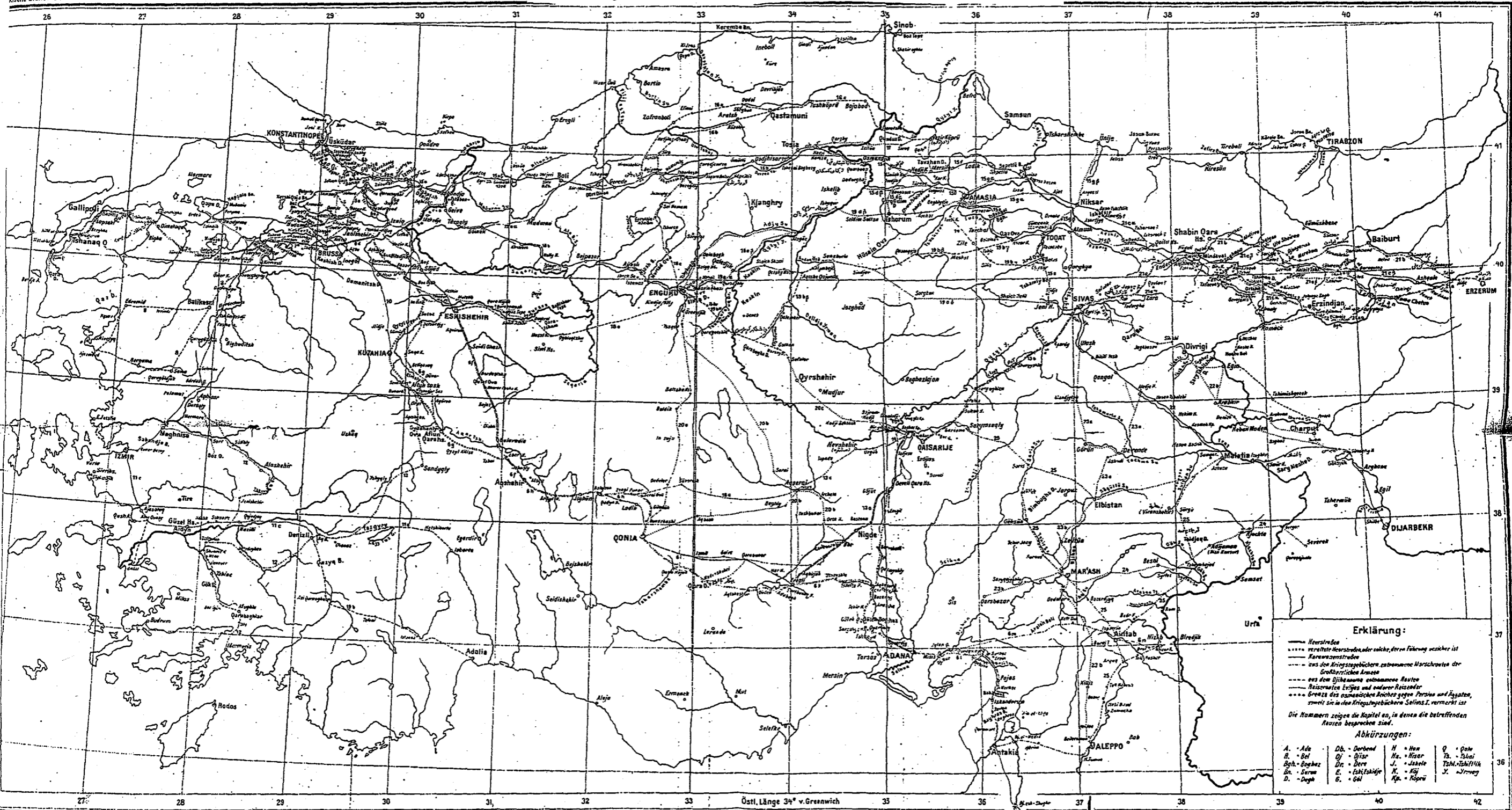
expected to say something on the construction of the complex relationship between image and reality.

## **MAPS**

Taken from Franz Taeschner, *Das Anatolische Wegenetz Nach Osmanischen Quellen*,

Wegenetz, (Leipzig: Mayer & Müller G.m.b.H, 1924)

Kische Bibliothek Bd. 22



**Erklärung:**

- Hauptstraßen
- ..... veraltete Hauptstraßen, oder solche, deren Führung unsicher ist
- Karawanenstraßen
- aus den Kriegstagebüchern entnommene Marschrouten der Großtürkischen Armee
- aus dem Djiheannu entnommene Routen
- Marschrouten Levys und anderer Reisenden
- Grenze des osmanischen Reiches gegen Persien und Kasan, soweit sie in den Kriegstagebüchern Selims I. vermerkt ist

Die Nummern zeigen die Kapitel an, in denen die betreffenden Routen besprochen sind.

**Abkürzungen:**

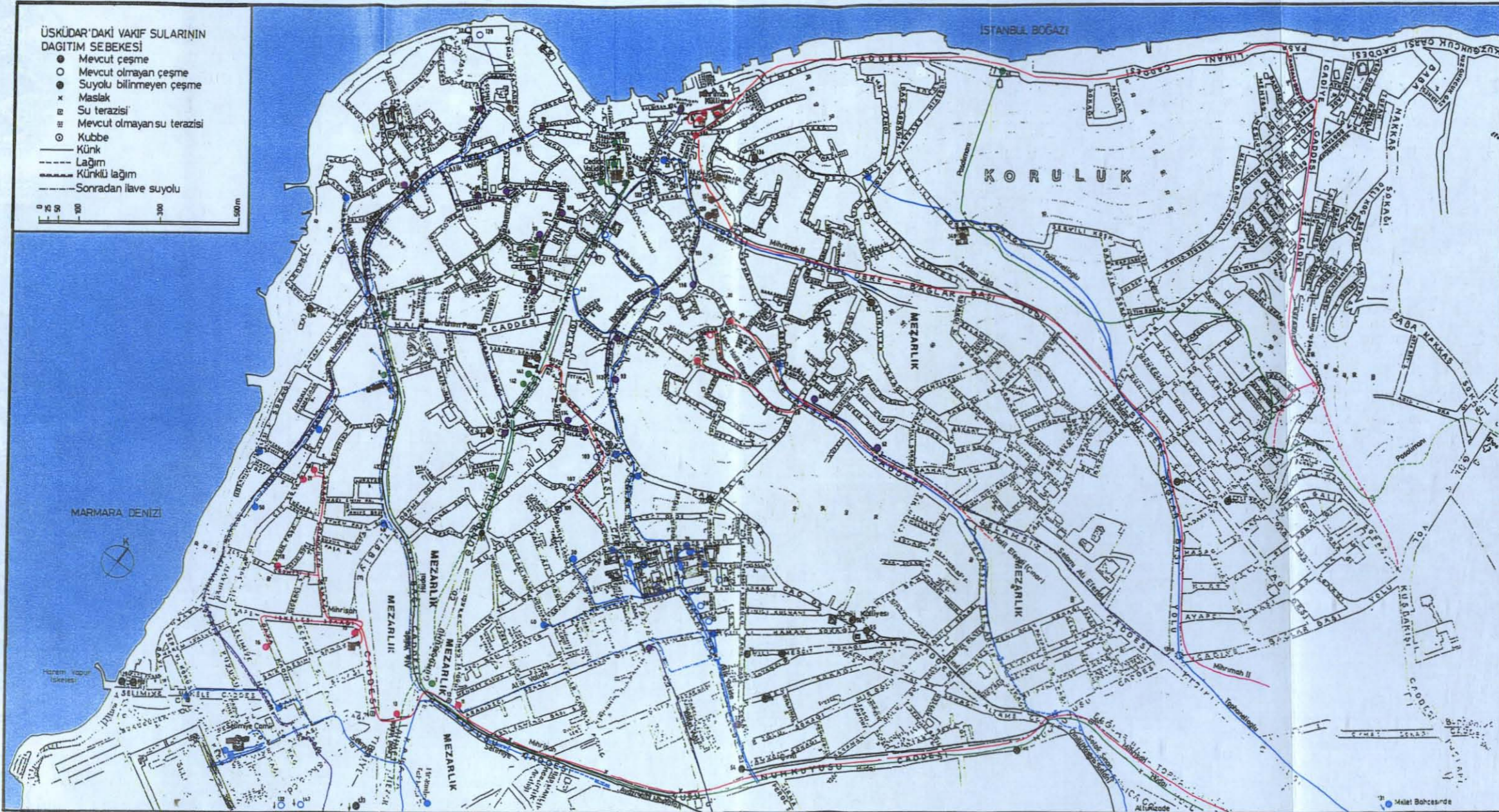
A. - Adana	Dö. - Derbend	H. - Husn	Q. - Qonja
B. - Bel	Dj. - Djisar	Is. - Isir	S. - Samsun
Bgh. - Baghaz	Dn. - Derv	J. - Jakkale	Tsh. - Tschiflik
B. - Bursa	E. - Eskişehir	K. - Kasan	J. - Jerrah
D. - Dagh	G. - Gal	Kp. - Köprü	

Maßstab 1:2 250 000.

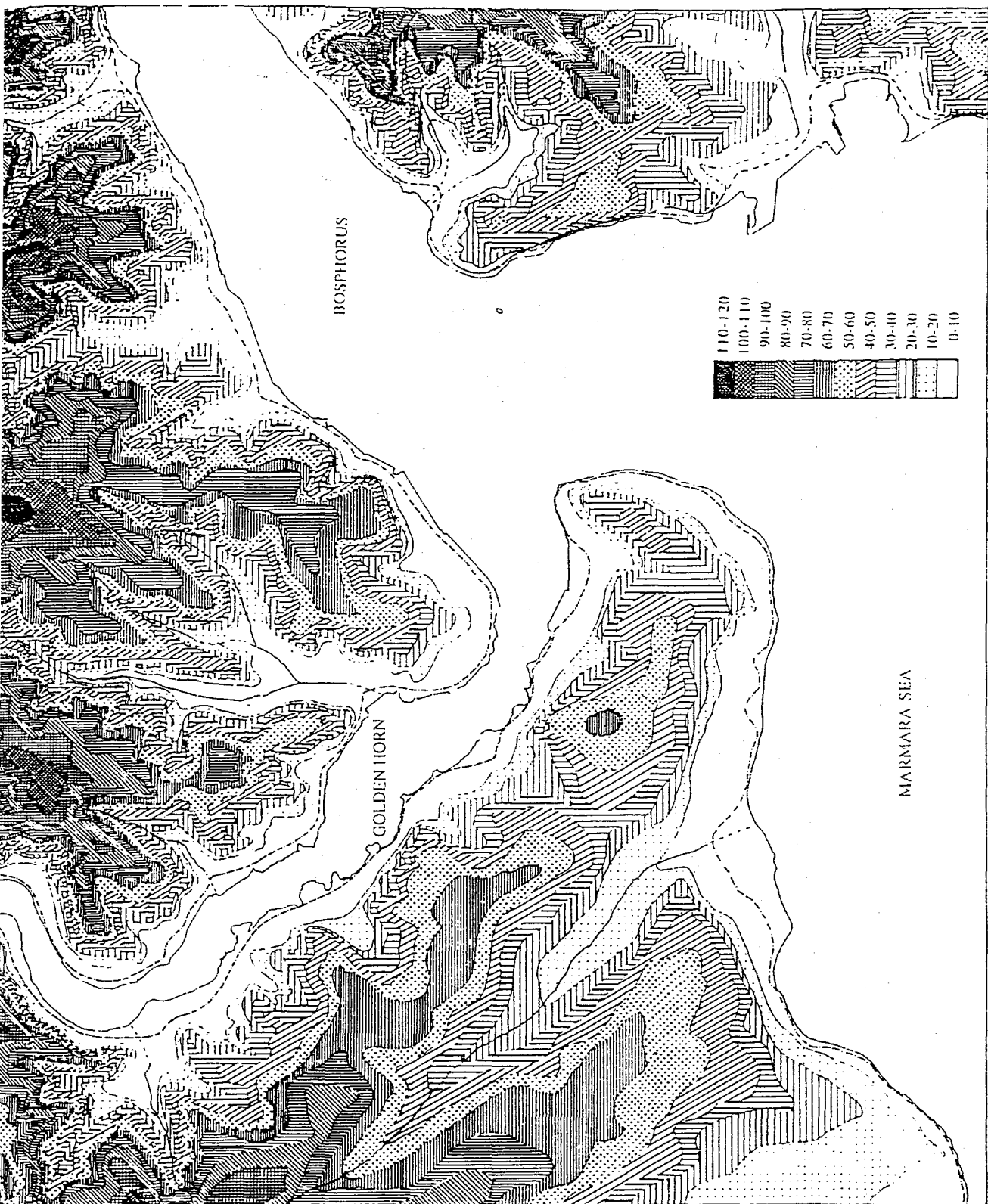
Mayer & Müller, G.m.b.H. in Leipzig.

Kartogr. Anstalt von Grafsmuck & Karnahl, Leipzig.





Taken from Kâzım Çeçen, *Üsküdar Suları*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Su ve Kanalizasyon İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü, 1991). See appendix 2 for chronologic list of the water supply lines shown on the map.



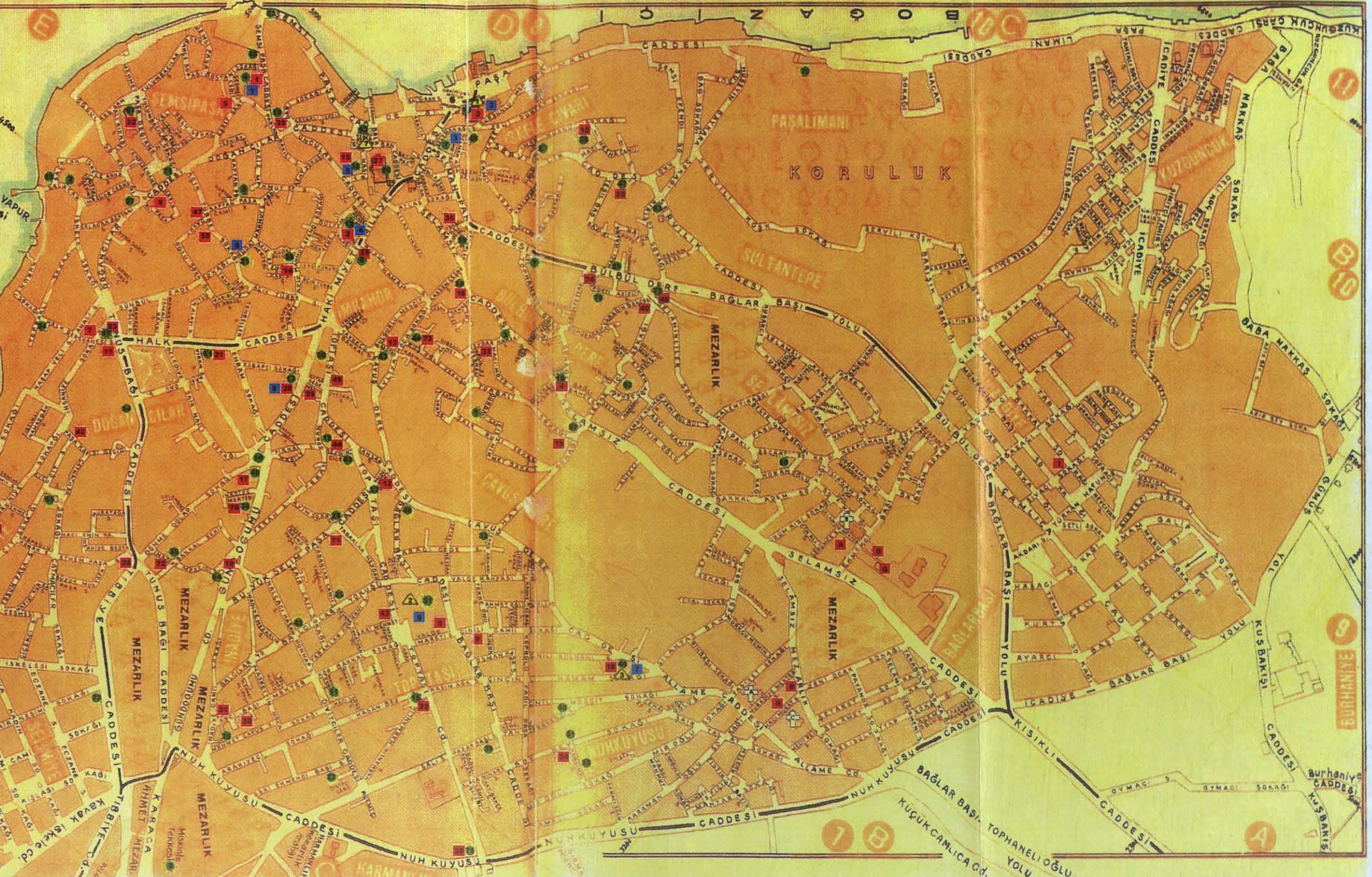
Taken from Doğan Kuban, *Istanbul An Urban History*, (Istanbul: The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey, 1996)

8  
ÜSKÜDAR KAZASI :  
27 ÜSKÜDAR MERKEZ NAHİYESİ  
MIKYASI : m. 1 : 10000

MARMARA DENİZİ

SALACAK VAPUR İskelesi

HAREM VAPUR İskelesi



For the key of the map see appendix 1.

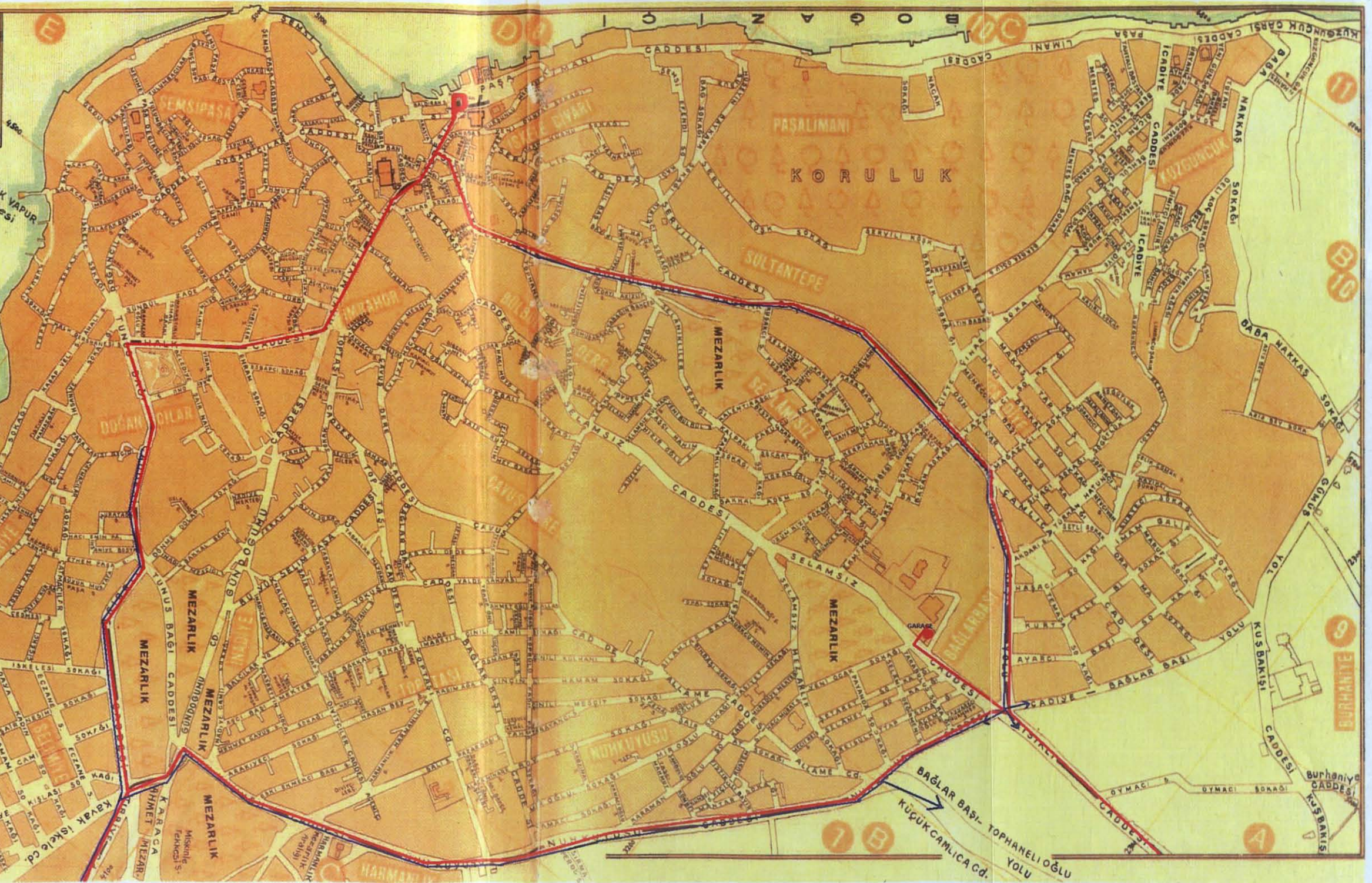
8  
ÜSKÜDAR KAZASI :  
27 ÜSKÜDAR MERKEZ NAHİYESİ  
MIKYASI : m. 1 : 10000

TRAMS  
OMNIBUSES & BUSES

MARMARA  
DENİZİ

HAREM VAPUR İskelesi  
SALACAK VAPUR İskelesi

7B  
4



7B

4

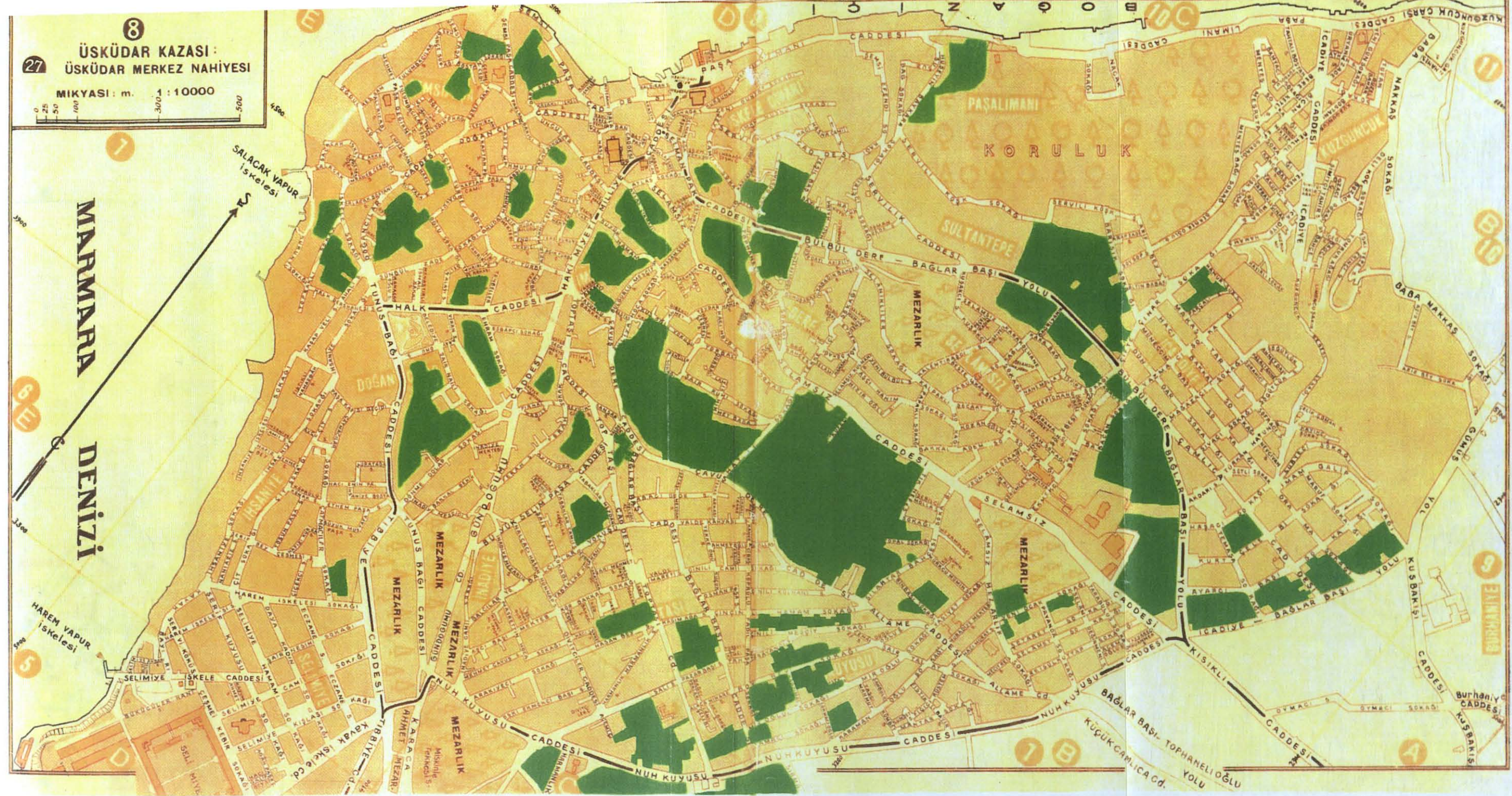
BAĞLAR BAŞI - TOPHANELİ OĞLU  
KÜÇÜKCAMLI CA. YOLU

BURHANİYE  
9

B10

11





This map has been prepared by using an Üsküdar plan drawn in 1934, made up of 26 sections in Pervititch Plans, Sections numbered 71, 72 and 73 showing Selamsiz and Bülbüldere are absent in the original plan and are not included in our map. Section number 83 in the original planshows Kuzguncuk and is hence disregarded in our map, Kuzguncuk is being outside the scope of our study.



# ÜSKÜDAR

BALABAN ÇARŞISI

## PLAN D'ASSURANCES

LEVÉ ET DESSINÉ, EN SEPTEMBRE 1932  
SUR BASE DE LA TRIANGULATION

OFFICIELLE

par J. PERVITITCH,  
(Révisé en février 1934)

Géom.-Topographe  
(Tous droits d'Auteur réservés)

*J. Pervititch*

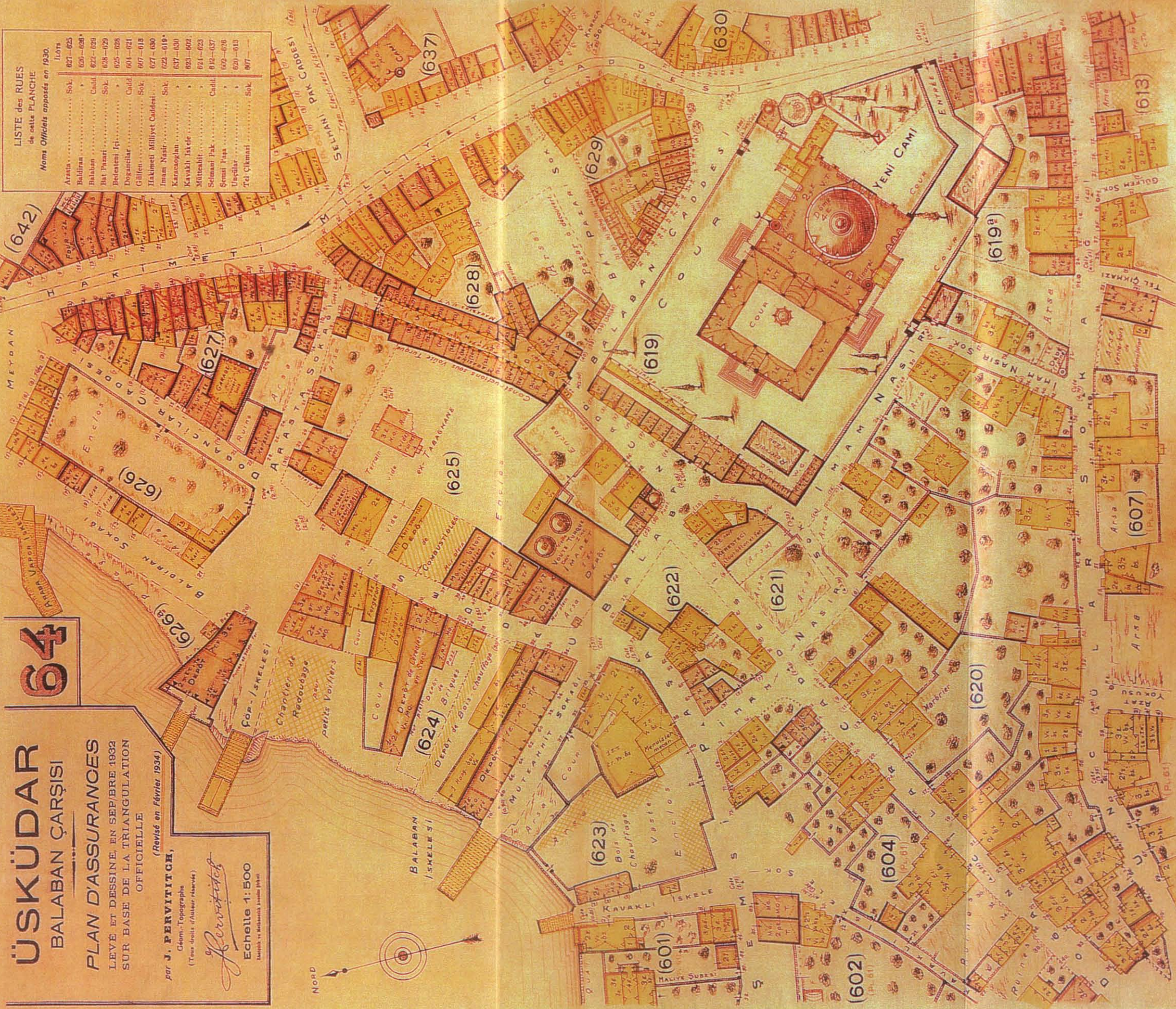
Echelle 1:500

Maçhuk ve Haritaçılık İşleri Bk.İst.

NORD



64



LISTE des RUES  
de cette PLANCHE  
Noms Officiels apposés en 1930.

Noms Officiels	1930	1920
Arasta	Sok.	627-625
Baldıran	Sok.	629-628
Bahadır	Sok.	622-620
Bat'ı Paşa	Sok.	625-624
Beledem'î	Sok.	625-624
Doganlar	Sok.	604-621
Gilfen	Sok.	607-618
Hakimî Milliyet Caddesi	Sok.	622-619
İmam Nasir	Sok.	637-630
Karacaoglan	Sok.	624-623
Kavaklı İskele	Sok.	624-623
Mittehit	Sok.	612-637
Sevni Paşa	Sok.	625-628
Uşaklar	Sok.	624-613
Te'î Cihannâ	Sok.	607

PAFTA 67

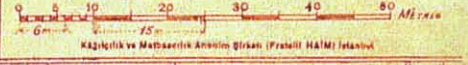
# ÜSKÜDAR İSKELE MAHALESİ

PLAN D'ASSURANCES  
LEVÉ ET DESSINÉ, EN JUILLET 1932,  
SUR BASE DE LA TRIANGULATION  
OFFICIELLE DE LA VILLE.  
REVISÉ EN AVRIL 1933

par JACQ. PERVITITCH, Géom.-Topographe  
(Tous droits d'Auteur réservés)

*Pervititch*

Echelle = 1:500 (2m/m = 1 Mètre)



## LISTE des RUES de cette PLANCHE Noms Officiels appposés en 1930

	Ilots
Baldiran Sokakı	626 - 641
Cemaleddin Paşa	626 - 641
Doğançılar Caddesi	626 - 627
Hakimiyet-i Milliye	627 - 642
İskender Meydanı	644 - 642
Kurşunlu Medrese Sokakı	643 - 641
Paşallımanı Caddesi	645 - 643
Selman Ağa Sokakı	638 - 639
Selman Ağa Kaçık Yokuşu	639 - 635
Selman Ağa Hamamı Sokakı	642 - 638
Selman Ağa Çayması Çikim	661 -
Seyit Camii Sokakı	639 - 661
Selvilik Caddesi	640 - 661
Yeniünvan Sokakı	641 - 640

# 66

(653)

CEMALEDDINE PAŞA YOKUŞU

(641)

(640)

(661)

(639)

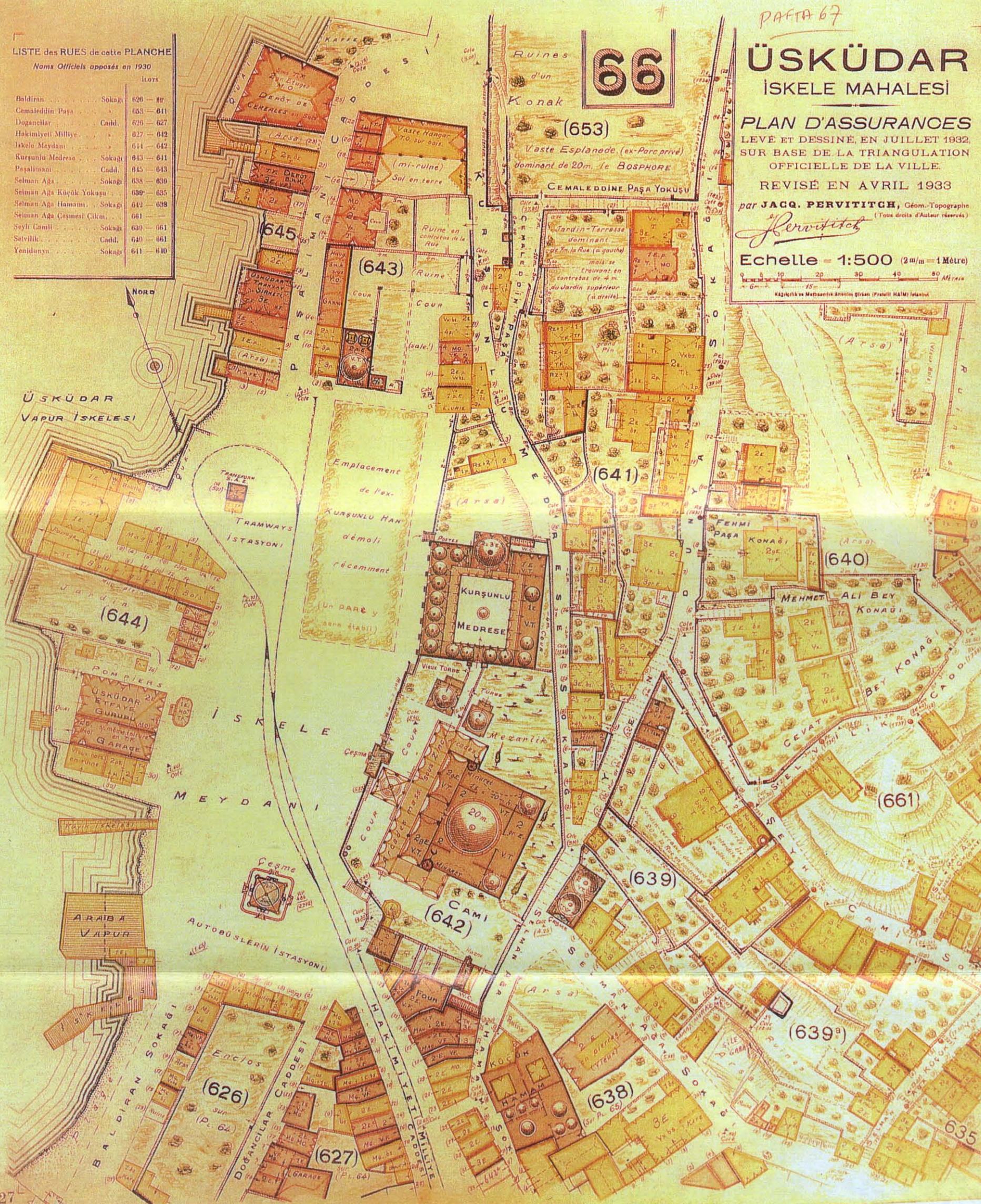
(639<sup>a</sup>)

(626)

(627)

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635



## **APPENDIX**

## Mosques: \*



No	Name	Sponsor of construction	Construction Date	Demolition Date <sup>1</sup>
1	Durbali Mosque	Ali Bali Ağa	1445-1460	
2	Fatih Sultan Mehmet Mosque	Fatih Sultan Mehmet	Circa 1453	
3	Toygar Hamza Masjid	Toygar Hamza Çelebi	Circa 1453	
4	Rum Mehmet Paşa Mosque	Mehmet Paşa	1471-72	
5	Hamza Fakih Masjid Kaptan Paşa Mosque	Hamza Fakih Kaptan-ı Derya Kaymak Mustafa Paşa	During the reign of II. Mehmed 1727	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> century
6	Kara Davut Paşa Mosque	Davut Paşa	Before 1506	
7	Selman Ağa Mosque	Selman Ağa	1506	
8	Demirci Masjid <sup>2</sup>	Not known	Before 1508	Not known
9	Miskinler Tekkesi Masjid	Sultan Selim	1514	
10	Hüsrev Ağa Mosque (Eski Hamam Mosque)	Darü's-saâde Ağası Hüsrev Ağa	Before 1520	
11	Takkeci Masjid (Arakiyeci Masjid)	Mehmet Ağa	Before 1538	
12	Gülfem Hatun Mosque	Gülfem Hatun	1539-49	
13	Kefçe Dede Masjid Ahmediye Mosque	Mehmet Dede Tersane Emini Ahmet Ağa	1540 1721	1721
14	Kaymakçı Tekkesi Masjid	Mehmed Efendi	Circa 1540	
15	Arakiyeci Hacı Mehmet Ağa Masjid (Kapı Ağası Masjid)	Hacı Mehmet Ağa	Before 1543	
16	Mihrimah Sultan İskele Mosque	Mihrimah Sultan	1548	
17	Doğancılar Mosque	Çakırcıbaşı Hasan Paşa	1548	
18	Solak Sinan Mosque	Solakbaşı Sinan Ağa	1548	
19	Hayrettin Çavuş Mosque	Hayrettin Çavuş	Before 1557	Burned in 1846 Rebuilt in 1897
20	Cafer Efendi Mosque <sup>2</sup>	Müderris Abdünnebizâde Cafer Efendi	1557-71	Not known
21	Ahmet Çelebi Mosque	Ahmet Çelebi	1567	
22	Kazasker Mosque (Divitçiler Mosque)	Muallimzâde Kazasker Ahmed Efendi	before 1572	

23	Şemsi Paşa Mosque	Şemsi Paşa	1580	
24	Sinan Paşa Mosque	Sinan Paşa	1582-1593	
25	Aşçıbaşı Mosque	Aşçıbaşı Mehmet Ağa	Before 1585	
26	Hacı Hesna Hatun	Hacı Hesna Hatun	1585	
27	Mumcubaşı Masjîd	Mumcubaşı Mehmet Ağa	After 1585 (After Hacı Hesna Hatun Mosque)	
28	Kurbağı Nasuh Mosque	Kurbağı Nasuh	Before 1587	
29	Debbağlar Mosque	Hacı Mehmet ve Ferhat	1587	
30	Tavaşi Hasan Ağa Mosque	Tavaşi Hasan Ağa	1587-88	
31	Valide-i Atik Mosque	Nurbanu Valide Sultan	1589	
32	Salih Efendi Mosque	Salih Efendi	Before 1591	
33	Mehmet Ağa Masjîd (Kemer Altı Mosque)	Darü's-saâde Ağası Mehmet Ağa	Before 1591	1915 (to widened the street)
34	Çingene Fırını Mosque (Karakadı Mosque)	Kara Alaaddin	Before 1592	
35	Bali Çavuş Masjîd	Hoca Bali	1591-92	
36	Aziz Mahmut Hüdayi Efendi Tekkesi Mosque	Ayşe Hanım Sultan	1594	
37	Mirahur (İmrahor) Mosque	El-hac Mehmet Ağa (or Ayşe Sultan)	1597	
38	Geredeli Masjîd	Geredeli Çelebi	Before 1598	
39	Alaca Minare Masjîd (Murat Kaptan Masjîd)	Kapudan Hoca Murat	Before 1603	
40	Murat Reis Masjîd	Murat Reis	Before 1609	
41	Kavak Sarayı Masjîd <sup>3</sup>	Not known	Circa 1614	Circa 1800
42	Nalçacı Halil Tekkesi Mosque	Nalçacı Şeyh Halil Efendi	Before 1631	
43	Balaban Tekkesi Masjîd	İsfendiyar	Circa 1630	
44	Evliya Hoca Mosque	Evliya Hoca Mehmet Efendi	Before 1635	
45	Ağa Mosque (Malatyalı İsmail Ağa Mosque)	Darü'ssaâde Ağası Malatyalı İsmail Ağa	1635	
46	Çinili Mosque	Mehpayker Kösem Sultan	1640	
47	Bâki Efendi Mosque (Abdülbâki Efendi Mosque)	Abdülbâki Efendi	1644	
48	Kumru Masjîd (Arslan Ağa Masjîd)	Kumru Mehmet Ağa	1646-1650	
49	Kavsara Mustafa Efendi Mosque	Kavsara Mustafa Efendi	Before 1655	
50	Divitçizâde Şeyh Mehmet Talib Efendi	Şeyh Divitçizade Mehmet Efendi	Before 1675	

	Mosque (Sultan I. Mahmut Mosque)			
51	Şehit Süleyman Paşa Mosque	Süleyman Paşa	1677	
52	Selami Ali Efendi Tekkesi Mosque	Eş-Şeyh Selami Ali Efendi	Circa 1677	
53	Bulgurlu Mescit	Mehmet Ağa	1680	
54	Nasuhi Mehmet Efendi Tekkesi Mosque	Moralı Sadrazam Hasan Paşa	1684	
55	Haydar Dede Masjid	Şeyh Haydar Buharî	1690-1700	
56	Şüca' Bağ'ı Mosque	Eş-Şeyh Ali Efendi	Before 1692	
57	Fatma Hatun Masjid	Fatma Hatun	Before 1697	
58	Pazarbaşı Masjid	Pazarbaşı Ahmet Ağa	1697	
59	Tembel Hacı Mehmet Efendi Mosque (Atlamataşı Mosque)	El-hac Mehmet Efendi	1710-1720	mid 19th century
60	Yeni Valide Mosque	Gülnuş Emetullah Valide Sultan	1711	
61	Fenayi Tekkesi Masjid	Kütahyalı eş-Şeyh es-seyyid Ali Efendi	1714	
62	At Pazarı Osman Efendi Masjid	Şeyh Osman Efendi	1720	
63	Mirzazâde Mosque (Şeyhülislam or Nur Mosque)	Şeyhülislam Mirzazâde Şeyh Mehmet Efendi	1730-31	
64	Bandırmalı Tekkesi (İnadiye Tekkesi) Masjid	Sadrizam Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa	1732	
65	İhsaniye Mosque	III. Osman	1755	
66	İhsaniye Masjid	III. Osman	1755	
67	Ayazma Mosque	III. Mustafa	1760	
68	Şerefabad Mosque (Adliye Mosque)	III. Mustafa	1760	
69	Salacak Mosque (Teşrifatçı Mosque)	Teşrifatçı Akif Mehmet Bey	1761	
70	Abdurrahman Ağa Mosque	Abdurrahman Ağa	1766-67	
71	Mevlevihane Masjid	Galata Mevlevihanesi Şeyhi Numan Halil Dede	1790	
72	Selimiye Mosque	II. Selim	1802	
73	Çiçekçi Mosque (Küçük Selimiye Mosque)	III. Selim	1805	
74	Mehmet Tahir Efendi Mosque (Harem İskelesi Mosque)	Es-seyyid Mehmet Tahir Efendi	1826	
75	Nuh Kuyusu Mosque (Cevri Usta Mosque)	II. Mahmut	(probably) 1826	
76	Hammal Mehmet Ağa	Mehmet Ağa	Circa mid	

	Masjid		19th century	
77	Feyziye Mosque	The immigrants of Thessaloniki	1882-83	
?	Serçe Hatun Mosque	Serçe Hoca Mehmet Efendi	Not known	

#### Churches:

No	Name	Sponsor of construction	Construction date	Community
A	Surp Karabet Church	Vanlı Vardapet Zakarya (He become the Patriarch of Istanbul Armenian community in 1626)	1617	Armenian
B	Surp Haç Church	Balatlı Abraham	1676	Armenian
C	İlya Profiti Church	Not known	Not known	Greek

#### Schools:



No	Name	Construction Date	Demolition/ Closing Date <sup>1</sup>
1	Rum Mehmet Paşa Mektebi	1471-72	
2	Gülfem Hatun Mektebi	1539-49	
3	Mihrimah Sultan Sıbyan Mektebi	1548	
4	Solak Sinan Sıbyan Mektebi	1548 (?)	
5	Solak Sinan Mektebi <sup>4</sup>	1548 (?)	
6	Rüstem Paşa Sıbyan Mektebi	1551	
7	Çakırcıbaşı Hasan Paşa Mektebi	1558	
8	Atik Valide Sultan Sıbyan Mektebi	1583	
9	Nurbanu Sultan Dar'ül Kurrası	1583	
10	Hacı Hesna Hatun Mektebi	1585	
11	Hacı Ahmet Paşa Mektebi <sup>5</sup>	1585	Not known
12	Mehmet Ağa (Kemer Altı) Sıbyan Mektebi	1589-90	
13	Mehmet Ağa Mektebi (Bulgurlu Mescit Mektebi)	Before 1590	
14	Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi Efendi Mektebi	1594-95	the beginning of the 20th century
15	Geredeli Mektebi	Before 1598	
16	Karakadı Mektebi	Circa 1610	
17	Malatyalı İbrahim Ağa Dar'ül Kurrası	1635	1902
18	Çinili Camii Sıbyan Mektebi	1642	
19	Has Odabaşı Ahmet Ağa Mektebi	1643	Not known

20	Abdülbaki Efendi Sıbyan Mektebi	1644	
21	Süleyman Paşa Sıbyan Mektebi	Circa 1677	
22	Yakup Ağa Mektebi (Saray Ağası Yakup Ağa Mektebi)	1678	
23	Ali Ağa Sıbyan Mektebi	1702	
24	Çavuşbaşı Mektebi	1704	
25	Türk Ahmet Paşa Mektebi	(probably)1704-5	(Probably) 1834-35
26	Yeni Valide Mektebi (Tunusbağı Sıbyan Mektebi)	1711(?)	
27	Yeni Valide Camii Mektebi	1711	
28	Ahmediye Camii Mektebi	1720-21	Circa 1900 (Converted into a dervish lodge)
29	Ahmediye Mektebi	1721	Burned in 1865 Rebuilt in 1872
30	Mahmut Çavuş Mektebi (Taş Mektep)	1742	End of the 19th century
31	Mustafa Ağa Mektebi	Before 1750	
32	Ayazma Sıbyan Mektebi	1760	
33	Mehmet Ağa Mektebi	Before 1764	Before 1920
34	Fıstıklı Mektebi	1764-65	
35	Selim Ağa Sıbyan Mektebi (Atlamataşı Rüşdiyesi)	1782 (1874)	
36	Kalınoğlu Ahmet Ağa Mektebi	Before 1783	
37	Selimiye Sıbyan Mektebi	1802	1915 (converted into a police station)
38	Cevri Usta Sıbyan Mektebi	1810	
39	Defterdar Mektebi (Mehmet Tahir Efendi Mektebi)	1826	
40	Nevfidan Hatun Mektebi	1820 –1840	
41	Üsküdar Amerikan Kız Koleji <sup>6</sup>	1873 (1921)	
42	Üsküdar İdadisi (Paşakapısı İdadisi-Üsküdar Sultanisi-Paşakapısı Sultanisi)	1875	
43	Üsküdar Askeri Rüşdiyesi (Toptaşı Askeri Rüşdiyesi)	1875	
44	Hacı Bedel Mektebi (Kız Okulu)	After 1875	
45	Gülfem Hatun Kız Rüşdiyesi <sup>2</sup>	1877	
46	Üsküdar Kız Rüşdiye Mektebi <sup>2</sup>	1877	
47	Üsküdar Mithat Paşa Kız Sanat Enstitüsü (Üsküdar Nehâri Kız Sanayi Mektebi)	1878	
48	Feyziye Mektebi	1882	
49	Ravza-i Terakki	1887	
50	Açık Türbe Kız Rüşdiyesi	1911	
?1	Debbağlar Mektebi	Not known	

72	Esmâ Sultan Mektebi	Not known	
73	Evliya Hoca Mektebi	Not known	End of the 19 <sup>th</sup> century
74	Fettah Efendi Mektebi	Not known	
75	Hacı Faik Efendi Mektebi	Not known	
76	Tavaşi Hasan Ağa Mektebi (İnadiye Mektebi)	Not known	
77	Mumcuzâde Mektebi <sup>2</sup>	Not known	Not known

Minority Schoos:<sup>7</sup>

n o	Name	Contruction Date	Demolition/ Closing Date <sup>1</sup>	Community
A	Surp Haç Kilisesi Okulu	1706		Armenian
B	Cemaran Okulu	1838 (reopening 1911)	1850 (moved to Yedikule)	Armenian
C	Mezburyan Okulu <sup>2</sup> (İcadiye)	1870	Not Known (It has moved to Kadıköy)	Armenian
D	Berberyan Okulu	1878		Armenian
E	Azkaniver Hayuhyaş İngerutyan Okulu <sup>2</sup>	1879		Armenian
F	Haygazyan Okulu <sup>2</sup> (İcadiye)	1885	Not Exaclty Known (closing in ashort time after the opening)	Armenian
G	Dadyan Okulu	1910	Moved to Bakirköy after the WWI	Armenian
H	İlya Profiti Rum Kilisesi Mektebi	Not known	Not known	Greek
I	Nersesiyân Okulu (zaten alan dışı)	Not known		Armenian

Madrasas: 

no	Name	Construction Date	Demolition/ Closing Date <sup>1</sup>
1	Rum Mehmet Paşa Medresesi	1473	Not exactly known (almost ruined in 1770)
2	Mihrimah Sultan Medresesi (Kurşunlu Medrese)	1548	
3	Hacı Kadın Medresesi <sup>8</sup>	Circa 1556	
4	Gülfem Hatun Medresesi	Circa 1562	
5	Şemsi Paşa Medresesi	1580 <sup>9</sup>	
6	Valide-i Atik Medresesi	1589-80	
7	Çinil Medresesi	1640	
8	Şethülslâm Minkarizâde Yaya Efendi Medresesi	Circa 1665	1885 (because of the earthquake)
9	Ahmediye Medresesi	1721-22	

Caravanserais: 

No	Name	Construction Date
1	Mihrimah Sultan Kervansarayı	1547
2	Valde-i Atik Kervansarayı	1583
3	Kösem Sultan Kervansarayı	1640
?	Muytab Hanı (Han-ı Sebil)	Not known

#### KHANS:

According to the statistical yearbook ("*İhsâiyat Mecuası*") dated from 132/1912, there were 23 khans in Üsküdar.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, there is not any information except street names about the locations of these khans. Furthermore, name of the streets *Akar Çeşme*, *Akar Çeşme* and *Yeni Cami* could not be detected in any map. It seems possible to think that *Yeni Cami* Street should have been around Yeni Valide Mosque on the coast. There are two possibilities about the location of *Yeni Çeşme* Street. First it could be the same street that is called *Çeşme-i Cedid* that connects *Eşref Saati* and *Şemsi Paşa* Streets in Salacak, in the map dated from 1934. Second, according to Mehmet Nermi Haskan who gives some detailed description

for the location of eight mosques in the above-mentioned list, one of the khans on *Çeşme-i Cedid* Street, namely Arapacı Khan is on the *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* Street. Because of the above-mentioned reason that makes impossible to detect the exact locations of the khans, they are not located on map. Yet, however, as is seen in the below-mentioned list khans concentrated around the main square near the piers, Atpazarı (it should be considered that *Toptaşı* Street was just next to it) and on *Selâmsız* Street. The list given by the yearbook is as follows:

- 1) Koltuk Hanı (Vapur İskelesi)
- 2) Sarraf Hanı (Vapur İskelesi)
- 3) Feyzullah Hanı (Vapur İskelesi)
- 4) Zincirli Hanı (Yeni Cami Caddesi)
- 5) Mumcu Hanı (Akarçeşme Caddesi)
- 6) Hacı Ali Ağa Hanı (Yeni Cami Caddesi)
- 7) Balıkçıoğlu Hanı (Yeni Cami Caddesi)
- 8) Arpacı Hanı (Yeni Çeşme Caddesi)
- 9) Yağcı Hanı (Yeni Çeşme Caddesi)
- 10) Budak Hanı (Yeni Cami Caddesi)
- 11) Abdullah Ağa Hanı (Yeni Cami Caddesi)
- 12) Tombul Ali Ağa Hanı (Atpazarı Caddesi)
- 13) Tahir Efendi Hanı (Atpazarı Caddesi)
- 14) Ali Efendi Hanı (Doğancılar Caddesi)
- 15) Ahır Odaları Hanı (Selâmsız Karakolhanesi Arkası)
- 16) Kepekçi Hanı (Selâmsız Karakolhanesi Arkası)
- 17) Yağhane Hanı (Selâmsız Caddesi)
- 18) Kilise Hanı (Selâmsız Caddesi)

19) Tavukçu Hanı (Karacaahmet Caddesi)<sup>11</sup>

20) Ahır Odaları Hanı (Yeni Çeşme Caddesi)

21) Kireçhane Odaları Hanı (Toptaşı Caddesi)

22) Hoşkadem Hanı (Toptaşı Caddesi)

23) Kireçhane Odaları Hanı (Toptaşı Caddesi)<sup>12</sup>

24) Kahvepeyker Odaları Hanı (Salacak Caddesi)

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Notes:

The information on the sponsors of construction and construction/demolition dates of some constructions in the list are not exact. For the construction dates of the mosques the expression "before" usually means before the death of the sponsor. So it should be considered as "just before". However, it should also be considered that there may be some mosques that were finished after the death of its sponsor. Additionally, some of the constructions had been demolished and then rebuilt by sponsors different than the initial ones. The table does not include these kinds of information. For detailed information about the constructions listed see the following sources which constitute the basis of the table: Mehmet Nermi Haskan, *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Üsküdar*, (Istanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi Yayınları 2001); Ayvansarayî Hafız Hüseyin, *Hadikatü'l Cevami'*, İhsan Erzi(ed.), (Istanbul: Tercüman Aile Kitaplığı Yayınları, 1987); Mehmed Râ'if, *Mir'at-ı İstanbul*, (Istanbul: Çelik Gülersoy Vakfı Yayınları, 1996)

<sup>1</sup> During or just before the period concerned.

<sup>2</sup> Not placed on the map. Its location could not be detected.

<sup>3</sup> Not placed on the map. Its location could not be detected. According to Haskan it should be on the place of the military barracks. If it is so, it should have been demolished before the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>4</sup> Its construction date is uncertain. According to Haskan it should have been constructed at the same time with Solak Sinan Mosque. [see Haskan, p. 926] However they are quite far from each other.

<sup>5</sup> Its location on the map is not its exact place.

<sup>6</sup> This school used to accept foreign and minority and Turkish students.

The information given by Haskan about this school includes some contradictions. According to Haskan it was constructed in 1871 and moved to Arnavuköy in 1914. However, this school is still in the same place in Üsküdar. According to Ahmet Mülayim the school has been founded in İzmit-Gölcük in 1873 and it has moved to Üsküdar in 1921. [see Ahmet Mülayim, "Üsküdar Amerikan Kız Lisesi", in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994), p. 346]. Thus this school is not located at the map. It is in the same area with the minority schools and just next to "Dadyan Okulu"

<sup>7</sup> Beside these listed minority schools there were the following schools in Üsküdar: "Üsküdar Mektep ve Uvruvari" (A French-Latin School) and "Ekol ve Frer Marist". (see Haskan, p. 931) However, unfortunately I could not reach any other information about these schools.

<sup>8</sup> Although its location is not exactly known, according to Haskan it should be near the Selman Ağa Mosque.

<sup>9</sup> This building was constructed as a dervish lodge. It is not known when it was converted to a madrasa.

<sup>10</sup> *İstanbul Beldesi İhsaiyat Mecmuası*, (Dersaadet: Matbaa-i Arşak Garoyan, 1328/1912) p. 35., also quoted in Haskan, p. 1488-1489

<sup>11</sup> Although the name of the khan is Tavukçu in the yearbook, in the list given by Haskan its name is shown as Tabutçu. Although both of them show the location of the khan as *Karacaahmed*, I would like to underline the name of two streets around *Atpazarı* whose names remind that of the khan. Tavukçu Bakkal Street (see Map 7 dated from 1934) and Tabutçular Street (see Map 2, dated from 1925-28)

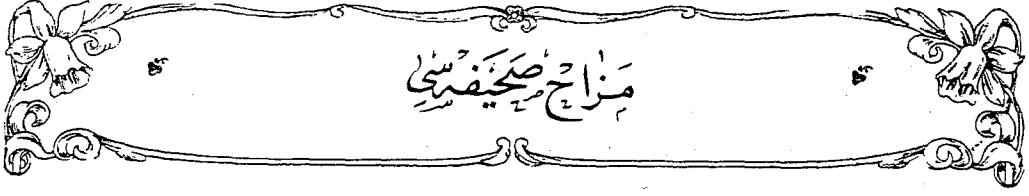
<sup>12</sup> Kireçhane Odaları Hanı is recorded twice in the yearbook., but only once in Haskan's book. Possibly, Haskan considers this as a repetition that indicates an error. However, I have no data that indicates an error, and it is not unusual to have two khans with the same name. Therefore, I recorded it twice in the listed as it is in the original list.

**CHRONOLOGIC LIST OF ÜSKÜDAR'S  
WATER SUPPLY LINES**

	Name of the Water supply system	Length of the water supply line (m) (excluding the down town area) (in 1930)	Discharge lüle, masura According to İsmail Remzi and Pious Foundation Book (VD)	Construction date Hegira/ Christian	Remarks
1	Mihrimah Sultan I Mihrimah Sultan II	300 (?) 3000 1700	1.5 lüle VD: 2 lüle + 4 masura	954/1547	Daughter of Suleiman the Magnificent
2	Solak Sinan	2200	1.5 lüle VD: 4 or 7 masura	954/1547	Solakbaşı Sinan Ağa
3	Atik Valide Sultan (Nürbânû)	15300	13 lüle VD: 11 lüle + 5 masura	990/1582-3	Mother of Murad III
4	Aziz Mahmut Hüdayi	3000	1 lüle VD: 6 lüle + 3 masura	1019/1610	Founder of the Celveti Sect
5	Çinili, Mahipeyker (Kösem) Sultan	9900	3 lüle VD: 6 lüle	1052/1642	Wife of Ahmet I
6	Arslan Ağa	850	3 lüle VD: 3 lüle + 5 masura	1056/1646-47	Kethüda of Sultan's mother
7	Selâmi Ali Efendi	700	1 lüle VD: 4 masura	1088/1677	Şeyh Selâmi Efendi
8	Sarayağası or Kapuağası Yakup Ağa	14000	VD: 1 masura (?)	1089/1678	Kapuağası Yakup Ağa
9	Çınar or Hacı Halil Efendi	500	?	1119/1707	Matbah Emiri
10	Cedit Valide or GülnuşValide Sultan	2900	2 lüle VD: 8 lüle + 6 masura	1121/1709	Mother of Ahmet III
11	Tophanelioğlu Mustafa Efendi	3900	3 masura VD: 6 lüle	1140/1727	Mustafa Efendi
12	Damat İbrahim Paşa	14600	6 lüle VD: 8 lüle + 5 masura	1131-1341/ 1718-1728	Grand vizier
13	Ayazma or Mustafa III	1300	1 lüle VD: 4 lüle + 3 masura	1174/1760	Mustafa III
14	Selimiye	5000	2 lüle VD: 11 lüle + 6 masura + 4 hilâl	1217/1802	Selim III
15	Mihrişah Sultan	3800	2 lüle	1217/1802	Mother of Selim III
16	Altunizade	1600	1 lüle VD: 2 lüle + 5 masura	1282/1862	Altunizade İsmail Zühtüpaşa
17	Paşa Limanı or Cevri Kalfa	1900	1 lüle Cevri Usta VD: 2 lüle	1291-1874	Cevri Kalfa or Hüseyin Avni Paşa

İ.R. = İsmail Remzi. 1 lüle = 8 masura. 1 lüle = 52 m<sup>3</sup> /day

*Üsküdar Suları*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Su ve Kanalizasyon İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü, 1991), p. 14.



اسکدارده کی دیوانجیلر میدانی قادیلرک تیزی ایچون مکمل برابره تحویل ایدله کدن سکره :



بیت مأموری :

- خانلر سز نرهیه ؟.. باغچهیه کیورسکز ؟
- باغچه قادیلر ایچون دکلی ؟...
- قادیلر ایچون اما ... هر قادی نصل قبول ایدلم ... هم سز بوراده اکلته سز سکز ... دیوار دیی سزه پک اعلادر ...
- ایی اما اوغل ... چوجق اورایه قدر یورویه مہ چک ...
- ( دهادیک برصد ایله ) او ... ایشته اوھیچ اوله سز ... بوراسی حیوانات باغچه سی دکل ... نه چاغانوز نه ده بکچ قبول ایتوروز ...

Üsküdar'da Doğançılar\* meydanı kadınların tenezzühü için mükemmel bir parka tahvil edildikten sonra:

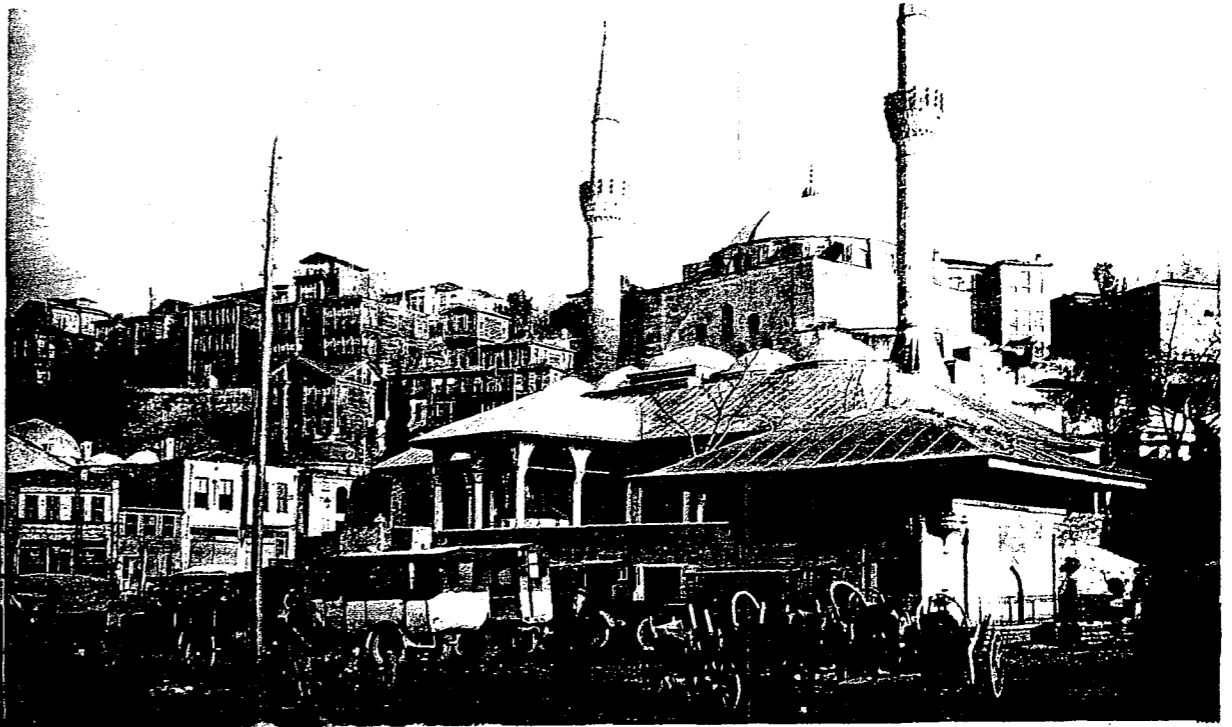
Bilet memuru:

- Hanımlar siz nereye? Bahçeye mi geliyorsunuz?
- Bahçe kadınlar için değil mi?
- Kadınlar için ama... Her kadını nasıl kabul edelim... Hem siz burada eğlenemezsiniz... Duvardibi size pek âlâdır...
- İyi ama oğul... çocuk oraya kadar yürüyemeyecek...
- (Daha dik bir seda ile) O... İşte o hiç olmaz... burası hayvanat bahçesi değil ne çağanoz ne de yengeç kabul etmiyoruz...

\* Written as *divançılar*.



293



Scutari "Grande Mosque."

The main square (*İskele Meydanı*), Mihrimah Sultan Mosque and carriages

Streets of Üsküdar



Une rue  
à Scoufari.

SALUT  
DE CONSTANTINOPLE

*Many thanks for letter received on Sunday Morning*



Old ISTANBUL

*Le 19 Août 1907*

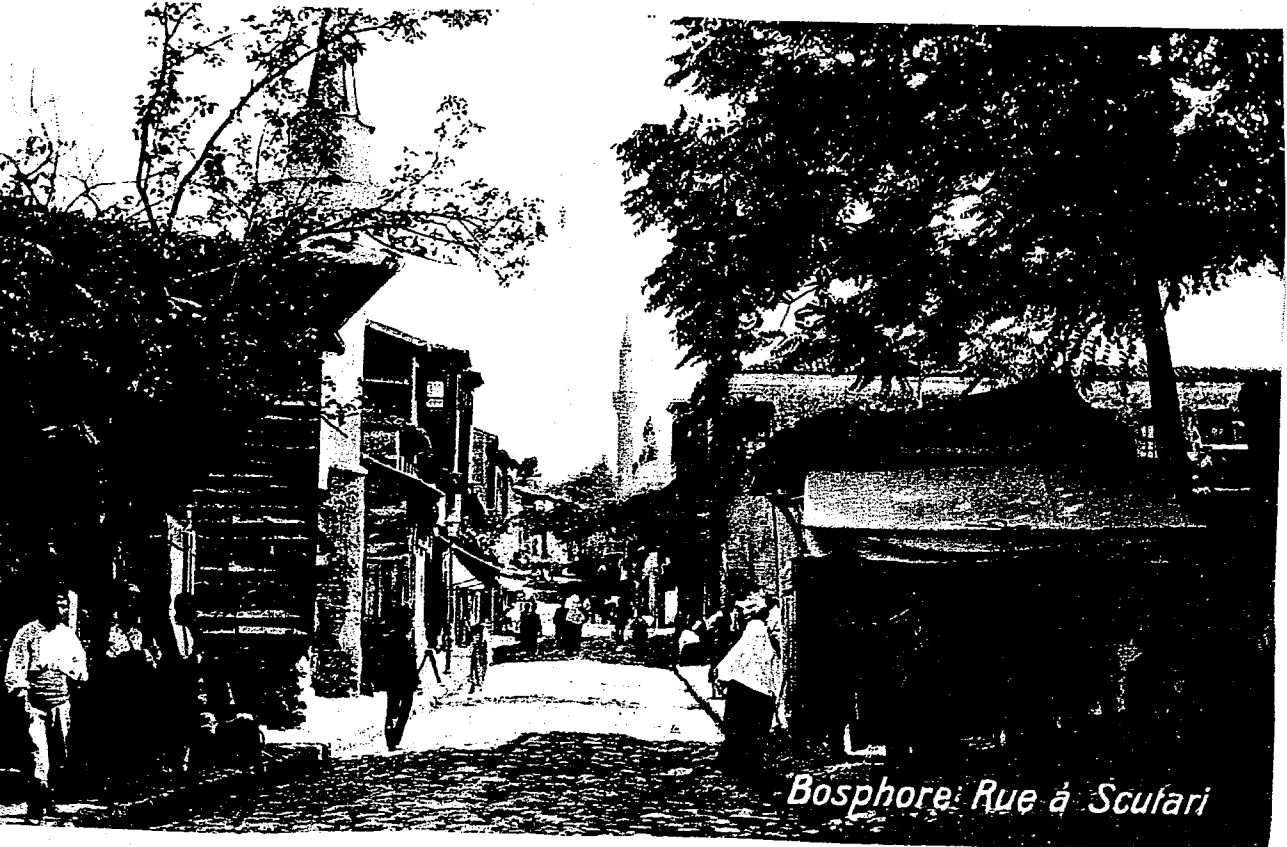
Rue à Scutari, Constantinople.



*Mille bons souvenirs  
à Augustine*

Editeur Max Fuchtermann, Constantinople, 1786.

Photos: Sébah & Joaillier.



*Bosphore: Rue à Scufari*



Constantinople.

*Amical souvenir  
M. A. / 12/15/05*



Constantinople. Rue à Scutari.

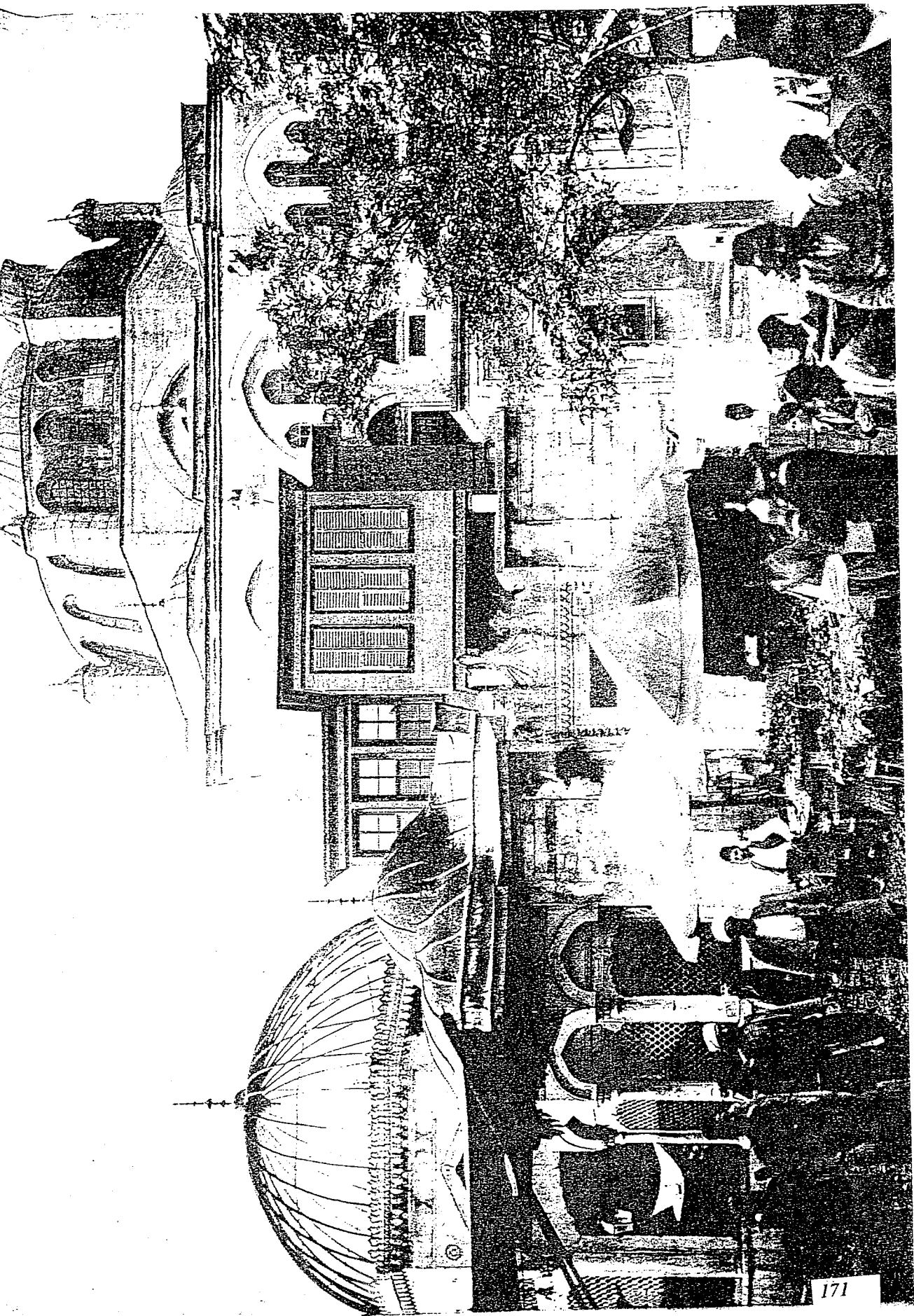


1823. Edition: Max Fichtelmann, Constantinople.

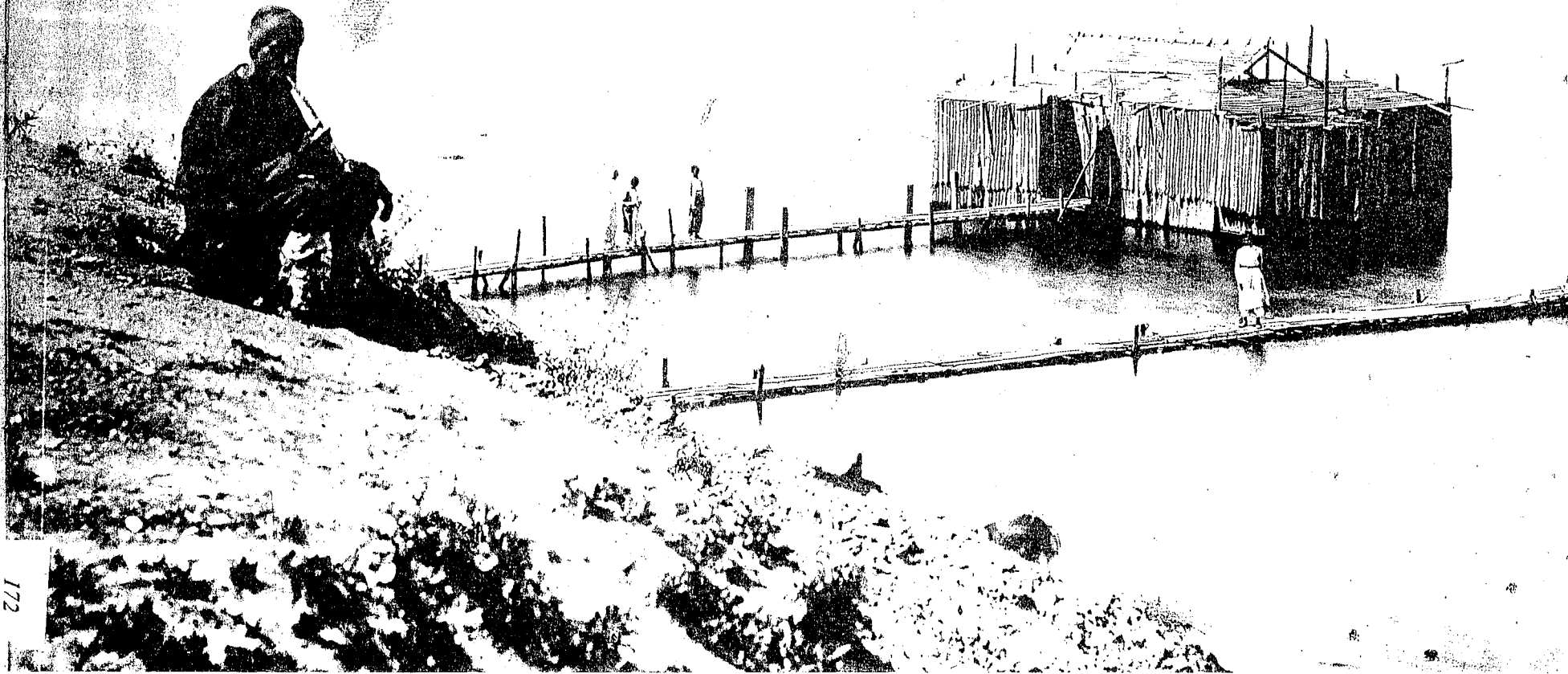
Photogr. C. Berggrén.



Üsküdar marketplace



The coast of Salacak and a sea bath in front of Kızkulesi, taken from *İstanbul: A glimpse into the past*



The Great Cemetery. Mentioned frequently in guidebooks and travel books, it is also one of the most repeated panoramas on the postcards by Fruchtermann.



Cimetière turc à Scutari - Bosphore

No. 68 Editeur Max Fruchtermann, Constantinople

CIMETIÈRE DE SCUTARI.

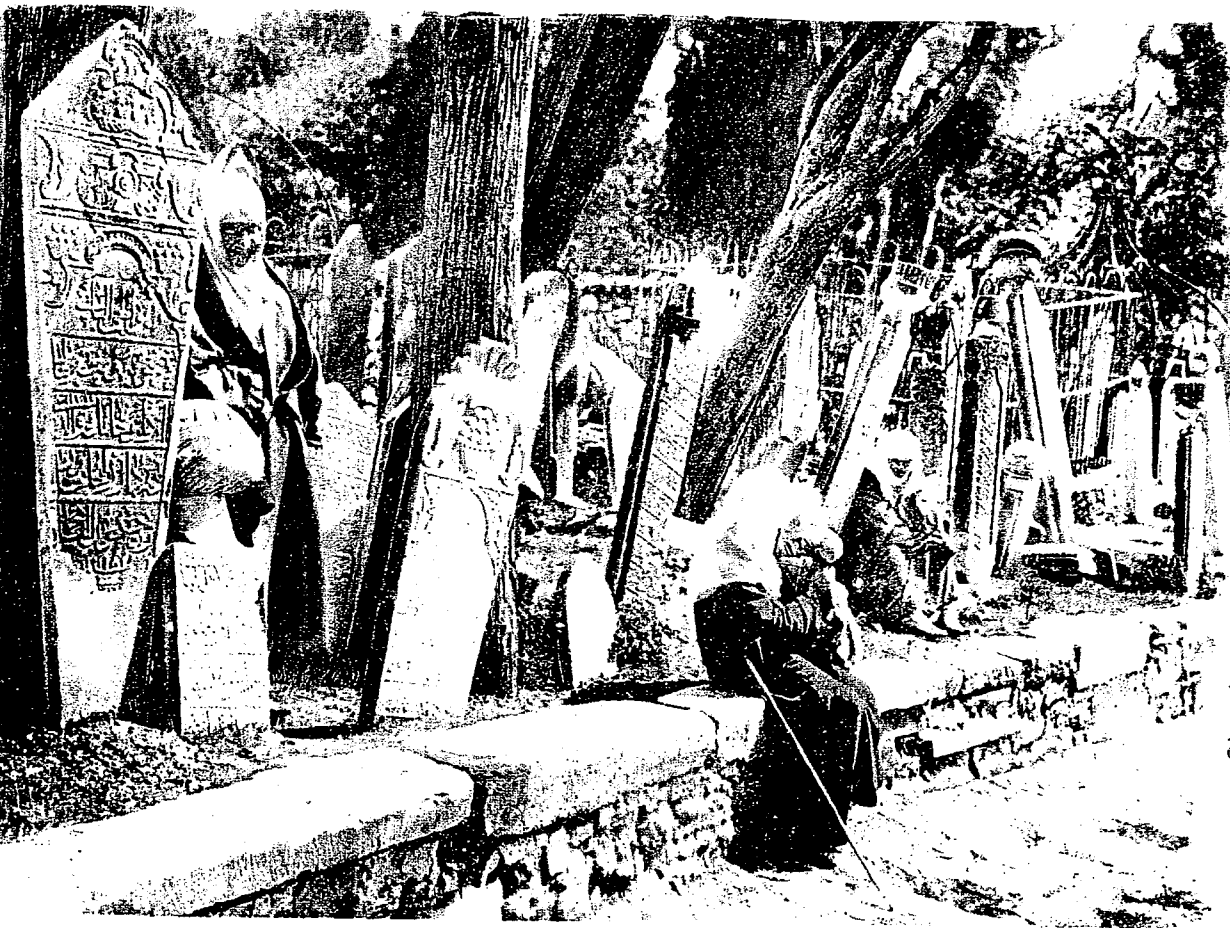


L'art. Pindar & Co. Imp. & Litogr. fabrication spéciale pour cartes postales avec vues

Max Fruchtermann, Editeur, Constantinople.

Souvenir de  
**CONSTANTINOPLE.**

اسطنبول یادگارلی



Cimetière turc à Scutari - Constantinople

No. 69

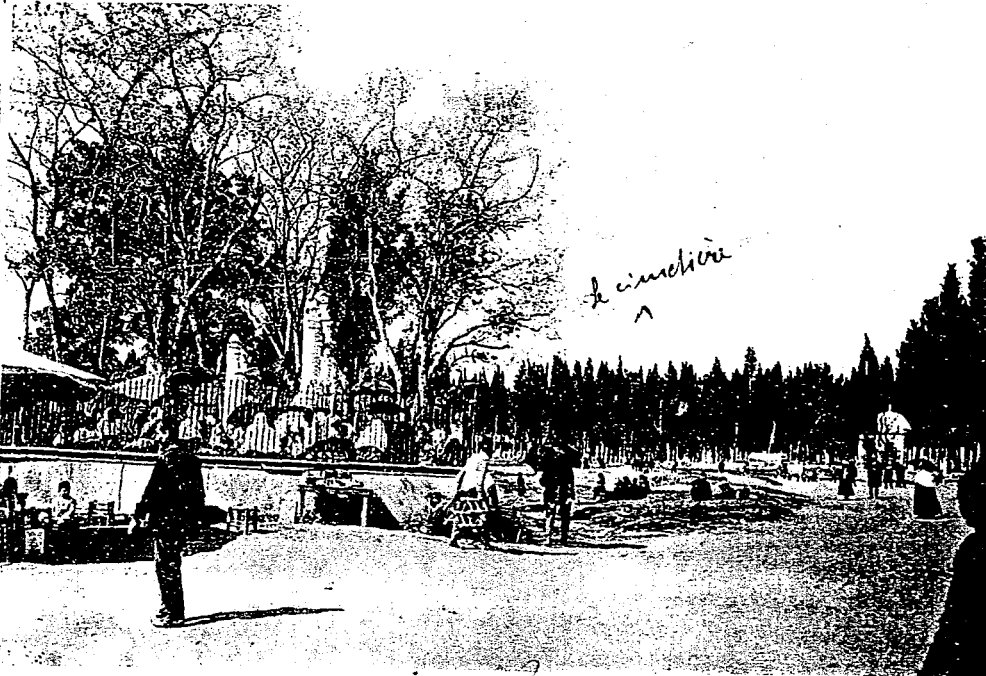


Cimetière  
à Scutari-Bosphore,  
Constantinople.



115. Üsküdar

Yayınca: E.F.Rochat



La cimetière de Scutari, Constantinople.

Constantinople.

18. 12. 02.

Madame, Mele m'écrit pour me remercier  
 cartes qui m'ont fait grand  
 plaisir. Ça m'est tout à fait mi-  
 diplément de m'interroger des châteaux  
 de Bismarck que, aussitôt que les  
 cartes d'Amour sont épuisées.

la cimetière

Je suis tout surpris de la part  
 de la cimetière

Editeur: Max Fruchtermann, Constantinople. No. 1164.



298 Constantinople Cimetière de Scutari



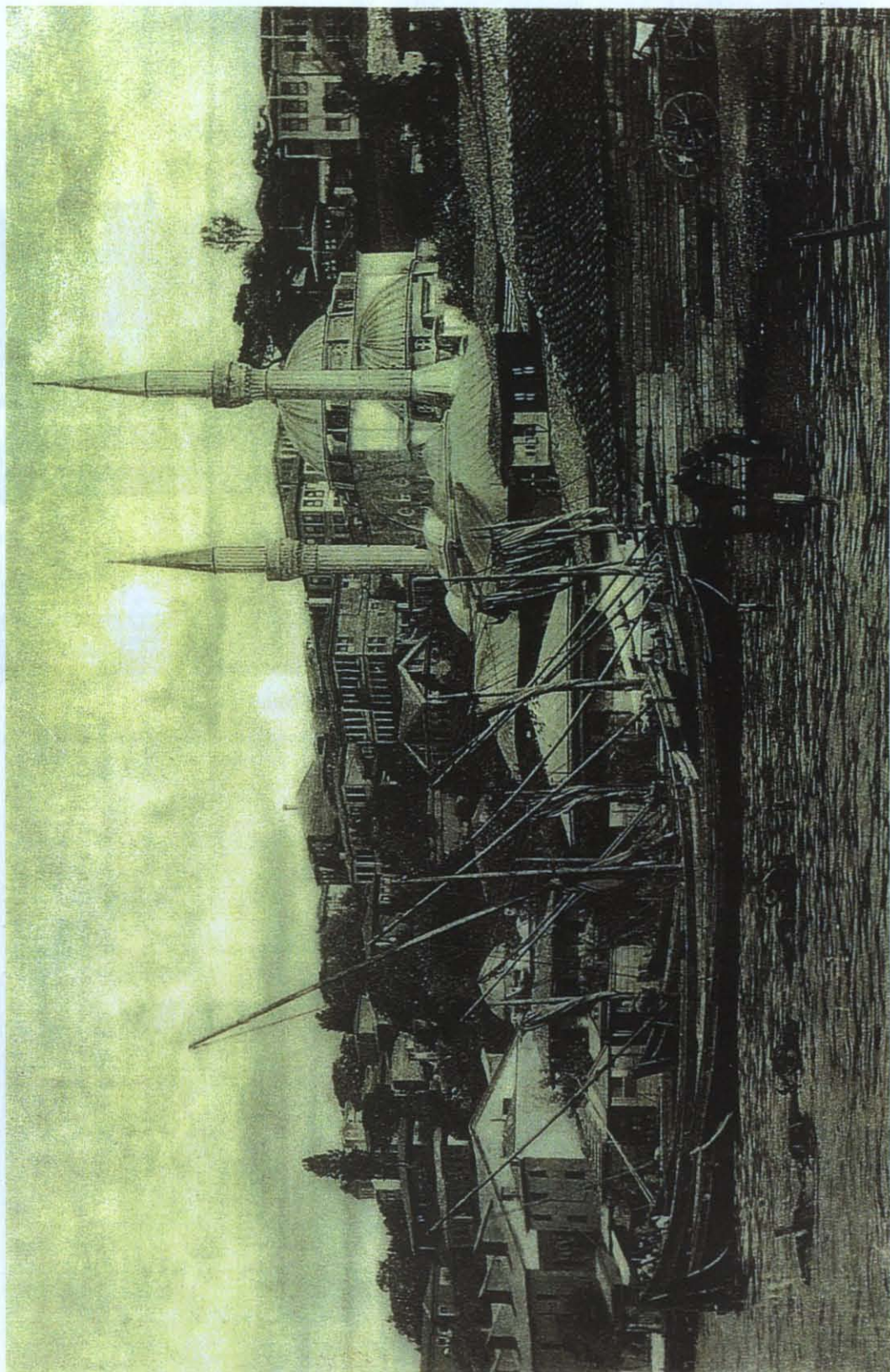
299 Constantinople Cimetière de Scutari "Grands Champs."

The English Cemetery. Despite its being situated in Haydarpaşa, it is often mentioned in, especially English, guidebooks and travel books while describing Üsküdar.

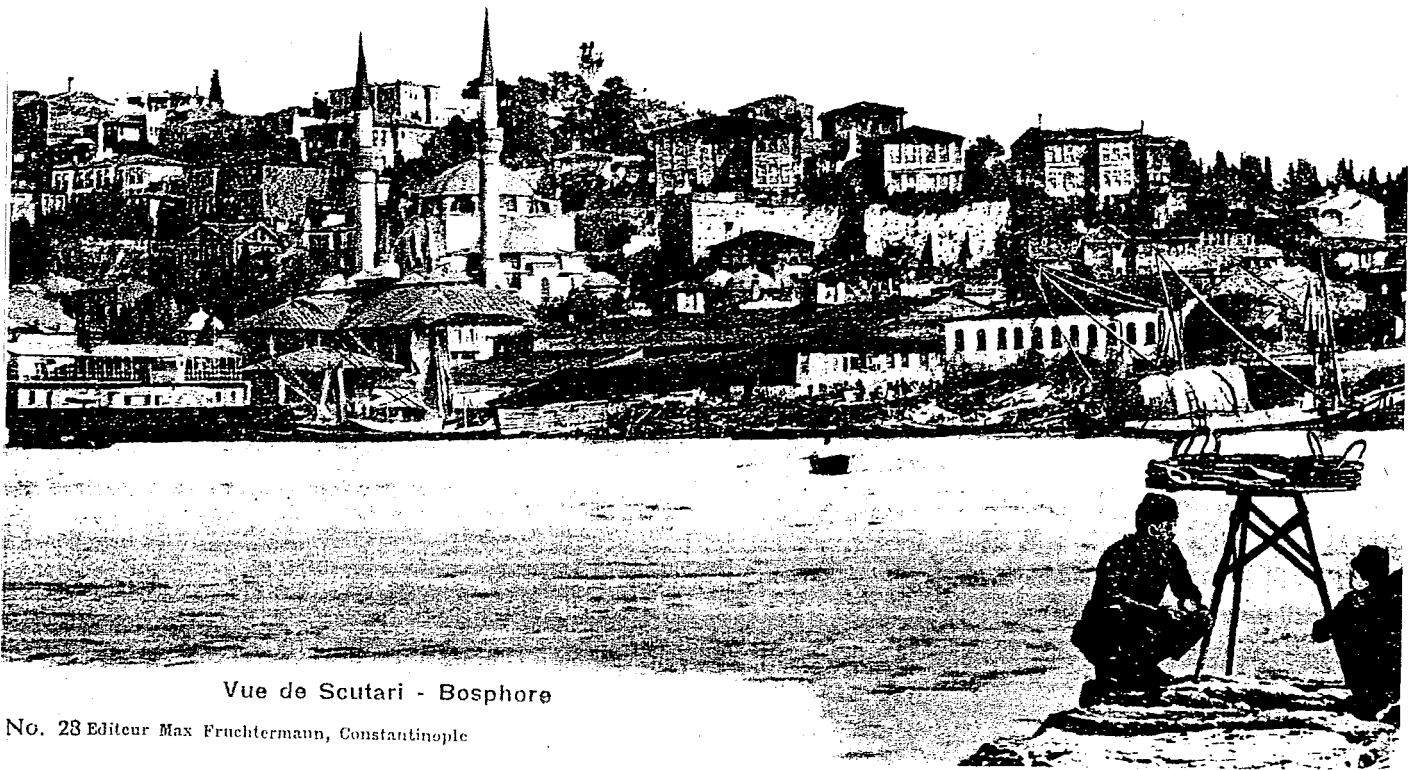


2/3 Constantinople. 4. 811 05 Cimetière Anglais à Haïdar Pacha.  
Messa Prohl, American Post Office  
Constantinople, Turkey  
Editeur Max Fruchtermann, Constantinople. 1206.





Üsküdar piers, boats and water buffalos in the sea



Vue de Scutari - Bosphore

No. 28 Editeur Max Fruchtermann, Constantinople



Vue de Scutari.

Editeur Max Fruchtermann; Constantinople. No. 1165.

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