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The Armenian Üsküdar amid a Conditional Plurality

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Master in International Studies

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ISCTE, Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

November, 2020

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**SOCIOLOGIA
E POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS**

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Abstract

This dissertation is devoted to exploring Armenian Üsküdar (an Anatolian side municipality of Istanbul) and its surroundings within the lenses of “conviviality” as conceptualized by Freitag (2014). Armenian neighborhoods in Üsküdar had all its relevance within the Ottoman rule in Constantinople, and throughout the Republican period, gradually dissolved to the extent that the notion of Üsküdar Armenians make little to no sense today. In this dissertation, the Armenian neighborhoods with its public spaces: streets, theatres, music halls, taverns; and community spaces: churches and schools will be reconstructed. It will demonstrate how Armenian Üsküdar spatially integrated into the larger geography. Although divided by orchards, large roads and cemeteries, this study will also illustrate how Üsküdar Armenian neighborhoods seem to have been compact, as if isolated from the rest. The spatial, political and social parameters that contributed to the Armenian’s dominant position will be contextualized in the three neighborhoods: Yeni Mahalle, Selamsız and İcadiye. Moreover, I will demonstrate how the center of gravity in the Armenian Üsküdar had shifted initially from Yeni Mahalle to Selamsız, and then in the late 19th century to İcadiye. By doing so, this study traces spatial imprints of the transformation of the power structure within the Armenian community, a major shift of the power from traditional aristocratic elite with ties to the Ottoman government, solidifying in Selamsız; to the modern elite gradually but powerfully flourishing in İcadiye.

Key Words: Üsküdar Armenian neighborhoods, conviviality, spatial organization, boundary-drawings, toponymic practices, migration

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Introduction

In this dissertation, my aim is to explore Armenian Üsküdar (an Anatolian side municipality of Istanbul) and its surroundings within the lenses of “conviviality” as conceptualized by Freitag (2014). Armenian Üsküdar, or Üsküdar’s Armenian population, makes little to no sense to today’s observers. Üsküdar is known today as the stronghold of the conservative Muslim heritage, leaving almost no space for any diversion from this uniform image. Üsküdar’s history is conceptually confined to its prevalent Turkish-Islamic heritage symbolizing the romanticized versions of the Islamic city during the Ottoman rule in Istanbul. This image is reinforced by its silhouette on which numerous large and small, beautifully built historical mosques govern, many of which either built by, or built in the name of the female members of the Ottoman dynasty with romantic stories behind¹. However, Armenians were there for several centuries, whose history almost covers the Ottoman rule in İstanbul, so powerfully entrenched in the social and spatial fabric of the capital city.

My interest in the subject surfaced out of my search for a subject for my bachelor thesis several years ago. As an Üsküdar dweller myself so passionately attached to it, I intended to write on the marginal communities of historical Üsküdar, and thought “why not Gypsies?”. Strolling through the imperial archives, I expected to find clues on their history in the Ottoman Üsküdar, in Selamsız. I was so perplexed when I encountered lots of names foreign to me, addressed in the Ottoman administrative records as the residents of Selamsız. I soon discovered that those names were Armenian names. I asked around in vain if anyone else in Üsküdar knew that there were Armenians right behind the center, in such a close proximity to my own house. I researched relentlessly for the little that had been written about Üsküdar Armenians. I met Yesayan (1878-1943), Mintzuri (1886-1978) and Baronian (1843-1891) as my protagonists of this distant Armenian community, and read them over and over again. From among little I could find on the Üsküdar Armenians, I read Hançer’s (2004) “A Stroll Through the Armenian Community of Üsküdar”, as the most comprehensive work dealing with the Üsküdar Armenians. Upon further research, I found a great amount of historical references to their

¹ Most of those stories are rooted in popular culture, without knowing their authenticity. For instance, the mosque with the name of Mihrimah Sultan, the daughter of the Suleiman the Magnificent, constructed by the legendary Ottoman chief architect Mimar Sinan, allegedly for his love of Mihrimah Sultan. Gülfem Hatun Mosque, commissioned by Gülfem Hatun, one of the beloved concubines of the Suleiman the Magnificent. A misunderstanding of the Gülfem’s efforts led Suleiman to order her death. After learning she was just trying to save money for this mosque complex, he regretfully ensured the completion of the complex that was left unfinished. (For scholarly observation of those imprints of female figures of the Ottoman dynasty in Üsküdar and İstanbul, see, Peirce, 1993; Stratton, 1971; Arcak, 2004)

existence, intensifying towards the late 19th century, but then somehow sharply interrupted after the first quarter of the 20th century. I realized that, at least until a century ago, Üsküdar Armenians were so much of an integral part of Üsküdar, a situation so much in contrast to today's Üsküdar image of mine and many others.

After a few years of desperate search of sources concerning Üsküdar Armenians, I greeted with tremendous excitement the introduction of the 1907 census records containing Istanbul Armenian residents revealed by Ohanian and the Gulbenkian Foundation in the Houshamadyan website². Yet it seemed not that meaningful to reconstruct Üsküdar Armenians theoretically without contextualizing it properly. It is due to the fact that such a study can gain importance only within placing it into the wider picture. How could one make much sense of a distant Armenian community, without addressing today's oblivion? Besides, how could we understand its proper position without taking into consideration that Üsküdar embodies deeply entrenched feelings of nostalgia about a tranquil, purely ethereal Islamic past assumed to be cemented in such a romantic way in the Ottoman period? While I was trying to put those questions aside, Jews, Greeks and Iranians of Üsküdar came into my sight, as the once residents of Üsküdar, especially Jews with almost equally rooted degree of attachment to Üsküdar, after reading that Kuzguncuk was a sacred place to be buried for Jews after Jerusalem (Inciciyan, 1956: 106-107).

This study draws most of its strength from the fact that it was an area of study that has hardly ever been scrutinized. I asked the questions that seem to have never been raised for Üsküdar, and tried to answer them incorporating all the available data. I try to concentrate on this possibility and prospects of "living together", rather than rupture points that signifies an end to this co-existence. One unique contribution of this dissertation to the Ottoman Armenian studies is that I managed to compile more or less a full list of street names with their locations and current names, and place them in a base map. Its importance lies behind the fact that, as we will see, most of them bore Armenian names on those İstanbul maps prepared by the initiative of the Ottoman government. Those Armenian street names were there until the Turkification movement on the toponyms of the Republican government, date for the change is provided as 1927. I attached on the table the links of the newspapers that are published within a few decades after they were changed, which powerfully sheds light on this transformation in progress. They use old and new names together to specify a property's location in Üsküdar, for

² Houshamadyan, <https://www.houshamadyan.org/mapottomanempire/vilayet-of-istanbul/istanbul/locale/demography.html> accessed on 28.10.2020.

instance: “old Kürkçü Krikor, new Kürkçü Mümin Street”. Such that, the street name “the Armenian furrier Krikor” becomes “the Muslim furrier”, yet even the republican newspapers cannot avoid commemorating this certain furrier Krikor until the 1950s. Yet this is only one example.

I believe that it will provide a firm ground on which later research can be built. I questioned those names’ possible relation to the space, time and people of Üsküdar. To deal with the question of why those government-funded maps point to an entrenched Armenian heritage in Üsküdar but not that of Greeks, I offered a link that ties the emergence of those names in the 1860s to the symbolic construction of a form of Armenian national identity promoted by the traditional Armenian aristocracy, official recognition of which seems to necessitate a collaboration of those leaders, also as the residents of Üsküdar, and the central Ottoman authorities. I tried to demonstrate an Üsküdar as the very intersection point of the political and social power structure, encompassing the empire-wide Armenian community, and constituting a great deal of authority within the Ottoman ruling elite. I illustrated how the center of gravity in the Armenian Üsküdar had shifted from Yeni Mahalle to Selamsız, and then in the late 19th century to İcadiye. By doing so, I traced spatial imprints of the transformation of the power structure within the Armenian community, a major shift of the power from conservative traditional elite with ties to the Ottoman government, solidifying in Selamsız; to the modern elite gradually but powerfully flourishing in İcadiye.

I scrutinized the conditions in which Üsküdar absorbed an ever-increasing number of people into its social fabric, while always being capable of maintaining seemingly compact identities up until the first quarter of the 20th century. I offered a window through which Üsküdar refreshed and increased its Armenian population can be seen, Anatolia serving as the major reservoir for the newcomers. I also hope that it will prompt more questions on what exactly happened in Üsküdar and wider geography that put an end to this mixed ethno-religious social fabric, and to the powerful presence of Üsküdar Armenians.

I emphasized Yeni Mahalle (today’s Murat Reis), Selamsız and İcadiye, yet leaving some space for the neighboring quarters like Kuzguncuk, Pazarbaşı, Sultantepe and Altunizade. The late 19th and the early 20th centuries’ Üsküdar is scrutinized, I resort to earlier periods mostly as background information. Three sets of sources are exploited: (1) the cartographic evidence that are widely used to go back in time in İstanbul. In chronological order they are: (a) two Istanbul maps created in 1860-70³ and in the 1882⁴. (b) two Istanbul maps created in 1913-

³ Available at İstanbul Urban Database, Under “City Maps” on the left panel : (1860-1870 City Map). <http://www.istanbulurbandatabase.com/> accessed on 28.10.2020.

14 and 1922⁵, the first of which is known as *Alman Mavileri*⁶; and one Üsküdar map prepared in Ottoman Turkish⁷ (c) Istanbul's fire insurance map involving topographic and cadastral survey, created around 1922-45, known as *Pervititch Haritaları*⁸; (2) The narratives of contemporary Üsküdar Armenian residents Yesayan, Baronian and Mintzuri and a Turkish-Muslim Üsküdar inhabitant, Özemre; (3) The 1907 Armenian census records in İstanbul⁹, the imperial archives¹⁰, Islamic court records¹¹, and the early Republican newspapers¹².

In the first chapter, I briefly evaluate the historiographic conceptualization of the late Ottoman urban space and Üsküdar's peculiar place in this literature. I proceed to locate the constitutive centers and landmarks -which spatially and temporally condition "living together with plurality" in Üsküdar- to be associated with the Üsküdar Armenian neighborhoods and their inhabitants as they appear in the contemporary sources. First section will demonstrate how Armenian Üsküdar was integrated into the wider Üsküdar and further, and the second section will illustrate how isolated it seems to have been. I will exploit the narratives of contemporary residents, the 1907 Armenian census records, historical maps and the secondary sources. This will illustrate the late 19th and the early 20th century Armenian Üsküdar within wider Üsküdar's social and economic fabric, and the ways and spaces of interaction between different communities.

The second chapter will elaborate on the boundaries, as centrally or locally projected separating lines between different communities. I will briefly touch upon the morphological

⁴ The full version is available at: Harvard Library. <https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/ids:8608890> accessed on 31.10.2020

⁵ The full version is available at: Harvard Library <https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/ids:15497126> 31.10.2020

⁶ Available at İstanbul Urban Database. Under "City Maps" on the left panel : (1913-1914 German). : <http://www.istanbulurbandatabase.com/> accessed on 31.10.2020.

⁷ Full version is attached in appendices. Fahreddin Türkkan Paşa koleksiyonu, İ.B.B. Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar, Location Number: 352.961 İST [t.y.].

⁸ Üsküdar parts of the map can be seen at Google Photos: https://photos.google.com/share/AF1QipORVqHmicN9GbzGL_CybjJf2N0Slu9uobidu84pgY1Y1Eh0aOiqTR73Os9ISzZzrQ?key=ZFIKVTNybVMYz0IDVUpRMXI3MXE4V1owYnppUGp3 accessed on 31.10.2020.

⁹ Available at Houshamadyan. <https://www.houshamadyan.org/mapottomanempire/vilayet-of-istanbul/istanbul/locale/demography.html> accessed on 28.10.2020. According to the records, Üsküdar made up the second most populous Armenian residential center after Pera, including detailed information on 6055 individuals as local residents of Üsküdar. The transcribed 24% part of this record still makes it the most detailed, the most trustworthy source about the Üsküdar population that has ever been released to the access of researchers. Ohanian documents how this record is a copy of the local Armenian Istanbulite population, conducted as part of the empire-wide 1907 census records. For more information on these records, see: (Ohanian, 2017).

¹⁰ Available at: Devlet Arşivleri. <https://katalog.devletarsivleri.gov.tr/> accessed on 28.10.2020

¹¹ Cited from secondary sources.

¹² Available at: Gaste Arşivi. <https://www.gastearsiivi.com/> accessed on 28.10.2020

developments and the division between Muslim-Christian-Jewish settlements looking at the early 19th century maps. The second section will be reserved to the reconstruction of the streets either those we know that hosted Armenian residents, or those were given Armenian names to be changed later after 1927, based on (1) the pre-Pervititch İstanbul maps, (2) the list of changed names, and (3) the archived early republican newspapers. This will illustrate: (1) the morphological development of our Armenian quarters and the lines separating distinct ethno-religious communities, (2) the factors that contributed to the Armenian's dominant position in the space, (3) the street names' relation to the symbolic construction of the Armenian national identity, (4) the presumed collaboration between the representatives of the local Armenian population and the Otoman government during the official denomination of streets as part of Tanzimat Reforms. In this sense, I will argue, the Armenian street names were the embodiment of Migdal's *state-in-society* approach. In doing so, the street names' (1) relevance to the temporally and spatially conditioned local identity, (2) responsiveness to the diversity they accommodated, (3) probable representativeness of the local collective memory will be scrutinized.

The last section will delve more into the conviviality in Üsküdar, as constantly monitored, regulated, negotiated and contested in its landscape. This will demonstrate (1) the ways in which differentiation was not only based on ethno-religious boundaries, but also on the perceptions of "intruders and unfits" as mostly embodied in underclass migrants (2) how those daily tensions inherent in the experiences of "living with diversity in a shared space" reinforced and actually compelled the clustering of distinct groups in separate spaces. By doing so, I will be in search of probable foundations for the Armenian presence in Üsküdar, so compactly settled, so unquestionably strong and distinctly affluent in our quarters in the late 19th and early 20th century.

The third chapter will investigate Üsküdar's place within the accelerated migration trend from Anatolia to İstanbul. I will introduce the very pathways of integrating into Üsküdar's residential fabric for (1) the underclass non-İstanbul-born Armenians, namely the Eastern-Anatolian labor migrants which required local intra-communal connections (2) the non-İstanbul-born Armenians who were presented by the Üsküdar locals to the approval of the Ottoman government. It shed some authentic light on some of the ways in which the Üsküdar neighborhood structure might have embraced some of those immigrants, keeping the others at bay. Chances and ways in particular for Anatolian seasonal migrants of integrating into residential fabric will be shortly scrutinized via Mintzuri's accounts. Archival records that were kept to monitor and intervene in the movement within and outside Armenian Üsküdar will also

be exploited to gain an understanding of the official attitude. This will also prepare the way for us to have an insight into who those local Üsküdar Armenians were, as locally and centrally recognized components of the residential fabric of Armenian Üsküdar. This is essential due to the fact that Armenian Üsküdar had all its relevance during the Ottoman rule in Constantinople, which puts all the locals into the previously “stranger” situation.

In the last section, Üsküdar’s contemporary immigrant population as locals will be contextualized. Their means of living, possible reasons for their presence in Üsküdar will be scrutinized in comparison to Istanbul's migrant locals. It will be just a glimpse into the wealth of information provided by the Istanbul Armenian census records of 1907. This will give us a wider understanding of the social, spatial and economic organization of the Armenian Üsküdar, in search of yet another dimension of conviviality.

I should admit that this passion of mine to revive the old Üsküdar comes from a nostalgia of a past that we have never witnessed, or maybe never peacefully realized: a past in which plural ethno-religious communities experienced a living together in narrow streets lined up with wooden two to three-storey houses; walked in the same barely paved roads; met in the endless green spaces filled with orchards and vineyards, series of cypresses and vast cemeteries. All the more true when we see Üsküdar today with concrete apartments and asphalt roads covering all the landscape, with a uniform national and religious identity it is widely associated. As a person coming from a conservative Muslim, ethnic Turk family who were a century ago migrants in Turkey, I sincerely hope that this work of mine will pave the way for later researches on the human geography of Üsküdar, past and present.

1 Conceptual Considerations of the Late Ottoman Urban Space

Cosmopolitanism is an analytical concept used in both academic and popular culture to describe the plurality mainly in the Mediterranean port cities and of course the capital city, İstanbul, in the late Ottoman period. This conceptual thematization revolves around the fact that, unlike major urban spaces in the contemporary Western Europe, the late Ottoman port cities and İstanbul were home to a dazzling degree of diversity in their urban social spaces, starting in the 1830s, being in full force in the late 19th century (Freitag, 2014). Zubaida (2014) refers to the Tanzimat Reforms (1839-1876) which guaranteed equal rights to the Empire’s non-Muslim subjects; and to the British occupation of Egypt as the turning points for the acceleration of the cosmopolitanism in the major urban centers. As one of the major demonstrations of it, the census records taken in the period are widely referred, according to which the foreign residents of İstanbul had reached more than 15% of the total population of the capital city. Corresponding

to 130,000 foreign residents composed mostly of Western communities, this figure exceeds even the share of the total populations of İstanbul's Armenian and Jewish residents put together (Karpas, 1985: 168; Eldem, 2013: 221).

To understand this fascinating diversity of the late Ottoman urban space, several other conceptualizations have also been adopted: multiculturalism, pluralism, and also Ottoman tolerance (Bektaş, 2014). Understanding of Ottoman multicultural urban space with the lenses of cosmopolitanism is often blended with nostalgia towards "peaceful coexistence" of multiple ethnic, religious and confessional groups in the late Ottoman urban space. Bringing forward its relation to the Ottoman disintegration and Western imperialism, Ilbert and Driessen emphasize that the notion of cosmopolitanism only covers the affluent and mobile elite, emphasizing the encounters of mostly non-Muslim Ottoman subjects and the Western European communities. Ilbert (1996) and Driessen (2005) harshly criticise the notion of cosmopolitanism on the ground that it does not reflect the reality of the majority of the Ottoman population, calling for a working definition in analyzing the Ottoman urban space. To stress the conceptualization of Ottoman cosmopolitanism as actually covering mostly the elite interaction inclusively of foreign and non-Muslim Ottoman subjects, excluding the majority of the Ottoman society, Eldem (2013: 221-224) rather suggests "Levantine Cosmopolitanism".

The concept of conviviality is devised by Freitag (2014) to offer a window over practical, day-to-day experiences of living together with plurality, rather than the overarching umbrella and cursory scholarly uses of "the Ottoman cosmopolitanism". As a complementary concept to the "cosmopolitanism" and Levantine Cosmopolitanism" connotating relatively less restricted interactions mostly of elites and to a lesser degree of mobile underclasses; "conviviality" provides us an approach eager to delve more into the daily interactions and the concrete experiences of "living together" with cultural plurality of more settled inhabitants in the late Ottoman urban context. This approach insists on urban quarters, as "prime locations of conviviality" housing different sections of society, rich and poor alike, providing them with identity, security and maintenance (Freitag, 2014: 383-385). Against the backdrop of neighborly interactions, living together with diversity involves conviviality as well as conflict, inclusion and exclusion in the space as highly controlled, organized and regulated by contemporary social conventions, political rules in conjunction with demographic pressure (Freitag, 2014; Duru, 2015).

However we name it, the admittedly multicultural and multilingual character of major urban centers and marketplaces of the late Ottoman İstanbul, are widely embraced in the Ottoman historiography especially for the second half of the 19th century. This character,

though, is mostly reserved theoretically for the historical peninsula and Galat-Pera regions in the capital city. However, the residential areas beyond those centers also seem to take its share of this bewildering plurality in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The works of Duru (2015) and Mills (2010) scrutinize “cosmopolitanism” and “conviviality” in less observed residential areas of İstanbul, Burgaz Island and Kuzguncuk in Üsküdar, respectively. Their contribution to the subject is invaluable, as they managed to assemble voluminous sets of local narratives through interviews with the old inhabitants to shed light on the memories and the practices of “living together”. Their works emphasize the change these localities have undergone with the nationalizing attempts of the Turkish Republic. Mills’ work (2010) concentrated on the reconstruction of Kuzguncuk as a “once cosmopolitan” neighborhood, contrasting it to what little remained from this “cosmopolitanism” as a consequence of the nationalization agenda of the Republican Turkey. Kuzguncuk, and to a lesser degree Bağlarbaşı areas in Üsküdar has already attracted some scholarly attention, but mostly through the lenses of “Ottoman Cosmpolitanism”, and even more problematically in some studies, embracing what has been called *Osmanlı Hoşgörüsü*, “the Ottoman Tolerals” with regards to the non-Muslim composition they used to accommodate amid Muslim settlements (e.g. Armağan, 2000).

It is not actually surprising to see that, in the entire Üsküdar, only these two small spaces attracted scholarly attention, as the historical experiences of coexistence with plurality conceptually confined to the areas where the flashy imprints of a non-Muslim heritage cannot go unnoticed in the space. Kuzguncuk proves to be a perfect example of this rule. In addition to its splendid positioning along the coast, the landscape of Kuzguncuk is ornamented with the restored versions of spectacular historic houses and dainty streets (See: Image-1). This composition temptingly accompanies the flashy ethno-religious diversity, historically imprinted intensively on the topography of Kuzguncuk center, as it hosts today a mosque, an Armenian and a Greek churches, together with a synagogue all conglomerated in close proximity to each other (See: Image-2). To its southeast, Bağlarbaşı region also took some of its share from those glamorous reconstructions, on the theoretical and material level alike. All these contribute to the very construction of a past in theory as well as physically in line with the conceptualizations of the “Ottoman Cosmopolitanism”. Reconstructions of only the elite living spaces, presenting the diversity only with the religious spaces commercializes an image of Ottoman cosmopolitanism in a very fancy box to the popular imagination within the form of Kuzguncuk, and to a lesser degree Bağlarbaşı. The unabated zeal for reconstructing its “good old days” today seem to have everything to do with the crooked understandings of “Ottoman Cosmopolitanism”. Those

reconstructions naturally go hand in hand with the radiant gentrification processes (Mills, 2006) drawing upon “nostalgic celebrations by elites of a lost world that never really existed” (Driessen, 2005: 135).

Studying sites of coexistence as fixed in fragments of space and time hinders our capacity to see the larger and much more layered, tightly controlled character of the late Ottoman urban space. This understanding confines this very experience of co-existence within the center of Kuzguncuk, or to a lesser degree, in Bağlarbaşı region, but at the same time obscuring and omitting crucial aspects that structured and limited this diversity, feeding generously and dangerously the presuppositions that associate non-Muslim subjects with material and cultural welfare. On the contrary, studying the wider Üsküdar with the lenses of “conviviality” will reveal a much more complex, much more segmented, interlocked and indeed contested plurality, going beyond the luxurious fantasies of peaceful coexistence of multiple ethnic and religious entities of whose boundaries were fixed in some designated areas.

Wider Üsküdar constituted one of the most quintessential examples of Ottoman conviviality although overlooked to a great extent. As we dig further to the sources related to the Üsküdar landscape and the people that once inhabited it, the revealing picture becomes more and more ethno-religiously, socio-economically and spatially complex and intricate which seems to be facilitated by the fluidity in the near absence of rigid and perpetual legal and social boundaries separating different communities. One of the many determinants of this coexistence should have been related to what Eldem (2013: 224) calls “pragmatic flexibility” of the Ottomans in crossing certain boundaries among its subjects. One aspect of this pragmatic flexibility that made naturally built demographic homogeneity impossible is formed by the Empire’s attitude towards property rights. As there had not been strict rules that regulated property exchanges and usufructs between different communities, it was quite commonplace that a Muslim in a quarter mostly resided by Muslims, selling or renting their property to a non-Muslim or vice versa. Therefore, maintaining coherence in a given area was more bound to the organically formed mechanisms and internal dynamics.

Parts of this section is also reserved to project some light on the internal and external dynamics that creates coherence, or else dissonance between various groups of people in the spatial organization of Armenian Üsküdar and its vicinity. This issue also revolves around the questions of conviviality as reflected on the different uses of land, and the sociability functions as well as points of conflicts in the places reserved for different groups. As will be shown, allocations and dominance over the space among different communities were far from

unequivocal, rather subject to constant negotiations, contestations and at times violent incidences enforced by the changing political conjuncture and demographic dynamics.

Equally importantly with the ethno-religious boundaries, other dimensions of the diversity and living together experiences are shaped inevitably by the socio-economic backgrounds of the people that were to populate, or else denied to be populated in residential areas of Üsküdar. Different tastes and lifestyles as conditioned and encouraged by socio-economic prospects creates certain levels of homogeneity prevailing over ethno-religious boundaries (Duru, 2015: 251). Needless to say, neither in Üsküdar did those ethno-religious affiliations constitute stand-alone foundations of differentiation, intra-communal differentiation based on social and economic diversification were saliently at stake which created conviviality as well as distancing. Although clear-cut boundaries between the living spaces of those groups were non-existent, different levels of concentrations of certain groups in certain spaces give us clues on the spatial organization of this diversity in Üsküdar. As will be seen in the study of Üsküdar as well, conviviality based on shared life styles finds its expression on the space, actively contributing to the production and reproduction of it. Therefore, in addition to the lines of interactions and distancing of different ethno-religious groups, class elements will be scrutinized as imprinted or referred to in the organization of the space.

Moreover, what we call Armenian Üsküdar provides us an authentic window to explore different parameters of differentiation, convergences and divergences as organized on the landscape of Üsküdar with layers of spatial as well as temporal significance. In the late 19th and the early 20th century Üsküdar, from the center to the north and east in a fairly consolidated fashion, and even to the south and southeast in a scattered form, we can trace and confirm the existences of Jews, Greeks, Gypsies, Armenians, Iranians (Acem) and of course Muslim settlements and heritage, the latter closely encapsulating the formers from each direction. Moreover, there were also an American and a French colleges towards Bağlarbaşı which conjures up Levantine Cosmopolitanism.

2 Research methodology

In search of finding ways of dealing with the historical Üsküdar Armenians from among all the dust and blurriness of the past, I came up with this solution: I put into question Üsküdar's landscape: what do we have now? What did we have a century ago, and even two centuries ago? I tried to connect the landscape to the time and people. I integrated all the sources that refer to Armenians in Üsküdar, matched up all the variable versions of the names of the people and places, theoretically located them in the spatial and social organization of Üsküdar. When I

could trace the individuals in the 1907 census records that are known from other sources, I included their personal or household IDs as appear in the records. It is as in the form: HID110002 for household ID; PID124413 for person ID.

In the 1907 census records, I grouped all the Istanbul inhabitant's occupations into legible categories, consulting the available categorization methods and adapting them to the most useful form for investigating quarterly socio-economic distribution. This information is given with a table in the appendices, other information from the record is drawn by simple counting. To provide a lively glimpse into the residents, I reconstructed two of the households found in the records, and one from self-narrative, I added those reconstructions in appendices. For the sources drawn from among imperial archives, I specified the location of the documents as they appear on the digital archival system: HR.MKT.207.30,A.} ¹³. I incorporated in the appendices photographic and statistical data to visualize Üsküdar's past.

For the cartographic work, I investigated in detail all the available maps that lay out our quarters in Üsküdar. I put emphasis on the points where the indications of Armenians consolidate, and on the points those indications are intermingled with the surrounding communities, eventually giving way to the disappearance of Armenians' indications. For the reconstruction of the street names, I worked on the three early 20th century maps. I saw that the street names on the Alman Mavileri and the Üsküdar map created in Ottoman Turkish overlap to a great extent. 1922 map offered several other street names missing in the two earlier maps. I was able to confirm most of those street names' authenticity via comparison of those maps. Additional confirmation of the final picture is provided through secondary sources, list of changed street names, and the early republican newspapers. The final layout on the base map and the final list of street names can be found attached in the Appendices. Through the list, the authenticity level of those names can be seen and evaluated.

In the last chapter where I define migration patterns, I exploited again 1907 census records. I consulted a survey for the old Ottoman toponyms ¹⁴ (Sezen, 2017), to understand the areas where Üsküdar's migrant population mostly originated by looking at the birth-places of İstanbul residents. I defined four major reservoirs for Üsküdar's growing population, all located within today's territories of Turkish Republic: Tekirdağ, Marmara, Kayseri-Sivas and Mamüret'ül Aziz. Tekidağ and Kayseri-Sivas roughly correspond to the cities with the same name today.

¹³ For detailed information on the uses and workings of the archives, see: <https://www.devletarsivleri.gov.tr/varliklar/dosyalar/eskisiteden/yayinlar/osmanli-arsivi-yayinlar/BA%C5%9EBAKANLIK%20OSMANLI%20AR%C5%9E%C4%B0V%20REHBER%C4%B0.pdf> accessed on 28.10.2020.

¹⁴ Available at: https://www.devletarsivleri.gov.tr/varliklar/dosyalar/eskisiteden/yayinlar/genel-mudurluk-yayinlar/osmanli_yer_adlari.pdf accessed on 31.10.2020.

Marmara defines the large geography composed of towns and cities surrounding the Marmara Sea from its south. As for Mamüret'ül Aziz, I adopted the Ottoman definition of the Eastern Anatolian province.

On the way towards reconstructing Üsküdar drawing on the sources, several crucial challenges awaited. First and foremost of them is rooted unfortunately in my personal limitations to reach, read and understand the sources that are published in languages other than Turkish, English and Ottoman Turkish. Mintzuri (1998) claims that he wrote a story on Üsküdar Armenians, and Yesayan should have at least one more narrative on the subject. Though I could never be able to find them, let alone reading and incorporating them into this reconstruction. Furthermore, my engagement in the archival records, the census records, newspapers, imperial and court records had to be unfortunately superficial due to the scope of this study. The incredible amount of information that could contribute to our understanding of Üsküdar's past could have been yielded by careful, in depth analysis of those sources.

The other limitation was posed by my way of accessing the information: they should have been published, digitized and transcribed into the forms and languages of whose meaning I am capable of deciphering. Besides, the pronunciations and spellings of the referees, and even the names used to address the same individual or spaces can vary substantially. Should it be Scutari, Üsküdar or Uskudar? Selamsız, Selamiye or Selamiali? Is it Yesayan, Yesseyan, Yessayan or Essayan? Is it Peştemalciyan, or Peshdimaljian: the former makes sense to the Turkish speakers, it is the "son of a person engaged in making a specific towel like cotton-fabric called peştemal". If I use Peshdimaljian it will be readable to English speakers but most possibly without a meaning. And of course, I do not know how they are known and written in Armenian. How should I make it understandable to the reader? In whichever direction I try to be consistent, it would be incomprehensible to many others. Apologizing for any kind of misspellings or mistakes, I had to make a concession, I used the spellings as how they are known in Turkish. I have a valid ground for my choice, they all belonged to the Ottoman world, many of which are only comprehensible in the linguistic frame of Turkish.

Moreover, the maps were created by foreign western individuals and companies, always using a hard-to-decipher spelling for the toponyms. For instance, maps mark streets with hardly legible names: Guemidji Ohannes Sokak, Dogramadgi Meguerditch Sokak. Confirmed forms in newspapers were the Gemici Ohannes, and Doğramacı Mıgırdiç. This fact caused a vital delay for me to notice the bewildering degree to which Armenians of Üsküdar made themselves visible on those maps. However, what those sources don't tell prove to be as important as what they tell. We mostly lack background information on the creation of those sources. We do not

know the degree to which they were authenticated, incorporating whom and depending on which information they were created.

This study is further disabled by the absence of sources that were consistently and somewhat rationally created for the same purpose. Inherent in almost all the sources produced in the period were fluidity and elusiveness of the boundaries that were assumed to divide space, time and people. The more we go back in time, the blurrier the picture becomes. At the same time, it hinders our capacity to trace the change in Üsküdar.

While Üsküdar's landscape strongly compels and conditions a living together, a walking together or shopping together; the lack of information on the neighborly interaction suggest an image in which different communities clustered in isolation. On its topography, evidence abound that suggest a hegemonic presence of Armenians in the area, though within a truly intermingled position of the living spaces of each community. However, the more they seem to live together, the fewer information we can find on the interaction between those inhabitants. Furthermore, the primary sources that gave place to inter-ethnic interaction involve episodes of more tension than peaceful coexistence. It is actually surprising to find such little information on Üsküdar' intercommunal neighborly relations, the reasons of which still need to be investigated.

This study is far from claims of presenting more or less a full extent of Armenian Üsküdar and its vicinity. On the contrary, it aims to provide sourceful ground for later researches. Nevertheless it is to give a sense of Üsküdar inhabitants' social interactions, boundary-drawings, and sociabilities within the limits imposed by the changing socio-economic composition and human geography of the area as they solidified also in the landscape. As Armenian Üsküdar was not an isolated entity, rather ever-increasingly integrated into what surrounded it with its ever-increasing population, it is essential to locate its position vis-a-vis larger Üsküdar.

3 Locating Üsküdar Armenians within Üsküdar: A late 19th and early 20th century portrait: Armenian Üsküdar, as integrated to Üsküdar

The Armenian Üsküdar was highly responsive to the developments within and also beyond the boundaries of Armenian community, and Üsküdar. In this chapter, I will locate the spaces and places of Üsküdar Armenians, illustrating the points of co-existence with ethno-religious, confessional and socio-economic plurality, emphasizing ways of interaction between the different components of wider Üsküdar. The first section will cover the spaces, events and people constitutive or else complementary to Armenian neighborhoods in the late 19th and the

early 20th century. This will illustrate how indispensably integrated Armenian Üsküdar into wider economic, political and social geography. The second section will illustrate, amid such a vibrant and plural social fabric, how Armenian Üsküdar seems to be isolated within their own community.

3.1 Western end, Üsküdar center; eastern end, Bağlarbaşı and Altunizade

For the 17th and 18th century foreign observers from across, Üsküdar was a huge necropolis, as a land of the dead, and of the ones who planned to die peacefully; a combination of “stone for the immortal, wood for the mortal” amid pine-cypress forests, endless vineyards and orchards (Özer, 2010). Üsküdar for centuries had been seen as the gate of Anatolia that opens up to the capital city’s historical peninsula. Situated on the convergence point of historical trade routes in east-west direction, Üsküdar center served as an indispensable transfer point for centuries. Here was the start point of expeditions for Muslim pilgrimage, and of the Eastern military campaigns.

In the center, the mosque complexes occupy a position that governs in the entire silhouette of Üsküdar. Mihrimah Sultan Mosque, built in 1548 in the name of the beloved daughter of Suleiman, welcomes the visitors, or else salutes the observers from across the bosphorus as the forefront hegemonic landmark of Üsküdar (See: Image-3). Indeed, Üsküdar was the very space in which female members of the Ottoman dynasty found ways of displaying their rising influence through constructions of mosque complexes on their own names (Peirce, 1993; Arcak, 2004)¹⁵. Right at the confluence of the major transportation lines, those holy spaces since their very existence served as a catalyst for economic, social as well as spatial development of the area in question (Khamaisi, 2010).

With the advent of modern transportation facilities in the second half of the 19th century, Üsküdar’s spatial significance had been radically changed. Greater integration of Üsküdar into the historic peninsula and Galata region had been realized after 1845 through the introduction of regular ferries shuttling between the East and West shores of the Bosphorus. At the same time, the greater connection between Üsküdar and Kuzguncuk, to the north; and Kadıköy, to the south, is established. With the introduction of Anatolian railways, however, Üsküdar lost its historically unique position as the start and end point of the Anatolian expeditions and traditional trade route.

¹⁵ Mihrimah Sultan Mosque, Yeni Valide Mosque, Eski Valide Mosque, Gülfem Hatun Mosque are among them.

Although today most of the relevant spaces either disappeared or else lost their original functions as well as intended population, Üsküdar center retains most of its spatial and economic gravity as well as social functions as it had throughout the preceding centuries. Together with Kuzguncuk, Üsküdar dwellers should also have depended heavily upon some of the goods and services provided down in the center. To begin with, the docks laid side by side in the center served as the main means of connection with the Galata and Eminönü region across the Bosphorus up until the construction of the first bridge in the third quarter of the 20th century. This fact obliged those residents including Üsküdar Armenians to pass their way through the center, climbing all the way down in order to reach the city's historical as well as commercial cores on the other side of the Bosphorus (See: Image-3).

In addition to the numerous socio-cultural spaces and facilities like coffee shops, public baths, inns, there were comprehensive sets of market spaces conglomerated around squares or else laid along some busy streets in the center to the east. Thanks to the scattered references elsewhere, we know that many Üsküdar Armenian residents found employment downtown, conducting their businesses side by side with other ethno-religious neighboring inhabitants. Mintzuri portrays Üsküdar as a locality prevalently populated by the Eastern Anatolian Armenian immigrants like himself. He recalls that more often than not he came across another fellow countryman in Üsküdar center. In his early years in Üsküdar, he and his father were accommodated at nights in one of his native's bakery shops, Devecioğlu. Indeed Arhanyans, Mintzuri's relative from Küçük Armudan (Lesser Armıdan), operated four different bakeries in Üsküdar, one of which was the famous Devecioğlu, as the biggest bakery shop in the entire İstanbul, located in the Üsküdar center (Mintzuri, 2017: 133). Arhanyan's Devecioğlu bakery finds its properly glorious place well into the memoirs of the Muslim inhabitant of Üsküdar, Özemre (1935-2008). Moreover, Özemre recalls some of the most busy hosiery shops in the center, great many of which apparently run by Armenians (Özemre, 2007: 110).

Numerous adjacent mosque complexes, dervish lodges and shrines either locate just at the very confluence of major transportation lines and the market places, or else cluster around them. Neighborhoods flourished around those religious cores. In the center, Muslim neighborhoods closely encircle the dynamic market places. Towards the south Muslim settlements cluster around mosques and markets in various sizes. To the north, the coastline that extends from Üsküdar center to Kuzguncuk, Paşalimanı Street, is known to be inhabited by Muslim notables, just as the slope behind it, called Sultantepe. Further up east and towards north from the center, on the other hand, muslim districts gave way to non-muslim settlements, of whose initial developments stem from the religious cores of their own. As surprising as it is,

the emergence of Üsküdar's unequivocally Islamic silhouette, and that of Armenian neighborhoods are confirmed to have followed somewhat a reciprocal and simultaneous sequence of development. The very founders of the earliest Armenian neighborhood Yenimahalle were those master builders who were drafted from Eastern Anatolia to be employed in the constructions of major mosque complexes in Üsküdar (Erkan, 2013: 310). Around halfway along the northeastward steep streets, Armenian settlements concentrated around two parallel main roads that run all the way up to the flatness atop, until today's Bağlarbaşı and Altunizade. Our neighborhoods, then, laid alongside the very routes from Üsküdar center to the Bağlarbaşı plateau. Through various sized streets, Kuzguncuk ascends to İcadiye; Selamsız meets Yeni Mahalle and Pazarbaşı, until Altunizade road leads them to Çamlıca, and Bağlarbaşı road to Kadıköy.

One of the oldest surviving landmarks that confirms and accommodates the centuries-old ethno-religious co-existence in Üsküdar is the large cemetery in Bağlarbaşı ((the plateau in the east that cuts our quarters). Given the greatest part allocated to the Armenians, today there is also a Greek cemetery land in the middle, and a small area in the southern end is reserved for the Jewish community. To its south near the sprawled Karacaahmet Muslim Cemetery, there is another cemetery land known as İranlılar Mezarlığı (Iranians' Cemetery), which is believed to be formed before 1853 for the Üsküdar's then growing Iranian Shia community (Kurşun, 2006). Their presence in the Armenian streets, as well as down in the center finds its place in the narratives of Yesayan, Mintzuri and Özemre. The former relates them as passers-by in Selamsız; Mintzuri as his clients of provender for their horses in their business involving transportation of railway material; and the latter as tobacco dealer (*Tütüncü*) in the center (Mintzuri, 81).

According to Baronian, Çiftlik Gazinosu (Çiftlik Music Hall), a ground for all sorts of entertainment and for discussions of national politics, was a public space with free entrance frequented by the Selamsız inhabitants (2017: 58). We are informed by Belge (2018) that in the 19th century, Bağlarbaşı became a summer resort with open air coffee houses and *gazinós*, preferred by the Ottoman notables. Having among them the Çiftlik Gazinosu, remained active until the 1950s, located across the eastern end of Bağlarbaşı Armenian Cemetery, in the place of which İlahiyat Fakültesi (the Faculty of Theology) today is located¹⁶. Pervitich, on the other hand, demarcates the place possibly in the late 1930s as an ex-Armenian Club (See: Map: P1).

¹⁶ Location is mentioned on Üsküdar İstanbul: <https://www.uskudaristanbul.com/firmadetay.asp?id=2398>, accessed on 27.10.2020.

At the flatness of Üsküdar, in the road that was known as Tophanelioğlu Caddesi in today's Altunizade starting from where İcadiye, Selamsız and Yenimahalle ended, the mansions of wealthy Armenians laid side by side with their Muslim counterparts (See: Map-P2). Among the proprietors of those large mansions and plots were: Mahmut Paşa, Dernerseyan, Movhsisyan, Mardirosyan, Whittall, Nefise Hanım, Mamure Hanım and Fuat Bey. As stimulating as it is, Pervititch seems to have captured here the coexistence of the reputable Armenians, Muslim males and females (*Bey* and *Hanım* are the courtesy titles for male and female, respectively) and possibly the illustrious Levantine Whittall Family.

3.2 Armenian *mahalles* (Neighborhoods)

“Over the course of my life, I have seen many places and have enjoyed the beauty of nature in many forms, but my memories of the Gardens of Silahdar have remained indelible. I have carried those gardens with me everywhere, and in them I have found refuge every time dark, menacing clouds have accumulated on my horizon.” (See: Image-4)¹⁷

Dated back to 1882, the population of central Üsküdar is drawn as 36,350, of which Muslims, Armenians and Greeks made up 67%, 20%, and 13%, respectively (Karpas, 2003: 241). In 1914, with the inclusion of Kuzguncuk, this figure rose to 111,095: 63% Muslim, 17 Greek, 12% Armenian and 6 % Jews, this time those figure includes Catholic and Protestant Armenians and Greeks (Karpas, 2003: 208-209). Those figures suggest that within a quarter a century, each ethno-religious community doubled or tripled their population in Üsküdar. This rise in the plural human geography manifested itself in the emergence of a dense fabric of settlements on the previously unsettled green spaces. The 19th century Ottoman residential image is put forward by Behar as: “the two or three-story wooden houses with tiled large eaves, overhangs, and latticed bay windows, all regularly lined up on narrow and badly cobbled winding streets...” (Behar, 2003: 45) (See: Image-5). This dense fabric of wooden houses led to the frequent occurrences of devastating fires, among the severe consequences of which could be total burn-down of neighborhoods (Behar, 2003: 14).

¹⁷ She refers to Silahdarbahçe in Selamsız Üsküdar. Zabel Yesayan, Gardens of Silahdar, trans. by Jennifer Manoukian, <https://www.pangyrus.com/armenianvoice/the-house-gardens-of-silahdar/> accessed on 26.10.2020.

This situation was also true for Üsküdar, especially the catastrophic fires of the last quarter of the 19th century and especially the one in 1921 were those that torn-down most of the residential areas in Üsküdar including our *mahalles* (quarters), Kuzguncuk, İcadiye, Selamsız, and Yeni Mahalle In 1873, Kuzguncuk lost its 591 buildings, Yeni Mahalle its 365 houses and shops (Ergin, 1995, as cited in Bilgili et al., 2016: 521). In 1887, the fire that started with the frying oil flare in Yenimahalle, left behind the ashes of some eight-nine hundreds of houses, shops, churches and schools (Tercüman-ı Hakikat, 1304, as cited in Keyvanoğlu, 2006: 173). In 1921, Selamsız and İcadiye lost more than 600 houses (Ergin, 1995, as cited in Bilgili et al., 2016: 521). We know that some of those neighborhoods of İstanbul perished after those fires, though our neighborhoods rose from the ashes, each time bringing about significant changes in its morphological, as well as social fabric (See: Image-6).

Among the morphological developments those fires brought about, a vivid image of a modernized urban structure catches our attention, particularly in our *mahalles*. 1914 Alman Mavileri map suggests that grid-plan city structure seems to be introduced to İcadiye, Yeni Mahalle and some parts of Selamsız earlier than surrounding quarters. Furthermore, those modern streets of our quarters seem to be smoothly connected to the two large avenues that run parallel in east-west direction and meet at the top, in Bağlarbaşı, jointly extending to Çamlıca and even further east to Anatolia. The largest of those two avenues in the south cuts through Selamsız, bifurcating up into Yeni Mahalle and Bağlarbaşı. In Alman Mavileri, the road that separates Selamsız from İcadiye is marked as “Bülbüldere Caddesi” and “Posta Yolu Caddesi”: the former refers to the Bülbüldere Valley, and the latter to the newly formed “Postal Route”. A few decades later on the same road, this time 1922 map introduces the very route for the first tramway line of Anatolia, Üsküdar-Çamlıca line (See: Map-P3). This brings us the image of an Armenian Üsküdar, irreconcilably divided by the two large, well-established routes that connect the entire İstanbul to the East, being the very passageways for everyone in the city. These routes also connect our neighborhoods to Bağlarbaşı, Çamlıca and inner Anatolia in the East; to the Üsküdar center, the capital city’s historical and commercial centers across the Bosphorus and the inner-land European continent in the West.

In the middle of those connection points of tremendous importance in the capital city, it is hardly surprising to learn that Üsküdar Armenian residents remained in between the Ottoman and Armenian culture in the pre-1921-fire Üsküdar. Baronian criticizes the Üsküdar Armenian residents’ tendency to engage mostly in the cultural products prepared in Turkish to the Ottoman audience, turning away from those belonging to the national Armenian cultural heritage (Baronyan, 2014: 58). According to him, the language spoken among the Üsküdar residents

was mostly Turkish, who resorted to Armenian only to swear; while the poorer inhabitants communicated with half Turkish, half Armenian (2014: 76-59). Yesayan's remarks for the spoken language provides rather a different picture in which: her illiterate grandmother spoke in Armenian fluently, in Turkish with carefully chosen words (Yesayan, 2013: 94); her cultured uncle was proficient in Classical Armenian and Turkish (Yesayan, 2013: 110); their wealthy acquaintance Santukt Hanım spoke Armenian well with possibly a Greek accent (Yesayan, 2013: 122); she and her father, as her primary tutor, communicated in Armenian (Yesayan, 2013: 138).

As a vivid demonstration of the ways of interaction and the responsiveness of the Üsküdar Armenians to the developments beyond Üsküdar, Baronyan's remark is telling. He notes that Armenian women of Kadıköy (the southern neighboring district of Üsküdar) used to keep tabs on the ships appearing on the horizon coming from Marseilles, to be up to date with the latest fashion trend radiating from France. Selamsız women used to borrow from Kadıköy the latest fashion trends; Yeni Mahalle women from Selamsız; and İcadiye women -although very well-groomed- not as fashionable as Kadıköy women (Baronyan, 2017).

As for the destructive effects of those fires in the social fabric of our neighborhoods, Mintzuri gives voice:

"I described Üsküdar of the 1920s. I narrated this pre-fire Armenian district in "My Second Marriage", which burned from İcadiye to Silahtar. It was the most tragic period in our daily story. Survivors of the exiles poured into Istanbul. I was thinking of reviving that period. The marriage story of sales clerk Kevork who lost his wife in the exile...I lived in Üsküdar fifty years ago. It is no longer there today." (Mintzuri, 2017: 187)

3.2.1 Yeni Mahalle and Pazarbaşı (Today's Murat Reis)

Yeni Mahalle is the first Armenian neighborhood in Üsküdar, reportedly established by the master-builders drafted from Van and Muş for the construction of mosque complexes. Not surprisingly, Surp Garabet Church (the late 16th century) comes to the forefront as the earliest landmarks of the Armenian Üsküdar. From the distribution of its cultural spaces, we understand that the immediate circle of the church sheltered the very center of this first Armenian *mahalle* (neighborhood). Cemaran College¹⁸ in Yeni Mahalle, also known as the school of Yeni Mahalle or of Surp Garabet, erected in 1838, by the illustrious residents of Üsküdar, Garabet Balyan and Hovhannes Seryan (Hançer, 2004). Soon after its establishment, in 1839 Cemaran hosted

¹⁸ Also known as Jemaran and Chemaran.

one of the first printing presses of Üsküdar, introduced by the famous Ohannes Mühendisyan (Birinci, 2014: 386).

Accommodating the newest, modernized curriculums with the help of Armenian local notables and illustrious merchants (Matossian, 2007), Cemaran attracted famous teachers, produced famous graduates and pioneered philanthropic organizations like women's societies. the journalist Karabet Ütüciyan (1823-1904), Hovhannes Teroyents Çamurciyan¹⁹ (1801-1888), Melkon Gurciyan (1859-1915), Zabel Asadur²⁰ (1863-1934) are referred among the famous figures it hosted (Hacikyan,2000). Moreover, Hacikyan (2000:440) informs us that Bedros Durian²¹ was among the favorite students of Baronyan in Cemaran. We are mostly devoid of references to it in the period regarding when we draw most of our knowledge about the Armenian Üsküdar. It is most possibly due to the fact that, following frequent interruptions to its educational services, it was burnt in 1887 only to be re-erected in 1911, by a philanthropist Armenian, Levon Semerciyen, as an earlier graduate of Cemaran (Torkomyan, 1938, as cited in Hançer, 2014: 144).

Baronian draws an image for Yeni Mahalle which suggests an hypothetical division between the upper and the lower parts of the neighborhood. While the lower part was settled mostly by the revolutionary youngsters, poors and addicts, seeing the taverns as their second home, the upper part accommodated an aristocratic class, having their own taverns in their residences (Baronyan, 2017: 75-76). Yesayan recalls that, to the despise of her elders, one of her aunties often taking her for a ride through the poor neighborhoods located in a walking distance to their house. On their walks through those narrow streets framed by houses on both sides, they are welcomed with joy and compassion by the dwellers, getting invitations for a coffee from all sides as if streets and houses are interwoven so that no clear boundaries separate them (Yesayan, 2013). Quite possibly Yesayan's "poor neighborhoods" corresponded to the Baronian's "lower Yeni Mahalle" portrayal.

From the distribution of occupations recorded in the 1907 census, we gain an insight into such a division (See: Table-1). Northern part of Yeni Mahalle is conspicuous with its highest numbers of teachers and watch-makers, the professional elites constituting almost one third of its working residents. Of 481 recorded Yeni Mahalle residents, fourteen have a title of prestige. In this same triangle shaped part of Yeni Mahalle, we have a salient concentration of jewellers, merchants, teachers, druggists, watch-makers and clerks. In this northern Yeni Mahalle, we are

¹⁹ Also known as Ter-Karabetyan

²⁰ Also known as Sibil.

²¹ Related as Petros Turian.

able to meet some of the well-known, high profile figures. In Bekçi Ohannes Sokak, 1907 census records mark the household of the famous writer Teotig Lapjinjian (33)²², his wife Arshaguhi (32), and four-year-old son Vahak. His occupation is defined as “merchant’s clerk” in Bekçi Ohannes Street (HID110002)²³. Yesayan relates Teotig as one of the graduates of Berberian College who attends one of Yesayan’s family excursions to Alemdağ (2013: 108), and his wife Arshaguhi as Yesayan’s peer friend (2013: 135). The Arhanyan family, the owner of the Devecioğlu bakeries in the center, Mintzuri’s wealthy relative and countryman from the Lesser Armıdan also appear to live here in Yeni Mahalle. Luckily their household is recorded in the 1907 census, as located in Yeni Mahalle Antonaki Street. Their household shelters: Tateos Arhanyan (45) and his son (22) both as bread-bakers; his wife Zvart (50), his daughter (11) and grandson (3) (HID109304).

The southern end of Yenimahalle opens up to Pazarbaşı neighborhood which sheltered a considerable number of Armenian inhabitants. This part quite possibly constituted what Baronian called “the lower Yeni Mahalle” and Yesayan’s “poor neighborhoods”. In the 1907 records, this neighborhood seems to be populated overwhelmingly by fabric printers and local artisans, with their share reaching to almost 90 per cent. In the entire Üsküdar, the most populous groups of fabric printers are to be found in Pazarbaşı. However, Pazarbaşı area was not only accommodating Armenians. Unlike Yeni Mahalle, the records of imperial archives refer predominantly Turkish-Muslim names, possibly suggesting a slight Muslim majority in Pazarbaşı.

Situated right across Surp Garabet Church to its south, Pazarbaşı shelters again a religious center, but this time an Islamic establishment: Çinili Mosque Complex (See: Map-A1). Çinili complex and several dervish lodges around it even vaguely delineate the opening of the Muslim neighborhoods towards the south and the west. Built around the first half of the seventeenth century, the original complex consisted of several public utilities including a mosque, a double public bath, a primary and a theological school and a fountain. However, to our surprise, we are informed from the imperial archives that Pazarbaşı, until 1919, accommodated brothels in the middle of Muslim settlements, dervish lodges and mosques (DH.EUM.AYŞ.42.4)²⁴. In 1899, petit-crimes that took place in the area led to the considerations of opening a police station and providing street lighting (DH.MKT.2288.65).

²² Numbers in parentheses shows the individuals’ approximate age in 1907, as referred in the 1907 census records. All the records can be accessible on the Houshamadyan website:

<https://www.houshamadyan.org/mapottomanempire/vilayet-of-istanbul/istanbul/locale/demography.html>

²³ The codes start with “HID” refers to household IDs in the 1907 records.

²⁴ Location of the source in the Ottoman imperial archival records.

Situated at the southern end of the Silahtarbahçe Street of Selamsız and in close proximity to Surp Garabet Church in Yenimahalle (See: Ma-A2 and Image-9), Çinili area in Pazarbaşı should have significantly contributed to the lively economic and social activity reportedly taken place in those streets as well. As a dweller of Silahtarbahçe, Yesayan describes her front street as being next to a generally busy street, having right across her house a grocery-tavern run by a Greek. This tavern is related to be frequented by a variety of visitors (Yesayan, 2013: 92), but at the same time, most likely due to its proximity to the Çinili area, the street often accommodated different types of processions, festivities, and passersby. Among those, Yesayan recalls the Gypsies' dances and shows with their bears and monkeys; jugglers, dervishes, magicians, and even a "white-beard snake charmer"; Greek's processions; and the Shiis' spooky parades in her street (Yesayan, 2013: 93). Calling it "the market of Surp Garabet" (*Surp Garabet'in Çarşısı*), Mintzuri also recalls the area as being near Çinili Mosque, and as a crowded space at the time, in which two adjacent tavern-houses were run by his acquaintances (Mintzzuri, 2017: 94). In fact, contemporary references to the drinking habit and tavern culture as one of the major characteristics of Üsküdar Armenian neighborhoods are so abundant that Baronian takes notice of the defiant and pervasive character of those taverns, for they succeeded in drawing right near to the churches (Baronian, 2017: 57).

Further to this ethno-religious mosaic, we have some solid evidence of the institutionalized existence of a Greek community beyond Kuzguncuk to its southeast, on whose nature we have little to no information. Next to Surp Garabet Church in Yeni Mahalle, towards the Muslim quarters were a Greek Orthodox Church Profiti İlya still in use, and a Greek school across vanished today (See: Map-A1). In an imperial record containing records of the Greek residents of Üsküdar, following quarters are named: Kadıköy, Beykoz, Kandilli, Çengelköy, Beylerbeyi, Kuzguncuk, İcadiye, Selamsız, Yeni Mahalle and Üsküdar market (ZB.2.79).

According to Inciciyan (1956: 120), the Greek Profiti İlya which was previously in ruins was rebuilt in 1804, three times larger than its earlier size. Considering the series of restorations Profiti İlya had undergone in 1804 and again in 1831, the size of the Üsküdar Greeks should also have been on the rise throughout the 19th century. It is to the extent that an imperial record captured in 1896 addresses a Greek individual called Gavril, first as the *muhtar* (neighborhood headman) of the *Greek neighborhood Yeni Mahalle*, and then "Greek *mukhtar* of Yeni Mahalle (ŞD.2731.4; ŞD.2668.9; DH.MKT.1131.9). It, of course, does not suggest that Yeni Mahalle was a Greek *mahalle*, as those entitlements were used arbitrarily, but gives us clues on the extent to which Greek presence was institutionalized and officially recognized in our neighborhoods. Several sources, together with Yesayan's memoirs, point to the Greek neighbors as running

grocery and tavern in Selamsız, Yenimahalle and Pazarbaşı (DH.EUM.KADL.13.4; HR.MKT.147.6; HR.MKT.766.81). Thus, Üsküdar's Greek community should have been some centuries-old neighbors to Üsküdar Armenians, as well as Muslims in the area. Quite on the contrary to such a strong presence, they seem mostly silent on the historical maps, no further reference to their existence is discernible other than three of their community spaces, a church, a school and a small plot of cemetery. Compounded with the absence of information regarding their living spaces, we are unable to trace the distribution of Greek residents in our quarters to have a grasp into the extent of this co-existence in Üsküdar.

To conclude, the northern Yeni Mahalle towards Selamsız Street seems to accommodate the residential center mostly for middle class Armenians. As we move southwards toward the Surp Garabet, we are welcomed by a host of cultural institutions for Armenians as well as Greeks, and by a lively market place. Further south towards Pazarbaşı, at the intersection point of Armenian and Muslim settlements, we see a lower class Armenian settlements surrounded by a vibrant market, mosques, dervish lodges, as well as brothels.

3.2.2 Selamsız

Selamsız, or Selamiye constituted the second Armenian neighborhood in Üsküdar. According to Torkomyan, the foundation of Surp Haç Church in the late 17th century, was necessitated by the establishment of a new settlement that expanded into Selamsız, which was separated from Yenimahalle by a Muslim cemetery. The discomfort of passing through the Muslim cemetery -in a period in which the central military members (the Jannisaries) terrorized the Istanbul streets- to reach their only church Surp Garabet, compounded by the increasing population led to the establishment of Surp Haç Church in Ekmekçibaşı Street, around which a second Armenian neighborhood was formed (Torkomyan, 1938, as cited in Hançer, 2004:146). Baronian gives us population figures for Armenian residents of Selamsız, which involves 525 households, sheltering almost 2,000 inhabitants²⁵ (Baronyan, 2017: 56) in the late 19th century. Together with Selamsız Street, Ekmekçibaşı and Silahtarbahçe Streets constitute the most referred parts of Selamsız (See: Image-8).

Torkomyan, informs us that Selamsız had become the most affluent community center among other residential areas with regards to the quality of life and the number of educational institutions in the 19th century. With her own words "Selamiye (or Selamsız and its

²⁵ This figure is much higher than Behar's findings on the highest number of households and individuals a quarter could accommodate in 1877. He suggests that the largest quarter sheltered 477 houses, and the average population per quarter was 1,550 (Behar, 2003: 135).

Silahtarbahçe Street) was one of the main Armenian settlements where wealthy and well-educated Armenian families inhabited. Balyan, Pişmişyan, Noradunqyan, Odyan, Beyleryan, Papazyan, Seferyan, Behzad, Aznavuryan and many other families who once lived here have been immortalized with their memorable services (Torkomyan, 1938, as cited by Hançer, 2004: 150). The famous residents of Selamsız are not only made up of this aristocratic group. Decades later, in Pervitich map, we see the house of a certain Armenian druggist, adjacent to the Beyleryan Theatre in the Ekmekçibaşı Street,, marked as “Paraghamian”²⁶. The map also marks the name “Seferyan” on a series of masonry buildings in today’s Sebilci Molla Sokak (then Sarraf Sokak), right across the Silahtarbahçe Sokak. Moreover, Calouste Gulbenkian was also a resident of Selamsız, being born into their house in Acıbadem Caddesi, baptised in the Surp Haç Church (Pamukciyan, 1994, as cited in Hançer, 2004: 150). In Silahtarbahçe Sokak, we can trace the household of Kevork Torkomian, titled as “the Advisor to the Ministry of the Imperial Privy Purse, to the Ottoman Public Debt Administration, and on agriculture and director of the silkworm breeding school in Bursa” by the enumerators of the 1907 census. He (45) lives with his two sisters: Satenig (36) and Ojeni (29) and a brother-in-law Mardiros *Effendi* Antreasian (43), recorded as a regie official (HID124403).

From the last quarter of the 19th century on, the contemporary references to particular spaces gain momentum, not only because we have a more diversified source of information, but also because the number of public spaces was on the unprecedented rise. We learn that the magnificent mansions of Odyan and Nizamyan in Ekmekçibaşı Street were later in the last quarter of the 19th century converted to the schools which can be regarded as the cornerstones of not only Üsküdar Armenians, but also the entire community. Next to each other, Dayyan Boarding School for girls, Berberyian college, and American College²⁷ for Girls was named among them (Hançer, 2004: 150). Although such a specific location preference for this American missionary school had to do mostly with the presence of Armenian community in ample size (Kılıçdağı, 2010), its prestigious prospect seem to have attracted daughters of Muslim notables as well, at the expense of clashes with the Ottoman government.²⁸ Southern Selamsız also accommodated a French educational complex, Saint Vincent de Paul, which was reportedly built by French Catholic nuns in 1859 (Doğan, 2011). We are not able to assess those two foreign institutions’ direct relation to the inhabitants of our neighborhoods. Though we

²⁶ The surname Paraghamian only appears in some households in several quarters of Üsküdar in 1907 records: A druggist in İcadiye: PID136015, a moneylender in Kuzguncuk: PID147220, a blacksmith in Yeni Mahalle: PID110018

²⁷ Established as part of ABCFM (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions).

²⁸ Among them, Adivar and Gülistan are named as some of the earliest female Muslim graduates.

know that the competition between the community schools and missionary schools had sparked off a forced uplift of the former's educational quality. Moreover, the graduates of especially the Protestant missionary schools were increasingly attained as the teachers of the Armenian community schools (Kılıçdağı, 2010).

As the very consequence of those earlier developments, to such a spectacular list of the famous residents of Selamsız, we certainly need to add Zabel Yesayan as a resident of Silahtarbahçe Street. Yesayan, somewhat proudly informs us that she and her quite cultured uncle graduated from Surp Haç School. Hançer, drawing on the information provided by Ekserciyan, gives us clues on the foundation for this pride: The school was established right across Surp Haç Church in the early 18th century, by Papaz Abraham, also being the founder of the Surp Haç Church. Destroyed in time by a fire, and it was re-established in 1860 by the imperial order issued by the Sultan Abdülmecid and with the devoted efforts of the patriarch of the period. Shortly afterward, it became a center of high quality education that could compete with the Cemar School of Yeni Mahalle (Ekserciyan, 1927, as cited in Hançer, 2004: 148).

Yesayan informs us that they rented and moved to “the typical two-storey reddish-painted wooden house” with fourteen rooms within a large walled garden in Silahtarbahçe, when her father's textile plant underwent a fortunate expansion. Being born into a family who seems to have newly risen to the upper-middle classes, Yesayan rather recalls Üsküdar as exceptional with unusually numerous literary figures it raised and endowed to Armenian community (Yesayan, 2013: 65). In the 1907 census records, we can locate the household of Diran Chrakian, to whom Yesayan ascribes “a fake genius” (Yeayan, 2013) that was raised in Üsküdar as among many other significant literary figures. He is recorded as a 26 year-old teacher, living with his wife Verkin (32) in Selamsız Street (HID123305), located right below Acıbadem Caddesi.

However relatively late its formation had taken place, in 1876 in Selamsız, recurrently surfaced references to the Berberian College established by the exceptionally well-regarded Armenian intellectual Reteos Berberyan, point both to its immense significance and to the status of it as one of the most important landmarks of the Armenian Üsküdar. It is to the extent that the college finds its place in the narratives of all our three contemporary Armenian literary figures: Mintzuri, Yesayan and Baronian. Haçikyan (2000: 428-430) defines Berberyan as a great idealistic intellectual of his time, as “ a poet, a publicist, but first and foremost a great educator” (See: Image-10).

The founder of the Berberian College, Reteos Berberyan also finds his place in the numerous archival documentations, produced between the years 1899 and 1905, for he

allegedly had strong ties with the members of Armenian revolutionary communities. According to the government officials, Berberyan promotes mischief among his students. Legal correspondence continues between the government and the Armenian Patriarchate, the one trying to convince the other of the necessity of his mission's termination; and the other quite the opposite. The Patriarchate goes even so far as to argue that Berberyan was awarded by the sultan himself for his outstanding successes and faithful services (MF.MKT.875.53, A.MKT.MHM.634.14.48). It appears that government officials failed to provide adequate evidence for his guilt, since Berberyan continued to run the school up until his death in 1907 (Haçikyan, 2000: 429).

Baronian refers to a coffeehouse called *Tüysüz'ün Kahvesi*, as being famous among "the olds". Similarly, the renowned Beyleroğlu or Beyleryan Theatre (See Map-P4), believed to be found by an Armenian *sarraf* Agop Beyleryan, was located in the large area right behind Berberian College. As an inhabitant of İcadiye, Mintzuri informs us that he spent his evenings in Marko's or in Beyler's open air coffee houses, where he introduced himself apparently to the literary circles present in those public places (Mintzuri, 2017: 132). As an example of its reach beyond Üsküdar Armenian community, Özemre, as a proud Üsküdar resident of elite Muslim origin, also recalls his childhood visits with his mother to Beyleryan Theatre. (Özemre, 2007: 158).

The existence of such a dense fabric of cultural institutions in the area suggest that this area that flourished around the Surp Haç Church hosted the very center of gravity throughout the Armenian Üsküdar. Aforementioned blinding high profile of Selamsız can be confirmed in the 1907 census records as well. It accommodates the record share of non-working male inhabitants (15%) with an average age of 63, which possibly suggests an early retirement for the affluent Armenians. It shelters the highest rates of civil servants and high-ranking bureaucrats, coupled with the abundance of prestigious titles like "Effendi" attached to those residents: 22 out of 367 residents have those titles as indicator of centrally recognized high social stance. In addition to those indications of traditional elite, Selamsız Street also shelters three-fourths of Üsküdar's priests(See: Table-1).

Given that those parts constituted the upper parts of Selamsız, the lower Selamsız hosted Gypsies to the south of Selamsız street, Jews to the north of the same street. Several sources refer to this co-existence and entanglement of living spaces of Jewish, Gypsy and Armenian residents. Selamsız is today first and foremost associated with Gypsy community. The first mentions of Gypsy residents of Selamsız goes back to the 16th century in the sources (Çelik, 2014; Ak, 2008). In their illustration of the human composition of the Selamsız

neighborhood, Yesayan and Baronian both address the fortune-teller Gypsies (Yesayan, 2013: 54; Baronian, 2017: 58). Across the road, on a street that led from Selamsız Street to Bülbüldere Valley, Alman Mavileri marks a synagogue behind the Bülbüldere Cemetery, located in a street with the name of an Armenian master builder, Garabet Kalfa. Further east, vertical to Garabet Kalfa Değirmeni Sokak and the fountain above it with the same name, Alman Mavileri demarcates the Synagogue Street (See: Map-A3).

To demonstrate better the intertangled position of different ethno-religious communities in a relatively small area within a walking distance, following anecdote is remarkable: as Muslim resident of Üsküdar, Halide Edip Adivar is related to making her way pass through a Jewish district around Bülbüldere Cemetery, from her home in Sultantepe near Özbekler Tekkesi to her college, American College for Girls, located right across Surp Haç School (Kandemir, 1943, as cite in Cündioğlu, 2013)²⁹. From this anecdote, we can trace: right below İcadiye a predominantly Muslim settlement Sultantepe around Özbekler Tekkesi, which is related to be built by Uzbek dervishes; across the road to the south a Jewish settlement in the lower Selamsız; running up to the east to the upper Selamsız which housed newly founded American College(See: Map A4).

Therefore, in the Selamsız Street that starts behind the Üsküdar center until halfway towards Bağlarbaşı, we could meet the settlements of Turkish-Muslims, Jews, Gypsies, Armenians, as possibly exemplifying the established multicultural urban space composed of the Ottoman subjects. Quite likely, as our sources so far suggest, as we ascend further in the same road, we would see a more glamorously high socio-economic profile prevalent in the upper Selamsız.

3.2.3 İcadiye and Kuzguncuk

İcadiye is the third and the last quarter of Üsküdar which was associated predominantly with Armenians. İcadiye was also the only neighborhood, establishment of which cannot be attributed to a church of its own. Indeed, İcadiye has never had an Armenian Church. In Yenimahalle as well as Selamsız, relatively small spaces seem to be allocated to individuals and public spaces, and ownership is mostly not disclosed in Pervititch maps. In İcadiye, on the other hand, considerably large parcels seem to be allocated to private individuals and institutions. Here we are introduced to a wealth of Armenian proprietors of rich villas in large

²⁹ Üsküdar'da Bir Yahudi Mahallesi
https://ducanecundioqlusimurggrubu.blogspot.com/2013/03/uskudarda-bir-yahudi-mahallesi.html?fbclid=IwAR0bIMhMzI1_kkm1P2PbM0UV8lq0HFzJWzMtZpElxe9j6v3iqMenyvb1_4, accessed on 27.10.2020.

plots, and even a park named Miloşyan Parkı adjacent to their large plot. Following surnames are to be found on the Pervititch map of İcadiye: Kılıçciyan, Torosyan, Dr. Keleşyan, Miloşyan, Saryan and Haçaduryan (See: Map-P5). Özemre (2007), as a high-profile Muslim contemporary, refers to Dr. Keleşyan, as being among the well respected doctors of Üsküdar, together with the Jewish Dr. Amon and again an Armenian doctor Bedrosyan.

In the 1907 census records, it is quite surprising to see that, with the negligible number of exceptions, İcadiye is almost completely devoid of bureaucratic classes. Even more striking is the fact that, among the recorded 501 residents, not even one of them is from the ranks of clergy. Only a very small minority, as small as seven individuals, seem to be blessed with the Ottoman prestigious titles like *Effendi* or *Agha*. The shares of the laborers and artisan/shop keepers are also the smallest among other Üsküdar Armenian neighborhoods. Such a shortfall in the very basic components of local occupational groups reflects generously on the share of commercial classes, as well as the elite section of artisanal groups (See: Table-1). The total share of merchants (tüccar), jewelers (kuyumcu) and moneylenders (sarraf) is as high as one-third of the working İcadiye inhabitants. Professional service providers including clerks, teachers, druggists, dentists, lawyers, brokers, musicians and machinists also constitute a relatively larger proportion, as high as one fourth of the İcadiye's employment landscape.

Peculiar position of İcadiye becomes even more prominent in Çamlıca Street (today's Cemil Meriç Sokak), and to a lesser degree, in Dogramacı Simon (today's Dünder Sokak). Aforementioned commercial and artisanal elite group makes up nearly half of the Çamlıca Street's working dwellers. Together with the professional groups composed primarily of clerks, dentists and financial brokers, the aggregate share of these apparently well-to-do middle class groups rose up to the three quarters. Another distinct feature of İcadiye provided by the high rates of female headship in the available households.

In İcadiye Çamlıca Street, Alman Mavileri designates an Armenian school, and a theatre next to it. Decades later, Pervititch marks the space as the ruins of the burnt "İcadiye Theatre"³⁰ (See: Map P5). Baronian (2017, 92-93) informs us that it was a relatively new settlement composed of then nearly 500 households of recent settlers, who left their old quarters in İstanbul. He addresses the Kayseri-originated inhabitants of İcadiye, linking these to the absence of a church of its own, and to the drinking habits prevalent among the majority of the inhabitants of İcadiye. He further notes that since there was nothing for the lovers in Yenimahalle and Selamsız, they ended up in İcadiye, to which he refers as *Kalfa'nın Dağı* (the

³⁰ Pervititch marks it as: "Ruines de l'ex-Theatre de İcadiye (incendie)" 79.

mountain of the master-builder) to engage, break their engagements, challenge their rivals (Baronyan, 2017: 59).

To the north and west, this predominance of Armenian presence starts dissolving. Northern end of İcadiye, there had been a theatre called Aziziye Tiyatrosu in Aziziye Street who witnessed the flourish of Armenian theatre with frequent performances. According to her testimonies, being an opposite neighbor, Halide Edip Adivar was among the young audience of the Aziziye theatre³¹. Quite likely in the same street, therewhile, we are informed about the existence of a Jewish school until its relocation in 1901 due to the diminishing Jewish population in the area (MF.MKT. 582 46, H-15-06-1319). Down to the west, Kuzguncuk starts and extends to the coast. Jewish community put a firm stamp on the architectural landscape of Kuzguncuk, via Synagogues and a large Jewish cemetery. The oldest Synagogue in the neighborhood is dated back to 1664 (Mills, 2006: 387), while the Greek Orthodox (Ayios Panteleimon) and Armenian Gregorian (Surp Krikor Lusavoriç) churches (See Map-P2) were built almost two centuries later, in 1831 and 1835 respectively, when the presence of those communities reached to considerable sizes in the area. The establishment of Surp Krikor Lusavoriç, chronologically third and the last Armenian church in Üsküdar, was reportedly taken place based on the Ottoman Sultan's grant in favor of the illustrious imperial architect, Sarkis Balyan Kalfa (Hançer, 2004: 155). The construction of the first mosque in the early 1950, on the other hand, coincided with the very series of phenomena that ensured gradual yet rapid exodus of this glittering mosaic made up of the non-Muslim subjects (See: Map-P6).

In the 1907 Armenian census records, unlike the other neighborhoods, here we come across two distinct socio-economic groups as sharply in contrast to each other as in no other areas. Two cross-cut streets provide us with a perfect example of an exclusively high profile neighborhood; one along the coast to the south and the other runs up to the east towards İcadiye. Kuzguncuk accommodates 80% of the households in Üsküdar with live-in servants and cooks. Within the pool of prominent inhabitants are professionals like lawyers and clerks; high segment artisans like jeweller, in addition to a salient concentration of merchants and moneylenders. On the other end of the Kuzguncuk neighborhood towards the north, on the other hand, we can trace yet another type of population distinct beyond doubt. Here is the only part in Üsküdar with domestic units housing either solitary, or a group of non-related peddlers and laborers from Easter For the Armenian residents of Kuzguncuk, he sarcastically notes their apathy towards education and national issues, rather being mostly absorbed in Kuzguncuk's

³¹ Sources should be confirmed. Üsküdar İstanbul.
<https://www.uskudaristanbul.com/firmadetay.asp?id=2664>, accessed on 27.10.2020.

relaxed fishing town image in which: a weak connection to the developments outside observable; traditional gender roles persisted; major occupations of the male inhabitants were fishing, drinking and playing backgammon down in the center with the Jewish neighbors (2017: -102). n Anatolia, namely, from Arapgir³².

Mills provides us with the Kuzguncuk population in 1914, composed of “1,600 Armenians, 400 Jews, 70 Muslims, 250 Greeks, and 4 foreigners” (Mills, 2008: 388). This figure, though, probably affirms Baronian’s (2017:100) remark which directs attention to how Kuzguncuk was literally integrated into İcadiye. Thus this figure should have incorporated İcadiye residents, which composed predominantly of Armenians.

As can be seen, mainland İcadiye seems to have borne witness to the latest developments that Armenian community had undergone in the early 20th century. Unlike Yeni Mahalle and to a lesser extent Selamsız, İcadiye seems to provide large enough space that was previously unsettled for a lavish display of economic, social and cultural blossoming forth of the Armenian community in the period, embodied in the salient presence of the modern Armenian elite.

As conspicuous as the absence of an Armenian school in Kuzguncuk which was criticized by Baronian, so was and still is the absence of a religious center in İcadiye, especially when considering the abundance of social and cultural spaces. That İcadiye flourished around not a religious institution, but secular establishments like theatres and private community schools stands out as the potent symbol of wider social change within the community, as powerfully resonated in Üsküdar, but particularly in İcadiye. Approaching to the 20th century, the new favorite space for establishment of cultural centers seems to be İcadiye this time, after Yeni Mahalle and Selamsız. Moreover, those establishments erected mostly on the fields which were previously unsettled, which, at least in theory, set it apart from Selamsız, where those cultural spaces bore inextricable links to the Armenian tradition elite.

3.3 Armenian Üsküdar, as isolated from Üsküdar

In line with characterization of cosmopolitanism, this flashy image of coexistence and interactions in a shared space, seem to cover only those of elite strata, and even less those mobile underclasses excluding more settled middle classes. Aforementioned Muslim figures like Adivar, Özemre, Nefise Hanım, Fuat Bey; the Armenian residents like Dernerseyan, Movhsisyan, Mardirosyan and the Levantine Whithall seem to constitute the cosmopolitan elite;

³² Only one exception: Eğin.

hose spaces like Aziziye Theatre, Beyleryan Theatre, American College, Çiftlik Gazinosu and the Tophanelioğlu settlements solidify the spaces of interactions and the coexistence of those cosmopolitan elite. They seem to find ways of crossing the spatial, political and social boundaries with their deliberate choice of coming together in the spaces with cosmopolitan prospects. Their coexistence seems to be entailed by their shared lifestyles, highly driven by their high socio-economic standing.

On the other hand, we have narratives of the middle and lower class Armenian residents of Üsküdar, which characterize the majority to be excluded from the images of Ottoman Cosmopolitanism. Mintzuri's account for the dazzling heterogeneity of the major market spaces seems to be somewhat sharply interrupted when he proceeds to the İcadiye and Selamsız. Except a Turkish doctor in İcadiye, he covers his interactions with the neighboring Armenian residents, his visits to the public spaces run and frequented by his coethnic fellows.

Given that those taverns and coffeehouses were the very public spaces reserved exclusively to the male interactions, for a variety of reasons, neighborly ethno-religious interaction seems to be even more limited, especially for the middle class women. Aside from being a curious observer from behind the safety of her house of this diversity her street hosted, Yesayan's narrated personal interactions only very rarely cover those with different ethno-religious affiliations. Except the mentions of the Greek grocer across, and again a Greek midwife that is appealed for Yesayan's birth; all her protagonists, neighborhood acquaintances (Teotig Lapçinciyan, Dikran Çırakyan, Arşakuhi Teotig), intellectuals to be aspired (Serpuihı Dussap, Mıgırdıç Beşiktaşlıyan, Bedros Turyan, Toğmas Terziyan), professionals to be appealed (Vahram Torkomyan) are Armenians. All her neighborly visits involve co-religious acquaintances, so do her excursions outside Üsküdar. It is to the extent that, the first mention of her personal contact with the Turks, for instance, coincides with Yesayan's 14th of age, far outside the neighborhood boundaries, in a considerable distance to be taken exclusively for summer holidays. Even then, such an interaction with a peer Muslim girl took place initially under the shadow of a mutual suspicion, awaiting the approval of the elders of the girls.

Furthermore, neither Baronian, Yesayan nor Mintzuri touch upon the existence of the missionary schools, to the extent that it is not even mentioned as an option for Armenian students. It is even more interesting when taking into consideration that the American College for Girls was located right across Yesayan's primary school. While Adivar, as a Muslim peer of Yesayan, enjoyed the high quality education provided in this college, Yesayan argues that, at the time, there was no nearby higher education possibility for girls like herself (Yesayan, 2013: 137). Thus, resorting only to the community schools, quite likely that she was not among the

ones who were to enjoy those spaces for ethno-religious and confessional intermingling in Üsküdar. Besides, this image persists in the Üsküdar portrayal of Baronian regarding Selamsız, Yeni Mahalle and İcadiye.

By solely looking at the narratives of these three earlier inhabitants, one can easily assume those neighborhoods as strictly isolated spatial entities, composed almost exclusively of Armenian residents. What seems to be the reason for their coexistence in Üsküdar is their shared ethno-religious origins. Therefore, we presume, as opposed to the cosmopolitan image promoted by an affluent minority to be found in Üsküdar with their relatively unrestricted capability of crossing ethno-religious and confessional boundaries, the more settled middle class residents seem to confine their horizon of social interactions within the community spaces. This is yet another dimension that contributes to the conceptualizations of cosmopolitanism and conviviality, delving more into the practical equivalents of differing natures of coexistence and social interactions.

Provided that those residents, Yesayan, Baronian and Mintzuri all walked in those streets without the persevering and prevalent image of “intruders” in their quarters, the others’ appearing only as passers-by, one might ask, what kind of boundaries might have existed between other ethno-religious communities that maintained this perception of such an ethnically homogeneous spatial identity. Following section will elaborate on the probable boundaries that defined Armenian neighborhoods and the rests, drawing on the information revealed in the two sets of cartographic evidence, the early 19th century İstanbul maps and the early 20th century maps. It also will demonstrate how, amid such a diversity and despite the disjunctive spatial features, our neighborhoods seem to be compact enough to be equated with its Armenian cultural heritage.

4 Locating the Boundaries of the Armenian Üsküdar

This chapter will delve into the questions of boundaries separating or uniting Armenians and other ethno-religious groups. The boundaries as centrally, or locally projected on the landscape of Üsküdar will be articulated. In the first section, I will locate the topographic features and the boundaries of Armenian Üsküdar to trace the morphological development of our neighborhoods, relying on two late 19th century İstanbul maps. The second section will introduce a reconstruction of street names in our neighborhoods relying on the early 20th century İstanbul maps. The concentrations of street names with references to Armenian individuals and community spaces will provide a map where Armenians predominate their co-locals, also overviewing the spatial and social foundations of this predominance. In the third

section, street names' relation to the symbolic construction of Armenian national identity will be scrutinized. By doing this, I will suggest a collaboration between the leaders of Armenian community and the Ottoman government on the process of naming those streets in the 1860s. Further on the same section, I will elaborate those names in their probable relation to the space, people and collective memory. The fourth section will delve into the practices of living together, as a constant process of boundary drawings based on imagined identities.

4.1 The late 19th century maps: morphological development and muslim/non-muslim boundaries

Through two of early İstanbul maps dated to 1882 and 1860-70 (See: Map-1860s and Map-1882), we can trace the lines of morphological development of our neighborhoods. It can be said that it, with only some minor diversions, well represents the major topographic features of Üsküdar, as well as the settlement patterns. Looking at the entire Anatolian side of the map, what is the most strikingly palpable is the already then well established road in the middle, running in the east-west direction uninterruptedly all the way down from Üsküdar center up to Bağlarbaşı, even extending further east towards Çamlıca. And even more surprising is the fact that it is the Selamsız Avenue, which, at the time, seems to constitute the largest and the best established, also the longest road among the surrounding roads throughout the Anatolian side. The road that separates Selamsız from İcadiye, which was soon to be the route of the first Anatolian Tramway, seems to be in the very process of emergence (See: Image-7).

Therefore, up until at least the 20th century, this road that cut through our two neighborhoods, Selamsız and Yenimahalle, should have been one of the major roads that led the İstanbulite's way to Bağlarbaşı, Çamlıca, and Anatolia, and of course the other way round. We may rightly assume, then, that this road was not only connecting non-Muslim settlements and used by the locals, rather should have constituted the very passage way for everyone heading to Bağlarbaşı, Çamlıca and further east. This spatial feature should explain why Yesayan could be able to observe those diversified groups of passers-by from her window. Yet this does not explain why this is her only way of interacting with the ethno-religious others.

As distinct from other cartographic and textual sources, these two maps include demarcations of Muslim, Christian and Jewish settlements via coloring: red for Muslims, grey for Christians and the yellow for Jews. Lines of developments as well as the boundaries between communities in the two are seem to be overlapping to a great extent. Here it should be noted that, those demarcation should have been corresponding to some crude approximations depending on the religious affiliations of the majority of inhabitants in given spaces. Further

depth to the probable representativeness of such demarcations will be given in the following sections.

At the top, the Christian settlements lie on each side of the Bağlarbaşı Avenue. Bordered behind by the large green parcels, those settlements in the eastern side of the road aligned closely to the road, running all the way even further east than those across the road. Yeni Mahalle and its settlements composed solely of Christians seems to also cover the area known as Pazarbaşı. The non-Muslim settlements seem to expand from Bağlarbaşı area downwardly, covering parts of the green spaces around the Selamsız Avenue. Their expansion seemingly ends exactly where Muslim settlements starts, roughly in alignment with the eastern end of the Bülbüldere Cemetery. To its northeast, a dense fabric of Christian settlements bordered in the east with expansive green plots of lands, seem to start expanding into İcadiye. In İcadiye, we can see the emergence of solely non-Muslim settlements amid empty or else green lands. Downward to the west towards Kuzguncuk, yellow-colored settlements amid those of greys start and gradually intensify to the coastline, suggesting coexistence of non-Muslim Ottoman subjects.

Given that the southwestern Üsküdar as already densely populated by Muslims, it is then no surprise to see the non-Muslims flourishing towards the north and east, into the previously unsettled parts of Üsküdar, covered with orchards, vineyards and cemeteries. From this map, we are unable to trace the divisions other than Christian (Greeks and Armenians), Jewish and Muslim separations. Though later evidence provides us with further clarification, as will be seen in the following section.

4.2 The early 20th century maps with street names

This section will demonstrate, in the absence of officially designated spatial boundaries for each community, how and why we consider, with a fair justification, those spaces as distinctively imprinted by the very presence of Armenians. It will also demonstrate how an entrenched collective memory as “a symbolic capital” that was consolidated around our neighborhoods gave shape to the several government-funded mapping projects.

Pervititch maps are dated to 1930-1936, which brings us the right aftermath of the Turkish republican movement involving Turkification of İstanbul's street names in 1927. In his maps, the street names mostly appear as they are today, which suggest an undisturbed Turkish-Muslim identity. Even though there we still have a variety of references to the aforementioned diversity and the Armenians based on ownership plans, yet in Pervititch maps what we see with regard to the street names is the projection of the rupture point entailed by the

nationalization agenda of the Turkish republican government. However, several other İstanbul maps that were created in 1922 (See: Map-1922) and 1913-14 (See: Map-A), in addition to an Üsküdar map in Ottoman Turkish (See: Map-O), quite possibly a contemporary of Alman Mavileri, celebrate a rather very strong, mainly unrivaled and assertive Armenian national identity of our neighborhoods: Selamsız, Yeni Mahalle and İcadiye, as powerfully imprinted on those maps as it is. Before proceeding to the questions of what we should understand from those street names and their probable relation to the experiences of co-existence, it is appropriate to see first how the street names in our neighborhoods appear on those earlier maps in comparison to the changed versions.

Map-R displays a reconstruction created based on the unique juxtaposition of names as they appear on several maps and confirmed by other sources, and a more complete version of street names can be seen in Table-2. Many of the names appear on the local map of Üsküdar in Ottoman Turkish repeat in the map known as Alman Mavileri. Not all but the overwhelming majority of them were changed after the first quarter of the 20th century.

It is important to note that, even from our cartographic sources prior to Pervititch, we can see that all the names of the neighborhoods including the ones scrutinized here, as well as the main avenues, are in Turkish, bearing no imprints of the ethno-religious diversity they contained. neighborhoods from north to the south: Kuzguncuk, Arapzade, İcadiye, Selamsız, Yeni Mahalle and Pazarbaşı; Avenues: İcadiye Caddesi, Çamlıca Caddesi, Selamsız Caddesi, Gazi Caddesi, they are all abstractions in Turkish. One exception to this rule was the region known as “Vankın Bağı” or Vangın Bağı”, which later evolved into Bağlarbaşı, the former persisting only in a street in Yenimahalle. “Vank” reportedly means monastery in Armenian, and “bağ” means vineyard in Turkish. So it is “the vineyard of the Vank”.

Equally important is the fact that all the street names are formed with Turkish words and within the linguistic frame of Turkish. Given that, only through the parts of the street names involving community-specific names, references and connotations can we gain an insight into the human composition of the streets. Take, for instance, Taşçı Manok Sokak: Taşçı means stone-cutter in Turkish, Manok is a male Armenian name, Sokak means the street in Turkish. Thus, apart from the specific references discernible to the contemporary locals, the initial meaning of the streets seem to be always readable and understandable to Turkish speakers, at least in the form: The street which is named after an individual known as stone-cutter. By extension, when we remove this certain Armenian individual name in the middle, and replace it with a Turkish-Islamic name like Mahmut, the resulting Taşçı Mahmut Sokak is unquestionably Turkish. Likewise, when we just remove the Armenian name in the middle, like turning “Yazmacı

Avedis Sokak” to “Yazmacı Sokak”, it will give us a street name referring to the occupation fabric-printing in Turkish.

As we see in Table-2, many streets shared the same, or else a similar fate. Prior to this top-down nationalization movement in 1927, we can clearly locate where some of those “non-national” human components were previously endowed with official recognition, as prevailing over others on the cityscape. Particularly in this part of Üsküdar, it is the Armenian community who put a firm stamp on the topography which is so deeply rooted to be wiped out even for today’s observers.

The newspapers like *Cumhuriyet*, *Son Posta* and *Tan* published in the early Republican period sheds quintessential light on the street names on this very process of transformation. Between the years 1930 and 1940s in their classified advertisements sections, the early republican newspapers either resort only to the old names, or include the old names and new names together to address a property on sale. As an early example, the newspaper *Cumhuriyet* dated to 2nd January 1931 announces the sale of a full house in “Darphaneli Mardiros Sokağı (The Mardiros from the Royal Mint Street)” in İcadiye³³. Either because it had not been changed yet, or because the old name was deemed adequate to clarify the location of the property, this certain Armenian individual named “Mardiros” was commemorated in a republican newspaper.

Son Posta newspaper dated to 6 July 1936, advertises a full house on sale for 375 Liras in “Üsküdar, İcadiye Mahallesi, Kahya Serkis Sokak”³⁴. One year earlier, *Cumhuriyet Gazetesi* bearing the date of 2 June 1935, announces the auction of an allotment of a wooden house with garden with the estate no “E. 34”, in İcadiye in the “E. Kahya Serkis, Y. Sübyeli ” Street (E. for the abbreviation of *eski*, meaning “old”, Y. for *yeni* “new”)³⁵. As the change of the street names were then a very recent phenomena and the new names are not fully adopted then, some newspapers apparently deem it suitable to add old and new names of the streets, yet some others seem to content only with the old names, which clearly involves Armenian names, like Serkis, Mardiros, İsteban, Matyos, Garabet, Eranik, Simon, Sehpus, Kirkor, Manok, Oskiyan³⁶ (See: Image-G1 and Image-G2).

³³ Cumhuriyet Gazetesi. Available at: <https://www.gastearsivi.com/gazete/cumhuriyet/1931-01-02/6> accessed on 28.10.2020.

³⁴ Son Posta Gazetesi.. Available at: https://www.gastearsivi.com/gazete/son_posta/1936-07-07/4 accessed on 28.10.2020

³⁵ Cumhuriyet Gazetesi. Available at: <https://www.gastearsivi.com/gazete/cumhuriyet/1935-06-02/14> accessed on 28.10.2020

³⁶ Tan Gazetesi. Available at: <https://www.gastearsivi.com/gazete/tan/1936-09-27/11> accessed on 28.10.2020

It is actually surprising to see that, with an ostensibly secular agenda of the new Turkish Republic, during the re-naming of Istanbul's streets, an Islamic reference seems to be preferred over what clashes with Islamic conventions. It can be seen in the motivations to change all the streets named *meyhane* (tavern) throughout İstanbul (Ayataç, 2018: 991), most possibly because alcoholic beverages and spaces for it were associated in the Ottoman period primarily with non-Muslims. In Selamsız, there was a street called *Meyhane* or *Meyhaneler* (the plural form of *Meyhane*, taverns) which was changed into “Üzümküzi Sokak”.

In the absence of relevant comprehensive sources like Behar presents for Kasap İlyas neighborhood, we are but to resort to the assumption that the names of the streets in Üsküdar were somehow related to the people or spaces in close connection to the space in question. Like in the *mektep* (school) and the *kilise* (church) streets, where we can today easily locate the relevant spaces from surviving evidence. From those toponyms with topographic references whose addressees do not exist today, we can also locate their relevant spaces through our maps and other references: *Bostan İçi* (inside of orchard), *Bülbüldere* (the Nightingale Stream), *Çavuşdere* (the Sergeant' stream), *Pazarbaşı Sokağı* (the Beginning of the Market- Place Street), *Tekke Kapusu* (the Gate of the Dervish Lodge), *Kabristan Sokak* (the Cemetery Street). Similarly, the *Meyhaneler Sokağı* (The Taverns Street) should have been named after several taverns it accommodated. However, as far as our research, we cannot locate any physical evidence or textual references to their presence specifically in or near today's Üzümküzi Sokak. Neither do we have sufficient information regarding the individuals to which those old street names address. Though with the available sources, we can at least plausibly trace the imprints of some individuals, some groups of people, or certain places more visible than others in Üsküdar.

4.2.1 Yeni Mahalle

To the northeast of Yeni Mahalle center, behind a Muslim cemetery, we have a host of streets bearing the names of Armenian individuals and spaces running parallel to Bağlarbaşı Caddesi or cutting it within a small triangle-shaped area. Bedros Kalfa Sokağı (The Master-Builder Bedros Street), Acı Bedros Sokak (The Bitter Bedros Street), Vankın Bağı Sokak (The Vineyard of the Vank), Gemici Ohannes Sokak (The Ship-Builder Ohannes Street), Antonaki Sokak -repeats in two streets- (A Male Armenian Name), Boyacı Artin Sokak (The Painter Artin Street).

Alman Mavileri brings forward three streets parallel to Silahtarbahçe, each referring to the spaces they used to host. Next to the Surp Garabet Church, the large street named *Yeni*

Mahalle Kilisesi Caddesi (The Church of Yeni Mahalle Street). Second parallel street was *Mektep Sokak* (School Street) where Cemaran Armenian college and a Greek school were located, and the third parallel takes us to the *Rum Kilisesi Sokak* (Greek Church Street).

Starting from Çinili Mosque complex to the west and south, furthermore, we are devoid of the indications of ethno-religious denominations. The street called Pazarbaşı Sokak that run eastward to Bağlarbaşı, separates this wealth of plurality indications (composed of spaces for non-Muslims: American, French, Greek and mainly Armenian) from the area on whose topography is imprinted with an unrivaled Turkish-Muslim hegemony. Even then, regarding the street names of Pazarbaşı quarter, in the easternmost part close to Bağlarbaşı, we mostly lack the community-specific references, neither do we have individuals: Babadağı, Karamanlı, Fıstıklı, Mango, Dibek, Dudu³⁷, except the one apparently named after a male Armenian individual, Taşçı Manok Sokağı.

Even more interesting is the fact that Taşçı Manok Street is indeed far removed from our streets, located further deep inside into Pazarbaşı quarter, drawing near to the second mosque after Çinili (See: Map-A2). Thus, either Armenian settlements, or else Armenian influence can be said to have expanded well further south, into the area supposed to be reigned by Turkish-Islamic legacy. Taşçı Manok Street actually repeats the borders demarcated as non-Muslim settlements in the aforementioned 19th century maps. Contrary to the eastern Pazarbaşı with all its puzzling composition with regard to “whom those streets might have belonged”; the western streets of Pazarbaşı to the Validei Atik neighborhood, further southwest of our neighborhoods, seem to stand straightforwardly for a clear and undisturbed Turkish-Muslim heritage with its numerous mosques, *tekkes* (dervish lodges) and Turkish-Islamic street names.

4.2.2 Selamsız

From the distribution of Armenian-named streets in Selamsız, we are indeed surprised to see them largely expanded westwardly down towards the center. Quite likely as the westernmost example of Armenian street names, Alman Mavileri marks a street with the name Tabakyan Bağ (meaning, Vineyard of Tabakian, today’s Tabağın Bahçesi Sokak), to the south of the western edge of the Bülbüldere Cemetery which ends with a mosque. Behind the eastern border of this cemetery plot, the name of Garabet Kalfa persists so strongly, giving his name to several streets together with a fountain. Interestingly, here we have also a synagogue in

³⁷ They might have connotated some particular individuals or groups of individuals, like in “Karamanlı (from Karaman) Sokak” or in “Dudu Sokak”. Though it is hard to judge retrospectively without sufficient historical information.

addition to the Synagogue Street marked up in Alman Mavileri between those Garabet Kalfa-named streets (See: Map-A3). The street that cuts Garabet Kalfa Street in its east is Rençber Matyos Street, this time pointing to a plowman called Matyos (or Mateos). Across them to the south, Divityan name repeats in two parallel streets. It seems that Armenian-named streets used to surround the Bülbüldere Cemetery, those laid close to *tekkes*, mosques, a synagogue, Turkish-named streets and quite likely, to their south, the Gypsy settlements.

Further up east, again we have Papaz Abraham Street, close to the cultural center, roughly corresponding to the western end of İcadiye across the valley. In the Selamsız center which used to host a dense fabric of Armenian households, Surp Haç Church and several schools, however, streets mainly address generic names for spaces like: *Kilise Sokak* (Church Street), *Mektep Sokak* (School Street), *Meyhaneler Sokağı* (Taverns Street); or for occupations like: *Ekmekçibaşı Sokak* (Master Bread-Baker Street), *Papaz Sokak* (Priest Street), *Sarraf Sokak* (Moneylender Street). The streets that open to Silahtarbahçe where again sheltered numerous Armenian households, are named after male Armenian individuals: *Çıkmaz Mesrop Sokak* (The Dead-End Mesrop Street), *Topal Oskiyen Sokak* (The Crippled Oskian Street) and *Kürkçü Kirkor Sokak* (The Furrier Kirkor Street). Next to *Kürkçü Kirkor*, towards the southern end of Silahtarbahçe but definitely before Çinili area, we already have a street, apparently named after a Turkish military officer, *Binbaşı Mehmet Efendi Sokak*.

4.2.3 İcadiye

With a general overview of the street names in İcadiye, a clear influence of the “traditional Armenian elite” composed of imperial architects and clergy can be traced. In İcadiye, more than half of the street names, 12 out of 22, contain names of certain Armenian individuals. Aside from *Sıvacıbaşı Ohannes Kalfa*, *Garabet Kalfa* and *Papas Abraham*, we do not have supportive information on the individuals to whom those streets might have referred. We know that *Papas Abraham* refers to the founder of *Surp Haç Church*. Except this very single reference to religious authorities, nearly one third of the street names address the builders: three *kalfas* (mater-builders), two *sıvacıs* (plasterers), two *doğramacıs* (joiners), *camcı* (glassmaker). Moreover, we have one name as “*Kayseriyeli Street*” in İcadiye, referring to the “people from Kayseri”. This unique combination of references to Kayseri and builders in İcadiye street names should not come as a total surprise. *Garabet Kalfa* refers to *Garabet Amira Balyan*, a member of the *Balyan* family composed of several generations of imperial architects, whose origin is traced to Kayseri, a family of whose members are known to be illustrious old residents of Üsküdar. *Sıvacıbaşı*, or *Başsıvacı Ohannes Kalfa* is highly likely the Kayseri-originated architect known

as Ohannes Amira Serveryan, brother-in-law to Garabet Balyan, reportedly residing in his mansion within a large garden in İcadiye³⁸. Even though we are not able to confirm such a strong connection through the available 1907 census record, pre-Pervititch İcadiye maps seem to commemorate its ties to Kayseri, and the famous builders that it raised and endowed to Üsküdar.

Of 22, 16 includes references to the occupations, composed mostly of builders, but also *darphaneli* (from the Royal Mint), *saatçi* (watch-maker), *yazmacı* (fabric printer), *kayıkçı* (boatman) and *kahya* (butler). Having a single street with references to a certain Armenian *yazmacı*, on the other hand, can be considered as an insufficient representation of the occupation for which İcadiye name was reportedly derived from: *İcad* meaning invention, addressing to the then famous printed fabrics invented in İcadiye by a certain Armenian Kevork Usta, the son of Serkis Kalfa, in the second half of the 18th century (Öz, 2016: 354).

Indications of diversion from this traditional Armenian elite structure can also be grasped from several street names. With regard to other ethno-religious groups, there is only one discernibly non-Armenian individual name in the mainland, which brings forward a Turkish plasterer name, Murad. Apart from visibly illustrious Armenian individuals, we have Armenian butler Serkis, and again a boatman giving their names to the streets. İcadiye also delineates a street with a female Armenian name, Eranik, a gender which is unseen throughout our neighborhoods' streets. On the contrary to the total absence of references to religious and educational spaces, we have two streets named after theatres they hosted, Aziziye and Tiyatro streets.

After almost unquestionable Armenian identity reigning throughout the streets in the heartland of İcadiye, this intensive character seems to start dissolving to its northwest; and to the west, it is almost sharply interrupted. To its northwest towards Kuzguncuk, clearly visible is the start of Jewish presence. Right next to Sıvacıbaşı Ohannes Kalfa Street, we have Hahambaşı Sokak (The Chief Rabbi Street). Furthermore, "Sıvacıbaşı Ohannes Kalfa" name was changed after 1927 into "Hamursuz" Street, interestingly an act of preferring to commemorate Jewish holy day *Hamursuz* (Passover) over an Armenian national figure.

³⁸ Some sources match up those three denominations: Ohannes Amira Serverian, Ohannes Kalfa and Sıvacıbaşı Ohannes Kalfa. An archival record taken in 1870s informs us "Sıvacıbaşı Ohannes Kalfa" was selling his property located in Üsküdar. See: TS.MA.e.1090.20. Although without proper referencing, below page allegedly depending on a historian Mirmıryan, refers to Ohannes Kalfa "as being known with the nickname 'Sıvacıbaşı'", and relates that he lived in İcadiye. <https://muhamaz.org/istanbul-ansiklopedisi-buyukada-camii-resim-kemal-zeren.html?page=65>. Accessed on 27.10.2020.

To its west, on the other hand, a long avenue called Hamam Caddesi (today's Çifte Çınar Sokak) running in south-north direction constitutes the border between our Armenian-named streets and the Turkish ones. Across Hamam Caddesi, we start seeing street names with titles denominating Turkish male individuals, *paşa* and *bey*, like Ata Bey Sokak, Arif Bey Sokak, İbrahim Paşa Caddesi.

To conclude, those spaces with Armenian street names cover almost all over the area demarcated as “Christian” settlements in the 1835 and 1860s maps. Apart from the surrounding quarters mostly composed of mixed ethno-religious communities like Kuzguncuk, Arapzade, lower Selamsız, southern end of Yeni Mahalle and Tophanelioğlu, the remaining large area in the middle -although divided by large valleys, orchards and cemeteries- seem, in the pre-Pervititch maps, to be exceptionally Armenian until at least the first quarter of the 20th century

Especially one area in each of our three neighborhoods, İcadiye, Selamsız and Yeni Mahalle seem to celebrate Armenian national identity in an unrivaled fashion, commemorating mostly some specific male Armenian individuals. Many times those individuals belonged to the traditional elite with ties to the Ottoman Palace. This situation brings forward yet some equally important questions as to: why the influence of the Armenian traditional elite persists so strongly even in the relatively late settlements like İcadiye? Considering the absence of its own church, why do we still have Papas Abraham Street in İcadiye? Why can't we trace, as clearly as we expect to, the widely acknowledged social change of Armenian community in the late 19th century even in this new settlement? For instance, where are all those modern elites, famous writers, doctors, revolutionary teachers, or even merchants Üsküdar reportedly raised or else hosted? Finally and most importantly, why and how are those street names so conspicuously Armenian, when, for instance, there is not even a single Greek individual name on the neighborhoods they inhabited? This very last question has proven to be highly problematic, and some of its probable answers will pave the way for the “conviviality” at the intersection of politically charged inclusiveness and exclusiveness as experienced by Üsküdar residents.

4.3 How local, how central were the street names: An evaluation of the toponymic practices

“Because nomination makes a fundamental gesture of possession, the naming of streets affords one more opportunity to affirm, or to contest, control of the city. For beyond the instrumental function of identifying location, street names socialize space and celebrate cultural identity; they perpetuate tradition even as they register change... Street names are significant cultural indicators, which offer striking evidence of how conceptions of the

city dramatize the cityscape. Like all the other signs of urban civilization street names supply what Pierre Bourdieu calls symbolic capital, which cities spend in many different ways for many different reasons, and with very different effects.” (Ferguson, 1988: 386)

What do those street names - which resolutely appear on such large-scale governmental mapping projects- reveal beyond what is on the surface? Are we here to assume, for instance, they were the “original” names of the streets, formed as how they had historically been recognized and embraced by locals? Were they natural manifestations of local identities in this particular time-space-people equation, thus politically neutral? Do they stand for the accurate representations of the very local human composition they sheltered, without external influence? Are they inclusive enough to represent all the components that made up our neighborhoods, or just representative of the most powerful in those localities?

Here I will draw on the work of Azaryahu and Kook, in which the processes of name-giving to the local geographies scrutinized in relation to the formation of Arab-Palestinian identity. They rightly place the naming of the streets as official-identity-formation procedure of the local elite responsible for naming them (Azaryahu, 2002: 197). The introduction of street names were a measure of administrative control promoted by the central government (the British Mandate) which held local authorities responsible for naming their streets. However administrative was the initial purpose rather than political, the resulting “Arab” and “Jewish” street names, they argue, stood for the “political identities of those two “proto-national” communities”. They define national identities as heavily depending on “thematization of history in terms of shared heritage.” By extension, introducing street names served as symbolic construction of national identities, mediating between the political elite and the ordinary people (Azaryahu, 2002: 196), and also between the political discourses and the lived experience.

The scheme provided by Azaryahu and Kook as articulated above seems to be applicable to the processes of naming our neighborhood’s street. As the pre-Pervitich maps reveal an almost uncontested cultural heritage of Üsküdar Armenians in government funding mapping projects of İstanbul, this brings forward the very questions of how much locally and how much centrally designed were our street names, who was in charge of naming the streets of our neighborhoods, and when did it happen? In the absence of relevant documentations, we need to resort to approximations based on historical context for toponymic practices in the late Ottoman Empire.

To begin with, we should link this practice which was dated back to the 1860s to the larger modernization and centralization attempts of the Tanzimat Period (1839-76). We should

also point out the local authorities in the 19th century Ottoman neighborhoods, with the words of Behar:

“When the administrative reformers of the Tanzimat instituted secular muhtars as local headmen in lieu of the traditional imams, the effect was to sever the religious and ritual functions of the minister from his traditional administrative powers and from its political extensions. “Westernization,” as well as administrative and political recentralization, were the key ideas of the reforms and, at least in the strategic and sensitive capital-city of the empire, the new muhtars were placed under the direct supervision of the political authority.” (Behar, 2003: 78).

In our case, we should replace the *imam* with a priest as the local headman of our neighborhoods before the introduction of *mukhtars*. *Mukhtars* were the locally elected individuals, who were subject ultimately to the approval of central authorities. Behar directs our attention to the ways in which this new secular organization was running under the shadow of the traditionally established local power structure, so much so that many times the local imams themselves, or else the individuals that they presented were appointed as the new mukhtars (Behar, 2003: 78). We may expect that the same or a very similar situation was true for our neighborhoods, the church and the elite structure around it should have exerted considerable influence on the mukhtar organization. Here Baronian’s remark supports our assumption in which he criticizes the church administration in Yenimahalle which, composed always of an oligarchical body, made themselves elected as the local representatives for some twenty years then (Baronian, 2017: 73). To delve more into the local power structure that governs in our neighborhoods, following information sheds some essential light on how this local authority also coincides with the Empire-wide community-level power structure.

As a background information, Hañçer, drawing on the information provided by Pamukciyan, relates that the draft of the Armenian National Constitution in 1860 was prepared in Üsküdar by a group of religious and civilian individuals under the leadership of Odyan (O dian), Rusinyan (Russinian) and Balyan (Balian), in the magnificent mansion of Odyan which was located in the Selamsız center (Pamukciyan, 1938, as cited in Hañçer, 2004: 149). Besides the Odyan and Balyan’s entrenched relations to the Ottoman government, Russinian, who was reportedly sent to Paris to get education by Odyan and Balyan, was there as one of the most dedicated figures relentlessly contributing to the national welfare of the Armenian community (Göçek, 2002: 71).

In order to delve into the parties involved in naming our neighborhood's streets, although hesitantly, I will address approximately simultaneous emergence of this representative body of the Armenian community, and the very pathway it paved for the Armenian community. With the advent of the Tanzimat reforms which enhanced the rights of recognized etho-religious communities, while the Armenian Patriarchy's unrivaled representative power within the community began falling to a decline, secular intellectuals trained in the Western-style institutions from among the Armenian elites gained prominence. In line with these developments, the Armenian National Constitution and the Armenian National Assembly in 1860-1863 was formed and officially recognized as representative of the Armenian community separate from the Armenian Patriarchy. With the constitution, the jurisdiction of the Patriarchy was restricted, while the assembly took over some of the regulatory tasks regarding the affairs of the Armenian community. Those developments prepared fertile ground for the development of a devoted Armenian national movement striving for modernization and westernization, both as complementary and yet also revolutionary to the modernization/centralization attempts of the central government (Kılıçdağı, 2010: 229-242). The establishment of a secular and central educational organization gave way to the boom of modern Armenian schools and linguistic unification attempts gained unprecedented momentum, which all together paved the way for an era marked as "the Western Armenian Renaissance" (Göçek, 2002: 71) and "the Armenian Enlightenment" (Kılıçdağı, 2010).

As for the local character of this power that emanates from this empire-wide developments, we can address the generous contributions of those powerful Armenian individuals also as locals to the social and economic uplift of the Üsküdar Armenian community, in the establishment of modern schools, renovation or re-erection of older institutions, and in the maintenance of the neighborhood's infrastructure. Odyan and Balyan were just two of the numerous powerful Armenian residents of Üsküdar, whose influence transcended the local structure, encompassing the entire Armenian community of the Empire, also constituting a great deal of gravity within the Ottoman government. As politically powerful the aforementioned parties as they are to be found particularly in Üsküdar, this representative body was likely to decide also the street names in considerable parts of Üsküdar.

Taking into consideration that our street names embodies a form of national identity of Armenians drawing on the lived experience within Üsküdar, their appearance on the government-funded İstanbul maps should denote a cooperation between the representatives of the Üsküdar Armenian community and the central government for the implementation of toponymic regulations that Tanzimat reforms stipulated as part of the modern state-building

processes. From this aspect, the very emergence of our street names should be exemplifying the *state-in-society* approach of Migdal which suggest that states and societies transform and constitute one another (Migdal, 2003). Examples of such cooperation are also scholarly observed. Cora scrutinizes the cooperation between the Ottoman government and the local leaders of Armenian community in Erzurum for the local implementation of centrally defined regulations (Cora, 2016). Another reference point we can draw upon is provided by the Ohanian's pivotal work that demonstrates the collaboration between the Armenian Patriarchy and the Ottoman Government during the process of counting the capital city's Armenian population as part of the empire-wide 1907 census (Ohanian, 2017).

Here we admit that we do not have supportive documentation on the subject and that further research is needed to shed light on the cooperation between the leaders of the Armenian community and central government, which apparently took place during the baptism of the streets in the 1860s. However, we can say, in the end, that even earlier than the 1927 Turkification movement of Republican government, the toponymic practices in the capital city in the 1860s should have already "transformed the urban public space into a political arena" (Shoval, 2013). Similar to the Palentinian case, the movement that was initiated by the central government as a measure of extending administrative control seems to end up in the symbolic construction of Armenian national identity within the body of Üsküdar (Azaryahu, 2002: 197).

By also achieving official recognition, an essential aspect of symbolic construction of Armenian national identity was imprinted on the Üsküdar's texture, drawing on some of the aspects of this locally forged, shared and entrenched national heritage. Such that, the introduction of street names as a symbolic model for national identity mediated between the political elite and the local ordinary people, also serving as a mediator between the political discourses on the national identity and the locally lived experience within the fabric of Üsküdar public spaces. Whoever was responsible in naming the streets, they should be the ones among Armenians investing so much on the street names with determination to commemorate this locally forged Armenian heritage, also aiming at perpetuating senses of continuity and belonging.

For the relation between those newly introduced street names and the local collective memory, Behar suggests, up until the 1860s when the Istanbul streets were given their official names, they mostly lacked specific names to the extent that even the official descriptions of a specific location used to be given in relation to their proximity to a major landmark, like "such and such from the vicinity of Çinili Mosque". Behar informs us, in the context of his "basically Muslim neighborhood" Kasap İlyas -one of the oldest Istanbul quarters, that when the streets

were given their official names in the 1860s, it took several decades for the locals to embrace the official names, and up until the end of the century, they could still resort to their unofficial names as how they had been locally recognized (Behar, 2003: 157). Thus, official recognition of the street names involve, in their very nature, diversified degrees of diversions from local. In our case, furthermore, we may expect a greater degree of diversion, as it was a contested space for the rivaling identities, which I will elaborate in the next section.

Therefore, we need to refrain from the naive assumption that connects the late 19th century street names essentially to local collective memory as solid and ultimate manifestation of it. For our street names, we do not know, for instance, how those places were remembered by the locals prior to the 1860s, or whether or not they were embraced smoothly by each community and group when they were first introduced, to have a say on their relevance to the local collective memory.

How can we, thus, differentiate these two toponymic practices involving first “the official name giving” in the 1860s from those “changing the street names” in 1927, as the first movement might also have conveyed change? Renaming the streets signifies a rupture from the past, and “belonged to the geopolitics of public commemoration”, aimed at “asserting political control over the history and the public space” in line with regimes’ political and ideological agenda (Joshua, 2018: 56). We may search the answer, then, in the movement’s probable representativeness of the local. For now, at the very least we can assess, looking at how it appears in pre-Pervititch maps with street names, is that it was predominantly Armenians to achieve official recognition in the process of naming the streets in those neighborhoods. Unlike the street names as changed in 1927, we can say, rather with some justified confidence, that official names given to the streets in the 1860s derived most of their strength through their strong ties to the historically established local power balances and demographic advantage in our neighborhoods which seems to be in favor of Armenians.

Given the wider socio-political flexibility that mostly frames and entails co-existence, what made Yenimahalle, Selamsız and İcadiye at least predominantly, -if not completely- Armenian? What gradually sustained, consolidated, and expanded them as such for centuries up to the second half of the 20th century? From another angle that delves into the experiences of “conviviality”, what made Armenian Üsküdar one of the most important centers in terms of the economic and cultural welfare among other Armenian settlements? And then, of course, an essential question arises as to what made it collapse after that? The possible answers to the last question are beyond our scope awaiting later micro-historical research. However, the consolidation as well as disintegration that found its expression so strongly at the very

intersection of time, space and people of Üsküdar can be roughly attributed to the wider change in the political orientations and power balances (Azaryahu, 2002: 199). Leaving those larger questions, let's have a look at some distinguishing features of our neighborhoods to gain an insight into the probable answers from a local perspective.

To begin with, the foundation of the Armenian settlements in Üsküdar took place in widely unsettled parts of İstanbul, unlike other historical areas. As demonstrated through historical maps in earlier section, expansion in the 19th century did occur only towards north and east, dense Muslim settlements in their south and west seems to hinder their capacity to expand. The available unsettled parts of Üsküdar nearby Yeni Mahalle seem to prepare fertile ground for the later developments of the community in the region. Moreover, Üsküdar preference of wealthy Armenian notables with strong ties to the Ottoman Palace in the eighteenth and early 19th century (Dadyan, 2011), should have provided Üsküdar Armenians with officially recognized presence and dominance over its landscape via political and economic means of power. Even when they left Üsküdar towards the second half of the 19th century, the later Armenian dwellers seem to have enjoyed the affluent inheritance that the former left behind on the landscape, the rich resources of which used to nourish the Üsküdar Armenian population further. Moreover, the economic, political and cultural support of the Armenian notables and the rising middle classes for the development of the Üsküdar Armenian neighborhoods and community is acknowledged to continue.

To illustrate better the social, political and economic aspects of this powerful Armenian heritage, following information is illuminating. As referred by Hançer, in Selamsız center there were majestic mansions of numerous Armenian notables including Balyan, Pişmişyan, Noradunkyan, Odyan, Beyleryan, Papazyan, Seferyan, Behzad and Aznavuryan. Among them, according to Hançer, Odyan 's mansion within which the draft of the Armenian National Constitution prepared was later converted to Dayyan boarding school for girls. Right next to Odyan's, laid the Nizamyan's mansion in magnificent size, which gave its place to the Berberyan College in 1878 (Hançer, 2004: 150).

Then it should not come as a surprise to see Armenian names in the streets that were settled also by other ethno-religious groups like Jews and Greeks. For instance, we can see, together with Christian settlements, the Jewish settlements flourished in lower Selamsız behind Bülbüldere Cemetery, as can be seen through the 1860-70 İstanbul map. Moreover, their presence also seem to gain an official recognition looking at the existence of a synagogue and a street with a name "synagogue" in later Alman Mavileri map. Yet we have only one individual's name imprinted on several streets of this area. This is Garabet Kalfa, from the illustrious

Armenian family: Balyans, who took part in the preparation of the Armenian National Constitution. The political, social and economic influence exerted by such an iconic figure in the Ottoman government as well as Armenian community should have no equivalent among other groups to be found around the area. Quite similarly, it should be the reason why we cannot trace Greek heritage through the street names, they should have lacked this crucial political power to display in Üsküdar's landscape.

As a matter of fact, street names are far from corresponding to the full extent of the ethno-religious, socio-economic make-up of the streets. Neither do they seem to reflect on the very developments that later, in the last quarter of the century within the "Hamidian Regime", shifted the political paradigm from *millet-i sadıka* (referring to the Armenians as the 'loyal nation' to the Ottomans) to "the Armenian (or the East) Question".

4.4 Üsküdar as a contested space for identities: A retrospective evaluation on the boundary-drawings

"Here is our school ..."

"It says 'Nersesyan' on the school sign."

"Forget about Nersesyan, it was built with our people's money."

"Why did Nersesyan name it after himself?"

"Because Nersesyan financed the construction of this masonry school by adding what the locals donated, to the savings he made by discounting the wages of his workers in palace constructions."

"What an injustice! Even if he paid out of pocket, he shouldn't have written like that. It should have been written, as usual, 'Nersesyan donated this much lira for the construction of the school. Isn't there a man here, my friend?'" (Baronian, 2017: 91)³⁹

The citation above belongs to Baronian's "A Stroll through the Quarters of Constantinople", highly likely written in the last quarter of the 19th century. Baronian's satirical narrative surrounding the establishment of the Nersesyan School in İcadiye sheds some light on the intra-communal discordance, in this case, surfacing out of the naming of a community school. His main criticism recurring throughout his narrative was directed to the "degenerated" church and the aristocratic elite whose main engagement was to "undermine the progress of the

³⁹ Translation from Turkish is made by me.

nation”, turning their back on the national issues. He laments that, at the expense of the Constitution, the İstanbul Armenian quarters’ -together with the nation’s- being under the sway of the hegemony of this degenerated oligarchical structure conglomerated around the Church (Baronian, 2017: 74). The Armenian traditional elite started to be considered as the collaborators of the Ottoman Government in their efforts to eliminate the Armenian revolutionaries who put emphasis on the oppressions and persecutions directed at the Eastern Anatolian Armenians during the Hamidian Regime. The growing discontent surrounding Armenian notables and their relation to the central government also reflects on the memories of Yesayan, in which heated political discussions, concerns and condemnations are narrated to occupy the daily conversations between her family elders’ and their acquaintances (Yesayan, 2013: 107).

The growing rupture between the traditional elite and the rest of the community, particularly from the last quarter of the century on has already been subject to numerous scholarly works (Dinçer, 2013; Riedler, 2014). For our purposes here, the significance of such friction lies behind the fact that the symbolic model of the Armenian national identity promoted by the aristocratic elite and constructed through naming Üsküdar’s streets in the 1860s, might have been harshly challenged by the growing body of the Armenian national agency, if it was to be introduced only a few decades later than it was. By extension, this temporal conditionality of the name-giving processes should also partly answer our question regarding why we cannot trace the social change through those street names, as to the absence of the modern Armenian elite: doctors, merchants, teachers, poets, writers and even more importantly women. Nevertheless, up until the second half of the 20th century, those names celebrating some particular aspects of Armenian heritage entrenched in Üsküdar were there, so deeply rooted in the collective memory insomuch that even several decades after they were Turkified, the early republican newspapers resorted to those names to specify a location in those streets.

Provided that, Üsküdar Armenians’ ever-growing presence and assertive influence throughout our neighborhoods had been far from uncontested. From a variety of sources, we acquire insights into interminable contestations over the rights of the space between differentiated groups in Üsküdar. One of the main factors that leads to the disputes over the space seems to have been the ever-increasing population and demographic change as dimensions highly responsive to the contemporary socio-political environment. We have hints over the nature of this type of co-existence experienced in Üsküdar, suggesting rather occasional tensions surfaced out of inter-communal interactions facilitated by the spatial organization of the area. Those daily tensions based on the local perceptions of “intruders” and

cultural “other” provide the ground for the consolidation of each distinct group into specific spaces. Local dynamics of inclusions and exclusions, negotiations and contestation seem to frame and condition this co-existence, documentation of which dispersed throughout the centuries of “living together” experiences. From among the many ways in which contestation over the space burdened with demographic pressure manifest itself, Üsküdar’s non-Muslim cemetery plots provides us with quintessential light.

Drawing upon the Üsküdar Court Records, Erkan (2013) informs us that the earliest cemetery dispute in Bağlarbaşı cemetery which ended up in Üsküdar’s Islamic court is dated back to 1710, between Jews and Armenians. Next to the Armenian and Greek cemeteries, a plot of land was allocated in 1635, rented from İvaz Foundation in exchange for annual payment, for the burials of some particular Jewish community distinct from Kuzguncuk Jews. Upon gradual disappearance of the Jewish tombstones, and Armenian’s seizure of the emptied cemetery space, Jewish side ends up in the Üsküdar courts. In the court, Armenian priests and some other Armenian individuals appear as respondents (Erkan, 2013: 54). We can trace, this time through the Imperial Archives, this dispute persevering almost two centuries later, in 1857, again with the same parties: İvaz Fakih Vakfı, Jews and Armenians (HR.MKT.207.30,A.); MKT.NZD.238.76).

In the late 19th century, Baronian’s narrative surrounding the allocation of cemetery lands to the Greeks was also interesting, in which he laments that Üsküdar Armenian notables clandestinely sold a piece of the Armenian cemetery to the Greeks, at the expense of their own community. According to him, this process involved arranging an overnight set up in which some of the earlier Greek burials elsewhere were carried to the Bağlarbaşı cemetery. The Üsküdar Armenian residents woke up and saw that there were Greek tombstones in their own cemetery lands. As a consequence, according to Baronian, the fight that started in the cemetery ended up with the more than 50 Armenian youngsters taken into custody, in the end achieving to retrieve only half of their sold cemetery plot (Baronian, 2017: 71).

Again in the late 19th century, we have more diversified parties in dispute regarding the rights of cemetery lands in Bağlarbaşı, this time confessional divisions being at stake. Again as revealed by Erkan (2013), the quarrel between Üsküdar’s Catholic French and Protestant Armenian residents for the cemetery lands in Bağlarbaşı is further exacerbated when the archpriest of Selamsız Church gets involved in the dispute. Thereafter in 1894, one of the Sultan’s attendants, İbrahim Hilmi Paşa requested resettlement of the burials of Protestant Armenians to somewhere else, showing the concerns raised by the neighborhood residents as justification. Upon further investigation, the plot in question is understood to be appropriated to a

certain Armenian greengrocer, Serkis and the issue is resolved (BOA.DH.MKT.204.44, as cited by Erkan, 2013: 55-56). It is impossible now to judge over claims of those rights to the space raised by different groups, however, what is striking here is the determination of Üsküdar Armenians to protect what they perceive belonged to their own community against the perceived “intruders”. Regarding the confessional part of the division among Armenians, the interventionist influence of Armenian Apostolic Church in those neighborhoods is discernible.

The image of “intruders” as perceived by locals did not always coincide with the image of the ethno-religious or confessional “other”. Rather, it seems to stand at the very intersection point of ethnicity, religion and class. Even more important for the social and temporal conditionality of *conviviality* in urban neighborhoods was the locally recognized attachment to the localities. To demonstrate it better, the following case is illustrative for the perceived foundations of differentiation by locals. As revealed by Erkan, the report dated back to 1719 deals with the complaints regarding the burials of some immigrant Greeks composed of grocers, plowmen and oil sellers in Kuzguncuk’s Greek cemetery. The local Kuzguncuk Greeks request resettlement of those burials elsewhere, on the ground that they were not part of this locality (ÜŞS.363.27a, as cited by Erkan, 2013: 54).

Another reference from Imperial archives demonstrates the governmental intervention on the maintenance of spatial and social integrity in Üsküdar. In the report taken in 1890, we are informed that the shanties of some poor Jewish dwellers between İcadiye and Kuzguncuk were at that moment of no choice, but to be left there until those dwellers were gradually settled in other districts. Until then, the disturbances like malodor caused by them to the vicinity were to be minimized (DH.MKT.1758.41; H-22-01-1308; DH.MKT.1751.92; DH.MKT.1758.28). Regardless of their presence as Jews in this neighborhood which is known to be in or around a primarily Jewish settlement, they could not escape the fate of being regarded as “intruders”, not to be included but to be expelled from the social fabric of those neighborhoods. Naturally, neither those destitute Jews nor underclass migrant Greeks “as strangers to those localities” were seen and embraced as part of the local texture of our quarters, let alone commemorating their lived experience, or else reconstructing their living spaces.

As a young resident of Silahtarbahçe in Selamsız, Yesayan recalls a violent incident between a poor Jewish man and Armenian youngsters in front of their house. An obviously poverty-stricken old tinsmith (*tenekeci*) climbs up through Selamsız Street carrying the equipment of his craft. The boys playing in the street attack the man, causing him to fall and his stuff to go to pieces on the ground. As the old man bursts into tears, the boys disappear with violent laughter and clamour. While this very scene leaves Yesayan with a deep sorrow, her

grandmother tries to console her on the ground that the guy was a *Yahudi* (Yesayan, 2013: 103). This ostensibly random incident sheds some authentic light on some aspects of the internal dynamics that contributed to the maintenance of the ethno-religious, and quite likely the socio-economic integrity of the neighborhood. Ordinary inhabitants regardless of their gender and age should have a say on who was to be welcomed, and who was to be excluded in their living spaces depending on the informal consensus among the local community.

The tensions between the non-Muslim and Muslim inhabitants over the rights of the shared spaces seem to be revolving around the brothels, alcohol usage and taverns. This highly cursory division allegedly separating the two cultures in fact was corresponding to a constant contestation over the rights of the space and the production of the space, as to whom should have been given the right to co-produce the space. From the Imperial archival sources, on the other hand, we can say that Ottoman authorities employ a negotiatory approach in general, meeting such complaints by coming up with practical solutions like: instead of closing or resettling the taverns, they settle those cases by warning the tavern keepers, or else urging them to sever their connection with the trouble-makers to maintain harmony (Erkan, 2013: 128).

However, the complaints raised by Muslim inhabitants regarding those spaces in their vicinity, always given in association with non-Muslims, should have constituted a lively foundation through which a constant exclusionary pressure not only on the decision-makers but also on the non-Muslim residents took place. The Üsküdar image we have so far revealed depending on the available textual sources produced from the 19th century on, presents by and large compact boundaries separating Muslim and non-Muslim settlements in Üsküdar, as almost sharply divided and maintained: to the southernmost end of Yenimahalle governs Muslim heritage, back to the north starts Armenian or else non-Muslim settlements.

Some earlier archival records, on the other hand, suggest a much more complex picture with regard to the spatial distribution of different ethno-religious communities in Üsküdar. Regarding the Jewish community of Üsküdar, for instance, sources inform us on the almost regular flows of Jewish newcomers, settled in diverse parts of Üsküdar. Those settlements apparently took place with or without the supervision of the Ottoman authorities⁴⁰. The wave of Jewish newcomers we captured above as the dwellers of shanties between İcadiye and Kuzguncuk in the late 19th century, should have rather occurred at the expense of the local protests and in the absence of official provision. Nevertheless, the choice of location of those

⁴⁰ Ben- Naeh informs us that many of those Üsküdar's Jewish settlers were the ones scattered elsewhere in İstanbul following destruction of their living spaces in Galata and historical peninsula due to frequent calamities like fires. (For more information, see Ben-Naeh, 2008)

group of Jews does not come as a total surprise, as the location was already marked as “non-Muslim settlements” in the 19th century. However, in the early modern period, the numerous records intensifying in the late 17th century suggest then officially recognized new settlements of sizeable Jewish community even further south, in what we retrospectively judge as the stronghold of the Muslim heritage, around today’s Validei Atik neighborhood⁴¹.

In a report captured in 1714, we see Muslim complaints regarding: the presence of Jewish and Christian settlements and their taverns; and that in the rooms that were rented to them, their drinking and disturbing around. This happens in their “Muslim neighborhood with a mosque endowed by the Queen Mother”, For those non-Muslim settlements, report refers to the areas where we presume historically and undisturbedly Muslim identity prevails: the center of Üsküdar, around Rum Mehmet Paşa Mosque and Validei Atik neighborhood each of which are located to the southeast of the Üsküdar center (A.İDVNSMHM.d.120.586). Coming back to southern end of Yeni Mahalle in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, again archival records suggest us there were unabated tensions surfacing out the of the spaces theoretically reserved to non-Muslim inhabitants. We are informed of the once presence of brothels in Pazarbaşı, Toprak Street (today’s Boybey Sokak) until 1919. Its top-down relocation to another quarter in Üsküdar at the time is related to arise from the fact that it was unfit to a street where Muslim families, mosques and dervish lodges existed (DH.EUM.AYŞ.42.4). To its east, laid the Taşçı Manok Sokak in the early 20th century (today’s Taşçı Mahmut Sokak), surrounded by Turkish-named streets and Islamic architectures which suggests the salient presence of Armenians further east into this ostensibly Muslim quarter.

While these records await further research, what concerns us here is that, compounded with demographic predominance, dominant local heritage delineates the dominant identity, while at the same time serving as foundations for defining and restraining “the other” on their ability to contribute to production of the shared space. Thus the coexistence experiences immanently involve tension as well as conviviality with the cultural other.

In the end, where do all these episodes of tension, negotiation, exclusion and boundary-drawings leave us? First and foremost we can conclude that the 19th century cartographic depictions of boundaries separating Muslim/Christian/Jewish settlements either represent majorities, or else -not as mutually exclusive but rather complementary to each other- manifest the consolidation of each communities around separate spaces as a later development. Taking into consideration that we are so far devoid of the surviving references to trace continuation of such an intermingled settlement pattern, those mundane tensions inherent in the daily

⁴¹ One of them even includes the census records of them: EV.HMH.d.161

experiences of co-existence in a shared space seem to prepare the ground for the spatial clustering of distinct groups especially towards the 19th century. This very process of spatial clustering seems to be intensified throughout the 20th century up until today, so far as to confine the practices, as well as the memories of *conviviality* of non-Muslim population only within today's cosmopolitan centers, and in Üsküdar, it is within Kuzguncuk, and in Bağlarbaşı. While in the Ottoman Empire, this plural co-existence was mostly guaranteed by the Empire's "pragmatic flexibility" towards multiethnic and multilingual groups, today's ethno-religious homogeneity was the very consequence of the series of ethnic cleansing movements. This reinforces the conceptualization of conviviality, which urges us to reconsider our understanding of this coexistence/diversity/pluralism in the late Ottoman urban space, insisting on that it was not the eagerness of open-minded spirits to co-exist that define Ottoman urban diversity, rather it was subject to strict regulations defined by political rules and social norms(Freitag, 2014: 375).

Apart from those differentiations corresponding roughly to the ethno-religious and confessional divisions, the following section will elaborate on the intra-communal boundaries that separate "the Armenian strangers" from locals, also on the very ways for those strangers to integrate into our neighborhoods. By doing this, I will shed light on what made up the local identity of the Üsküdar Armenian community. Moreover, it will give us some more insights into the ways of maintaining the image of an upper-class Armenian settlement of Üsküdar, and the internal and external mechanisms for sustaining it.

5 Once Strangers, then Locals of Istanbul and Üsküdar

Armenian Üsküdar was not an autonomous entity to exist independently from the surrounding phenomena. Nor was it static immune to changes. Rather, it had all its relevance and constituencies only to be understood within the Ottoman rule over Constantinople, as well as over the larger territories and human geography in Eastern Anatolia. Therefore, its structure, functions and demographic make-up had always been delicately responsive to the larger developments. As a consequence as well as a cause itself of a multitude of social, political and economic developments, migration from Anatolia to Istanbul confronts us as one of the most relevant themes into an understanding of Istanbul Armenian neighborhoods.

It is mainly because almost all the Ottoman Istanbulite population, in particular Armenians were once immigrants in Istanbul. Especially Üsküdar had for centuries served as an entry point to İstanbul for the Anatolian migrants. Although departures from it were also rather frequent, it had never failed to refresh its population. Actually, Üsküdar went far beyond compensating for abandoners, always integrating greater numbers of newcomers into its ever-

expanding spatial and social fabric. Therefore, It is not quite possible to comprehend what made up Armenian Üsküdar without understanding the components of its dynamic human composition.

To this end, in the first section the 19th century relevant migration phenomena will be contextualized. Importance of an understanding into the accelerated migration trend into Istanbul lies behind the fact that Üsküdar also took its share of those waves of migrants. In the second and third sections, the ways of integrating into the Üsküdar's residential fabric will be evaluated. In the last section, Üsküdar's recently migrated local population and their characteristics will be evaluated in comparison to those found in Istanbul general. This will give us an idea over the ways and direction Üsküdar might have differed from other migration centers of İstanbul.

5.1 Armenian migration to İstanbul and Üsküdar

With the ultimate conquest of Constantinople in 1453, Ottomans found the city severely depopulated. During the reign of Mehmet II, like his successors also continued to contribute, Istanbul had decisively been intended to be cultivated by relocating artisans and architects from the eastern parts of the Ottoman territories. For centuries, Ottoman capital İstanbul retained its status as the most dynamic center of attraction for the rural-urban migration. However, the mid-19th century İstanbul experienced an unprecedented flow of immigrants with the help of which the capital's population rose roughly from 400.000 in 1840s to over 800.000 in 1880 thanks to the very interplay of several developments. Relevant in Eastern Anatolia was the Russo-Ottoman war in 1877-78, the resulting famine of which left the territories in severe conditions. Increasing tax burden at the expense of the local population, compounded by the currency deflations viciously hit the purchasing power, but more importantly the livelihood of the rural population. Another territorial dimension further deteriorated already existing harsh conditions caused by the ever-increasing predatory incursions of nomadic and semi-nomadic Kurdish tribes particularly towards the settled Christian population (Clay, 1998: 3-4).

While earlier, neighboring urban centers were able to absorb a good deal of those seasonal migrants from the surrounding villages with their own economic prospects. In the second half of the 19th century, however, many eastern provinces located at the confluence of trade routes had lost their previous attraction with the advent of Anatolian railroads and as a bitter consequence of international competition. Within less than a century, as illustrated by Quataert, Diyarbekir's population dropped from 54.000 to 31.000 in 1914 (Quataert, 2005: 116). Likewise, other Southeastern Anatolian provinces shared much of the same fate.

At about the same time with the aforementioned adversary developments in the Eastern Anatolia, İstanbul was experiencing relative boom conditions. The advent of new transportation technologies, mainly the introduction of steamships operating alongside the Black Sea coast between Trabzon, Samsun and İstanbul facilitated the influx of Anatolian migrants into İstanbul in unprecedented numbers in search of better economic gains. This accelerated migratory trend involved both the rich and the poor from among muslims and non-muslims in the region. However, a greater share of Armenians, and among them a greater proportion of the poorer ones ended up in İstanbul as seasonal labor migrants.⁴²

“In the 1890s, there were 60,000 Armenian migrants in Istanbul, who had brought with them the customary occupations and skills of their homelands. To wit, Armenians from Agn/Eğir (present-day Kemaliye) usually worked as table makers; those from Van as porters or cooks; those from Moush as porters; those from Kayseri as bricklayers and painters; those from Sivas as public bath keepers; and those from Erzincan as coffee sellers”⁴³

Apart from irregular and uncontrollable flow of labor migrants into the capital city, there were certain other migratory trends that led one’s way to Istanbul, on either voluntary or involuntary terms. Forced relocations of Anatolian labor force in İstanbul had been implemented to channel the excessive workforce to the capital in times of labor scarcity as had been the case over centuries leading up to the 19th century. As late as 1835, nearly 2,000 Armenian carpenters and plasterers from Anatolia had been forced to move to Istanbul (Riedler, 2014:162). Certainly, among the ones who were more than welcomed to the city’s urban composition were the elite section of the Armenian society, the upper segment urbanites in the provinces with their already entrenched networks of relations and far-reaching prestige. The *Amiras*, the traditional Armenian aristocracy, on the one hand, then flourishing Armenian middle classes, on the other, ever-increasingly preferred Istanbul as well as Üsküdar to enhance their businesses and influence.

Constituting a substantial destination for Armenians, Üsküdar had gradually grown to be a prominent residential center through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but most

⁴² “According to the figures of 1882 there were around 12,000 Armenian workers in the capital, approximately 20 per cent of all temporary workers, who made up c. 30 per cent of the Armenian community. “ (Riedler, 2014: 166)

⁴³Houshamadyan, <https://www.houshamadyan.org/en/mapottomanempire/vilayet-of-bitlispaghesh/sassoun/locale/population-movements.html> accessed on 29.10.2020

importantly in the 19th century. As a consequence, Üsküdar's Armenian population rose drastically, leaping from about 7,500s in 1882 to approximately 14,000s in 1914. Another layer of importance these figures gain when we take into consideration the fact that they include also the ones resided in inns and shops, also the ones outside the influence of Apostolic Church, so to say Protestant and Catholic Armenians (Karpas, 1985: 208-241).

5.2 Integrating into the Local Fabric

Behar (2003: 96) describes in detail the very passage of integrating into İstanbul urban structure for the recent migrants, which, at least in theory encompasses the processes in force throughout the İstanbul neighborhoods from 1826s up until the Young Turk Revolution in 1908. Local authorities were held responsible for regulating and registering the move-ins and outs from their neighborhoods. Although we do not have documentation of move-in and out from our mahalles like in Kasap İlyas as Behar presents, his formula should have been applicable to Üsküdar neighborhoods.

It is beyond the scope of this study to investigate the lines separating local urban population and strangers in both identity level and legal status of the population present in the late Ottoman İstanbul. However, one essential side of this segregation crystallizes in the residential organization of the urban space. Ottoman İstanbul neighborhoods in general were expected to provide with its own social mechanisms its dwellers with networks of solidarity, security and harmony, protecting its ingredients against the intruders (Çelik, 1993). Integrating into a neighborhood structure can be seen as a big step toward officializing, and when in need stabilizing people's stay in the city. Even more important in the late 19th and early 20th century context was that through this locally admitted identity, it was possible to spare, to a large degree, sporadic pogroms and mass deportations directed against the Empire's Armenian subjects (Dinçer, 2013; Friedler, 2014).

Since seasonal migrants (*bekars*, bachelors) were deemed to be threats to the order and harmony in the city life without organically formed ties within, even when their labor was essential to it, their denial in the residential areas was the eventual target. It is widely acknowledged that seasonal labor migrants reside near the markets in the centers in inns, shops and in what is called the *bekar odaları*, bachelors' rooms. This situation relied on several practical reasons. From the laborers' side, staying close to the employment opportunities was desirable, if not crucial. Besides, many of those lacked sufficient means and incomes to rent a house, nor did they have motivations for permanent settlement as their target was typically saving enough money and returning to their hometown at some point (Clay, 1998).

However difficult, dictated boundaries between residential areas and markets were not totally impassable for the migrant laborers. Although unofficial, Mintzuri provides us with the very pathways towards a more settled life, and possibly being acknowledged as Istanbulite for the Anatolian labor migrants like himself. To illustrate, the fascinating story of a migrant laborer's social and geographic upward mobility through the ways of "patronage relationship" will be excerpted. Garabet Usta is the father of one of Mintzuri's classmates and a relative from his hometown, Küçük Arıdan. Starting his journey in İstanbul as a porter, the existing compatriot network led Garabet Usta's way to cooking as an assistant to a cook. Before long he learns the secrets of the cookery and is promoted as the private cook of the illustrious Istanbulian Family in Pera. Hovhannes Effendi Istanbulian, as he relates, was the only representative of the British fabrics, being an importer merchant. The lady of the Istanbulian family wouldn't let their cook visit his family in the hometown. Instead, she makes their cook's family brought to Istanbul through her own means and influence. Garabet Usta rents a house with a single room in Beşiktaş, and finally affords moving to an apartment with his wife and son in Pera. In other words, Garabet Usta entered the service of an Armenian notable family, thus his mobility seems to be guaranteed by his patron, providing an example of which is elucidated by Behar in his treatment to Kasap İlyas migrant population (Behar, 2003: 112).

Yet another remark of Mintzuri sheds additional light on the Istanbulite identity as later being acquired through marriage into an Istanbulite family. Among colleagues in their bakery shop, "*Agop was from our Büyük Arıdan, not an Istanbulite. (Then) He got married (to someone) from Yeni Mahalle, Üsküdar, and became an Istanbulite. Levon was from Istanbul. He was a neighbor of Agop from Yeni Mahalle*" (Mintzuri, 2017: 116)⁴⁴. While Garabet Usta's working conditions were much more prestigious and possibly more stable than Agop, the latter's marriage into an Istanbulite family seems to afford him an easier way to integrate directly into the urban residential network. Moreover, in both cases, it is the women's status or else wills that enabled Garabet Usta and Agop to be upwardly mobile in geographic as well as social terms.

Mintruzi's own integration into the city's local population was rather arduous, unplanned and took him several decades which are marked by a handful of fortunes and misfortunes. He himself exemplifies and shares much of the characteristics of the period's seasonal migration trend with only minor differences. Triggering factor that made his way to Istanbul was, as he defines, their lack of purchasing power, being unable to sell their crop which actually abounded with tenable prices. This characterises one of the aspects of migration tendency in the Eastern Anatolian countryside.

⁴⁴ Translation from Turkish is made by me.

His living and working conditions almost totally match up the generalized image of seasonal labor migrants, independently of ethno-religious affiliations. Mintzuri's Istanbul journey starts as part of a family tradition of seasonal migration to Istanbul. At the age 8, he finds himself in İstanbul working in his family's bakery, pursuing his brilliant educational career at the same time. As typical again for a seasonal laborer as it is, his plans involve returning for good to his hometown after saving however little money they could make in İstanbul which necessarily does not leave much space for spending for their stay. He always stays in the shops, never gives away money for covering distances depending on his feet. His school preferences always depend upon the school's proximity to the changing locations of their bakery shop within the market places. Together with his father, grandfather and other fellow colleagues, they all reside in their shop in Beşiktaş and then in Rumeli Hisarı. When they had to close down their bakery shop due to economic constraints, with his father they moved to Üsküdar, setting up a bait shop. They start sleeping in one of their countrymen's bakery shops in the Üsküdar center.

His permanent stay in the capital city, on the other hand, is only to be guaranteed by the annihilation of his hometown and family alike, after the very deportation law inflicted upon Anatolian Armenians on the eve of the WWI. As he relates, his survival depended upon his missing the ferry which were taking dozens of his fellows to their hometowns, and actually to their perishment. By the time this deportation law was put into practice, Istanbul was thus cleared to a certain degree from Armenian seasonal migrants, which he evades only by chance.

Only after losing all his hope to return with feelings of entrapment, he starts looking for a better employment in vain. In 1940, he was still selling in his shop bait and coal, with his face and body covered with coal dust. This time, however, he states that he was in charge of taking care of his family of six people: his wife, children, mother and father (Mintzuri, 2017: 79) We do not know the details of his second marriage, but he relates he had a story called "My Second Marriage" in which he describes in detail the Üsküdar neighborhoods, İcadiye and Selamsız as they were before a disastrous fire ravaged much of their living spaces in 1920s (Mintzuri, 2017: 153) Quite possibly, thus, his move into İcadiye neighborhood was directly related to his second marriage. Although he was still living in penurious conditions, at least from that point on he should have been an integral part of the city, enjoying the facilities of the dynamic urban life, being able to move to other destinations in the city. We learn that he moved to Pera and the Kınalı Island, working as bread-baker, clerk in hotels, and employee of a church (Mintzuri, 2017: 96).

From among several variables that set him apart from his fellow labor migrants, his extraordinary intelligence comes forefront. He graduates from the best western-style

educational institutions with greatest degrees, learning several western languages together with his excellence in Ottoman Turkish and Armenian, and achieves phenomenal success with his outstanding literary career. His living conditions, however, remain for a long time (almost quarter a century in his life) static, far from matching up all those unique personal progresses. He is still missing official teaching certificate, together with entrenched social networks, a patronage relationship like Garabet Usta benefited that might have elevated him from his prolonged dire straits.

From Mintzuri's account, it appears that permanency in Istanbul was primarily a challenge for seasonal labor migrants. It depended heavily on their will to stay, but this will is far from establishing required conditions for it. In three of the examples provided, having a family in Istanbul getting rid of the *bekar* status seems to be essential. Marrying into an Istanbulite family, like in Agop's and possibly in Mintzuri's cases, should have been an easier way to integrate into the local life of Istanbul. In Garabet Usta's case it involved bringing family from the hometown. Having a family, even practically precludes those from leading *bekars'* life in inns, shops and in bachelor's rooms and obliging them to reside in a house. Therefore, in whatever conditions that led to integrating into the residential areas, it certainly requires a degree of better maintenance, as either by the help of another local, or through their own means. Even when being thus part of the city's local life does not necessarily bring about better working conditions or better incomes, their presence in Istanbul acquires a necessary level of legitimacy that enables them to make a move freely within.

5.3 Movement Regulations

From among the determinants of conviviality, Freitag directs attention to the increasing Ottoman uneasiness over the nationality and the movement of people (Freitag, 2014:379). All the more true when we consider the ever-growing suspicion with which the authorities started to treat its Armenian subjects. Therefore, we are not surprised to see an unprecedented volume of official documentations as reflected in the Ottoman archives. This unprecedented volume of official documentation regarding the Üsküdar Armenian residents, more or less corresponds to the period of the Hamidian Regime (1876-1909).

Behar suggests that the movement regulations that intensified with the Tanzimat Reforms remained in full force until the Young Turk Revolution in 1908. An internal passport practice was introduced, according to which the *mürur tezkeresi* (a travel warrant functioning as an identity paper) for internal migrations in the Empire; the *pusula* (a local registration) to move within Istanbul was necessitated by the authorities. Mukhtars of each neighborhood were held

responsible for the register of those new-comers in their neighborhood only in case those could provide their *mürur tezkiresi*. Provided that, upon their departure for another quarter, the mukhtars were to give them with a signed *pusula*. For the local workings of this system, he maintains that someone the *mukhtars* know and trust should be a sponsor for the newcomers. Behar also illustrates the ways in which mukhtars could manipulate those rigid legal procedures, providing *pusulas* to the migrants who failed to present proper documentation (Behar, 2003:, 121-124).

From the Ottoman archival records, we are able to gain some authentic understanding of the movement regulations implemented in Üsküdar Armenian neighborhoods. There we have application records for the ones who either move in to or out from Üsküdar, asking permission of movement for either applicants themselves or else on behalf of others. The following examples are drawn to illustrate the authoritative manner to regulate move-in and outs as reflected in the Ottoman archival records.

Antranig, an Üsküdar dweller merchant, applies to bring his fiancée and her mother from his hometown in Şebinkarahisar, Sivas in 1903. His “esteemed years of mercantile services in Kamonto Han in Galata” is included in the report as a favorable guarantee for such an action (DH.TMIK.M.133.60). At around the same time, a *mürur tezkiresi*, a kind of travel warrant is requested for his wife and child in his hometown by a Kayseri-originated Kuzguncuk dweller, he is related to be engaged in plaster trade (DH.TMIK.M.134 25). Another record captured in 1904 reveals a disapproval of a settlement request raised by a resident in İcadiye, Garabet Effendi Miloshian, for his wife’s mother and brother in her hometown, Talas in Kayseri (DH.TMIK.M.144.65). Similarly to the move-in situations, departures from Üsküdar are also monitored and subject to permission, at least ideally and for a certain period of time. In 1909, a certain Aranik from Selamsız wanted to settle with her two grandchildren in Varna where her son, Artin Enfiyecian operated his mercantile business (DH.TMIK.M.269.26). Another record takes notice of an absence, of an İcadiye resident intestine merchant and his daughter, reporting that they had moved four years ago, in 1912, leaving the wife behind, to Afyonkarahisar for a temporary change of environment (DH.EUM.2.Şb.73.67).

Migration as a means of labor replacement, and also for educational purposes found their place in the records. A certain Mgrdich (or Mıgırđıç) wants to bring his son from his hometown in Sivas Divriği to help him manage two of his bakeries in Üsküdar, Arapzade and Çifte Bakkal Bakeries. His cause was found in its place by the authorities and approved (ZB.454.31). Similarly, bread-bakers in İcadiye originating from villages in Divriği and Refahiye ask permission for their returns to the hometowns and being replaced by their relatives in 1907

(DH.TMIK.M.235.55). There are also records showing the evaluation of applications for candidate students of the much famous Berberian College from different parts of the empire. Some of them are rejected on the grounds that the candidate students in question lack relatives in İstanbul (R-21-02-1324).

Therefore, the move-in applications seem to be approved in cases where there is a local guarantor for the accommodation and livelihood of the person in question, and necessarily when there is a valid ground for such a movement. The most valid ground from the point of view of the government appears to be those aimed at family reunification. The evaluation process apparently involves all the sides in question, and the rejection might take place not only in cases of lack of accommodation and livelihood, but also allegiances and perceived reliability levels of the sides were taken into consideration like in the case of Antranik. In the following section, we will see a part of recent Armenian migrants who were recognized as locals in the 1907 Armenian census. This will give us a sense of what made up Üsküdar Armenians, what led their way to Üsküdar, and in which direction Üsküdar differs from other parts of İstanbul.

5.4 Armenian Migrants as the Local Population in Üsküdar

Genç suggests, in his survey of Üsküdar's non-local Muslim population in the 18th century, that scarcely any number of people from Rumelia or Mediterranean islands reside in Üsküdar. She further names the most important centers all in Anatolia from which Üsküdar's population had been supplied. Those centers include Sivas, Kayseri, Malatya and Eğin (Genç, 2016). All the aforementioned information overlaps to a great extent with the demographic pool that seems to make up the Armenian Üsküdar in the late 19th and the early 20th century. The regions cited as the geographic origin of the Armenians of Üsküdar are almost invariably located in Anatolia in the archive records, nor does our sample census record indicate a significant deviation from this assertion. Unlike Üsküdar's own attraction with its residential networks and employment landscape, however, its educational prosperity seems to have a much wider reach than Anatolia. The geographies from where those students are to be accepted to Berberian referred in the records taken between the years 1907-1909, are as diverse as Aleppo, Gümülcine (Komotini in Greece) Tekirdağ, Edirne, Trabzon, Samsun, Konya, Isparta, Sivas and Konya (DH.TMIK.M.254.43; R-21-02-1324; H-9 -08-1325).

In our sample census record, we are unable to trace the exact demographic impact of aforementioned migration trend as our records include only the local Armenians and aimed in the first place to exclude immigrants, especially seasonal labor migrants. Therefore, as far as this analysis concerns within the boundaries of our sample census records, we can expect an

overrepresentation of better-off immigrants quite likely exemplifying horizontal mobility, as well as Istanbul-borns vis-a-vis the poorer section of the local Armenian community. As a consequence, conspicuously missing in our sample census record are the famous *hamals* (porters) from Van⁴⁵, for instance. Nevertheless, we still have a certain proportion of records of immigrants who seem to be living in conditions resembling more to the labor migrants than to the local population.

5.4.1 Eastern Anatolia, Mamüretülaziz

“My village is from Tamzara to Şebinkarahisar, to Arapkir ... I knew Eğin, Çemişgezek, Divriği, Arapkir step by step, door to door, street by street and better than those who were born and lived there” (Mintzuri, 2013:130).

With this remark, Mintzuri delineates many of the major towns of the Eastern province of Mamüretülaziz as they encircle his hometown, Küçük Arıdan. Those Eastern villages and towns also mirror the geographic hub from where Istanbul used to get a large proportion of its migrant Armenian population. Eğin-born Istanbulites constituted the third largest non-Istanbul-born inhabitants of Istanbul after Kayseri and Tekirdağ, respectively. Located in the junction point of trade routes from various directions, commerce and crafts used to occupy a significant position for the local population. Eğin (or Agn) started to lose much of its commercial vitality with the advent of Anatolian railroads towards the late 19th century. Together with its commercial activity, its population as well began to shrink as a response to the recent idle status of the caravan trade (Gül, 2010: 199). Given that Eğin is a single town unlike Tekirdağ and Kayseri *sanjaks*, their migratory trend is a much more spectacular phenomenon.

The Istanbulite population originating from Eğin appears to be engaged mostly in commercial and financial services. Moneylenders (*sarraf*), brokers and particularly tobacco merchants have disproportionately larger representation over other occupational groups, making up almost one fourth of the working inhabitants from the region. Eğin also appears to be one of the largest hubs for Istanbul's at the time growing *sarraf* demand, following Istanbul and Kayseri respectively, and tobacco trade seems to be in the hands mostly of Eğin-borns, after

⁴⁵ “Typical employment for Armenian seasonal migrants was that of a porter (*hamal*). Charles White's account of the urban economy of Istanbul in the mid-19th century claims that of the 8,500 registered porters in Istanbul, two-thirds were Armenians originating from Van and its neighbouring provinces.” (Riedler, 2014: 164).

Istanbul-borns. This section of Eğin-originated Istanbulites, we presume, belonged to the middle to upper-crust of the Eğin as well as Istanbul Armenian community.

Itinerant sellers (especially *çerçi* and *hurdacı*), shoe makers and sellers, umbrella and nail makers, merchant's clerks make up the most of the remaining end of the working Eğin-born Istanbulites. As for Üsküdar, Eğin seems to be the single region from where the largest non-Istanbul-born Üsküdar dwellers originated. They are more represented in İcadiye and Selamsız neighborhoods and in a single street, Bedroskalfa in Yenimahalle. As opposed to the Eğin-born population of Istanbul in general where almost half of them appear as employed, nearly as small as one quarter of Üsküdar residents were registered with an occupation. Moneylenders, jewelers and merchants comprised more than half of those employed, and they reside mainly in İcadiye and Selamsız. A butcher in Selamsız, an itinerant peddler in Kuzguncuk and a slipper maker in İcadiye are the remaining half.

Istanbulites coming from Kiğı or Keghi seem to form a peculiar migrant category among other migrant local populations from Eastern provinces. They settled almost exclusively in Pera and Feriköy, only a few of them were to be found in the historical peninsula or elsewhere. Houshamadian states that prior to the 1908 Young Turk Revolution, agriculture was the primary means of livelihood of the Keghi Armenians, and in Istanbul they were mostly employed as cooks. Our census record confirms this assertion, as nearly half of the working inhabitants from Keghi seem to find employment as cooks and to a lesser degree as coffee makers. Rest of the Armenians from Keghi appear to meet the growing labor force demand of the capital's commercial center, mostly as servants, public bath directors and very rarely as craftsmen like shoemakers or masons. That nearly two third of the Armenians from the region were occupied in the records compounded with the high rates of solitary living, and absolute male majority contributes to our understanding of their presence in İstanbul as mainly labor migrants.

In Üsküdar we have only seven Keghi-born residents, even without multiplying this number, though, available data makes Üsküdar the third most popular destination for Keghi Armenians. Following data illustrates their living experience in Üsküdar which looks quite a lot similar to that of İstanbul in general. A certain Kevork, 44, appears to reside within a wealthy sibling household in Tophanelioğlu Caddesi (today's Altunizade), as one of the two live-in servants. A coffee maker from Keghi apparently married into an Istanbulite family, having Istanbul-born children all of which most likely afforded him a permanent status a few decades ago. Aside from a domestic cook who lives within a Kuzguncuk household and the above-mentioned resident, all others live alone in their residential unit. They are all male, coffee makers, servants or else a cook mostly in Yenimahalle and Altunizade.

Van seems to be another important reservoir of migrant population of İstanbul locals. Van and Muş recurrently referred as the origin of the first Armenian settlers of Üsküdar. As widely referred, Armenian master builders from those regions were drafted to take part in the construction of major mosque complexes in Üsküdar, and the first mentions of Armenian settlements coincide roughly with those constructions in question. In our census period, on the other hand, Muş as the birthplace of the Üsküdar inhabitants is never observed. Moreover, the very small amount of Van-borns appear invariably as cooks who are male⁴⁶, inhabiting mostly in Selamsız. Van and Muş, apparently had lost all its reputation for mastery in building, leaving its place to the fame for its destitution within centuries. In the 1907 census records of İstanbul locals, a relative majority of Van-borns seem to be employed as cooks. Almost as important a means of living as cookery for Armenians from Van, are coffee making; caretaking of inns, coffee houses and winehouses, and various unskilled services. Those groups of workers constitute as much as a two third of the total İstanbulite workers from Van, almost half of which are cooks and coffee makers. In addition to a still sizable group of craftsmen in clothing and footwear sectors, at the same time, the sarrafs, jewelers and merchants from Van all together constitute a group still with a considerable size. Educated professionals are not totally absent in this picture, though their proportion all together does not amount to a significant share; among almost 200 working inhabitants from Van are three priests, two teachers, a doctor, a lawyer and a dentist.

Armenian residents from Arapgir or Arapkir present us a rather visibly higher socio-economic profile than Van and Keghi despite the public sector employees being non-existent, in addition to the near absence of middle and upper segments of traders. Quataert informs that Arapgir, a town northwest of Harput and south of Eğin, had in the 1880s 6,000 households of which 1,200 belonged to Armenians. Within less than a century, Arapgir had become a center of the strikingly growing textile industry. Before the 1830s, cotton weaving was only engaged with locally made yarn and for local subsistence. Then possibly with the hands of Trabzon merchants, Arapgir locals adopted cheap British yarn and began to manufacture cotton goods commercially with its 1000 looms actively working. Arapgir cloth acquired a competitive position in the Ottoman domestic market, being cheaper and more durable than its British equivalents. The town sustained this momentum in cotton weaving, raising its looms to 1200 in 1907 (Quataert, 2002: 99).

In our sample, however, there is not even a single instance of engagement in textile by the Arapgir-borns. At the first glance, peculiar pluralities in relation to certain unrelated

⁴⁶ One exception, a mapmaker in İcadiye and a female.

occupations are discernible. *Sarrafs* predominate all the other single occupational groups. Furnace making seems to be another most common engagement. From among a handful of educated professionals including a single teacher and an architect, Arapgir-born lawyers appear surprisingly as a sizable group, three among a total of 68 working dwellers, which possibly suggests that just so specifically law education should have been promoted in the region. While there is no Arapgir-born cook observed, bread bakers and coffee makers are also numerous. One third of the Arapgir-borns, still large a group of unskilled service providers led by itinerant peddlers and newspaper hawkers are present in our sample local records. Üsküdar, on the other hand, appears only to be sheltering three of those itinerant peddlers, and a laborer, all of which are male residing in non-family units in Kuzguncuk.

Kuruçay, a village near the eastern borders of today's Erzincan, north of Eğin, and Küçük Armıdan village north of Kuruçay supplied Üsküdar a relatively greater share of residents among very little overall number of countrymen appear in İstanbul. Kuruçay-borns seem to prefer mostly Gedikpaşa, barley sellers, bread bakers and grocers are the majority of the working inhabitants. We have two grocers and a barley seller in Selamsız all reside in family households. In overall İstanbul, we have only three instances of residents from Küçük Armıdan, two of which are a couple residing in Üsküdar, Yenimahalle Antonaki Street. The household in question shelters the famous Arkhanian (Arhanyan) family, a relative of Hagop Mintzuri. Himself coming from a bread-baker family from Küçük Armıdan but within a much more moderate means of subsistence, Mintzuri relates his countrymen in İstanbul almost always engaging in bread-baking. As he further notices, at around the same time with our census, he and his father had been sheltered in one of Arkhanians's several bakeries all operating in Üsküdar center. As opposed to the settled and mostly cited prosperous stance of his cousin Tateos in Yenimahalle as an extraordinary profile for those from Küçük Armıdan, Mintzuri family should have been among the majority of those not included in the local residents records as the seasonal labor migrants.

5.4.2 Kayseri and Sivas

Kayseri seems to have been the hometown of the largest non-İstanbul-born section of the Istanbulite Armenian society. Zilfi takes notice of their well known expertise in the building sector and employment in larger numbers in the constructions of some of the majestic mosque complexes in the Ottoman capital from as early as the sixteenth century on. Their special skills in building are attributed mostly to the soft stone available around the region. She further argues that Kayseri and its surrounding region should have been the primary reservoir for migrant

builders, and for many from Kayseri, migration to Istanbul would serve as one of the major sources of livelihood for centuries (Faroqhi, 1997: 15). In our records captured early in the 20th century, the most observed occupation for Kayseri-borns is by far trade. Most of the timber, brick and leather merchants operating in İstanbul appear to be Kayseri-born, in addition to the countless other merchants in general. The *Sarrafs* and brokers are also numerous. Zilfi's assertion, on the other hand, seems to be then still prevailing, as following merchants, plasterers and joiners make up the second and third largest occupational groups, respectively. Other construction-related groups like brickmakers, stone cutters and also architects are numerous as well. Thus, the building sector seems to be unproportionally developed and still then vibrant in Kayseri than in any other region, and the remark regarding Kayseri-born builders of İstanbul still retains its relevance. Engagement in textile, footwear and jewelry are prevalent. On the other hand, teachers, priests and officials are near non-existent among the recorded Kayseri-borns. Despite this conspicuous absence of the public sector, educated professionals like architects, doctors and druggists comprised a still considerable number of the Kayseri-born Istanbulite Armenians.

In Üsküdar, Baronian in his sketch of İcadiye neighborhood addresses the salient presence of residents originated in Kayseri. Our sample that is compiled a few decades later than his remark, however, suggests in all probability a demographic change in favor of Eğin-born inhabitants in İcadiye, as well as in the rest of Üsküdar Armenian neighborhoods. Constituting the second largest groups, Kayseri-borns appear to engage primarily in trade, and those merchants from Kayseri reside in İcadiye, and in one instance in Kuzguncuk having domestic cook and servant in their residence. As surprising as it is, two third of the working Üsküdar Armenians from Kayseri are merchants together with shoemakers who are to be found almost exclusively in Yenimahalle. Furthermore, none of those Kayseri-born builders seem to settle in Üsküdar. It is all the more interesting when we consider Üsküdar as a constantly growing settlement mostly wooden houses of which were subject to frequent large or small scale fires, continually torn down and re-erected.

The fourth largest demographic group in our records is those born in Sivas and neighboring towns and villages including Gürün, Divriği, Penga, Suşehri, Hafik and Şebinkarahisar. The geography in question appears to provide Istanbul mostly with the unskilled or semi-skilled laborious groups. As large as more than one fourth of the Sivas-borns are servants, caretakers, room-keepers, public-bath attendants, cart drivers and other unskilled service providers. Occupational specialization seems to have taken place mainly in the food sector; cooks, bakers and especially bread bakers and coffee makers make up the largest

group among others. An insignificant number of Sivas-borns seem to engage in the clothing sector but rather concentrate in shoemaking. Metal and wood works are also commonly practiced as skilled crafts, blacksmiths and carpenters constitute another sizable group. In Üsküdar, we have a merchant's nuclear family household from Gürün, most likely newly settled in Selamsız. An apprentice and a servant to merchants are found in İcadiye; a milkman and a teacher in Selamsız; a caretaker and a room-keeper in Yenimahalle.

5.4.3 Tekirdağ, Rodosto

Tekirdağ (Rodosto) seems to be the second greatest hub for the Istanbul migrant population. Extraordinarily high proportion (82%) of those inhabitants are found in Kumkapı and Gedikpaşa in the historical peninsula. As surprising as it is, two-third of those Tekirdağ-borns engage in footwear sector; among 200 working population, 124 decisively revolve around shoemaking; shoe and boot-selling, and indoor slipper making (*Kunduracı*, *kavaf*, and *terlikçi* in order). Light cotton fabric makers (*yemenici*), machinists and blacksmiths abound and still discernible is the slight concentration of teachers and priests from the region. Among such a wealth of Tekirdağ-borns, interestingly missing are the unskilled laborers, bureaucratic, commercial, professional and today's white-collar classes.

Regarding the dwellers of Üsküdar registered as originated in Tekirdağ, they are several families who, as it appears by looking at the kids as young as 4 years of age born again in Tekirdağ, newly settled in Üsküdar possibly as their first destination in Istanbul. By the same token, the average age for Tekirdağ-born İcadiye population was, at the time of 1907 census, around 19. The mean rose up to 40 for Istanbul in general. It seems quite comprehensive to compare it to that of Kayseri-borns and Eğin-borns which were as high as 46 and 34. Given that there are only a few Tekirdağ-born Üsküdar inhabitants aside from İcadiye, Üsküdar with its new settlements should have only very recently started to become a destination for not only Tekirdağ, but also its Western neighbors in Thrace, the only area located in the west of Istanbul that Üsküdar had attracted. Tekirdağ-borns stand out as an exception in Üsküdar, all the working age males invariably engage in either commercial or else professional occupations: a moneylender, a merchant's treasurer and a teacher in İcadiye, again a teacher in Yenimahalle Antonaki Street. Thus it is also telling in itself that Üsküdar, and in particular İcadiye only attracts a discernibly elite section of Tekirdağ-borns.

5.4.4 Marmara

Marmara region comprising today's Çanakkale, Bursa, Balıkesir and İzmit seems to be as important a point of departure for İstanbul's immigrant population as Kayseri. Armenians from the region's various towns and cities that circle the Marmara Sea from east and south migrated first and foremost to Pera, then intramural city and Üsküdar. Although it is not quite possible to portray overarching typologies for the type of migration for each location, some still show discernible occupational patterns. Pazarköy-born dwellers from Çanakkale, for instance, are to be found substantially as live-within servants. Relatively small proportion of those seem to find employment as craftsmen like jeweller, shoemaker, photographer and coffee maker. Adapazarı and Kurtbelen village both in İzmit also show a similar pattern. In addition to a certain amount of skilled service workers like tailor, barber and machinist from Adapazarı, these two locations seem to provide İstanbul households with domestic services to a large extent. Whereas Üsküdar seems to shelter solely domestic servants from the villages Pazarköy, Kurtbelen and the township Adapazarı, mostly residing within Kuzguncuk households.

Bahçecik, known as Bardizag in Armenian, was widely known as an overwhelmingly Armenian district in İzmit, and widely acknowledged with its population's engagement with basket making in the decades preceding WWI. This kind of a focused specialization can be attributed not so much to the local resources as the presence of missionaries. In our sample as well, basket makers and even to a lesser degree carpenters together comprised nearly half of the Bardizag-born working Istanbulites. Numerous clergymen born in Bardizag which is rarely seen in such abundance from a single location seems to be another particularity of the town, together with tailors and a good deal of unskilled service providers, mostly servants. In Üsküdar, on the other hand, we have a single record of household with a priest from Bardizag married into a crowded family. The other instance of Bardizag-born record probably characterizes the marriage migration of a woman in Selamsız.

Residents who migrated from Geyve together with İzmit in general present us a distinct socio-economic profile. In addition to many skilled service providers and craftsman like basket and shoe makers, jewellers, blacksmiths and cooks with a rarity of unskilled labor force, here we also come across apparently prominent dwellers including even a mine owner, printing house head, photographer with a title "Effendi", government officials, merchants, educated senior professionals like doctor, dentist and architect. As for Geyve and İzmit originated inhabitants of Üsküdar, we confront seemingly with a rather moderate socio-economic standing; our residents include a priest, a steamship company official, a fabric printer, and a domestic cook, most of whom reside in Selamsız.

To conclude, It appears that Anatolia remained to be the major hub for the Üsküdar's growing Armenian population, though then only very recently started to attract people from the west of İstanbul. While non-İstanbul-born population constituted ten per cent of the Üsküdar Armenian population, their lower share, 7 per cent, of the working inhabitants. This quite likely suggests that Üsküdar was more an area to live than to work. It is just a glimpse into the geographic origins of Üsküdar Armenians and more research is needed on the subject. Even though it reveals a more diverse and a more inclusive social fabric reigned in the early 20th century Üsküdar.

Conclusion

Armenian studies concentrate on the very rupture point of the fascinating plurality in the late Ottoman period, on whether the series of events that started with the Deportation Law and guaranteed Armenians' rapid annihilation was a genocide, or a justified response to their separationist movement. Most of the time those studies rely on the statistics, reducing the people into aggregate total numbers. Admitting that these are so much crucial, so important questions we need to confront, I argue that we should be talking a bit more about this earlier possibility and prospects of coexistence.

Although a distinct local Armenian heritage can be attributed to much of the space covered in the dissertation, their existence seems to be equally shaped by the interactions between different communities with which they shared the same space for centuries. The very center of gravity throughout the Armenian neighborhoods seems to have shifted initially from Yeni Mahalle to Selamsız, then in the early 20th century on, İcadiye seems to have taken on carrying the banner of Üsküdar Armenians. While in İcadiye, an economic, cultural and social prosperity discernible in line with the progresses of the secular-national identity formation, upper Selamsız hosted rather an affluent diversity similar to the characterizations of the Levantine Cosmopolitanism of Eldem.

Owing to the available sources, we can have an understanding of an Ottoman İstanbul as a site of colorful mosaics made up of different ethno-religious groups. Here in this dissertation, I portrayed a past preceding this rupture point, where Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Iranians, Gypsies, and of course Muslims worked things together in a shared space, found ways of expressing their distinctive identities within the landscape in Üsküdar. As a matter of fact, they constantly negotiated their differences and belongings, contested over the rights of the space (Secor, 2004: 353) throughout the centuries that witnessed their co-existence. Either peacefully, or with differing degrees of conflicts and tensions, they managed to make a living

together, with high degrees of interdependence. I located the Üsküdar Armenians within the larger landscape and human geography of Üsküdar. I partly answered questions of: who were those Armenians and where they were coming from; what kind of a setting they were living in; what might have attracted them to Üsküdar and with what sociability functions Üsküdar was providing them; and what larger developments they witnessed in Üsküdar. How they were organized in Üsküdar was also partly answered. There are still loads of work to do in order to complete this Üsküdar puzzle, finding the missing parts of it.

Furthermore, owing to the available sources again, we know that this coexistence continued well after this rupture point. Unfortunately the limited scope of this study does not allow us to revisit the questions of what made them leave, where did they go, when did this happen, until when we could still be able to talk about Üsküdar Armenians, or Greeks, or Jews, how those earlier residents experienced this change in the social fabric, what the newcomers found in the place of those departers in Üsküdar. There is still no work that deals with those questions. We can see them on the Pervititch map in the 1930s, and still today can gain a sense of their presence there by looking at the still functioning churches and schools. But these are all so silent, so concealed, so isolated within high thick walls that can easily go unnoticed today. Even more surprising is to see the degree to which Üsküdar today is forgotten and overlooked as a site of not only an entrenched Armenian heritage, but also such a unique combination of different communities.

This dissertation is also a call for the necessity of furthering research on Üsküdar, since we mostly lack how those series of ethnic cleansing movements throughout the republican history echoed in Üsküdar. We are to make assumptions on what might have happened in Üsküdar by looking at the larger turning points for their departure. We can say that, with the Armenian Genocide, Üsküdar had been cut off from its main reservoir to refresh its Armenian population. So far, I could only come across one small piece of narrative relating to the factors that compelled Üsküdar Armenians to consider leaving Üsküdar, and Turkey. Hrant Torunyan defines himself as an earlier resident of “somewhere around Bağlarbaşı” in Üsküdar. He expresses how Turkey, in general, became a dangerous prison for them, and how they decided to leave the country immediately after the very events of 6-7 September 1955, believing that it was not any more a secure place to live in for them, however only being able to migrate to America in 1974⁴⁷. Those narratives should be augmented and enhanced, finding the old or still residents of Üsküdar. Moreover, after years of search for authentic answers to the questions of

⁴⁷ Interviewed by Kemal Yalçın, 2017. <https://www.artigercek.com/haberler/6-7-eylul-u-gorup-yasayanlar-anlatiyor> accessed in 27.10.2020.

“why and when did they leave Üsküdar for good?”, only by chance I came across the following documents. Earlier than 6-7 September, the newspaper dated to 1942, reveals pages of non-Muslim and mostly Armenian names in Üsküdar. The newspaper announces their properties were put on public sale, on the ground that they failed to pay their taxes, perplexing amounts of debts stemming from the newly introduced “Wealth Tax” law of the same year⁴⁸ (See: Image-G3). This and many other possible documentation are awaiting researchers.

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⁴⁸ Tanin Newspaper, available at: https://www.gastearsivi.com/gazete/tanin_yeni/1943-12-31/7 accessed on 30.10.2020.

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Appendices



Image-1 Kuzguncuk, restored colorful wooden houses, streets and the Bosphorus..



Image-2: Kuzguncuk Religious Buildings



Image-3: Üsküdar Center: Mihrimah Sultan Mosque, docks, boats and market.



Image-4: A recent photograph of Silahtarbahçe Street. Yesayan's "gardens of silahdar"



Image-5: Old Üsküdar and İstanbul Streets, wooden houses, people.



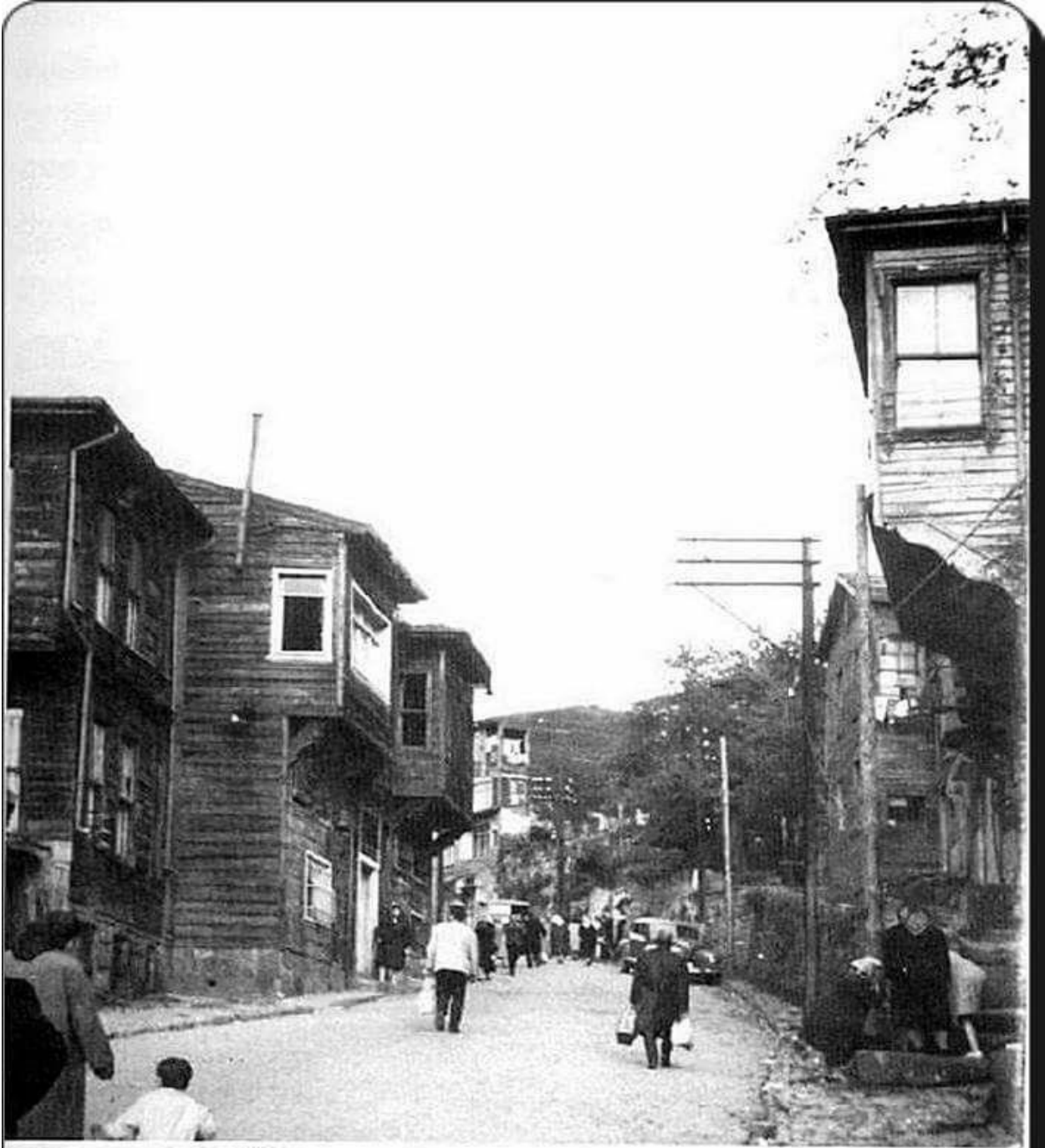
Image-6: An old photo depicting "escape from fire" in Üsküdar.



Image-7: Üsküdar-Kadıköy Tramways. The last one is passing through İcadiye.



Image-8: Selamsız Street



*Selamsız Caddesi'nin alt başından Çinili
Karakolu'na doğru bakış. (1964)*

Image-9: From Selamsız to Çinili.



Image-10: Berberyan Students

	İcadiye	Pazarbaşı	Selamsız	Yenimahalle	
Artisans/Shopkeepers	33%	88%	47%	49%	45%
Services & Professions	24%	6%	16%	28%	22%
Commerce/Finance	30%	0%	13%	13%	18%
Other	4%	0%	15%	3%	7%
Laborers	7%	0%	1%	6%	4%
Civil Servants	2%	6%	7%	2%	4%
High-ranking Bureaucrats	0%	0%	2%	0%	1%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table-1: The distribution of occupational groups among the sample Üsküdar local Armenians in 1907 Istanbul Armenian census records.



Map-R: Reconstruction of old street names of Selamsız, Yeni Mahalle, İcadiye, Pazarbaşı. Old and new names together: The new name-the old name.

Old Street Names	New Street Names	Recurrency
İcadiye Mahallesi	İcadiye Mahallesi	
Bedros Kalfa Sokağı (The Master-BUILDER Bedros)	Çelik Çomak Sokak	1, 2

Kayıkçı Şöhret Sokak (The Boatman Şöhret Street)	Kayıkçı Şükrü Sokak	1, 4
Papas Abraham Sokağı (The Priest Abraham Street)	Palalı Ahmet Sokak	1, 2
Camcıbaşı Sokak (Master-Glassmaker)	Türk Kız Koleji Sokak	1, 2
Garabet Kalfa Sokak (The Master-Builder Garabet)	Kurt Çelebi Sokak	1, 2, 4
Kahya Serkis Sokak (The Butler Serkis)	Sübyeci Sokak	1, 4
Eranik Sokak (The street with an Armenian female name, Eranik)	Haşacı Raif Sokak - Arzu Ayaktar Sokak	1, 2
Çamlıca Caddesi	Cemil Meriç Sokak - Temaşa Sokak - Cumhuriyet Caddesi	1, 2, 3
Sıvacı Murad Sokak (The Plasterer Murad-Turkish Name)	Sıvacı Ferhat Sokak	1, 2, 4
Doğramacı Mıgırdiç Sokak (The Joiner Mıgırdiç)	Mağazacı Sokak	1, 3
Yazmacı Avedis Sokak (The Fabric-Printer Avedis)	Yazmacı Sokak	1, 3
Doğramacı Simon Sokak (The Joiner Simon)	Dündar Sokak	1, 2, 3, 4
Saatçi Sehpus Sokak (The Watch-Maker Sehpus)	Müneccim Başı Sokak	1, 2, 4
Kaysəriyeli Sokak (From Caesarea Street)	Makastar Sokak	1, 2, 4
Sıvacıbaşı Ohannes Kalfa (The Master-Plasterer Ohannes Kalfa)	Hamursuz Sokak	1
Hahambaşı Sokak (Chief Rabbi Street)	Çifte Çınar Sokak	1, 4
Koçına	Behlül Sokak	1, 4
Yazmacı Sokak (Fabric Printer Street)	Çifte Çınar Sokak	1, 2
Orta Sokak (Middle Street)	Parçalı Sokak	1, 2
Darphaneli Mardiros Sokak (Mardiros from the Royal Mint Street)	Ayarcıbaşı Sokak	1, 4
Aziziye Sokak	Aziz Bey Sokağı	1
Haşacı İstegan (The Saddlecloth-Maker İstegan)	Haşacı Raif Sokak	4
Tiyatro Sokak (The Theatre Street)	Temaşa Sokak	2, 4

Yeni Mahalle

Murat Reis Mahallesi

Boyacı Artin Sokak (The Painter Artin Street)	Teyyareci Muammer Sokak & Acemoğlu Sokak	1, 2, 3
Gemici Ohannes Sokak (The Ship-builder Ohannes Street)	Reisül Küttap Sokak	1, 2
Papas Sokak (The Priest Street)	Selamet Sokak	1, 3, 4
Antonaki Sokak (A Male Armenian Name)	Şetaret Sokak	2
Vankın Bağı Sokak (The Vineyard of Vank)	Şetaret Sokak	1, 2, 3, 4
Kabristan Sokak (The Cemetery Street)	Yeni Ocak Sokak	1
Acıbadem Caddesi	Gazi Cad.	1
Antonaki Sokak (A Male Armenian Name)	Trablus Sokak	1, 2, 4

Bedros Kalfa (The Master-Builder Bedros Street)	Selami Değirmeni Sokak	1, 4
Bedros Kalfa Sokağı (The Master-Builder Bedros)	Payanda Sokak	2
Hacı Bambuk Sokağı (The Pilgrim Pambuk Street)	Payanda Sokak	2
Garabet Kalfa Değirmen (The Mill of the Master Builder Garabet)	Selami Değirmen	5

Selamsız, Selamiye, Selamiali Mahallesi

Selami Ali Mahallesi

Silahtar Bahçe (Garden of Silahtar)	Silahtarbahçe Sokak	1, 2
Çıkmaz Mesrob Sokağı (The Dead-End Mesrob Street)	Heyamolacı Sokak	1, 2
Sarrafi Sokak (Moneylender Street)	Sebilci Molla Sokak	1, 2
Binbaşı Mehmet Efendi (The Major Mehmet Effendi)	Topal Sokak	1, 4
Mektep Sokak (The School Street)	Görümce Sokak	1
Kilise Sokak (Church Street)	Görümce Sokak	2
Toşbak Sokağı	Cinali Sokak	1, 2
Meyhane Sokağı (Tavern Street)	Üzümkızı Sokağı	2, 4
Papas Sokak (Priest Street)	Demircioğlu Sokak	1, 2, 4
Koranoğlu Sokak	Kozanoğlu Sokak	1, 2
Papas Abraham Sokak (The Priest Abraham Street)	Isırgan Sokak	1, 2
Keresteci ? Sokak (The Timberman ?)	Doğramacı Mehmet Sokak	1, 2
Garabet Kalfa Sokağı (The Master-Builder Garabet Street)	Kuşakçı Sokak	1, 2
Parmaklı Bakkal Sokak	Bakkal Adem Sokak	2
Garabet Kalfa Sokağı (The Master-Builder Garabet Street)	Karabağ Sokak	1, 2
Kürkçü Kırkor (The Furrier Kırkor)	Kürkçü Mümin Sokak.	5, 4
Rençber Matyos Sokağı (The Cottager Mateos Street)	İspir Sokak	1, 4
Rum Kilisesi (Greek Church)	Hacı Murat Sokak	5
Topal Oskiyan Sokak (The Crippled Oskiyan)	Topal Sokak	2, 4
Tabakyan Bağı Sokak (The Vineyard of Tabakyan Street)	Tabağın bahçesi sokak	1
Divityan (A male Armenian name)	Kalemtraşçı and Kalpaklı Sokak	1, 5
Sinagog Sokak (Synagogue Street)	Papuçcu Sokak	1

Pazarbaşı Mahallesi

Validei Atik Mahallesi

1, 2

Mango	Fıstıklı Sokak	1, 4
Dibek	Şair Talat sokak	1, 4
Taşçı Manok (The Stone-Cutter Manok)	Taşçı Mahmut Sokak	1, 2
Toprak	Boybeyi	1, 4

Table-2: Reds for the street names with Armenian individual names; greens for Turkish-Muslim individual names; blues for spaces and names associated with non-Muslims like church, tavern, priest and chief rabbi.

Recurrency Column shows which sources confirm the same name. Numbers signify the below sources that I used.

- 1- Alman Mavileri 1913-14 İstanbul Map
- 2-Pre-WWI Anonymous Üsküdar Map in Ottoman Turkish.
- 3-Plan d'ensemble de la ville d Constantinople. 1922 İstanbul Map
- 4-Republican Newspapers Published Between 1930-145: Cumhuriyet, Haber, Son Posta, Tasviri Erkan, Tan, Akşam,Vakit, Zaman.
- 5-Anonymous Lists of Changed Names

Istanbul Kız Öğretmen Okulu Satılma Komisyonundan:				İSTANBUL GAYRİMÜCADDİLER KOMİSYONUNDAN:						
Erzakın cinsi	Miktarı	Muhammen Bedeli Lira K.	İlk teminatı Lira K.	Eksilme şekli gün ve saati	D. No	Semti ve mahallesi	Sokağı	Emlak No.	Cins ve Hk.	Hissesi göre muhtasızın N.
Dağlıç eti	5000 K.			28/9/936 Pazartesi saat 10,30 da pazarlıkla	658	Kandıllı	E. Yeni Y. Kuy-	E. 56 Y. 15	Bahçeli Akşap hanesinin 1/10 his.	120 A. 47. tarifi
Beyaz Karaman eti	6000				1169	Uluçapraz Hür Bey	Zeyrek yoluca	E. 137 Y. 155	Kıgır dükkan	1900 Kaart
Kuzu eti	1800				1745	Kyıp Emir Bahari	Kıgır Cad.	E. 51 Y. 3-5-6 Y. 16-22	İçinde yeni açılacak ve kıgır ahır ve oğaları olan 5000 metro bahçenin 54,72 His.	1100 %
Sığır eti	800	5310.	398.25	28/9/936 Pazartesi saat 10,45 te pazarlıkla	2647	Aksaray Kâtip Kaam	Langa Bostan	35 ada819 parsel 1 Y.83	150 metro arsa	450 A. ar. tarifi
Ekmek	60000	6300.	472.50	28/9/936 Pazartesi saat 11 de pazarlıkla	3041	Topkapı Takkeci	Davutpaşa	E. 30 Y.83	Hissenin 1/20 His.	300 ..
Kuru Çalı fasulyası	3000				3203	Bakırköy	E. Andonaki	E. 6 Y. 15	62 metro arsa	150 ..
Kuru barbunya ..	800				3845	Cevizlik mevki Üsküdar Murat Reis	Y. Aralık Çavuş deresi	E. 190 Y. 215	Dükkan arsanın mahallesi	50 ..
Mercimek yeşil	350				538	Üsküdar	E. Rençber Matyos	E. 2 His. Y. 2/1	61 metro arsa	78 ..
Mercimek kırmızı	350				541	Üsküdar İsmiye	E. Hasan İsmiye Y. Hasan Halif	E. 3 Y. 3-5	171 metro arsa	208 ..
Nohut birinci nevi	700									
Kuru bamyası Amasya	100									
Buğday	100									
Bulgur	350	679,75	50.98							
Patates iri taneli	9000			28/9/936 Pazartesi saat 11,15 te pazarlıkla						
Yumurta iri taneli	25000									
Kuru soğan	5000	1115.	83.62							

Image-G1: Old and new names for Rençber Matyos and Haşacı İstevan Streets in Tan Newspaper (27.09.1936)

enebilir, Mak -
lorveçin iggali-
emir nakliyatı-

karaya çıkan
rada duracak
nale doğru gi-
ontrolinden ve
rmağa çalışa -
derin, Norveç
en böyle bir Al
p etmemiş ol -
şildir ve zaten
Almanların bu
mukabele edile
İşti. Demek ki
iyaya gönderil-
iş olan yüz bin
sahillerine yine
linanyaya harb
İlar belki şu s-
ş bulunuyor ve
ordularile Al-
ı sipariş, müs-
acak bir saha-
r.

- 3 — İnsan öldürmek - Kırmızı.
- 4 — Muradına nail olan evliya.
- 5 — Usak.
- 6 — İğci.
- 7 — Kabul etmemek - Orta Asyada bir yayla.
- 8 — Bir meyva - Eski bir silâh.
- 9 — Bir samir edatı - Gayet eski.
- 10 — Başına "D., gelise ele batar, Kırmızı.

Eveleki günkü buluşmanın hâli

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

1	B	A	L	I	K	Y	A	G	I
2	A	F	R	E	N	R			
3	L	E	T	A	F	E	T	K	I
4	A	T	I	K	A	L	I		M
5	L	M	M	L	K	A	R	A	
6	A	K	A	R	S	A	K	A	L
7	Y	A	R	A	L	I	Y	E	
8	K	I	S	A	R	A	Y	A	T
9	A	M	C	A	A	A	A	M	
10	E	T	A	T	A	R	E		

Demiryolları İlanları

unda Hipodrom yolu ile bahçeli evlere giden cadde a-
se ve bu suse altından kanalizasyon inşaatı partname

1715	Yeni	Selimi Ali Efendi mahallesi Karahöşeme sokak eski 68	74.—	Arza	222,50 M2	13,20
1716	Okuldar	Selimi Ali mahallesi Çamlıca caddesi eski 10	68.—	Arza	67,50 M2	13,60
1717	Okuldar	Selimi Ali Efendi mahallesi Kerpîçane sokak eski 1, yeni	38.—	Arza	84,50 M2	6.—
1718	Okuldar	Selimi Ali mahallesi eski Karabet Kalfa yeni Karahöşeme sokak E. 47, Y. 27, taj. 13	18.—	Evin 2/16	221 M2	38,20
1719	Okuldar	İsadiye mahallesi Kayseriyeli sokak E. 23, Y. 21	6.—	Arza	110,50 M2	13,20
1720	Okuldar	Selimi Ali Efendi Kerpîçane E. 12, Ye. 18	3.—	Arza	91,50 M2	6,40
1721	Okuldar	Yeni Mahalle Papaz sokak E. 28	3.—	Arza	57,50 M2	7.—
1722	Okuldar	Selimi Ali mahallesi İki Kuyulu sokak E. Y. 18	4.—	Arza	112 M2	17,20
1723	Okuldar	Selimi Ali mahallesi Vakıf sokak eski 4	6.—	Arza	290,84 M2	12,40
1724	Okuldar	eski Yeni mahalle yeni Pazarcık mahallesi ve Dibeck so. E. 24, Y. 26	6.—	Ev	228 M2	121.—
1725	Okuldar	İsadiye Saatçi Sehpas sokak eski yeni 14	8.—	Arza	90,20 M2	13,40
1727	Okuldar	Selimi Ali Efendi Kerpîçane sokak, eski 20, 20 müker-	5.—	Arza	86 M2	6.—
1728	Okuldar	Altınada Beyberbeyi caddesi eski 2 yeni 4-6	224.—	Man küllü- be arza	202 M2	44,80
1729	Okuldar	Altınada Topkandığı Selman caddesi E. 21	205.—	Tarla	2245 M2	41.—
1760	Beyoğlu	Hilmiyeiye yeni Dülhal Apkter sokak E. 22 Y. 22 taj. 20 ada 284, parça 41 parsel 4	2645.—	Klasik ev	65 M2	562,60
1761	Beyoğlu	Kamerhatun mahallesi Şirket sokak E. Ye. 6/1	648.—	Man dük- kân ev	17,75 M2	129,60
1770	Beğlik	Sinan Paşay Aşk mahallesi Beğlik caddesi eski 49 yeni 72	387.—	İnk.	17,60 M2	77,60

ür suretle yaralanmış
İfadeye gayri mükted
Beyoğlu hastahanesine
tedavi altına alınmıştır

PRATİK SEBZ

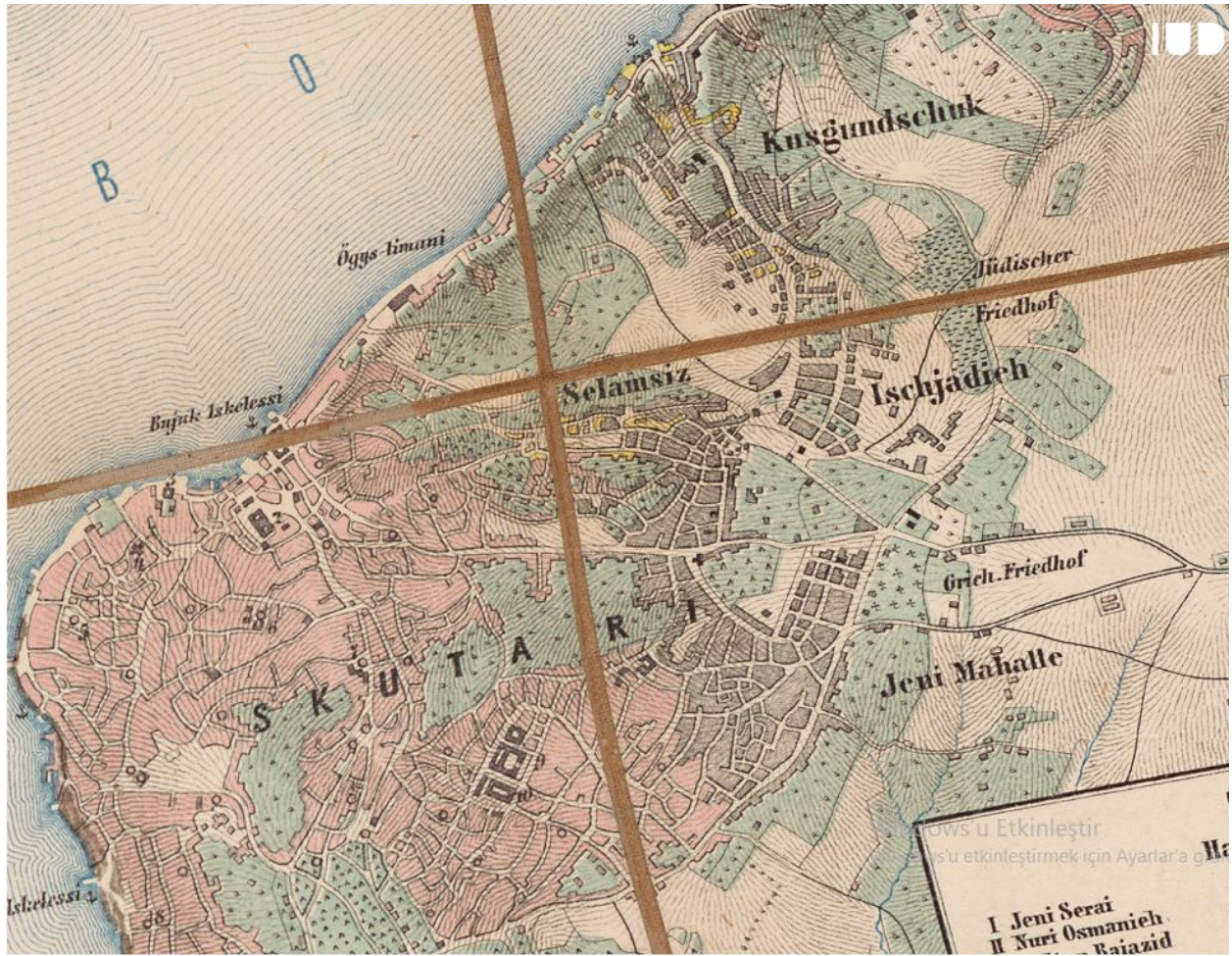
Yazan: Dr.
Sehze Fahriyânî; az
pek ziyade ilerlemiş
kinin son derecesine
achar bahçevanlığına
lanlara tavsiye ederiz
kurug.
Satış yeri: İstanbul
Kitap evi

Dr. Hafız Ge

Dahiliye Müteh
Lokou
Divi
Muayene saatleri p
her gün 2,5 - 7 saat ve
sabahları 9 - 11 hâki
kabul olunur.

Ankara Bo

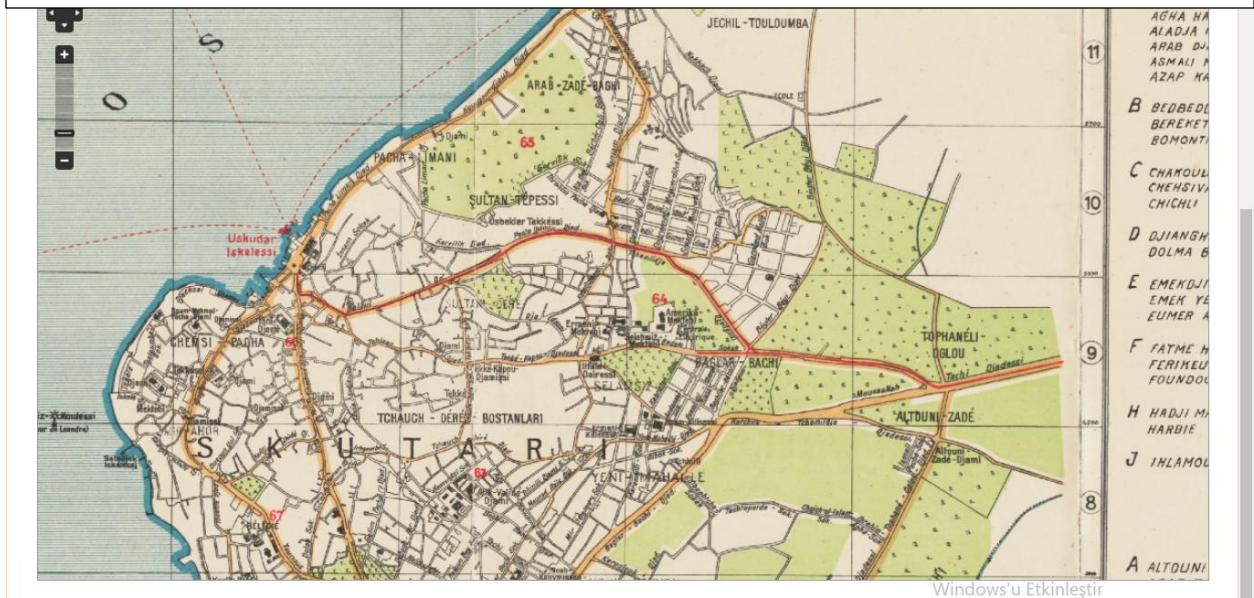
Image-G2: Old and new names of Karabet Kalfa, Kayseriyeli, Papaz, Saatçi Sehpas Streets: in Yeni Sabah Newspaper (10.04.1940)



Map-1860s: Üsküdar with neighborhood names. Yeni Mahalle, İcadiye, Selamsız, Kuzguncuk. Pinks for Muslim, grey for Christian, yellow for Jewish settlements.



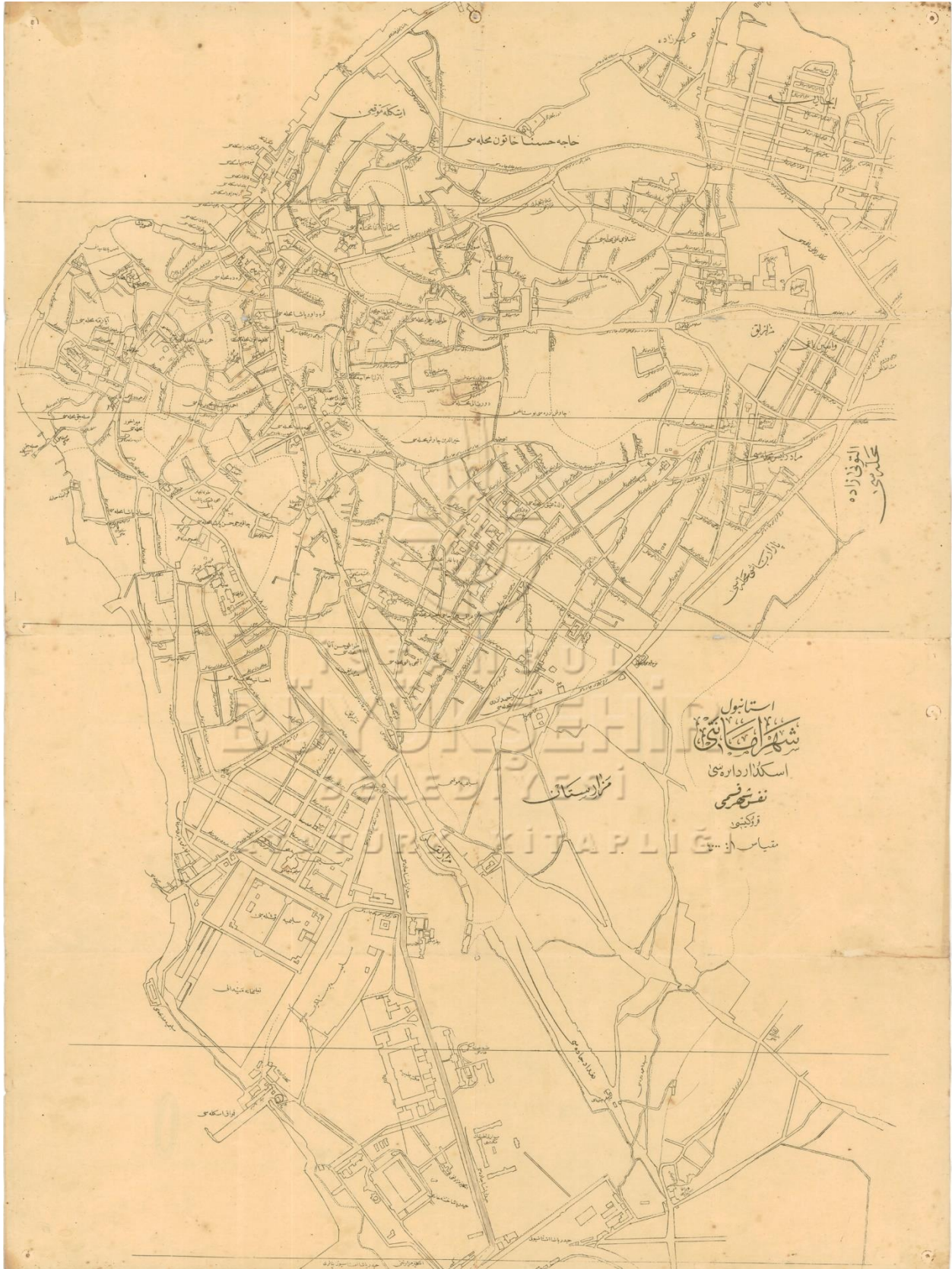
Map-1882: Mosques are marked as "Djami". Greys for Christians, pink for Muslim .settlements.



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Map-1922: Üsküdar with Street names.



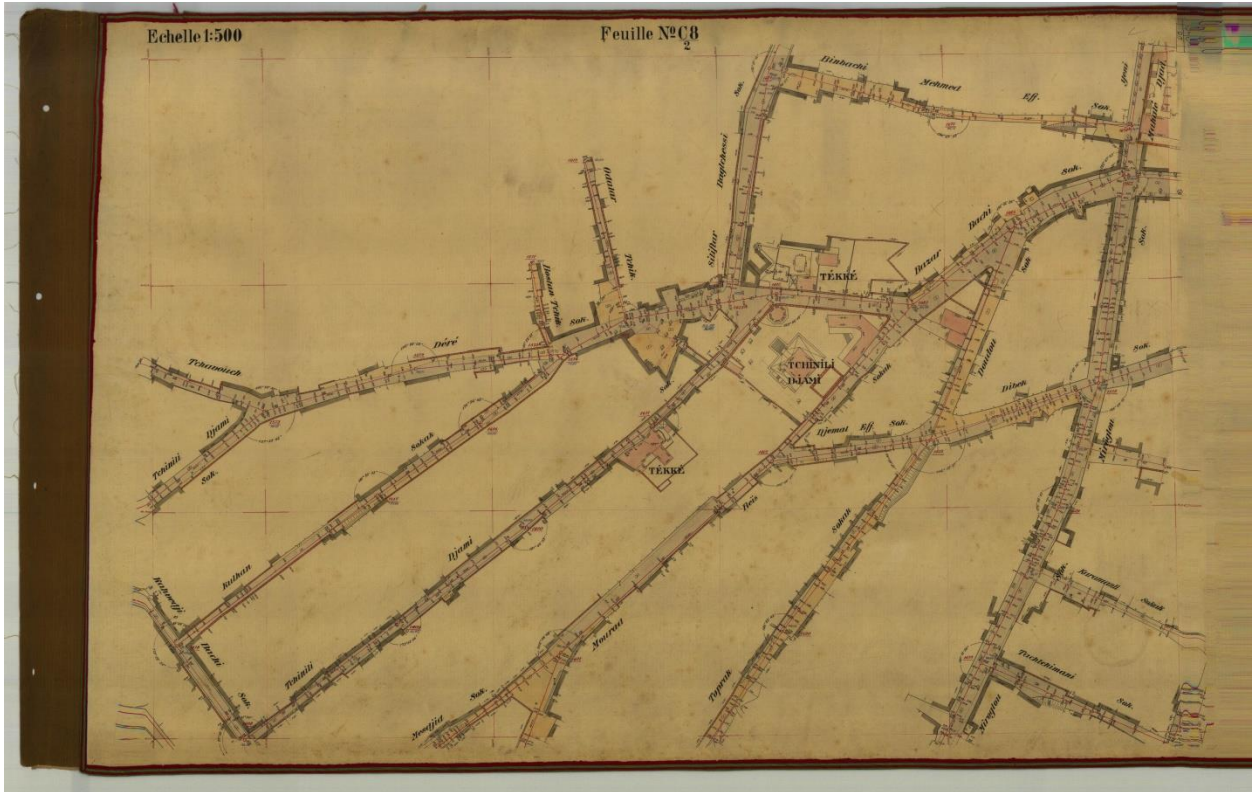
Map-O: Pre-WWI Üsküdar Map in Ottoman Turkish. The street names overlaps with Alman Mavileri.



Map-A: Üsküdar with Street names. From South to North: Yeni Mahalle, Selamsız and İcadiye. Two main roads inbetween: Selamsız Street, Çamlıca Street. Alman Mavileri



Map-A1: Yeni Mahalle, Armenian and Greek Churches and schools, Çinili Mosque, Silahtarbağçe. Alman Mavileri



Map-A2: From Pazarbaşı to Yeni Mahalle. Taşçı Manok and Toprak Streets, Çinili Mosque, dervish lodge (tekke), southern end of Silahtarbağçe Street. Alman Mavileri



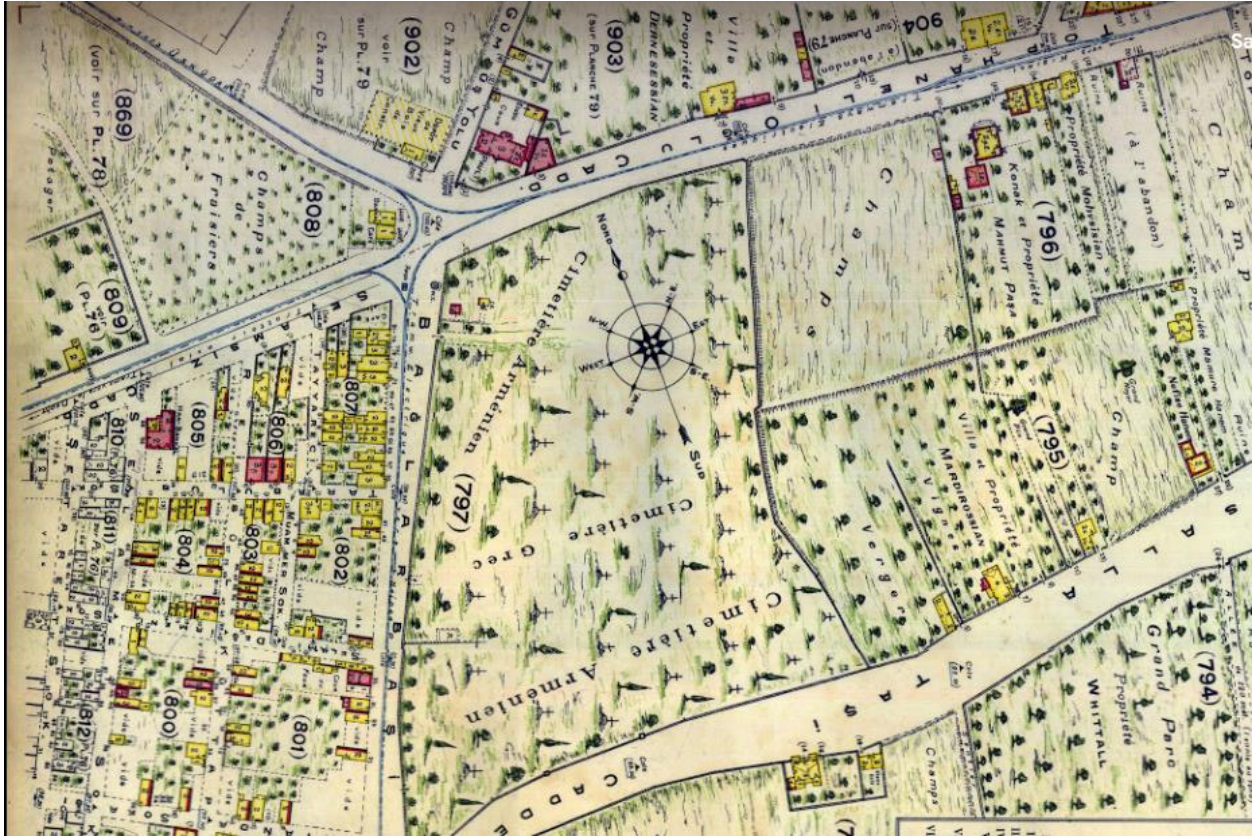
Map-A3: Lower Selamsız: Posta Yolu, Bülbüldere Valley and Cemetery; Karabet Kalfa Değirmeni, Divitian, Papaz Abraham Streets; a synagogue and Armenian Church.



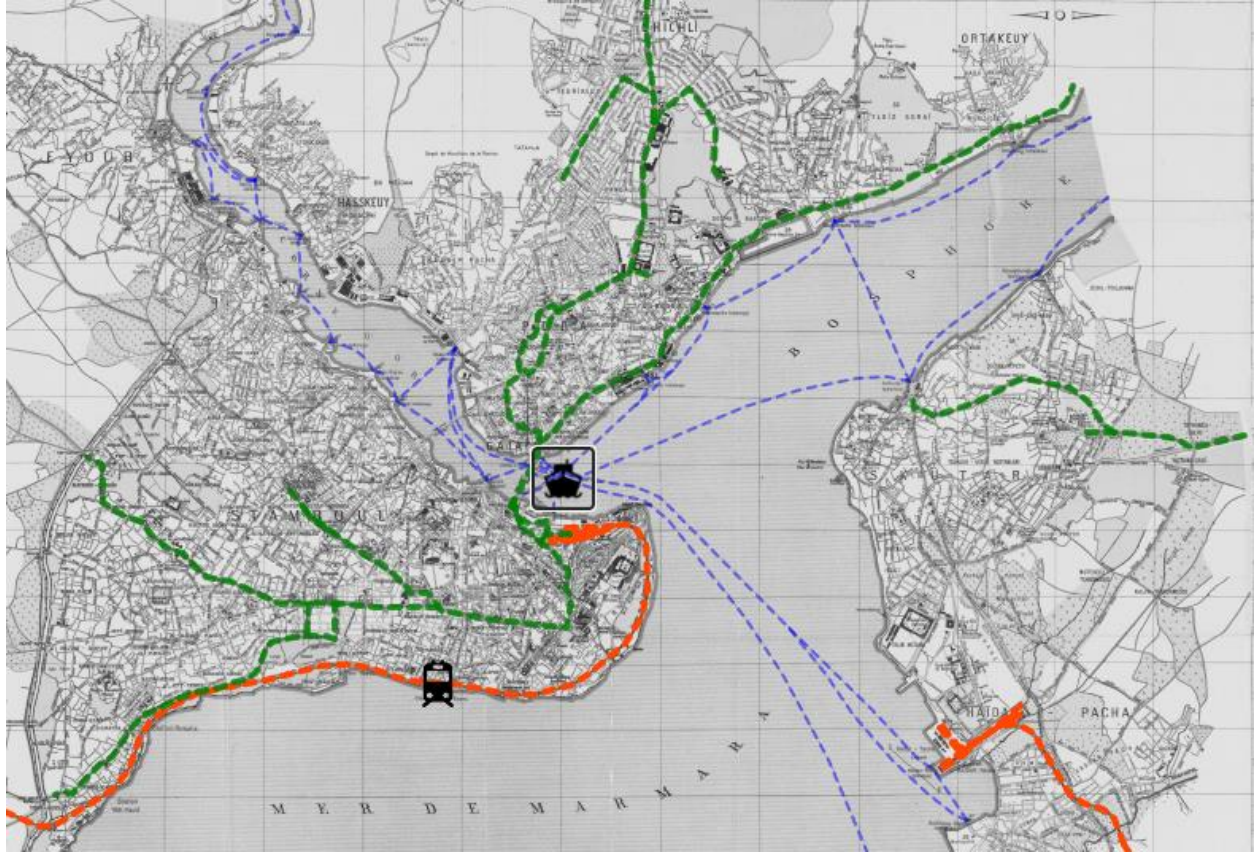
Map-A4: Adivar's route from home to her school: American College; from Sultantepe to Selamsız center.



Map-P1: Bağlarbaşı Cemetery, Ex-Armenian Club:Çiftlik Gazinosu. Pervititch Map



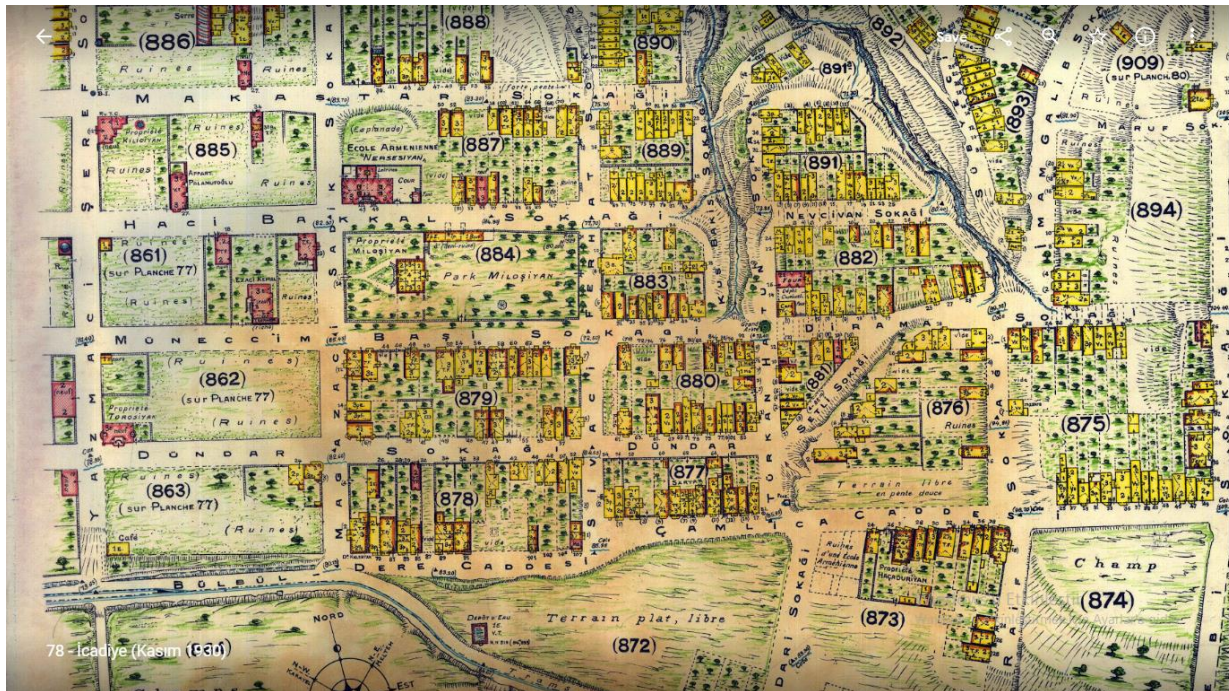
Map-P2: Tophanelioğlu Caddesi (Altunizade), Bağlarbaşı non-Muslim cemetery; Large properties of Mahmut Paşa, Dernersesyan, Movhsisyan, Mardirosyan, Whittall, Nefise Hanım, Mamure Hanım and Fuat Bey. Pervitiitch Map



Map-P3: Available transportation lines in 1922, laid out on the 1922 map. Üsküdar-Kısıklı Tramway route passing through İcadiye and Selamsız. Reds: Train Lines; Blue: Ferry lines; Greens: Tramway lines in 1922. Screenshot from İstanbul Urban Database.



Map-P4: Selamsız Ekmekçibaşı Street, Beyleryan, Berberyan, American College, Surp Haç Church and an Armenian orphanate. Pervititch Map



Map-P5: Pervititch İcadiye mainland. Marks: Çamlıca Street, the properties of Kılıççıyan, Torosyan, Dr. Keleşyan, Miloşyan, Saryan and Haçaduryan, Nersesyan School, ruins of a theatre. Pervititch Map

