

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

URBAN MODERNIZATION IN PLURAL OTTOMAN
DISTRICTS: KADIKÖY, ISTANBUL, DURING THE LONG
NINETEENTH CENTURY

by
SARINE ARTINE AGOPIAN

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Title: *Urban Modernization in Plural Ottoman Districts: Kadıköy, Istanbul,
During the Long Nineteenth Century*

This thesis focuses on the transformation of nineteenth century Kadıköy, Istanbul, from a small agricultural village to one of the bustling commercial and residential hubs of the imperial capital. It examines the post-1855 Fire planning of Kadıköy, which is one of the earliest urban planning experiences in the modern Middle East. I argue that local factors (i.e. neighborhood fires, demographic changes, local agency) shaped Kadıköy's urban transformations as significantly as the larger imperial (Ottoman modernization) and global (capitalism) dynamics. In addition to contemporary newspapers and the existing scholarly literature on Ottoman urban modernization, the memoirs and maps of Hovhannes Kalfa Stepanian, a nineteenth-century builder and a Kadıköy resident, constitute the core source of this thesis. By examining Stepanian's documents in light of official and historical sources, this thesis maps the urban modernization of late Ottoman Kadıköy. It also argues that much of the contemporary characteristics of modern-day Kadıköy are rooted in the incremental urban practices of the nineteenth century. The importance of this research is twofold. First, it shows the gap between the imperial regulations concerning urban modernization and the actual practices of urbanism on the ground whereby these regulations were constantly negotiated with local dynamics. Second, it offers an in-depth study of the modernization of a plural Ottoman district, which will provide important clues for understanding the modernization of similarly mixed districts in the rest of Istanbul as well as the other major port cities of the empire such as Thessaloniki, Izmir, and Beirut.

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GLOSSARY OF OTTOMAN TERMS

Çavuş başı – police officer

Esnaf – trade or craft guild

Gedik – trade monopoly or license

Kadi – judge of Islamic law

Kaymakam – head official of a district

Mahalle – quarter or district of a city

Meclis – council or assembly

Mescid – small mosque

Millet – religious community, a people

Muhtesib – public sensor, superintendent of guilds and markets

Müdür – director

Şeyhülislam – dignitary responsible for all matters connected with the law and organization of the religious order

Vakıf – inalienable pious foundation

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. General Context

While the dramatic reshaping of Middle Eastern cities by global political economy of the twenty-first century is a fundamental premise of urban studies, less obvious is that its roots lie firmly in the nineteenth century. As modern urban planning slowly but surely emerged during the nineteenth century, major cities of the region such as Istanbul, Izmir, Cairo and Beirut went through comprehensive urban transformations as a result of globalization, capitalism and imperial modernization (Hanssen, 2005; Mazower, 2007; AlSayyad, 2011; Zandi-Sayek, 2012; Sharif, 2014). First implemented in major port cities, urban modernization involved the regularization of the built space, the provision of infrastructural services, the accommodation of new city dwellers and the improvement of urban governance systems. But was urban modernization a generic set of guidelines and regulations implemented uniformly across different contexts? Did it respond and adapt to the different socio-spatial dynamics of Ottoman localities? Who were its key actors? How did it shape the urban space?

Over the last few decades, scholars have examined these questions within the context of the imperial state, focusing mostly on broad issues of urban modernization such as the legal frameworks and the administrative reforms (Shaw and Shaw, 1977; Rosenthal, 1980; Çelik, 1986; Pinon, 1996; Anastassiadou, 1997; Ostle, 2002; Gençer and Çokuğraş, 2016). Lately, some scholars turned their attention to the dynamics of urban modernization in key Ottoman port cities (Zandi-Sayek, 2012; Sharif, 2014; Lafi, 2020). However, there are few, if any, studies that focus on micro cases (i.e. districts

and neighborhoods). Examining urban modernization at the micro scale helps us understand how imperial policies and regulations were actually implemented on the ground; it can also help us map out local factors and actors that are usually not identified in larger-scale urban modernization studies. Therefore, I argue that examining these micro cases will cast doubt on many of the established wisdoms in scholarship on the roots of urban modernization in the Middle East.

This thesis explores the urban modernization of Kadıköy, a small and plural¹ neighborhood² in late Ottoman Istanbul, which transformed from relative insignificance into a bustling commercial and transportation hub by the end of the long nineteenth century³. The memoirs and maps of Hovhannes Kalfa Stepanian, a master builder and a resident of late Ottoman Kadıköy, constitutes the backbone of this thesis. Stepanian's memoirs offer invaluable information on the socio-spatial transformations that shaped Kadıköy's urban fabric in the nineteenth century. They reveal how negotiations between local dynamics and actors, largely neglected in scholarship so far, have, in fact, shaped Ottoman urban modernization. The history of Kadıköy's urban modernization in the nineteenth century encapsulates many of the larger imperial and global dynamics of modern political economy.

The nineteenth century saw the birth of modern city planning and the notion of urban modernization. While the scholarship on urban modernization in the nineteenth century had long been confined to European contexts, during the past two decades, it has moved towards a new narrative, one that is more inclusive of different contexts,

¹ The term "plural" here means multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi-lingual.

² See C of this chapter for a detailed explanation of the terminology used in this thesis to designate Kadikoy at different time periods.

³ The long nineteenth century stands for the time period that starts with the Ottoman reforms in the early 1800s and extends until 1922 when the empire was disintegrated.

histories, peoples, cultures and scales. (Bozdogan, 2001; Fawaz et al., 2002; Nasr and Volait, 2003; Prakash and Kruse, 2008; Saunier and Ewen, 2008). The scholarship on urban modernization in the Middle East has been flourishing; yet, with few exceptions, it falls short of exploring a wide variety of cases and contexts (Zandi-Sayek, 2012; Sharif, 2014; Kentel, 2018). This thesis seeks to contribute to the literature on different practices of urban modernization in the Middle East, and to shed light on its early implementations for contemporary policies and practices of urbanism. Urban planners and policy makers have a lot to learn from the dynamics of urban modernization in the nineteenth century, which set the tone for the physical and social makeup of present-day Middle Eastern cities.

B. Theoretical Framework, Gap in Scholarship and Aim

Modernization signifies the overarching process of rationalization that informed the development of many 19th-century cities around the world. Sparked by industrialization and capitalism, modernization was physically manifested in the urban realm through the birth of modern urban planning, emergence of new urban forms, and a comprehensive reassessment of architecture, all catering to the idea of the rationalization of the built space. Concurrently, cities across the world saw the improvement of their local infrastructure, the reorganization of their institutions of governance, and restructuring of their material resources to better respond to emerging challenges such as regional conflicts, mass migration, urban congestion, poor sanitation, fires and recurrent epidemics.

However, different cities went through different processes of urban modernization. There were various local, national, imperial and global factors

contingent to each neighborhood, district, city, and country that shaped modernization processes in the nineteenth century. While this may sound evident today, early modernization theories offered a different rhetoric. When it emerged in the 1950s and 1960s, modernization theory was primarily based on the experience of Western cities. Its proponents defined modernization as a quintessentially occidental process. They argued that modernization in the non-Western world was a product of importing Western institutions and values (Weber, 1958; Lerner, 1958; Eisenstadt, 1966; Inkeles, 1969). Concurrently, they drew a clear distinction between traditional (i.e. non-Western) and modern (i.e. Western) societies. From the 1970s onwards, scholars contended that modernization was, in fact, a plural and multilateral process, based on interdependent relationships between Western and non-Western cities (Furtado, 1970; Huntington, 1971; Rosenthal, 1980; Kasaba, 1988; Zapf, 1991). Drawing on Eduard Said's (1978) critique of orientalism, scholars highlighted the complexity and hybridity of non-Western societies, modern in their own way and not necessarily following Western patterns. More recently, theories on alternative modernities have offered a more complex and nuanced narrative. These theories derived from a wide range of studies covering cases outside Europe, particularly in the Middle East, Latin America and South-East Asia (Bozdoğan, 2001; Fawaz et al., 2002; Nasr and Volait, 2003; Prakash and Kruse, 2008; Saunier and Ewen, 2008). Scholars who promoted "alternative modernities" have challenged the notion of modernization being a uniform process; instead, they have argued, there are multiple and heterogeneous trajectories depending on unique historical, political and economic contexts. They have also suggested that it is important to explore modernization, both within and outside Western settings, at global as well as local scales. The latter would allow the identification and

analysis of a broader range of factors shaping modernization, which grand narratives tend to underestimate, if ever take into consideration.

Ottoman modernization has been generally explored at the imperial scale (Çelik, 1986; Zürcher, 1993; Bozdogan, 2001; Findley, 2010). Few studies have examined modernization at the scale of a city or a major district (Zandi-Sayek, 2012; Sharif, 2014; Kentel, 2018), while virtually none have analyzed it at the micro scale (i.e. district or neighborhood). Moreover, most of these studies focused on the top-down character of modernization, disregarding the role of local actors (local engineers and architects, guilds, communal institutions, neighborhood councils, etc.) as key players in shaping Ottoman cities (Anastassiadou, 1997; McLaren, 2006).

Therefore, the aim of this thesis is to address this gap by closely examining the role of local stakeholders on the dynamics of urban modernization in a nineteenth-century Ottoman district. In this respect, I believe this thesis will contribute to the literature on Ottoman modernization, and modernization in non-Western contexts in general.

C. Research Focus: The Case of Kadıköy Within the Context of Ottoman Modernization

The nineteenth century was a turning point in the urban history of Ottoman Istanbul. The traditional city gradually transformed into a modern city; neighborhoods, which had for centuries been shaped by *firman*⁴, customs and traditions, began to be planned according to a set of uniform regulations (Tekeli, 1992; Kuban, 2010). Changes were mainly driven by global, imperial and local factors such as the integration of the

⁴ A mandate or a decree issued by Ottoman sultans.

empire's economy into global capitalism, industrialization, the development of transport systems, and the state's modernization plans (Arnaud, 2008; Findley, 2010). The latter was implemented within the frame of the Tanzimat, a series of reform measures that effectively began in 1839 in response to international pressures and local challenges (Dumont, 1989; Kuban, 2010). The Tanzimat led to, inter alia, the reorganization of the urban space through urban plans, the creation of modern municipal institutions, abolishment of classical forms of governance, and the introduction of the notion of equal citizenship. (Çelik, 1986; Enlil, 1999; Lafi, 2020).

Urban modernization triggered by Tanzimat reforms was first implemented in the capital, Istanbul, followed by the major port cities of the Ottoman Empire such as Salonica, Izmir and Beirut. These cities were designed as hubs of commerce, transportation and communication to facilitate the exchange of both goods and ideas between the Western and the non-Western worlds (Anastassiadou, 1997; Mazower, 2007; Zandi-Sayek, 2012). The Ottomans also conceived these cities as showcases of their commitment to modernization. They carried out major development projects such as modern port facilities, demolition of old city walls, reorganization of street networks, and implementation of public parks and promenades. Fires played a particularly crucial role in facilitating the modernization of Ottoman port cities. It was easier for the imperial state to develop new projects and apply modernization policies in fire-stricken areas than in densely built neighborhoods. Consequently, fires changed the organization, layout, and land uses of many areas in Istanbul, Salonica, and Izmir.

The Tanzimat reforms functioned as a framework fueling modernization, but it was the specific local contexts that shaped the trajectory of urban transformation in different Ottoman cities. While some scholars have explored the role of local dynamics

in shaping Ottoman urban modernization in Salonica, Izmir and Beirut (Mazower, 2007; Zandi-Sayek, 2012; Sharif, 2014), the studies devoted to the imperial capital have largely been confined to analyses of formal and physical characteristics of the new architectural and urban space (Çelik, 1986; Pinon, 1996; Enlil, 1999). Galata has been the only district of Istanbul that received more comprehensive scholarly attention; however, Galata stands out as an exceptional case in the sense that it was the financial heart of not only Istanbul but the empire at large, boasting a key significance that invited imperial and international attention, hindering the involvement of most local residents. There is plenty of information on the different aspects of modernization in Galata such as the establishment of its first municipal council, the regularization of its street network, the development of its economy and the growth of its social fabric (Rosenthal, 1980; Demirakın, 2006; Bayram, 2016; Kentel, 2018; Özlü, 2019). However, we know little on modernization processes in other areas of Istanbul.

I argue that a detailed examination of small and peripheral neighborhoods in Istanbul will offer new insights and help nuance our understanding of Ottoman urban modernization. It will bring into attention those crucial variables that are bound to be underestimated, if not totally neglected, in studies devoted to the analysis of top-down interventions in the urban space in the late Ottoman period.

In this respect, this thesis will examine the urban modernization of nineteenth century Kadıköy. The case of Kadıköy is highly illuminating because it demonstrates, first, the manifestation of imperial reforms at the neighborhood scale, and, second, how these reforms helped the neighborhood to transform into a modern urban center boasting a pivotal role in the larger urban landscape of Istanbul.

It is important to explain the terminology used in this thesis to designate Kadıköy. Until the mid-1800s, Kadıköy was a small peripheral neighborhood that quickly developed into a key urban district by the turn of the century. The terms “neighborhood” and “district” are actually interchangeable as far as the urban area I focus on in this thesis is concerned. I am aware of the complex trajectory of the place which justifies the use of each of these terms at certain historical moments. Therefore, “neighborhood” and “district” will be both used in this thesis to designate Kadıköy at different time periods. Triggered by nineteenth century global capitalism and imperial modernization, Kadıköy was comprehensively and radically transformed from a small agricultural and fishing neighborhood on the outskirts of Istanbul proper to a major commercial and transportation hub comprising a new port facility (i.e. the Haydarpaşa Port), the terminal of imperial railway network in its Asian provinces (i.e. the Haydarpaşa Train Station) and a growing industrial sector (Esad, 2011). The modernization policies also extended to the urban realm. In 1856, the Caferağa area in Kadıköy witnessed one of the first neighborhood planning initiatives in Istanbul – and in the entire Middle East (Stepanian, 2012). The new neighborhood plan was based on the laws and regulations of the Tanzimat reforms; it was comprehensive, and tackled both the public and private spaces, lots and buildings, construction types and materials, and building use.

Kadıköy’s diverse and plural social fabric makes it an even more interesting case of Ottoman urban modernization. Residents of Kadıköy played a major role in the implementation of the Tanzimat reforms in the nineteenth century. A large array of actors consisting of local Muslim, Greek, Armenian and Levantine professionals, merchants, religious leaders as well as communal institutions and neighborhood

councils shaped the transformations of the district. For example, local *kalfas*⁵ such as Hovhannes Kalfa Stepanian contributed to the reorganization plan of the Caferağa neighborhood, while other architects such as Resimci Haroutioun Aznavourian developed communal projects (e.g. the Aramyan-Uncuyan mixed school in Kadıköy). Influential families such as the Kalfayans acted as mediators between the state and the local communities. Finally, wealthy landowners such as Konçci Yanko Sdrati Rali, Rıza Paşa, Garabed Manouguian and Tubini helped shape the transformations of the Land Use/Land Cover and affected the dynamics of property transactions. They specifically acquired large plots of lands and contributed to the expansion of Kadıköy toward the emerging modern spaces (e.g. the waterfront, the port area, the vicinity of Haydarpaşa Train Station, and along the train stops in the east of Kadıköy). Combined with the larger framework of global and imperial modernization, the agency of these local actors turned Kadıköy into a major transportation hub and a vital connection point between the European and Asian sides of Istanbul.

Although Kadıköy constitutes a case that illuminates the dynamics of urban modernization in Ottoman port cities, it has not received due attention by urban historians. In recent years, there have been a few non-academic publications on the urban history and development of Ottoman Kadıköy. In 2011, the Municipality of Kadıköy published the transcribed version of Celal Esad's "Kadıköy City Profile". Originally published in 1911, Esad's book offers a glimpse into the municipal archives of Kadıköy in the years between 1874 and 1911. In 2019, KADOS⁶ published a city guide report where it mapped the built and cultural heritage of Caferağa – one of the

⁵ Headworker. In this context, it refers to headworkers specifically in construction activities

⁶ KADOS Science Culture Art is a non-governmental organization founded in 2000 in Istanbul. Its scope of work includes studies and projects on the right to the city, the environmental rights, and cultural and artistic rights.

core neighborhoods in Kadıköy. In the same year, the Hrant Dink Foundation launched KarDes, a mobile application designed as a personal tour guide that highlights the urban memory and built fabric of Istanbul, including those of Kadıköy⁷.

However, none of these sources offers a thorough reading of Kadıköy's urban past which, in turn, hinders the research efforts to understand the district's modernization process.

Among these recent publications, one book stands out as a comprehensive reading of Kadıköy's urban history: the memoirs of Hovhannes Kalfa Stepanian (HKS), a precious reference that has so far remained untapped by scholars. Published in 2012 by the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople⁸, Stepanian's book is a detailed account of the spatial and social transformations of the district in the 1800s. Penned between 1872 and 1875⁹, the memoirs provide invaluable information on nineteenth century urban transformations in Kadıköy that, to the best of my knowledge, no historian has ever examined. Stepanian's memoirs reveal that one of the first neighborhood reorganization plans in Istanbul, and the Ottoman Empire at large, was implemented in Kadıköy in 1856; put differently, this was one of the first manifestations of Tanzimat regulations in urban planning. A thorough analysis of Stepanian's memoirs sheds light on the processes of urban modernization in ethno-religiously mixed neighborhoods in Istanbul and the Ottoman Empire, as well as non-Western contexts in general.

⁷ The Hrant Dink Foundation is a research and publication center founded in 2007 in Istanbul. HDF conducts a panoply of projects related to architecture, built heritage, cultural diversity, art, photography and local history.

⁸ The book is edited by Archpriest Dr. Krikor Damadyan, head of the Surp Takavor Armenian Apostolic parish in Kadıköy (September 26th, 2002 – present). Damadyan is the author of many publications on the history of the Armenian community in the city and is an active member of cross-cultural projects such as "Call to Mind: Cultural Diversity in Kadıköy" by KADOS (2019).

⁹ Although Stepanian completed his memoirs in 1875, he later annexed a few manuscripts detailing major family and life events in Kadıköy. The latest annex dates from 1903.

D. Problem Statement: Research Questions, Hypothesis, Objectives and Research Significance

This thesis examines the urban modernization of Kadıköy, an epitome of the spatial and social diversity of the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire. I argue that Kadıköy is a perfect case to explore the complexities of how Tanzimat reforms were implemented in the plural neighborhoods of Istanbul in particular, and of the Ottoman Empire in general. By taking Kadıköy to be a microcosm of the Ottoman Empire, I will analyze the local factors that informed the processes of urban change. My research will be primarily based on the memoirs and maps of Hovhannes Kalfa Stepanian. I will examine Stepanian's documents in light of official records to better understand how planning policies and regulations were implemented on the ground.

The main research question that this study addresses is as follows: how did urban modernization shape the district of Kadıköy in the long nineteenth century? This is followed by a series of more specific questions: how were Tanzimat policies and regulations implemented in late Ottoman Kadıköy? How did the district's urban fabric change during the Tanzimat period? What were tools of change? What were the factors of change? Who were the actors of change? How did the changes impact the spatial, social, administrative and legal aspects of the urban life? And, finally, how did the transformations in Kadıköy – and Istanbul in general – reflect the larger context of the Ottoman Empire?

In this thesis, I argue that Kadıköy's size, location and socio-cultural diversity shaped the dynamics of its urban modernization. I also argue that there were additional factors specific to Kadıköy, such as the development of an extensive commercial and transportation network triggered by global capitalism and imperial reforms that largely

informed the district's urban modernization process. Finally, I argue that the state was not the sole actor in the implementation of planning policies and regulations in 19th century Kadıköy; neighborhood councils, guilds, merchants, religious leaders, and prominent community figures also played a major role in the remaking of Kadıköy as a modern urban space.

By examining how these non-state actors partook in the modernization of their district, this study aims to map the urban history and development of Kadıköy, and shed light on the role of scale, planning approach, governance systems and stakeholders in modernization processes. I think that the case of Kadıköy represents global urban modernization during the long nineteenth century, a period in which colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism reshaped cities all around the world.

In addition to focusing on the top-down mechanisms of urban modernization, the existing scholarship also relies largely on official, technical or academic documents. Scholars have so far neglected memoirs and personal documents as major sources to understand the dynamics of Ottoman urban modernization. Another problem in scholarship on the urban modernization of Istanbul is that it has been built on sources that are either in Turkish, reflecting the viewpoint of the state and the Muslim residents of the capital, or in a major European language, which consisted of the observations and criticisms of European travelers. The non-Muslim Ottoman voices are largely absent in scholarship, although the combination of Greeks, Armenians, and Jews constituted almost half of Ottoman Istanbul's population. Sources in Armenian have therefore been grossly underrepresented in the histories of urban modernization in Ottoman Istanbul. The significance of this research lies first, in its use of Stepanian's hitherto untapped memoirs as a primary source; second, its use of an Armenian reference to examine 19th-

century urban modernization processes in Ottoman districts; and finally, its focus on Kadıköy as a micro-case study and a lens through which I question the scholarship on Ottoman modernization in Istanbul.

E. Methodology

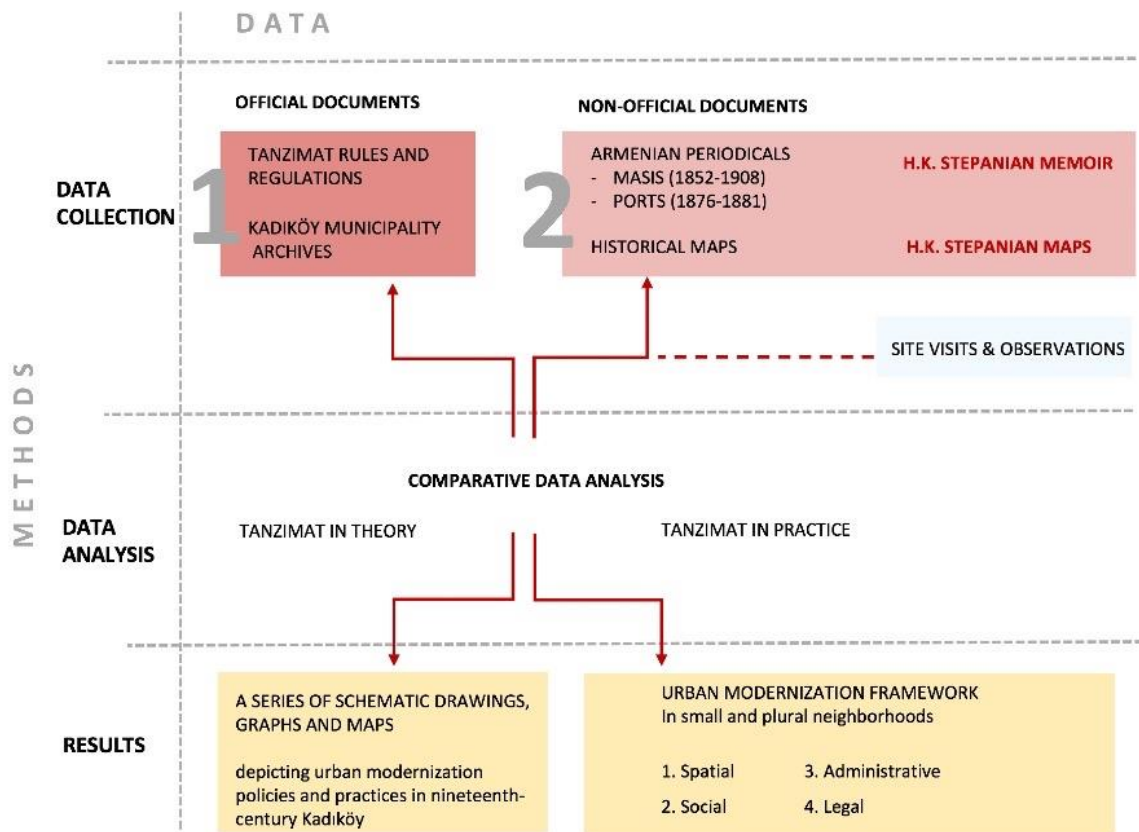


Figure 1. Data collection and generation methods

This thesis draws on a variety of written and visual sources, but it primarily stems from a detailed reading of the memoirs of Hovhannes Kalfa Stepanian. Memoirs are important sources for researchers as they “describe the place very differently than scholarly or official accounts and depict a society of almost kaleidoscopic interaction” (Mazower, 2007, p.10). Scholars of European history have widely used such historical records to study modernization processes across different contexts (Hadj, 1982; Tamari,

2009; Luga, 2016). However, memoirs are a rarity in Ottoman studies. Scholars working on the modernization of Ottoman cities are bound to operate with official documents, which limits their capacity to understand the actual implications of the urban reforms on the ground. As such, there are very few studies that have examined Ottoman modernization using memoirs as a primary source (Şimşek, 2011).

In this respect, Stepanian's memoirs constitute an archive, as it were, of Kadıköy's urban history. The author provides a detailed account of the spatial and social transformations of the district during the Tanzimat period. The memoirs particularly include a large number of written and visual data such as three hand-drawn maps of the Old Core of Kadıköy (see Figure 25-27-28), numerous drawings of residential and educational buildings (see Figure 25 and 38), maps of parcel distribution (see Figure 35), sketches, survey tables and descriptive texts. Stepanian often designed his memoirs as a conversation with the reader. He invites us to join his efforts to understand and analyze the processes of change in 19th century Kadıköy. "The redevelopment of Kadıköy's urban fabric after the [1855] fire instigated several changes in the district. [...] this could provide abundant thoughts to those interested in the town's history. The data provided in this document can perhaps serve as direct and accurate accounts for future references (Stepanian, 2012, p. 253)."

Indeed, Stepanian's memoirs offer plenty of data to build a solid base for this research. In this respect, I use a list of steps – enumerated below - to collect and analyze data from Stepanian's book. These steps help me to navigate through the memoirs and turn a non-academic reference into a technical document for urban studies.

1. Dissecting the book: Conducting a first reading, then several consecutive readings to better understand the time and space in which the memoirs were written.
2. Getting to know the author: Memoirs are as much about the author as they are about the information they provide. In this respect, it was necessary to understand the profile of the author, comprehend his logic and stream of thoughts, and understand his position vis-à-vis the subject he addressed. I also had to decipher Stepanian's handwriting and transliterate it into Latin alphabet.
3. Reading all sources in parallel and trying to connect information: Reviewing the memoirs in parallel to academic or official documents helped me to understand the larger context of the events and cross reference the information.
4. Transcribing information into easy-to-read data: Organizing data into excel sheets, maps and texts. For example, descriptive information on Kadıköy's spatial fabric was converted into tables listing the following information: real property transactions (see Table 6), planning schemes of communal buildings (see Table 4-7), a map of the Great Kadıköy Fire (see Figure 22), and a comparative table showing the changes of the urban fabric at the neighborhood, site and building scales (see Table 7).

Additionally, I paired Stepanian's memoirs with a list of other resources such as documents on the Tanzimat rules and regulations (Çelik, 1986; Ergin, 1995a; Ergin, 1995b; Ergin, 1995c, Gençer and Çokuğraş, 2016), Kadıköy Municipal Surveys (Esad, 2011), Armenian periodicals¹⁰, and maps of Kadıköy produced by the Ottoman state,

¹⁰ Masis, Istanbul (1852-1908); Ports, Tiflis (1876-1881)

historians, cartographers and European institutions (Karacs, 1835; Stolpe, 1882, Janin, 1950). I also conducted a thorough literature review to set a theoretical framework for my research and understand nineteenth century urban dynamics through other case studies such as Salonica, Izmir and Beirut. My literature review focuses on modernization, urban reforms, governance systems and port cities in the Ottoman context. Finally, I conducted three consecutive visits to Kadıköy and “walked” the Stepanian map, read the space, and mapped the transformations.

Table 1 explains in detail my methodological approach for data collection and analysis in this thesis.

Table 1. Detailed data collection and analysis framework.

	Data Type	Description	Objective	Data Examples	
Data Collection	Academic Documents	Books, journal articles and dissertations	Perform a literature review on Ottoman modernization, Tanzimat reforms and similar case studies.	Rosenthal (1980); Dumont (1989); Fawaz et al, (2002); Hanssen (2005); Mazower (2007); Prakash and Kruse (2008); Findley (2010); Kuban (2010); Zandi-Sayek (2012)	
	Official Documents	Tanzimat rules and regulations	Review street and building regulations. Review administrative councils regulations	Acquire knowledge on the administrative and legal frameworks of Tanzimat reforms	Çelik (1986); Ergin (1995a;1995b;1995c); Tekeli (1992); Enlil (1999).
		Kadıköy Municipality Archives	Collect information from local official sources on Kadıköy's urban,	Acquire knowledge on the local context of Kadıköy	Esad (2011)

	Data Type	Description	Objective	Data Examples
Non-official Documents		administrative, social, and economic contexts		
	Armenian periodicals (weekly newspapers)	Obtain data on the urban development and social life in Kadıköy in the 19th century; scan periodicals for any data on Tanzimat urban reforms	Access to information that is rarely available in state records.	Masis, Istanbul (1852-1908); Ports, Tiflis (1876-1881)
	Memoirs	Acquire detailed information on Kadıköy urban and social fabrics: communal life, main events, land ownership, land transactions and others	Obtain an alternative data source to the official or academic sources.	Stepanian (2012) written between 1872-1875 but covering the long nineteenth century (early 1800s-1905).
	Istanbul City Maps	Use at least two official city maps as a base source for the overlay with Stepanian's maps. Karacs (1835) is used for the pre-Tanzimat period, while Stolpe (1882) is used for the post-Tanzimat period.	Set a timeframe and a spatial reference for the urban changes in Kadıköy	Karacs (1835) Stolpe (1882)
	Kadıköy Neighborhood Maps	Identify Kadıköy's land cover, land uses, street network and main landmarks. Map the changes in the urban fabric before and after the 1855 neighborhood fire	Obtain a new set of spatial information explained from a local's perspective and not available in other sources	Map 1: Map of Kadıköy before the 1855 Fire Map 2: Map of Kadıköy after the 1855 Stepanian (2012)

	Data Type		Description	Objective	Data Examples
Site Visits & Interviews	N/A	Visit Osmanağa and Caferağa neighborhoods	Walk the Stepanian map, define the current limits of the two neighborhoods, mark the changes, take photos	Read the space in its current context, understand it and familiarize with the site	Sarine Agopian
Data Analysis & Results	N/A	Regulatory texts and the Stepanian memoir	Create a comparative table: 1) list all urban reforms, rules, and regulations as mentioned in official documents. 2) list all city planning and building practices as mentioned in Armenian periodicals 3) list all city planning and building practices mentioned in Stepanian memoirs	Define the framework of urban modernization in Kadıköy through a set of four key contexts: 1) Spatial, 2) Social, (3) Administrative, and (4) Legal	A comparative table of urban modernization in 19 th century Kadıköy (Table 7)
			Identify the Tanzimat regulations applied in Kadıköy		
			Identify the local actors and their roles in shaping the neighborhood		
	N/A	Schematic drawings, graphs and maps	Identify the changes in the natural and built fabric	Expand the literature on urban modernization processes and frameworks in similar contexts across Ottoman imperial space	Table 4, Table 5, Table 6, Figure 22, Figure 39

	Data Type		Description	Objective	Data Examples
			Analyze the changes in light of Tanzimat legal framework		
			Obtain a set of key practices of Tanzimat in Kadıköy		

F. Thesis Outline

This thesis is organized into six chapters. Chapter 1 provides a general introduction. It situates Ottoman modernity within the larger context of modernization and globalization discourses. Based on a review of the literature, this chapter highlights the fact that the scholarship has so far examined Ottoman modernization at the large scale (i.e. empire or city) and has mostly disregarded the role of local and unofficial actors in the implementation of urban reforms. As such, this thesis examines the modernization of nineteenth-century Kadıköy - a peripheral neighborhood turned into a key district in Ottoman Istanbul - based on three variables: scale, planning approach and governance systems. The penultimate section of this chapter includes a set of research questions and objectives, and explains the significance of the research project. Chapter 1 ends with a detailed account of the methodological approach of the data collection and analysis.

Chapter 2 lays the theoretical groundwork of the thesis. It discusses how modernization discourse evolved over the past few decades, and focuses on the current discussions on alternative modernities provided by scholars such as Bozdogan (2001), Fawaz et al. (2002), Nasr and Volait (2003), Prakash and Kruse (2008); Saunier and

Ewen (2008), Zandi-Sayek (2012), Sharif (2014) and Lafi (2020). It then discusses modernization in the context of the Ottoman Empire, and lists the global, imperial and local factors that triggered urban changes. This chapter then highlights modernization processes in three Ottoman port cities, namely Salonica, Izmir and Beirut, and underlines the specificities of each in terms of urban reforms, governance models and spatial changes. Finally, the chapter ends with a detailed analysis of modernization processes in Istanbul. It explains how the Tanzimat provided a framework to implement reforms in the administrative and regulatory contexts of the empire, and how these reforms were translated into the urban realm, especially in fire-stricken neighborhoods. Chapter 3 offers a detailed profile of nineteenth century Kadıköy. It describes the historical, spatial, social, economic and administrative contexts of the district. It is important to note the absence of a detailed urban profiling of Ottoman Kadıköy. Therefore, this chapter relies largely on Stepanian's memoirs. It also draws on other primary sources such as Esad (2011) and Damadyan (2016).

Chapter 4 lays the groundwork for understanding the importance of urban memoirs. Since this thesis largely relies on the memoirs of Hovhannes Kalfa Stepanian, it is important to devote a whole chapter to deciphering the author's profile and breaking down the different components of his memoirs. The chapter starts with a reading of Stepanian's personal and professional backgrounds, then highlights the role of the Kalfayans¹¹, one of the key local agents in the development of Kadıköy over two centuries¹². In the second part, the chapter provides a detailed account of the structure, content and methodology of Stepanian's memoirs. Finally, it highlights the author's

¹¹ Stepanian's family of six generations of builders

¹² The Kalfayans played a key role in shaping the urban fabric of Kadıköy in the 18th and 19th centuries.

three hand-drawn maps of Kadıköy, which have never been examined in an academic study before. Stepanian's maps depict the changes in the district following the Tanzimat reforms, the 1855 Fire, the neighborhood reorganization plan and a series of land use changes. The chapter ends with a close examination of both the linguistics and semiotics of the maps.

Chapter 5 is a detailed analysis of Stepanian's memoirs and maps in light of the existing literature on Ottoman modernization. It demonstrates the major discrepancies between Tanzimat as a legal framework and urban modernization as a practice on the ground, shaped by a complex constellation of dynamics that are mostly peculiar to each context. It specifically examines the impact of the Tanzimat reforms at the spatial, social, administrative and legal levels in Kadıköy. The chapter demonstrates the changes in the land use / land cover, parceling, street network, public spaces and the built fabric by comparing the pre- and post-fire periods in the district. It also examines the dynamics of land and building transactions through an analysis of thirty-five different cases. Moreover, it identifies the different stakeholders that contributed to the implementation of the new urban regulations and the development of the built fabric. Finally, the chapter highlights the key changes in the administrative and legal frameworks of the district. A summary table at the end of the chapter serves as a benchmark fiche for future studies on the modernization of small and plural neighborhoods in the Ottoman Empire and beyond.

The thesis ends with an overview of the major findings elaborated in chapter 6. It sheds light on one of the first modern planning experiences in the Middle East, highlights the role of local agents in informing modernization processes, and shows how incremental planning and participatory approaches were already existing as

informal practices in the 19th century. The chapter ends with highlighting the growing interest in both academic and non-academic circles in the history of urban modernization in small and plural urban settlements, especially in non-Western contexts.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW: URBAN MODERNIZATION IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN EMPIRE / INSTANBUL

Theories of modernization have undergone drastic changes during the past decades. Early modernization theories of the 1950s underlined a clear distinction between traditional and modern, while later scholars offered more complex analyses of modernization processes. Modernization also went from being defined as a unilateral process – mostly shaped by the influence of the West over the non-West – to one fueled by an interdependent relationship between the two. This led to the expansion of studies focusing on cases from the Middle East, South Asia, Latin America and other non-Western contexts, drawing attention to the specificities and unique experiences of each setting (Fawaz et al., 2002; Nasr and Volait, 2003; Prakash and Kruse, 2008; Saunier and Ewen, 2008). Scholars of modernization processes in the Middle East and North Africa have often focused on the top-down character of these processes (Rosenthal, 1980; Çelik, 1986; Anastassiadou, 1997; McLaren, 2006), while recent studies offer a more complex picture (Zandi-Sayek, 2012; Sharif, 2014; Lafi, 2020). I situate this thesis within this burgeoning line of scholarship. What follows is a discussion of the recent works of scholars who shed light on the different experiences of non-Western urban modernization.

This chapter provides an overview of the literature on modernization in general, and the Ottoman urban modernization in particular. It is divided into four sections. In the first section, I will discuss the development of modernization theory from its early discourses to its recent critiques. I will then focus on modernization processes in the

Ottoman Empire, emphasizing the different global, regional and local factors that led to its particular manifestations. I will also closely examine the cases of three port cities (Izmir, Salonica and Beirut), highlighting their specificities. Finally, I will focus on the urban modernization of Istanbul and discuss in detail the administrative and legal frameworks that engendered the transformation of the city into a modern metropolis and examine hazard factors such as fires, which facilitated the implementation of reform plans.

A. Modernization Theory and Discourse

Modernization theory emerged in the 1950s and 1960s as a dominant paradigm in social sciences and humanities. Based on the models of Weber and Marx, modernization was fueled by industrial development, capitalist production and an autonomous bourgeoisie. It was also shaped by population growth, class differentiation, development of secondary relationships among urban inhabitants, replacement of custom by law and development of an autonomous urban administration. Scholars such as Lerner (1958), Eisenstadt (1966) and Inkeles (1969) viewed modernization as a typically occidental phenomenon, exported to the non-Western contexts. They drew a clear distinction between modern (i.e. Western) and traditional (i.e. non-Western) societies. Modernization processes were organized into three time periods (Zapf, 1991): the development of societies in Western Europe and America following the industrial and political revolutions from the late 18th century onwards; the catching up efforts of less developed countries from the mid-nineteenth century onwards; and the constant efforts of contemporary societies to keep up with innovation and reforms. The last two categories rely on the assumption that all underdeveloped cities, regardless of political,

social and cultural contexts, were bound to follow the Western experience. For example, modern architecture and urbanism in non-Western settings were regarded as extensions of Western modernism. This view was challenged in the 1970s by scholars who demonstrated the complexity and hybridity of non-Western societies, modern in their own way and not necessarily following Western trajectories. Some scholars such as Zapf (1991) and Berger (1996) contested the notion of projecting Western values over developing countries. Others rejected the labeling of societies as exclusively traditional or exclusively modern (Huntington, 1971; Galland and Lemel, 2008).

Another view that challenged early modernization discourse was the dependency theory. Developed by Andre Frank and Immanuel Wallerstein, dependency theory emphasized the idea that underdevelopment is not an original condition but a direct result of the relationships between Western and non-Western societies. According to these scholars, the political, economic and cultural dependency that the West exerted over developing countries was itself an impediment to the modernization processes of the latter; Reforms were encouraged only when they did not affect European economic or political interests. For example, Rosenthal (1980) explains how European powers slowed down the development of autonomous municipal institutions in mid-19th century Istanbul through politics of dependency. He specifically examines the case of the Sixth District, a pilot project for the establishment of the first municipal council in Istanbul and the Ottoman Empire at large. Managed mostly by a non-Muslim council, Rosenthal argues that the Sixth District Municipality failed to introduce the desired reforms largely because of the political, economic and cultural dependencies that Western embassies exerted over the non-Muslim commercial class of the capital city. Political and economic dependency were achieved by granting the non-Muslim elite

“protective European citizenship” as well as financial and judicial immunity to Ottoman laws and regulations. Many locals took advantage of these newly granted benefits; they refused in large to pay taxes to finance the district and contribute to its spatial and administrative reforms. Cultural dependency, on the other hand, manifested itself through new products, patterns of consumption and standards of living. This created a clear cut between the commercial elite and the rest of the locals, and eventually made it difficult for locals to accept the idea of reforms. As a result, Rosenthal explains that the Sixth District Municipality failed to introduce and administer the desired reforms. So, the same politics applied to encourage the modernization of the Ottoman administrative system did in fact create handicaps to the initiation and development of municipal institutions in Istanbul. For decades, dependency theory helped scholars such as Frank (1967), Lapidus (1967), Furtado (1970), Rosenthal (1980) and others to understand the general theory of modernization and its challenges across different contexts (i.e. Latin America, the Middle East).

As of the early 1990s, modernization discourse evolved into a broader definition that covered notions of inclusion, pluralism, participatory democracy, market economy and welfare state (Zapf, 1991), as well as notions of converging processes and support mechanisms (Berger, 1996); this means that modernization is accomplished by interdependent relationships between developed and developing countries. More recently, theories of alternative modernities have shed new light on the debates over modernization (see Figure 2). These theories imply – among other things - that there is no single modernization model; instead, there are multiple and heterogeneous trajectories depending on historical, political and economic contexts (Bozdogan, 2001); hence, the need to investigate a wider array of case studies, both in Western and non-

Western contexts (Bozdoğan, 2001), as well as at both the global and local scales (Prakash, and Kruse, 2008). The plurality of the modernization experiences also calls for comparative studies to understand the dynamics of urban transformations located within similar or different geopolitical contexts. In this respect, Fawaz et al. (2002) is a good example of studies seeking to understand the contested versions of modernity in Mediterranean cities such as Alexandria, Izmir, Damascus, and Haifa within the changing political, social, economic and cultural circumstances of the turn of the 20th century. Scholars have also reconsidered the standard concepts and histories of modern cities. For example, McLaren (2006) stresses the fact that "modern" and "traditional" are exclusively colonial constructs. He highlights the case of colonial Libya, where, he argues, there was a selective and ambiguous implementation of modernity: while modernization was introduced in the architectural, social and political realms, local culture was kept traditional to appeal to the tourist industry. Also, as McLaren points out, a top-down approach to modernization was implemented by both Italy and the Libyan state in reconfiguring the image of the country. In this respect, Bozdoğan (2001) links state-driven modernization projects in non-Western contexts to issues of power and politics; she also provides an alternative look at the authoritarian implementations of modernization. When discussing the case of early republican Ankara, Bozdoğan links modernism to nation building and explains how the Turkish state benefited from global technical and scientific progress to assert an image of power in its own capital city. This "high modernism" functioned as an ideological tool both for the state and as well as local planners, architects, engineers and technicians. During the 1930s, high modernism shaped many architectural and urban planning projects in Turkey. Although state driven and heavily relied on power relations, Bozdoğan argues that modernization

implemented by the Kemalist regime gave way to popular empowerment. She also argues that the experience of the early republican Turkish state inspired nationalist trends in German and Italian architecture: a discourse reversing the “West influences the non-West” rhetoric. Finally, Bozdogan’s work steers the conversation away from classical modernity paradigms to one that is based on the cross-pollination of imported ideas and local realities. It opens up the conversation on polyvalent discourses and the role of non-Western contexts such as the Middle East as a cross-cultural platform for modernization projects (Ersoy, 2015).

KEY CONCEPTS IN THEORIES OF ALTERNATIVE MODERNITY	• Different versions of modernity; no single formula
	• No distinct divide between traditional and modern; this binary approach is a colonial construct
	• A diverse array of case studies covering different contexts (Western and non-Western) and different scales (global and local)
	• Top-down modernization approach is challenged
	• Different actors and stakeholders, and their role in modernization processes

Figure 2. Key concepts in theories of alternative modernity

Lastly, a major topic that planning historians have lately been examining is the role of different actors in diffusing modernization principles and shaping cities. Nasr and Volait (2003) questioned the long-standing traditional view of planning as an imported paradigm. They brought forward the role of local actors (in contexts beyond the Western world) as essential actors in modernizing the built environment. Likewise, Zandi-Sayek (2012) examined the role of various local stakeholders - Muslims and non-Muslims, Ottomans and Europeans, newcomers and native residents, merchants and bureaucrats - in the urban transformations of Ottoman Izmir during the Tanzimat Period. Moreover, Sharif (2014) demonstrated how local expertise and resources

strongly shaped the administrative and legal frameworks of Ottoman Beirut, yielding to the establishment of a modern municipal institution long before its implementation in other Ottoman provinces.

My thesis situates itself within this growing body of scholarship on alternative modernities and the role of local actors in shaping the trajectories of urban modernization beyond Europe. By focusing on Kadıköy during the long nineteenth century, I discuss three major points: first, I show the significance of case studies focusing on districts and neighborhoods to understand the plurality and complexity of urban modernization; second, I offer an alternative model to the top-down approach in modernization processes (i.e. an incremental model that is also responsive to the actual dynamics on the ground); and finally, I demonstrate the crucial role of local actors in shaping the modernization of non-western cities. Before I undertake a detailed analysis of modernization practices in Kadıköy, I will discuss the literature on urban modernization in the Ottoman Empire in general and in its major port cities in particular.

B. Ottoman Modernization and The Key Factors of Change: Global, Imperial and Local

Ottoman urban modernization was a response to the social, political, economic, and administrative challenges that the empire was facing during the nineteenth century. A complex constellation of global, imperial and local factors informed these challenges, and shaped the transformation of the urban spaces around the empire.

At the global scale, the progress of steam navigation and rail transport facilitated travel and trade between cities around the Mediterranean (Arnaud, 2008; Findley, 2010). The

modernization of urban infrastructure was to accommodate the increasing mobility of goods and people. In Istanbul, quays, docks, railroads and railway stations constituted the first major urban interventions in the nineteenth century. The empire signed economic treaties, first with Britain in 1838 and then with other major European countries, which integrated the Ottoman economy into global capitalism, promoted open market economy, and triggered the first attempts at industrialization (Çelik, 1986; Findley, 2010). This generated a growing demand for labor, attracting both professionals and migrant workers, and leading to the emergence of new building typologies to accommodate both the growing number of residents and industrial production.

At the imperial scale, wars (most devastatingly with Russia) and secessionist movements in the Balkans resulted in major territorial losses. This led to major demographic changes in the empire, and to the influx of migrants and refugees into Istanbul and other major cities. Threatened both by a shrinking territory and the loss of resources, the Ottoman state was forced to increase its integration into the global economy. Additionally, and as a means to assert diplomatic pressure, Western European governments incited the Ottoman state to improve the socio-economic and living conditions of its population, namely those of the Christians living in the empire. As a result, the Ottoman ruling elite pursued reform to respond to both international pressures and imperial challenges (Dumont, 1989; Kuban, 2010). Many of these measures directly affected city-planning programs such as the regularization of the urban fabric, categorization of street networks, determination of building height and construction material, creation of parks and squares, and development of major infrastructure projects (Rosenthal, 1980; Çelik, 1986; Enlil, 1999; Yapucu, 2007).

Moreover, the establishment of municipalities and the centralization of urban administration contributed to steering demographic and urban growth into the modernization efforts envisioned by the Ottoman state.

The Ottoman modernization was a response to internal and external factors; it led to an incremental transformation of the imperial urban spaces. The trajectories of urban transformation varied from one city to another. Before going into the details of the urban transformations of Istanbul, I will review the cases of three Ottoman port cities, namely Salonica, Izmir and Beirut, all of which underwent major urban reconfigurations during the long nineteenth century.

C. Modernization of Ottoman Port Cities: Salonica, Izmir and Beirut

There were two main drivers of urban change in Salonica, Izmir and Beirut in the nineteenth century. The first was the establishment of ports for free trade as a result of several commercial treaties signed with Western governments such as the United Kingdom, France and Germany (Kasaba, 1988; Muradov, 2018). The second was the implementation of reform policies that tackled urban administration and introduced new laws and regulations in the commercial seaport centers. Additionally, there were various other factors, specific to each city, which informed urban modernization processes at the local scale.

Salonica, for instance, already had an old and complex form of urban governance from the 16th century to the mid 19th century (Lafi, 2020). The specificity of this old regime was linked to the diversity of the city's population: a mix of different communities, notably Greeks, Jews, Turks, and Levantines (Mazower, 2007).

According to Lafi (2020, p. 82), diversity in Salonica was not just a demographic plurality but “the object of a political construction” because different entities (i.e. confessional institutions, neighborhood institutions, communal institutions and guilds) were part of decision-making, and minorities were given access to the civic sphere. The city was governed both by appointed officials (e.g. the governor, the military cast of janissaries) and a collective body of elders and notables from every community. The latter acted as a city council and managed both the civic and urban lives of the locals.

At the outset of the modernization period, urban governance and municipal institutions in Salonica were based on this centuries-old system of urban administration. As such, Lafi (2020) rejects the top-down model of modernization promoted by Anastassiadou (1997) to explain Salonica’s urban transformations in the nineteenth century; instead, she sheds light on the local dimension of Ottoman modernization in Salonica; according to her, modernization in the city was introduced as “a reform of an existing system submitted to new challenges, and not as the importation of solutions inspired from abroad into a local vacuum” (Lafi, 2020, p.85). Moreover, Lafi (2020) and Gençer (2016) highlight the role of various stakeholders (i.e. from neighborhood institutions and landowners to the municipal council, mayor and governor) who were actively involved in the processes of modernization. Indeed, the creation of the first modern municipality in Salonica in 1869 was the result of long negotiations between imperial representatives and local notables (Lafi, 2020).

Besides the regulation of urban administration, the modernization program comprised the planning of new neighborhoods conducted in collaboration between municipal engineers¹³ and local investors and landowners (Gençer, 2016). Moreover,

¹³ In 1882, a city map of Salonica was prepared by municipal engineer Antoine Wernieski (or Vrenski)

the increasing inflow of foreign capital led to a number of urban projects such as the demolition of the city walls and the construction of the port (one of the busiest in the Ottoman Empire), the construction of a promenade area, and the development of several infrastructure projects such as railroads, tramway lines, quays and harbors. However, changes in the urban fabric during the Tanzimat period were mainly limited to the commercial center and a few other neighborhoods. More comprehensive urban transformations in Salonica took place after the two major fires, in 1890 and 1917, respectively.

In her book on Izmir during the Tanzimat Period, Zandi-Sayek (2012) portrays a similar transformation especially concerning the role of local actors. She argues that modernization in Izmir was a product of collective efforts by a wide range of stakeholders such as local merchants, community representatives, guilds, consuls, civil servants and press reporters. According to Zandi-Sayek, Izmir's multiethnic, multiconfessional and multilingual context shaped the city's transformations in the 19th century. Indeed, similar to other Ottoman seaports, modernization in Izmir focused both on the built fabric and urban governance. One of the key urban and economic changes in this period was the construction of the port which created major steamship traffic and boosted Izmir's economy. The city became a major transportation hub. Numerous infrastructure projects such as establishing railroads, widening streets, creating public spaces such as parks and promenades, and implementing streetlights were carried out to consolidate the city's image as a key commercial center and link it to the emerging networks of international trade (Gençer, 2016). Urban projects also included the construction of modern establishments such as banks, restaurants and theatres that dotted the city's landscape. Moreover, a series of reforms transformed the

administrative and legal framework of urbanism. Concurrently, a city council was formed. Its aim was to consolidate the provision of urban services previously delivered in a more private and informal way by local communities. New regulations such as building codes, and sanitary ordinances were devised. Laws about property ownership, taxation, and civic rights were also issued. The new legal mechanism aimed at defining the concepts of public and private, citizenship, safety and hygiene among other things (Zandi-Sayek, 2012). This was the result of both external pressures, imperial agenda of reform, and local demands for solution to the problems of poor sanitation, safety issues, fire hazards, and repeated epidemics. It was not only a technical process but also a political one. In addition to new urban forms, modernization in Izmir created new practices of civic engagement and citizenship within the plural social fabric of the city.

Similar to Salonica and Izmir, processes of urban modernization were carried out in Beirut during the long nineteenth century as a result of Ottoman reforms, European investments and capitalist urbanization (Hanssen, 2005). Starting 1861¹⁴, commerce with European capitals began to flourish as a result of a booming silk trade in Beirut. Migration movements also increased the city's population and contributed to the expansion of its built fabric. Many urban projects were implemented across Beirut such as the construction of a port facility, the development of an infrastructure network (e.g. railroads, streets), and the establishment of educational and health institutions. Moreover, modernization was accompanied by artistic and literary developments as well as the establishment of many newspapers. However, there were other local dynamics that helped shape the urban transformations in nineteenth-century Beirut. Hanssen (2005) argues that persistent social struggles, migration movements and

¹⁴ 1861 marks the end of two decades of civil strife in Mount Lebanon and the establishment of its autonomy.

continuous efforts of the locals to demand and institute change were the key factors that shaped modern Beirut. As a result of the pressures exerted by the locals, Beirut became a provincial capital; this increased urban investment in the city and transformed its spatial layout. Hanssen (2005) also notes that modernization processes that were heavily dependent on Western principles were less strong in Beirut than in other Ottoman port cities. According to Hanssen, modernity in Beirut was the result of active relationships between local residents and the spaces they inhabited. The government found aspirations in the local context to devise administrative and urban reforms. Sharif (2014) further elaborates on this topic; he argues that modern urban administration in Beirut was not a new concept imposed by the central authorities as an outcome of the municipal law of 1877, but the reform of an existing municipal institution that was created a decade earlier. Both Hanssen and Sharif show that local factors as much shaped the political economy and the urban fabric of Beirut as did Westernization.

The peculiar and complex trajectories of Salonica, Izmir, and Beirut enable us to discern four major characteristics of Ottoman urban modernization:

1. Ottoman modernization is not simply a product of Westernization (i.e. exporting Western institutions and values into non-Western contexts). In fact, the cases of three port cities highlight the local dimension of Ottoman modernity; they point out to the presence of well-established urban governance systems in the major port cities - especially in Salonica - long before the modernization period. Urban administrative reforms were reconfigurations of an existing mode of local governance, not the creation of new mode from scratch in an institutional vacuum. Moreover, modernization in these cities was the result of

interdependent relationships between foreign expertise and investments, and local stakeholders such as the municipal council, investors, landowners, neighborhood residents, and institutions.

2. Modernization in Salonica, Izmir or Beirut was not based on a top-down approach. Recent studies have refuted the notion of the imposition of reforms from above without recognizing any agency to local actors, and any regard to the specificities of local contexts. The term “negotiation” often features in these studies to indicate that transformations of the urban and administrative systems were the outcome of an interaction between local governance and imperial structures.
3. Local actors played a major role in shaping both the urban space and the administrative frameworks during the modernization period. The profile of the stakeholders was diverse, including, inter alia, public officials, locals, foreigners, professionals, practitioners, communal leaders, merchants, landowners, and investors. These actors were already involved in urban governance during the classical period. Through continuous negotiations with the central government, they kept their role as decision-makers during the Tanzimat period.
4. Modernization is contingent to the local conditions, resources, needs and practices. In Beirut, social struggles and migration movements incited the locals to demand and institute change. This, in turn, led Beirut to being a provincial center and fundamentally shaped both its urban fabric and administrative institutions. In Salonica, there was already a well-established urban governance system which constituted the basis of modern urban administration. Finally, in

Izmir, the response of residents to poor sanitation, safety issues, fire hazards and repeated epidemics shaped the future modern city.

In short, modernization is a product of both internal and external factors.

Although industrialization, integration in global economy and expansion of transport systems impacted the transformation of Salonica, Izmir and Beirut, each city had its own dynamics that informed its urban modernization process in the nineteenth century.

D. Urban Modernization in Istanbul

1. Administrative and Institutional Contexts

Urban modernization in Istanbul was a product of Tanzimat reforms that reshaped the Ottoman state and its institutions. The urban realm – with both its physical and administrative components - was a platform of change. In this era of administrative centralization, private and semi-public actors and institutions of urban administration such as guilds, religious leaders, communal councils gave way to municipal institutions responsible for organizing the urban space and providing services such as public works, housing permits, and street maintenance (Shaw and Shaw, 1977).

In 1858, the Commission for the Order of the City¹⁵ (*Intizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu*) organized the capital into 14 districts and established a pilot municipality in Galata (also known as the Sixth District) (Rosenthal, 1980; Çelik, 1986). The aim was to introduce modern urban amenities and test Western methods of governance; if successful, the Galata model was to be extended to other districts in Istanbul. The commission

¹⁵ A council created by the Ottoman state in 1855 to implement urban services and plan the development of the city.

entrusted the management of municipal affairs to the non-Muslim commercial class of Galata, formed mainly by Greeks, Armenians, Jews and Levantines. This bourgeois class was seen as “a potential instrument of modernization” similar to the commercial classes that gave rise to autonomous municipal institutions in Europe a century earlier (Rosenthal, 1980, p. xx). A council of six members headed by an Ottoman bureaucrat named Saadetlu Kamil Bey was in charge of providing basic municipal services such as developing urban infrastructure, controlling building activities, regulating the guilds and collecting taxes.

However, the council’s development projects were limited to certain areas within the district – mainly the Grande Rue de Pera and other business centers - while poorer areas received much less attention. This approach reflected the commercial interests of the bourgeois class only and hindered the implementation of comprehensive reforms. The council failed to achieve its objectives and reached bankruptcy in 1863 due to several reasons: first, it adopted a selective approach in the provision of services; second, locals accepted some of the newly introduced reform measures but largely refused to pay taxes to finance the district; and finally, European embassies hindered many of the council’s reform programs when they conflicted with their interests (Rosenthal, 1980). Galata’s second municipal council, headed by another Ottoman officer named Server Efendi, was successful in introducing a series of reforms that were more aligned with the Tanzimat ideals, that is, more responsive to the local context. As such, it was able to respond more effectively to the needs of a larger pool of people and extend municipal services beyond the commercial areas. The success of this council led the extension of its model to the rest of the city. After three successive municipal regulations and laws devised in 1868, 1877 and 1878, respectively, Istanbul was finally

organized into ten districts. The newly established municipalities largely relied on both the successes and shortcomings of the Galata experience. Additionally, they were more financially independent than their predecessors, thanks to tax revenues from building contracts, foodstuffs, and commercial patents and permits, as well as regular municipal taxes and private donations.

On matters related to planning, these local administrative units had to implement street and building regulations set out by legislative bodies. However, until the demise of the empire, the impact of these institutions remained partial and scattered: although they tried to popularize European municipal concepts, they were not able to dismantle centuries-old governance practices (Rosenthal, 1980; Çelik, 1986). But, was urban modernization only limited to the Sixth District? Were there any modernization practices in other areas in the city? How were urban reforms carried out in districts with a different socio-spatial profile?

2. *Legal and Regulatory Frameworks of The Urban Fabric*

1839	• The Official Record (İlmühaber)
1848	• Building Regulation (Ebniye Nizamnamesi)
1849	• Building Regulation (Ebniye Nizamnamesi)
1863	• Street and Building Regulation (Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi)
1875	• Regulation on Construction Methods in Istanbul (İstanbul ve <i>Bilad</i> -i Selasede Yapılacak Ebniyenin Suret-i İnşaiyesine dair Nizamname)
1882	• Building Law (Ebniye Kanunu)
1891	• Building Law (Ebniye Kanunu)

Figure 3. Legal and Regulatory framework during the Tanzimat period

During the Tanzimat period, the regulatory framework, which had previously been based on *firmans*, customs and traditions, was organized into laws, municipal regulations, building codes and planning principles (Çelik, 1986; Ergin, 1995a; Ergin, 1995b; Ergin, 1995c; Enlil, 1999; Gençer and Çokuğraş, 2016). The first city planning regulation was devised in 1848; six other regulations followed course between 1848 and 1891 (Çelik, 1986) (see Figure 3). The regulatory framework covered the following: the regularization of the urban fabric (urban blocks), the categorization of streets, and the redefinition of laws on expropriation, building height and material, and street width. Traditional built patterns were replaced by new urban forms and principles appropriated from Western European cities. The new regulations also marked the end of the spatial discrimination against non-Muslims in the empire¹⁶. The new building laws issued during the Tanzimat period ensured equal building rights of religious, residential and commercial spaces for all local communities, regardless of their ethnic, religious or cultural backgrounds.

Over the years, the urban regulatory framework of the Tanzimat period evolved from codes covering basic street and building specifications to laws defining zoning, expropriation and other planning practices. Below is an overview of the legal and regulatory framework of the Ottoman urban space in the 19th century¹⁷.

- The 1839 Official Record, issued right before the Tanzimat Edict, was the first directive to regulate road networks and open spaces. It organized roads into four categories (defined by width: 15m, 11.25m, 9m and 7.5m). It also limited

¹⁶ See Leal (2010) and Girardelli (2016) for references on urban spaces of non-Muslims in the Ottoman empire before the Tanzimat period.

¹⁷ See Ergin (1995a), Ergin, (1995b) and Ergin, (1995c) for a detailed account of the Tanzimat urban regulatory framework. See also Gençer and Çokuğraş (2016) for a more concise version of the regulatory framework in English.

building heights to three stories (15 m) - regardless of religious background - and defined fire prevention measures.

- The 1848 Building Regulation was the first legal directive issued during the Tanzimat period. It mostly focused on construction specifications (i.e. building type, building height, façade projections and other architectural elements) for both residential and commercial structures. It also reorganized the road network into three categories defined by width: 7.5m, 6m and 4.5m. However, the highlight of this regulation was the introduction of the concept of land expropriation to allow the widening of roads.
- The 1849 Building Regulation was a revision of the previous year's building specifications. The key element of change was the categorization of residential and commercial buildings by location (i.e. burnt or non-burnt area), value and owner's financial means. For example, houses worth more than 500 purses had to be constructed with masonry, while houses worth less than 500 purses were allowed to be built with timber provided that they had masonry fire walls. This same principle was applied to shops, too. It is important to note that the 1848-49 Building Regulation was the basis for post-fire neighborhood planning in Istanbul: many neighborhood plans such as Aksaray and Ayvansaray were based on the directives of this regulation.
- The 1863 Street and Building Regulation comprised detailed guidelines for streets, parcels and open spaces devised for different types of neighborhoods such as new, burnt and non-burnt neighborhoods. According to the regulation, all new neighborhoods had to be based on a plan presented to the Ministry of Commerce. Burnt neighborhoods had to be reorganized based on a new plan

with a grid layout (square or rectangular plots) and had to overlap with the former street network. The construction of any new road in an already built area also had to be carried out as per an infrastructure plan. The key aspect of this regulation was that it emphasized the relationship between the street and the built façades; it specifically defined the projection elements of building façade such as door sills, window shutters, canopies, window frames and others. The aim was to maintain a uniform street with a well-defined built fabric.

- The 1875 Regulation on Construction Methods in Istanbul organized the city as per two zones: in the first zone (which comprised the Old City, Galata, Pera, Beşiktaş, Ortaköy and Nişantaşı), all new constructions had to be masonry. In the second zone (comprised of areas such as Tatavla, Kasımpaşa, Kadıköy and the Princes Islands), masonry construction was only obligatory in fire-stricken neighborhoods while timber structures were permitted under some conditions.
- The 1882 Building Law established the principles of urban planning and practice in the late Ottoman period. This law emphasized the notions of regularity, uniformity and the provision of services. New neighborhoods had to include the following amenities and services: a school, a police station, a pedestrian network, a sewage network and green spaces. Burnt areas had to be categorized as empty fields and reorganized with respect to the old layout while applying principles of newly designed neighborhoods. Moreover, this law further stressed the street-building relationship and defined street widths according to building heights.
- The 1891 Building Law was a revision of the 1882 Building Law. It categorized streets as per position, prestige and location within the city. It also revised the

correlation between street widths and building heights, and determined construction types according to districts in Istanbul.

A look at the actors involved in the issuing and implementation of the urban regulations shows that local administrative units, namely municipalities, were one of the last actors involved in this process. Ottoman bureaucrats (e.g. Mustafa Reşid Paşa), foreign planners and engineers (e.g. Helmuth Van Moltke, Luigi Storari and others), real estate speculators, special councils (e.g. Buildings Commission¹⁸, Council of Public Works¹⁹, Commission for the Order of the City²⁰ and Commission for Road Improvement²¹) and government administrators all preceded municipal councils in shaping the urban space. Although the implementation of these planning principles remained largely ad-hoc (Çelik, 1986), the aspiration to modernize Istanbul remained paramount throughout the long nineteenth century.

3. Implementing Urban Reforms and Planning Regulations in Post-Fire Istanbul Neighborhoods

Fire-stricken neighborhoods in 19th century Istanbul were testing grounds for modernization policies. The Tanzimat laws and regulations regarding streets, buildings and public spaces were first applied in fire-ravaged areas, both at the building and the neighborhood scales (Çelik, 1986; Enlil, 1999). Between 1853 and 1906, 229 fires took place in Istanbul (Çelik, 1986); consequently, the organization, layout, and uses of land

¹⁸ Meclis-i Ebniya

¹⁹ Ebniye-i Hassa Müdüriyeti

²⁰ Intizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu

²¹ Islahat-ı Turuk Komisyonu

changed in many neighborhoods in the city such as Ayvansaray, Aksaray, Samatya, Hocapaşa, and Pera. It is important to note that most case studies of post-fire planning in Istanbul focus on neighborhoods in the Old City or Galata, while research shows that there are other neighborhoods such as Kadıköy - outside of Istanbul proper - that had similar dynamics and were reorganized according to new urban plans (Esad, 2011; Stepanian, 2012).

Fires were such an important factor in shaping Istanbul's urban fabric that it influenced land and building laws of the late Ottoman period (Enlil, 1999). For example, the first urban regulation issued in the nineteenth century, the 1826 Fire Prevention Regulation, tackled zoning to limit fires and control its spread in commercial areas. It specifically defined certain zones outside the Grand Bazaar to host cluster of shops prone to fires such as bakeries, lumber and ruffle workshops, sawyers, dyers and pharmaceutical shops. Regulations issued in later years focused on setting specifications for both residential and commercial buildings. These specifications comprised construction materials, building height, façade projections and distances between built areas. For example, bricks or stones were to be used instead of timber (contingent upon several conditions²²). Also, building height was determined by construction material (masonry structures were allowed to be taller than timber structures), and fire-proof material (tin or stone) was encouraged for cladding the projections. Finally, projections on adjacent houses had to be limited to a minimum of a 1.5 m distance.

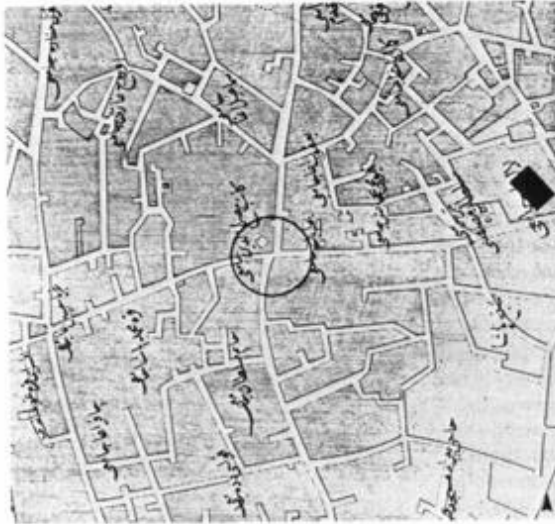
Starting the mid-1800s, there was a more comprehensive approach in devising fire prevention regulations. The new laws took into account the overall planning of

²² See Ergin (1995a), Ergin, (1995b) and Ergin, (1995c) for a detailed account of the Tanzimat urban regulations regarding fire prevention and limitation measures. See also Gençer and Çokuğraş (2016) for a more concise version and in English.

post-fire neighborhoods instead of focusing on single built elements. Three official planning schemes for neighborhoods destroyed by fires were developed according to the scale of the fire, the topography of the burnt area and its location within the city (Çelik, 1986).

1. An elaborate neighborhood scheme: this plan was often implemented following large-scale fires in prestigious neighborhoods (see Figure 4). The new layout was not limited only to the burnt zone, but also included unburnt areas in its vicinity. The aim was to regularize the street network and transform it into a grid plan by cutting several straight and wide arteries. Street intersections were emphasized by chamfering the corners defining each block to further accentuate their importance; this was a new concept introduced in planning practices in Istanbul to define public squares (Çelik, 1986). The 1856 Aksaray plan is considered as the first grid plan in Istanbul designed by Italian engineer Luigi Storari.
2. A limited street regularization plan: this plan was often implemented in modest neighborhoods affected by fires. The aim was to regularize only the burnt areas without necessarily connecting it to the rest of the neighborhood. This resulted in a patchy fabric with both regular and organic layouts present in the same neighborhood (see Figure 5). The new street plan had to overlap with the former street pattern while new plots had to be compliant with both the area and the front lines of the old plots.
3. A site-scale intervention: this plan concerned only areas affected by small-scale fires. The intervention was only limited to reorganizing the street network into a

few straight and wide streets; lot sizes and shapes remained unaffected (see Figure 6).



25. Plan of Aksaray, circa 1850



26. Plan of Aksaray, circa 1870

Figure 4. Elaborate neighborhood plan for large-scale fires in prominent neighborhoods: the case of Aksaray (Çelik, 1986)



36. Plan of Samatya, circa 1850



37. Plan of Samatya, circa 1870

Figure 5. Limited street regularization plan for small scale fires in small neighborhoods: the case of Samatya (Çelik, 1986)



Figure 6. Site-scale intervention for a block-scale fire: the case of a neighborhood in Beşiktaş (Çelik, 1986)

These multi-scalar interventions in post-fire neighborhoods facilitated the introduction of new urban forms and practices through the Tanzimat urban regulations. Urban modernization in Istanbul was therefore gradually implemented through a set of reforms in the administrative and regulatory systems and was largely facilitated by neighborhood fires. In the next chapters, I will closely examine the implementation of these reforms in Kadıköy, an urban context located across the Istanbul peninsula. The case of Kadıköy highlights the profile of a small and peripheral neighborhood that turned into one of Istanbul's central districts as a result of nineteenth century modernization policies. Kadıköy's example also showcases one of the early neighborhood reorganization plans that took place in 1856 following the Great Kadıköy Fire.

CHAPTER III
KADIKÖY, ISTANBUL, IN THE LONG NINETEENTH
CENTURY

A. Case Study Profile

1. Introduction & Historical Background



Figure 7. 1882 Istanbul city map; Kadıköy outlined in a red dashed border (Stolpe C., 1882)

Kadıköy is the oldest urban settlement in Istanbul. Its foundation in 685 BCE by Greek colonists predates that of Byzantium right across the Bosphorus, which later evolved into Constantinople (Ekdal, 1996; Bilge, 1999; Esad, 2011). Named Chalcedon²³ by its founders, the town rose to prominence during the late antiquity (Janin, 1950), hosting the fourth ecumenical church council in 451 (the Council of Chalcedon). Marginalized during the medieval and early modern periods, Kadıköy emerged as a major hub of commerce and transportation from the mid-19th century onwards.

Located along the northern shores of the Sea of Marmara on the Asian side of today's Istanbul (see A), Chalcedon came under Ottoman rule during the mid-fourteenth century. In 1453, following their conquest of Constantinople, Ottomans brought Chalcedon under the jurisdiction of the new capital city's courts, and renamed it Kadıköy²⁴, which literally translates as “Village of the Judge”. This case-study profile offers an overview of the urban, social, economic, administrative, and legal layers of Kadıköy in the long 19th century.

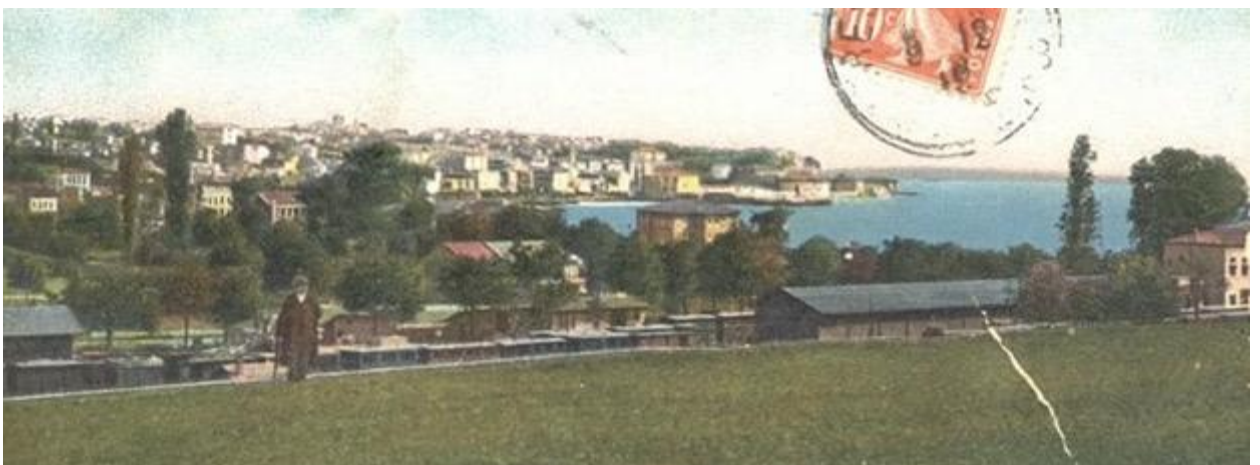


Figure 8. Kadıköy at the turn of the 20th century (n.d.)

²³ Χαλκηδών (Halkidon) in Greek

²⁴ Գաղաթիլ (kadikugh) in Armenian

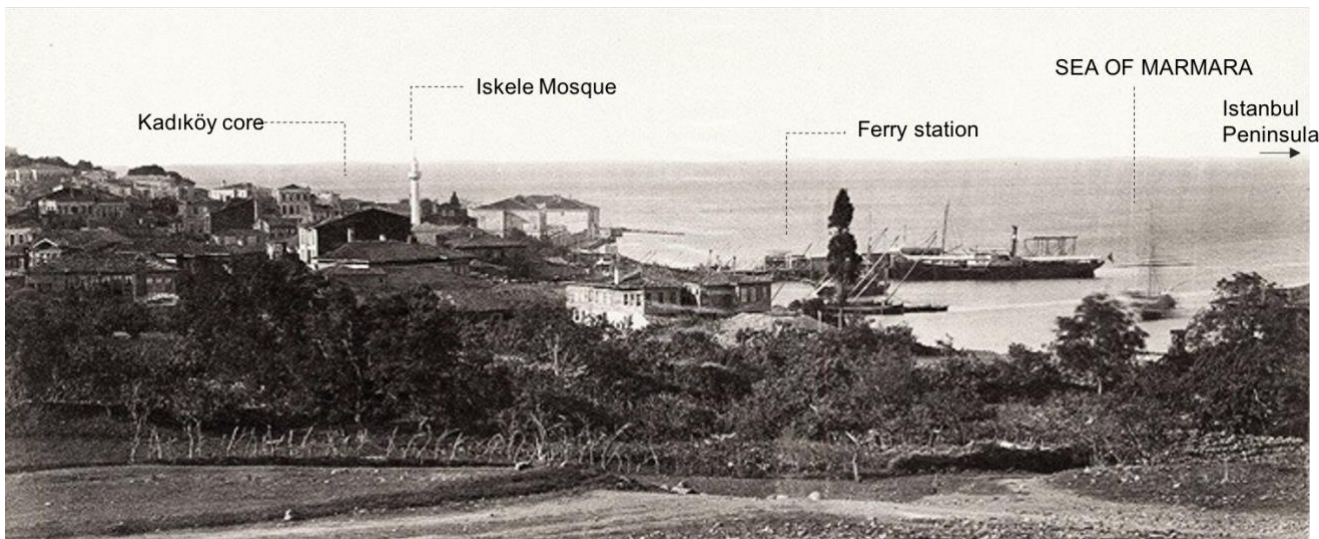
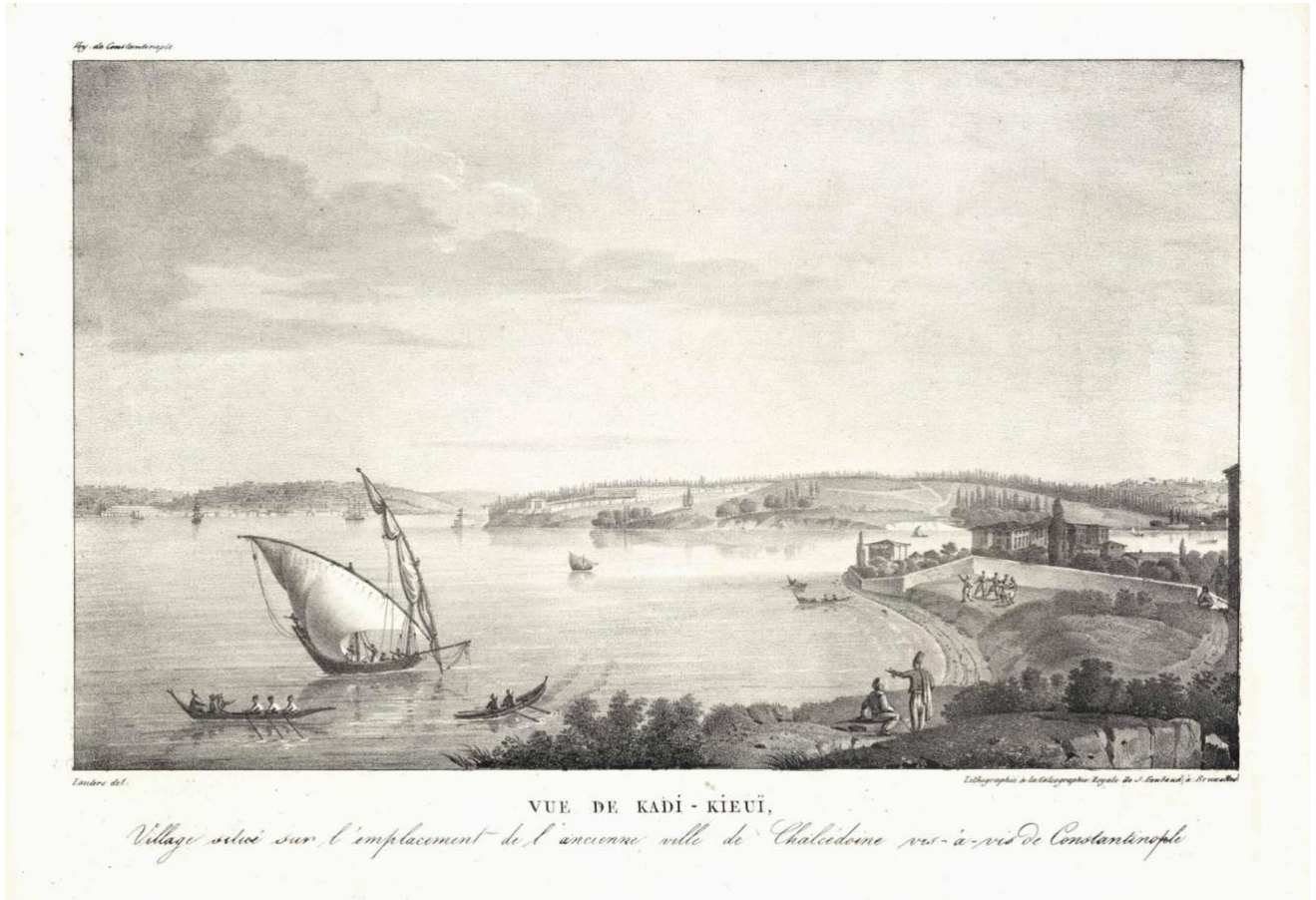


Figure 9. Top photo: Drawing depicting the view from Kadiköy towards the Old City and Galata (Bibliothèque Royale, Bruxelles, 1825). Bottom photo: Panoramic view of Kadiköy at the turn of the 20th century (B. Kargopoulo, n.d.)

2. Urban Context: Situating Kadıköy in 19th Century Istanbul

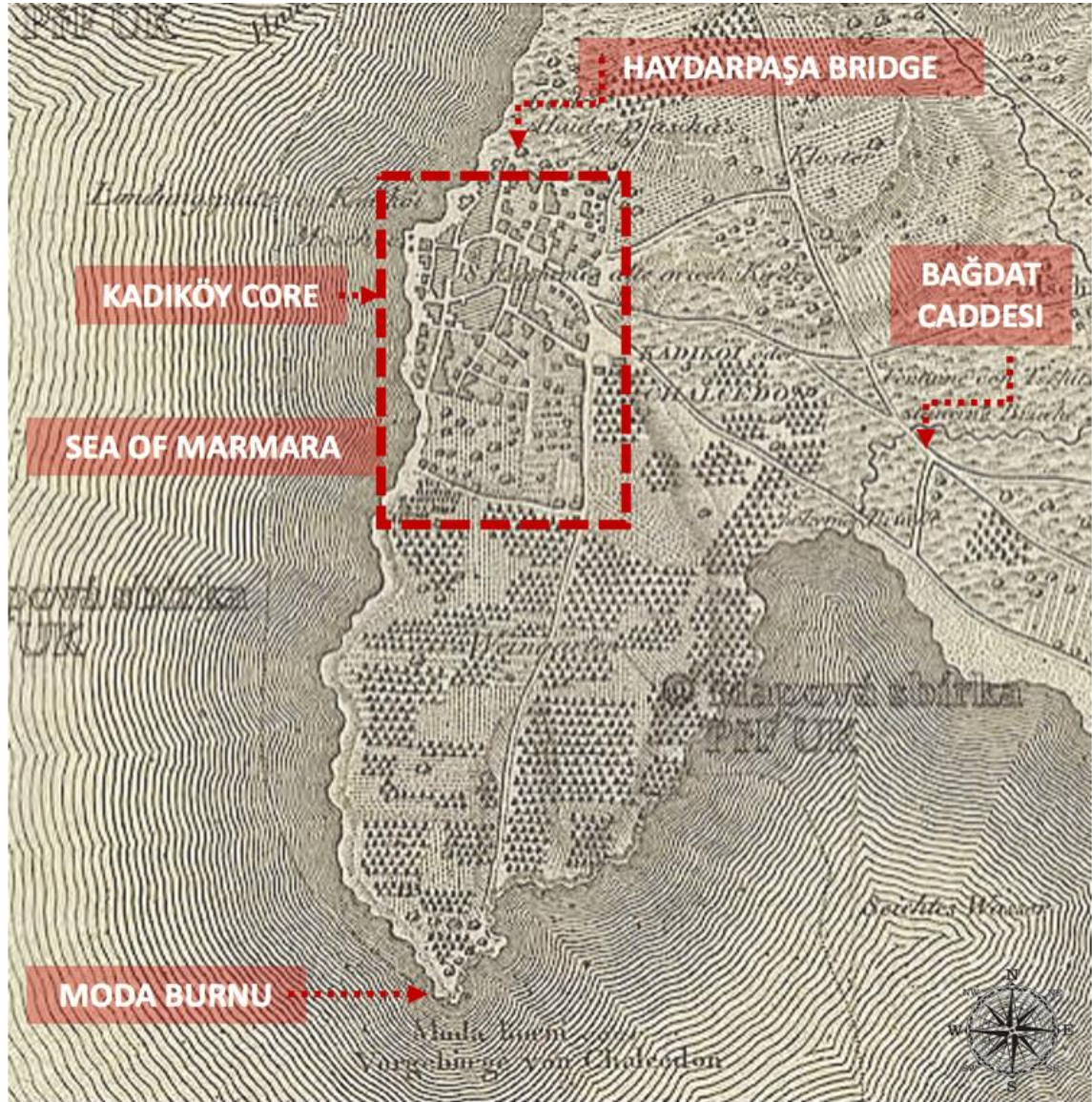


Figure 10. Geographical limits of Kadıköy in the early 19th century as described by Stepanian (2012), represented on Karacs map (1835). Kadıköy's Old Core is outlined in a red dashed border

Kadıköy's strategic location and natural assets played a key role in the development of the district in the nineteenth century. Its core extended from the Asian mainland into the Sea of Marmara, forming a small peninsula surrounded by bodies of water from the east, south and west (see **Error! Reference source not found.**). This

helped the district to become a major connection point for maritime and land travel between the European and Asian sides of Istanbul by the end of the century.

Thanks to its location outside of the overcrowded Istanbul Peninsula, Kadıköy offered many natural and recreational amenities. Kadıköy was known for its pleasant climate thanks to its proximity to the sea and the large areas of green and unbuilt surfaces it comprised. Dotted by a beautiful landscape, urban settlements were located on the waterfront surrounded by vast agricultural lands and orchards of pear, quince, apricot and peach. The area had abundant water resources supplied mainly by the Kuşdili River and multiple public fountains scattered across different neighborhoods; the latter provided year-round potable water. The area also offered many recreational activities such as fishing, hunting, swimming and large areas to practice equestrian sports. During the long nineteenth century, Kadıköy allured many of Istanbul residents to settle seasonally or permanently, and enjoy the rural-like character of the town (Stepanian, 2012).

a. Kadıköy's urban fabric in the nineteenth century:

A more detailed look at Kadıköy's urban fabric in the early 19th century shows that urban settlements extended from the Haydarpaşa bridge and recreational areas in the north to Moda Burnu and Fenerbahçe in the south, and from Bağdat Caddesi to the east to the Sea of Marmara to the west (see **Error! Reference source not found.**).

Kadıköy was organized into two main neighborhoods, Osmanağa and Caferağa, marked by the presence of “Osman Ağa” and “Cafer Ağa” Mosques, respectively. Even a cursory look at the Stepanian Map reveals three major sections of Kadıköy which I will

define as the following: the Old Core, the Waterfront, and the Hinterlands (see Figure 12):

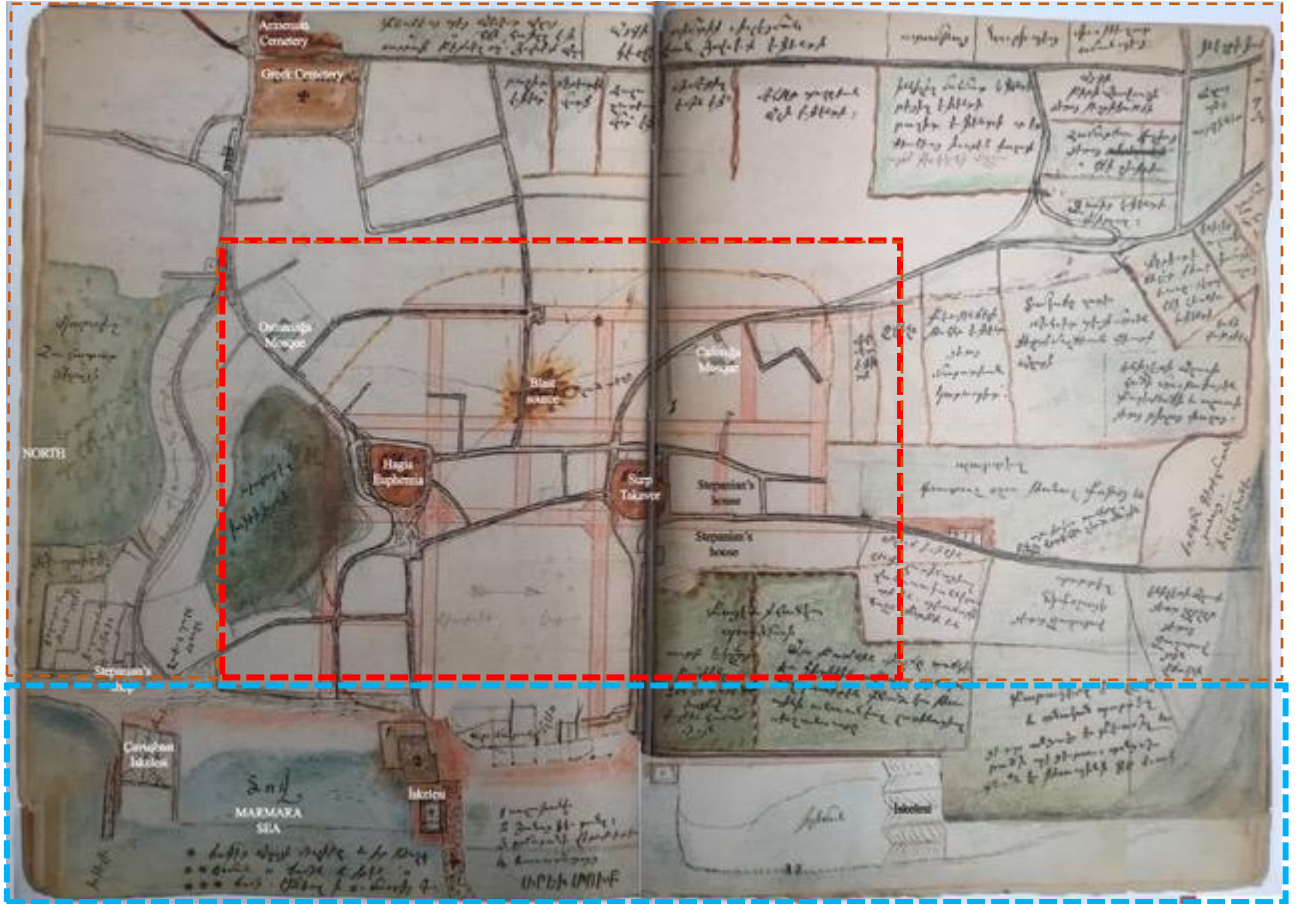


Figure 11. Osmanağa and Caferağa neighborhoods in Old Core Kadıköy, hand drawn by Stepanian, circa 1850

- The Old Core
- The Waterfront
- The Hinterlands

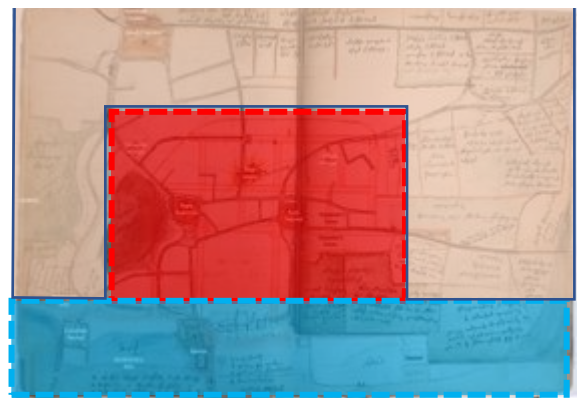


Figure 12. The three main areas in Kadıköy in the early 19th century: (1) the Old Core, (2) the Waterfront, and (3) the Hinterlands

i. The Old Core:

Kadıköy's old core was organized into two residential neighborhoods: lower and upper. The lower neighborhood (the older of the two) was mostly covered by one or two-story wooden residential buildings and a dense network of streets. This area was mostly inhabited by prominent Greeks and Armenians, mostly government officials, merchants and builders, who had direct access to the sea. The lower neighborhood was marked by two churches: Hagia Euphemia (Greek Orthodox) and Surp Takavor (Armenian Apostolic). Originally built in the early 4th century around present-day Haydarpaşa, Hagia Euphemia was left in ruins in the 7th century as a result of wars and pillages. It was only a millennium later (in 1694) that the local Greeks renovated the abandoned and ruined Azize Vassi Monastery church (located in the exact location as present-day Hagia Euphemia) and renamed it Hagia Euphemia (KADOS, 2019). Similarly, Surp Takavor stood at the same site as a former Armenian Apostolic church known as Surp Asdvadzadzin, which was built during the mid-16th century and restored in 1721 (Stepanian, 2012; Damadyan, 2016). In addition to these two churches, the lower neighborhood included the Kethüda Mescidi²⁵, the oldest mosque in Kadıköy. The mosque was built in 1550 by Beyazıt Kethüdası Mustafa Ağa. The fact that the lower neighborhood included the three oldest religious monuments, each belonging to a different religious community, shows that urban settlements in Ottoman Kadıköy first started in the lower neighborhood²⁶ and then expanded eastward towards the upper neighborhood.

²⁵ Note that the Kethüda mosque is not mentioned in Stepanian's memoir, nor depicted in his maps.

The upper neighborhood, also known as Çarıkçı Mahallesi, was more densely populated than the lower neighborhood. The residents of Çarıkçı were of mixed religious backgrounds, mostly Muslims, Greeks and Armenians. They were less well-off than the residents of the lower neighborhood.²⁷ Çarıkçı Mahallesi was marked by two mosques: Caferağa and Osmanağa. The former was built between 1554 and 1557 by Cafer Ağa, who was *Babüsaade Ağası* (the Agha of the Gate of Felicity) during the reign of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. The latter was built in 1612 by Osman Ağa, also a *Babüsaade Ağası* who served during the reign of Ahmed I. The Osmanağa Mosque also included a medrese.

During the pre-modern period, the typical structure of Ottoman neighborhoods consisted of a community center such as a religious building or a market at the core surrounded by a dense urban fabric (Shaw and Shaw, 1977). Kadıköy's old core exemplified this model: it had six religious monuments (four mosques and two churches) located at the center of the urban fabric and surrounded by a dense network of streets and residential buildings. The core was delimited by a commercial cluster in the north and numerous agricultural lands scattered all around it. The limits of the old core to the east were defined by the Greek Orthodox and Armenian Apostolic cemeteries located at the intersection of Söğütlüçeşme and Bahariye streets (see Figure 17). Although the old core was the main residential center, there were other smaller neighborhoods scattered across town. In his memoirs, Stepanian mentions the following streets and neighborhoods which were part of the urban fabric of nineteenth century Kadıköy: Mühurdar, Moda Caddesi, Bahariye, Söğütlüçeşme Caddesi, Orta Moda,

²⁷ Mostly fishermen, farmers and sailors.

Hünkar imamı, Kumbaracı Yokuşu, Fenerbahçe, Yoğurtçuçeşme, Selamiçeşme, İhlamluluçeşme, Kızıltoprak, Yeldeğirmeni and Hasanpaşa.



Figure 14. Caferağa mosque, photo taken in 1959. Retrieved on November 30th, 2020 from <http://www.eskiistanbul.net/tag/kad%C4%B1k%C3%B6y/>



Figure 13. Hagia Euphemia, Greek Orthodox Church, early 20th century. Retrieved on November 28th, 2020, from <http://eistinpolin330.blogspot.com/2011/11/kadkoy.html?spring=pi>



Figure 15. Çavuşbaşı area on Caferağa's waterfront, early 20th century (Damadyan, 2016).

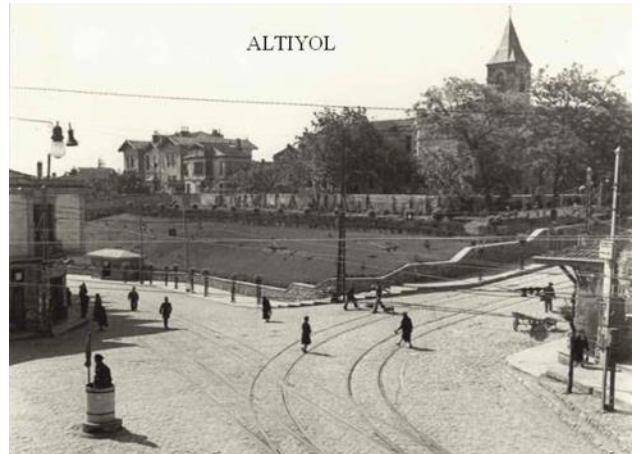


Figure 16. North East boundaries of old core Kadıköy at the intersection of Bahariye and Soğutluçeşme streets, early 20th century.

ii. The Hinterlands

Kadıköy's hinterlands were mainly covered by large and green open spaces and vast agricultural lands. Stolpe's map of Istanbul (1882) (see Figure 77) depicts Kadıköy as a

green haven covered with orchards and vineyards; it specifically shows how the town – unlike other districts in the Ottoman capital – maintained its arable lands up until the late nineteenth century. Owned and cultivated by local families, these lands were of various sizes, bearing a large array of fruit trees and crops. By the end of the century, most of these lands had developed into built areas due to the population growth and the transformation of Kadıköy into a major hub of transportation

iii. The Waterfront

The old core's waterfront was the most vibrant section of Kadıköy; it formed the main façade and was both physically and visually well-connected to the inner neighborhoods. Main streets such as Söğütlüçeşme Caddesi, İskele Caddesi and Muvakkıthane ensured a smooth circulation from the upper neighborhoods down to the sea and formed several *percées visuelles* for pedestrians using these axes (see Figure 18Figure 17).



Figure 17. Kadıköy's busy waterfront and the Sultan Mustafa III or İskele Mosque, late 19th century.

A place for recreation and leisure, the waterfront comprised many amenities and services such as *keyfhanes* (restaurants or coffee houses), *iskeles* (ferry stations),

warehouses for boat building and maintenance, docks and piers. The Sultan Mustafa III Mosque²⁸, better known as the İskele Camii, stood in harmony with the rest of the recreational cluster (see Figure 17).



Figure 18. A promenade quay from Moda to Kadıköy aligned with one to two-story houses in the late 19th century; the regularized (i.e. straight) streets ensure viewpoints from the heart of the urban core all the way to the sea (Damadyan, 2016)

Later in the century, the leisurely character of this area was further accentuated when Tubini, a wealthy Levantine merchant, created a promenade quay aligned with a row of quaint one-story houses (see Figure 18).

In 1909, Haydarpaşa Railway Station was built on the northern edge of Kadıköy's waterfront. As the terminal station of the imperial railway network connecting the capital city with the Anatolian and Arab provinces, this monumental building dominated the district's landscape, helping boost tourism, commerce and leisurely activities on the sea front.

²⁸ The Sultan Mustafa III Mosque was completed in 1774

Synthesis

What characterized the urban fabric of Kadıköy in the nineteenth century was the homogeneity of its built forms. No single landmark dominated the townscape until the construction of the Haydarpaşa Railway Station later in the early twentieth century. Although the district had six religious monuments in total (four mosques and two churches), none of these buildings competed with each other in terms of form and scale. They formed a relatively homogenous entity along with the residential fabric and blended well into the the distritc's landscape. This was due to two reasons: the small population of Kadıköy that did not require large places of worship; and the fact that both the churches and the mosques were commissioned by local residents themselves and not by official powers (such as members of the imperial family or the Greek or Armenian patriarchates). Churches for example were funded by prominent Armenian and Greek inhabitants of Kadıköy,²⁹ while mosques were mostly commissioned by government officials who resided in the district. Even the İskele Mosque, commissioned by Mustafa III, had a modest architectural design: it was capped with a single dome, had one minaret and one *şerefe* (balcony) - very uncommon for a mosque commissioned by a sultan, which traditionally featured large domes, multiple minarets, and multiple *şerefes*.

Finally, the transition between religious buildings and the rest of the urban fabric was designed in a very smooth way; surrounded by a dense residential fabric and located at street level, churches and mosques in Kadıköy were easy to access. Although

²⁹ See Chapter 5, Section A.1. Planning After The 1855 Kadıköy Fire: A New Neighborhood Plan

homogeneous in size and volume, Kadıköy's built fabric was diverse in terms of uses, functions and aesthetics. This, in turn, reflected the plurality of its social fabric.

3. Social Context

In the nineteenth century, Kadıköy was a microcosm of the Ottoman Empire. It was home to a mixed population of Muslims, Greeks, Armenians and Levantines. The roots of its modern social fabric go back to the 15th century.

After the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, most of Kadıköy inhabitants moved to the intra muros city, namely to Fener, Samatya and Kumkapı quarters. The very small number of Muslims and Greeks who stayed in Kadıköy were joined by a few Armenian families from the Armenian Highlands or Eastern Anatolia. By the mid 16th century, government officials, who were attracted by Kadıköy's natural resources and rural setting, settled in the town. One of those officials was Cafer Ağa, who can be credited for instigating both the spatial and social development of Kadıköy in the 16th century. Cafer Ağa attracted people from different religious backgrounds, classes and professions to settle in Kadıköy. He first encouraged Armenian notables from Agn (today's Erzincan), who worked for him, to settle in the town by offering them plots of lands. These newcomers established their houses around the old Armenian chapel (built earlier by their co-religionists), which was located in the lower neighborhood. Cafer Ağa also invited fishermen, skippers and farmers who worked in the area to settle in Kadıköy, ensuring therefore workforce for his vast agricultural lands. These laborers, who came from Rumeli Hisari and Kumkapı, resided in the upper neighborhood of Kadıköy. Finally, the existing small Greek community centered around the old Saint Vassi Monastery Church – a few meters from the

Armenian chapel – grew in numbers and contributed to the expansion of the urban fabric.

In the following centuries, Kadıköy remained a small urban settlement on the outskirts of Istanbul proper with a limited population. The locals exercised a wide array of professions. Historical references such as Esad (2011), Stepanian (2012) and Damadyan (2016) mention the following list of occupations practiced by the locals in Kadıköy: builder, farmer, teacher, baker, *francalacı* (baker specialized in French bread), carpenter, timber merchant, stone cutter, *kireççi* (*lime manufacturer*), *antikacı* (antique dealer), winemaker, yogurt maker, silversmith, tailor, *tülbentçi* (cheesecloth maker), watchmaker, *lustracı* (chandelier maker), *kahveci* (coffee maker), tobacconist, shoemaker, silk worker, silk merchant, greengrocer, *miyancı* (broker), furrier, goldsmith, *sandalcı* (boatman), money changer, *semerci* (saddler), captain/skipper, *sıvacı cırağı* (plasterer's apprentice), *sırmakeş* (artisan who shapes gold and silver) and merchant.

Kadıköy's residents were as diverse in their habits and traditions as they were in professional background. Stepanian closely describes the various socio-cultural activities that were specific to Kadıköy locals. Many of these activities were connected to outdoor spaces. Celebrations of religious or folkloric events took place in the streets, the nearby parks, orchards, or simply under the closest tree. Back-to-back events occurred especially during springtime. The first event was organized by the local fishermen and skippers on the second day of Easter Sunday. Gathered in one of the town's recreational spaces, fishermen shared with each other the catch of the day, and organized wrestling competitions and fun games. The second event was organized by the local farmers on the first Thursday after Easter Sunday. Dedicated to praising the

abundance of spring, this event used to take place in one of the local orchards. The third feast day was known as Hidrellez³⁰. It occurred in mid-spring and was celebrated by all Kadıköy locals. Neighbors used to prepare meals collectively and share it with each other under the shade of a nearby tree. Songs in different languages and music styles could be heard from groups of locals scattered across town. Participants performed popular chants by Reverend Baghdasar from Ceasarea, religious hymns and traditional Muslim songs. After lunch, young boys and girls used to roll over the fresh grass to celebrate the rebirth of nature. Finally, after a long day spent outside and before going back home, custom had it to nail strips of fabric to the tree as a symbol of leaving behind ones' burdens and sorrows. The last event of this series of spring celebrations was truly the most enticing of all. It occurred at the beginning of May, when studs of horses were brought on top of cargo boats to graze on the open meadows of Kadıköy. They were welcomed by crowds of curious locals and Bulgar nomads. Playing enchanting melodies on their violins and bagpipes, the Bulgar musicians used to make the svelte horses dance. This entertaining spectacle was followed by long hours spent contemplating the beautiful horses lie on the grass - a sight repeated every year during the late months of spring (Stepanian, 2012).

While traditions continued over the centuries, Kadıköy's modest population slowly started growing around 1840. By the mid-1850s, the district comprised around 350 to 400 households³¹. Some 200-250 of these households belonged to the Muslims,

³⁰ A popular feast that celebrates the arrival of spring. Religiously, it is celebrated as the day when the Prophets Hızır and Ilyas met on Earth.

³¹ See B for a list of nineteenth-century Kadıköy inhabitants, compiled from Stepanian's memoir. This list is not comprehensive; it includes the names of all the locals who were involved in construction, planning or land transaction practices in Kadıköy.

100 to the Greeks, 50 to the Armenians³² and a less than a dozen to the Levantines (Stepanian, 2012, p.41). Starting the second half of the century, Kadıköy witnessed an exponential demographic growth. This was due to several social, economic and infrastructural reasons³³. Finally, by the year 1882, the district's population grew to 6.733, distributed as follows: 2.695 Muslims, 1.831 Armenians, 1.822 Greeks, 249 Jews³⁴, 92 Latins, 28 Bulgarians and 16 Catholics (Karpas, 1985, p.204-205). This multiethnic, multiconfessional and multilingual social fabric left its imprint on the spatial character of the district during the era of Ottoman modernization, which, among other things, led to the introduction of new urban regulations and policies.

4. Economic Context

Kadıköy's economic landscape radically changed over the course of the nineteenth century. From an agricultural cluster to a major transportation hub, Kadıköy strongly relied on its natural assets (i.e. strategic location, water resources, undeveloped and fertile lands) to shape its economy.

Up until the mid 19th century, Kadıköy was known as the “kitchen-garden” of the imperial palace. It owed this title to its vast agricultural hinterlands: over a hundred plots of lands, 25 to 50 *dönüm*³⁵ each, cultivated for livestock and crop production (Stepanian, 2012, p.39). Orchards of cherry, walnut, pear, quince and fig were scattered

³² A census of the Armenian population conducted in 1878 shows that 332 Armenian households existed in Kadıköy (Damadyan, 2016)

³³ See Chapter 5, Section A.2. Changes in the Land Cover / Land Use Patterns and Property Transactions for a more detailed analysis

³⁴ There are no mentions of Jewish presence in Old Core Kadıköy (Osmanağa or Caferağa) in Stepanian's memoirs (written in 1872). Jews started settling in the Rihtim neighborhood of Kadıköy from the mid 1870s onwards.

³⁵ Ottoman unit of area, equivalent to 919 m²

in and beyond the neighborhood and cultivated by *bostancıbaşı*³⁶. Kadıköy was particularly famous for three grape varieties: the *Çavuş*, *Çoban* and *Ru-yi nigâr* grapes.

The area was also known for fishing and its associated activities. In fact, much of its pre-modern economy depended on an active network of small shops and workshops such as the following: 1 silversmith workshop, 1 carpentry workshop, 1 timber and other construction material selling shop, 2 bakeries, 1 butcher shop, 2 dairy processing workshops, 6 grocery stores, and 6 tobacco selling shops (Stepanian, 2012, p.41-42). Additionally, there were twelve restaurants in the area – four of which were located on the waterfront – and ten *şaraphanes* or wine houses (six owned by Greeks and four owned by Armenians) (Stepanian, 2012, p.42). Kadıköy was also a recreational space for some of Istanbul’s residents. It attracted families who wanted to escape - temporarily or permanently- the city proper to a more open, rural and clean environment. Kadıköy offered large open spaces to practice hunting, equestrian sports and other kinds of outdoor activities. It also boasted beautiful panoramic views of the Old City, Galata and the Prince Islands, “especially at night, when Pera drowned in a sea of sparkling lights” (Stepanian, 2012, p. 255).

From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, economic activities in Kadıköy flourished. In 1852, the *Şirket-i Hayriye*, a public maritime transport company, started operating twice a day – a morning and a night commute - with a passenger capacity of 30-35 people³⁷. The inauguration of the Haydarpaşa-Izmit railway in 1871 further facilitated land travel³⁸. The expansion of transportation networks to the Asian side of

³⁶ Literally head of gardeners. *Bostancıbaşı* was a bureaucratic post, referring to the imperial guards in charge of the security of the Bosphorus and the Marmara shores. After retirement, each *bostancıbaşı* was endowed a garden to secure revenues.

³⁷ See CHAPTER V

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³⁸ Ibid

Istanbul increased traffic, commercial activities, and industrial production in Kadıköy and beyond. Consequently, the district's economy which had previously been based on agricultural production evolved into one based on transportation, tourism and industrial activities. These developments "changed the status of Kadıköy" from a distant suburban quarter used as a summer resort to a center of transportation and commerce (Kuban, 2010).

5. Administrative and Institutional Contexts

Traditional Ottoman urban administration was based on decentralization (Çelik, 1986). Before the Tanzimat reforms, the Ottoman capital was divided into four *kadılıks* (boroughs): Istanbul, Eyüp, Galata and Üsküdar. Each *kadılık* was governed by a *Kadı* (judge), a government official responsible for the juridical and administrative matters of the borough at large (Shaw and Shaw, 1977). *Kadılıks* were divided into *semts* (quarters) which were in turn organized into *mahalles* (neighborhoods) (see Figure 19). Kadıköy was a *semt* in the Üsküdar district. It was governed by local religious leaders (imams and priests) who carried out the same administrative and juridical tasks as the *Kadı* but at the local scale. The imams of Osmanağa and Caferağa mosques administered the social lives of Muslim inhabitants, while the heads of Hagia Euphemia and Surp Takavor churches managed matters related to the Greek and Armenian Orthodox residents, respectively.

Municipal services such as issuing construction licenses for private buildings, ensuring water supply and street maintenance were administered by government

officials in charge of the entire city called *şehremini*³⁹ and *mimarbaşı*⁴⁰ in cooperation with the mahalle leaders (imams and priests). In this respect, the head of the Surp Takavor parish - along with other local stakeholders - exercised a key role in the development of communal buildings and other urban projects in Kadıköy⁴¹. The direct supervision of construction works was conducted by *the bostancıbaşı*, an imperial guard in charge of ensuring public order, social control and conformity in the different districts of Istanbul (Kaplan, 2012). The *bostancıbaşı* had to record all building activities. He was an integral part of the construction dynamics at both the district and the *mahalle* levels. For example, during the reconstruction operations of the Surp Takavor Church in 1814, *bostancıbaşı* Deli Abdullah was responsible for ensuring the proper implementation of the works as per Sultan Mahmud II's *firman*. As such, Deli Abdullah had to make sure that the operations would be completed in 41 days, and that the new church would be built according to the former church's architectural specifications⁴². The *muhtesib* or *ihtisap ağası* was the *Kadı*'s assistant responsible for market regulation and the collection of taxes from shopkeepers. Public safety and order in the mahalle were ensured by the *subaşı*, a police chief who patrolled the town in shifts. The *subaşı* was also responsible for enforcing the sharia law in regard to the restoration and maintenance of non-Muslim religious buildings. For example, in the early 19th century, Kadıköy's *subaşı* fined Surp Takavor's priest an amount of 1,350 *kuruş* for restoring the roof of the church without requesting a *firman* for it. Finally,

³⁹ City prefect

⁴⁰ Chief architect

⁴¹ See Social Factors: The Role of Public and Private Stakeholders

⁴² See CHAPTER V

religious, ethnic and professional communities were responsible for street maintenance, solid waste collection and other municipal services.

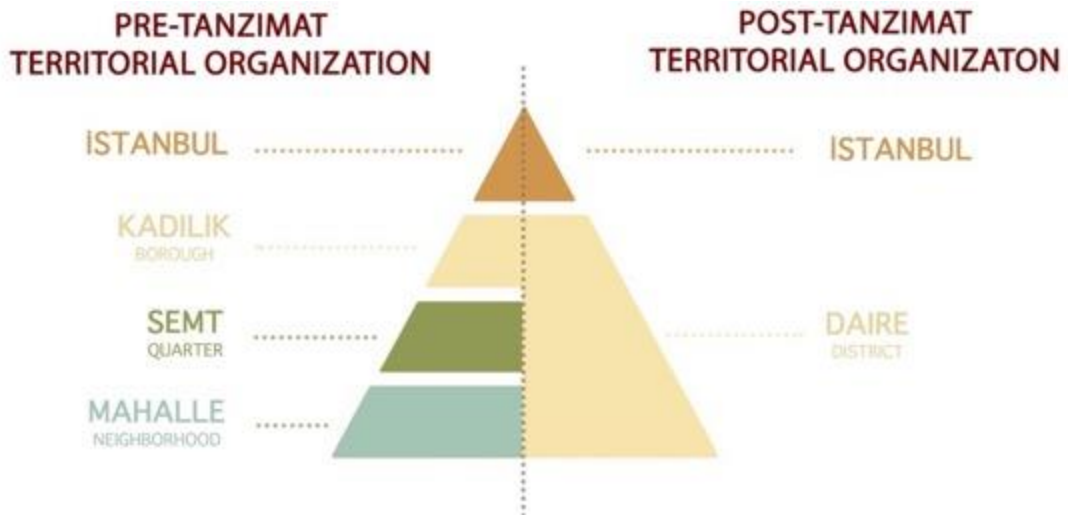


Figure 19. Administrative division of urban space in the Ottoman Empire before and after the Tanzimat reforms.

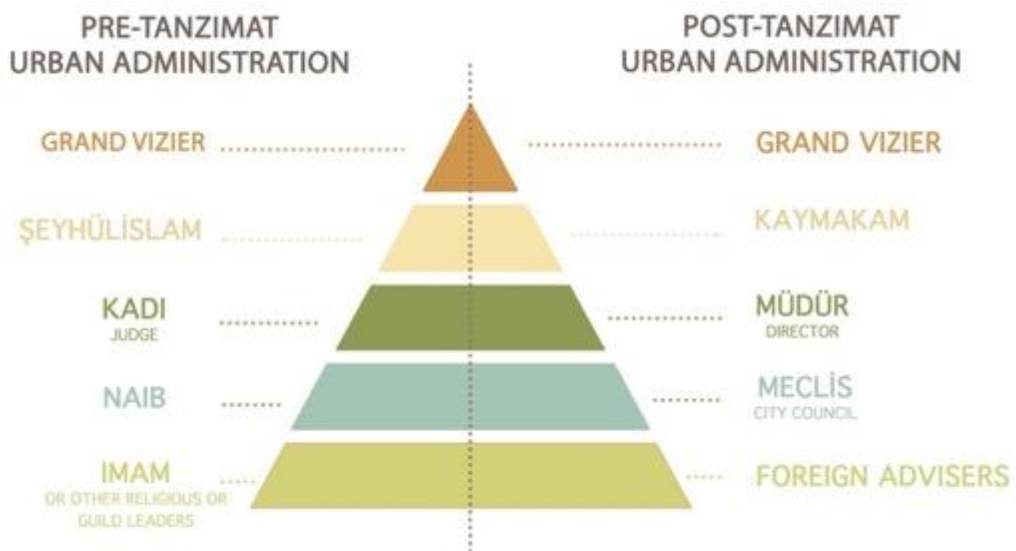


Figure 20. Organization of governing bodies in the Ottoman Empire before the Tanzimat reforms

For centuries, the Ottoman state adopted the urban governance model described above. However, in the early 19th century, Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1838) started introducing a centralized administrative system, a project that became systematized

during the Tanzimat Period (Tekeli, 1992, Çelik, 1986). As a result, urban administration moved from the jurisdiction of *Kadıs* to that of ministries and municipalities (see Figure 21). A modern municipal organization in the form of *şehremaneti* or city prefecture was created in 1855. The *şehremaneti* was administered by the *şehremeni* (the prefect) and twelve members of the *şehir meclisi* (the city council representing different millets and members of guilds residing in Istanbul). The role of the *şehremaneti* was to provide basic needs (such as food and water), regulate and collect taxes, construct and repair roads, clean and embellish the city, and control markets and guilds (Rosenthal, 1982; Çelik, 1986). Additionally, several councils were created for the management and regularization of different urban matters such as municipal regulations, city planning, and public works. The *İntizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu* (Commission for the Order of the City), which was established in 1855, proposed to organize the capital into fourteen districts while designating the area comprised of Pera, Galata and Tophane (also known as The Sixth District) as a model for future municipal organization. The fourteen districts were effectively established in 1868 following a municipal regulation (*Dersaadet Idare-i Belediye Nizamnamesi*). Kadıköy was defined as the thirteenth district. Its first municipal council was created in 1874. The head of the council was Osman Hamdi Bey, a prominent Ottoman bureaucrat, archaeologist, museologist, and painter. (Esad, 2011). Several municipal councils succeeded this first council headed by Osman Hamdi Bey. Historical records such as Celal Esad's document (2011) show how the socio-cultural diversity of Kadıköy's population was reflected in its municipal council (see Figure 21). The organization of Istanbul into several districts continued over the following years. In 1877, the capital was divided

into twenty districts as per the *Dersaadet Belediye Kanunu*. A year later, the number of districts was reduced to ten, and Kadıköy was listed as the tenth district.

On Üçüncü Belediye Dairesi Başkan ve Üyelerinin Adlarını Gösteren Defter

Başkan	Yâver Efendi
Üye	Kirkor Efendi - Kendisi Hariciye Muhasebecisi olup müdâvim olduğu (<i>toplantılara katıldığı</i>)
Üye	İstifanoviç - Paris'te olmasıyla avdet eylediği
Üye	Mösyö Lorando - Müdâvim olduğu
Üye	Mösyö Dubini - Müdâvim olduğu
Üye	Mösyö Kurbi - Vefat ettiği
Üye	Rıza Efendi - İstifa etmiştir
Üye	Mösyö Dimitri Kopili (<i>Kupolo</i>) - Devam etmediği
Üye	Canik Ağa - Hasta olduğundan devam edemediği
Üye	Mösyö Rali - İstifa ettiği
Üye	Abacızade Ligor Efendi - İzinle Filise'ye gittiği

Figure 21. Kadıköy municipal council, headed by Yaver Efendi (1875-1886), sometime between 1875 and 1879 (the original document bears no date) (Esad, 2011).

B. The Great Kadıköy Fire of 1855

The Great Kadıköy Fire of 1855 - also known as *İskele Yangını*⁴³ (Esad, 2011) - is a major event that radically transformed the urban fabric of nineteenth century Kadıköy. Although little is written in academic and historical references such as Çelik (1986) and Esad (2011) about this incident, we can derive great insights from the post-fire planning of the neighborhood. In fact, the reorganization of the space after the fire is one of the best examples of urban modernization in the Tanzimat period. Its

⁴³ The Ferryboat Dock Fire

importance further lies in the fact that it took place in a context that is both socially and spatially different than other neighborhoods in Istanbul such as Pera, Hocapaşa, Aksaray, and Ayvansaray. In this respect, Stepanian's memoirs offer great insight into this metamorphic event. It provides a detailed description of the fire source and its geographic limits, an inventory of the affected houses, shops and other communal buildings, the measures taken to stop the fire, the rebuilding initiatives, the neighborhood reorganization plan and other important historical and technical information. It is witnessed and narrated by Stepanian himself - a Kadıköy local who has a profound understanding of construction and planning practices.

The Great Kadıköy Fire started on the evening of August 14th, 1855, in a storage for combustible materials in Caferağa. It quickly stretched into three branches (see Figure 22):

- The first branch crawled toward the west, where the lower neighborhood was located. It completely razed down the Surp Takavor Church and the adjacent school, also ravaging around 150 houses (a hundred owned by Greek families and fifty owned by Armenian families). Only Hagia Euphemia Church and two houses were saved from the fire.
- The second branch moved northward, towards the Osmanağa Mosque. But the fire was quickly put out thanks to the efforts of the local residents, led by Selim Mehmet Paşa⁴⁴ and Hagopig Agha Noradoungian⁴⁵. The residents collectively used water from the nearby public fountain and salvaged several key buildings such as the Osmanağa Mosque and Medrese, the town's bakery and mills, and

⁴⁴ One of Kadıköy's prominent residents (Stepanian, 2012)

⁴⁵ One of Kadıköy's prominent residents from the Amira class. (Barsoumian, 1982)

the public bath. Moreover, French soldiers who were serving in the Selimiye barracks came to the rescue with their fire extinguishing equipment and managed to save most of the shops located in the commercial cluster on Kadıköy's waterfront.

- The third branch extended eastward, towards the Çarıkçı Mahallesi. Once again, the locals succeeded in putting out the fire and sparing most of the houses in the upper neighborhood from burning down.

The Great Kadıköy Fire took a heavy toll on the urban fabric of the old core. It destroyed 300 to 400 houses and shops (Masis, 18 August 1855; Esad, 2011). Despite wreaking havoc, the fire paved the way for the reconfiguration of Kadıköy's old core, and the implementation of one of the first grid plans in Istanbul and the Ottoman Empire at large. To this end, I will closely examine in the next two chapters how the fire facilitated the implementation of the new regulations of the Tanzimat urban reforms in Kadıköy. I will use Stepanian's memoirs as a local source of data, and analyze it in parallel to official and historical sources. This will help me understand the actual implementation of urban modernization on the ground.

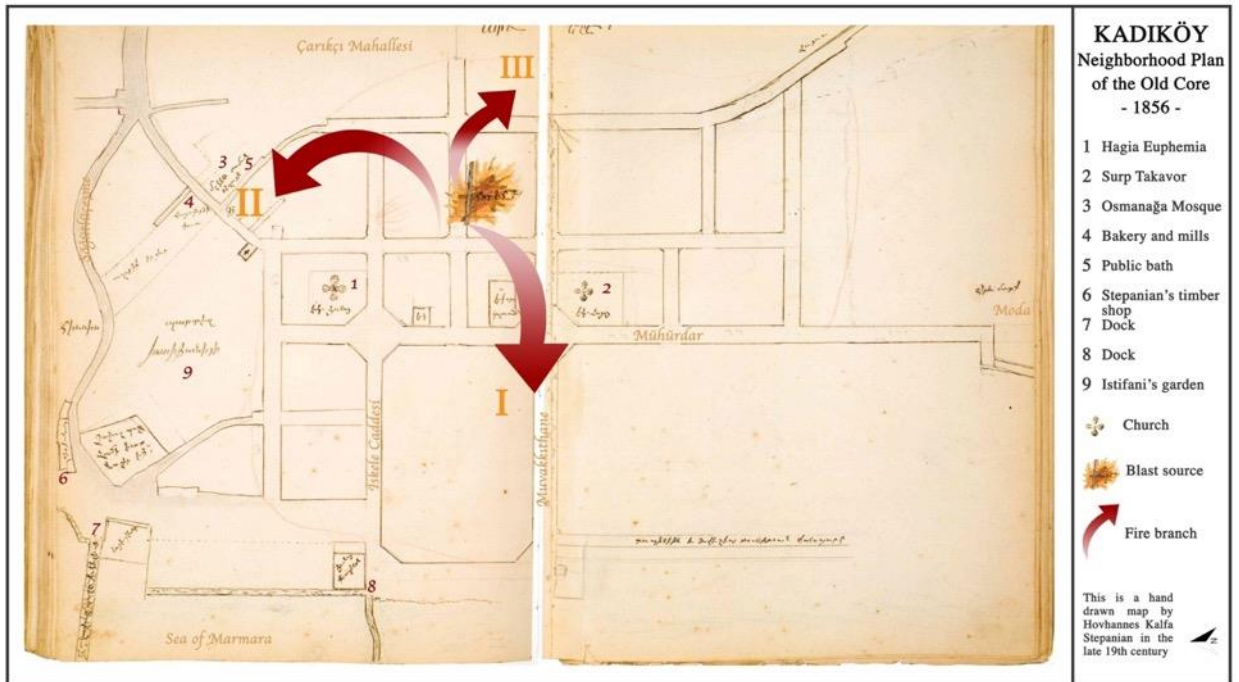


Figure 22. Map of the spread of the Great Kadıköy Fire; the three red arrows represent the three fire branches. The schematic drawings are overlaid on Stepanian's (2012) map.



Figure 23. Extinguishing a fire in Moda, Kadıköy, in 1909. Photo retrieved on November 30th, 2020 from Kadıköy Ansiklopedisi Facebook page, retrieved on January 26, 2021 from <https://www.facebook.com/KadikoyAnsiklopedisi>

CHAPTER IV

THE STEPANIAN MEMOIRS AND MAPS

Urban memoirs are a valuable source of information that provide an alternative account of historical, spatial and social facts and events, which the official documents tend to neglect. Due to the scarcity of written and visual sources on Istanbul's peripheral neighborhoods in the nineteenth century, Hovhannes Kalfa Stepanian's memoirs constitute a precious document to understand the urban transformations of Kadıköy during the period of Ottoman modernization.

This chapter seeks to decipher the Stepanian memoirs and maps. It comprises three main sections: in the first section I will present an overview of the author's profile and explain how Stepanian's social connections informed his knowledge of Kadıköy's spatial dynamics; in the second section I will discuss Stepanian's methodology in collecting information and writing his memoirs, and will explain the main topics he covers in his document. Finally, in the third section, I will analyze the semiotics and linguistics of Stepanian's maps.

A. Hovhannes Kalfa Stepanian

1. Author's Profile

SIX GENERATIONS OF BUILDERS IN KADIKÖY AND THE ENVIRONS	
1670s - 1770s	PAPERTSI GHAZER
1702 - 1776	MELKON
1729 - 1805	GIRAGOS KALFA MELKONIAN
1766 - 1829	HOVHANNES KALFA GIRAGOSSIAN

SIX GENERATIONS OF BUILDERS IN KADIKÖY AND THE ENVIRONS	
1804 - 1838	STEPAN HOVHANNES KALFAYAN (BORN STEPAN HAROUTIOUNIAN, SMYRNA)
1834 - 1912	HOVHANNES KALFA STEPANIAN

Table 2. Six-generations of Kalfayans

To understand the importance of the Stepanian memoirs, it is crucial to understand the profile and background of Stepanian himself. Born in Kadıköy in 1834, Hovhannes Kalfa Stepanian is a prominent figure in the district’s history. He comes from a family of master builders for six generations (see Table 2 Table 2. Six-generations of Kalfayans); His title, *Kalfa* or headworker in Turkish, reflects the professional roots of his family.

Stepanian started his profession at the age of ten working alongside his older brother, Sarkis, in the family-owned *kereste*⁴⁶ workshop located at the heart of Caferağa. The workshop was inherited from Hovhannes Kalfa Giragossian⁴⁷, Stepanian’s great-grandfather and one of the most renowned builders in Kadıköy and the neighboring areas in the eighteenth century. Following Sarkis’ death in 1856, young Stepanian fully took over the family business and run it for long years until his death in 1912. Although based in Kadıköy, Stepanian’s job required regular travels to both Üsküdar and Istanbul to supply his workshop with raw materials and construction tools. This triangulated relationship with the three urban centers helped Stepanian expand his network of connections and his scope of activities: the experience acquired working as a

⁴⁶ Timber in Turkish

⁴⁷ Further details on Hovhannes Kalfa Giragossian and his family business are discussed in section A.2. of this chapter.

timber merchant and a builder allowed him to develop a deep understanding of Kadıköy's urban and social fabrics and consequently trace the dynamics between the two. Stepanian was knowledgeable about all matters related to land and building transactions. In his memoirs, Stepanian provides detailed information about numerous transactions that helped shape Kadıköy's urban fabric over the years. This information includes details on property type, location, area, price, buyer's name, seller's name and transaction date. In an effort to analyze Stepanian's data, I have combined all the information on land and building transactions in **Error! Reference source not found.**

Stepanian also had good mapping and cartography skills; he included in his memoirs three neighborhood plans⁴⁸ of Caferağa and Osmanağa as well as numerous technical drawings of landmark buildings in Kadıköy such as the Surp Takavor Armenian Apostolic Church and the Hamazaspyan-Muradyan School. Stepanian was also well-informed on the economic, administrative and regulatory contexts of Kadıköy at that time. Having lived under the reign of five different sultans, he was particularly knowledgeable about the firmans related to construction activities for non-Muslims in Kadıköy. Moreover, Stepanian was familiar with different land and property laws and regulations such as the land tenure law, the land transaction law, and the inheritance law.⁴⁹

Stepanian's knowledge of the spatial dynamics of Kadıköy was enriched by his elaborate social connections. A prominent resident of Kadıköy, Stepanian came from an esteemed family of master builders who contributed to the development of the town over three centuries. His marriage to the daughter of Surp Takavor Parish's priest is a

⁴⁸ Section C of this chapter is devoted to the analysis of Stepanian's maps

⁴⁹ Stepanian provides informative insights on the legal context in Kadıköy in the 19th century. This data is organized in a summary table in Chapter 5, Section C: Kadikoy Tanzimat in Theory vs. Tanzimat In Practice: Imperial Regulations vs. Local Practices.

clear indication of Stepanian's social standing. Located at the heart of the old core, right next to the Armenian Apostolic church, Stepanian's house extended on both sides of Mühürdar Street (see Figure 25). Due to his prominent status, Stepanian was voted twice member⁵⁰ of the Kadıköy Armenian neighborhood council from 1860 to 1866. The council grouped prominent and active Armenians who managed the communal and social matters of the community and advocated for its rights and needs.

Throughout his life, Stepanian cherished his connections with people from different religious communities and social standings. His wide range of contacts extended from imperial servants and government officials to local notables and religious figures from different backgrounds (Muslim, Greek, Latin and Armenian.) In his memoirs, Stepanian mentions the names of over two hundred Kadıköy residents (see **Error! Reference source not found.**), most of which are cited in connection with land or building activities in the town. For example, when describing the demographic changes in Kadıköy in the early 1850s, Stepanian writes about Konchji Yanko Sdrati Rali, a Greek dignitary who bought Stepan Meguerdichian's farm for 17,500 Kuruş in the early 1850s. The Greek dignitary later purchased all the lands around the farm, pooled it and sold it either in smaller parcels or by the square meter. As a result, Stepanian explains that the area turned into a well-developed neighborhood (Stepanian, 2012, p. 257). This exemplifies Stepanian's extensive knowledge of the locals, and sheds light on his ability to connect the social with the spatial thanks to his profession as a builder and his family's long history with construction activities in Kadıköy.

⁵⁰ Ատենադարձ (Adenatbir) in Armenian

2. *The Kalfayans*⁵¹: A Family of Master Builders

When it comes to families of Armenian architects and builders in Ottoman Istanbul, one name dominates historical and academic references: The Balian. Rightfully so, for the Balian have contributed to designing and building some of the most prominent landmarks of the imperial capital during the 18th and 19th centuries (Tuğlacı, 1990; Kuruyazıcı, 2010; Wharton, 2015). The list includes the Dolmabahçe Palace, the Old Yıldız Palace, the Büyük Mecidiye Camii in Ortaköy, the Surp Asdvadzazin Armenian Church in Beşiktaş, and many other public and private buildings. Important as it was the role of the Balian family in shaping late Ottoman architecture, there were other families of Armenian architects who contributed to the transformation of Ottoman Istanbul's urban fabric. In this respect, Stepanian's memoirs shed light on the Kalfayans, another multigenerational family of Armenian builders, who played a key role in the transformation of numerous neighborhoods in Istanbul. Scholars have so far neglected the Kalfayans for two reasons. First, the Kalfayans' contribution to local architecture was mostly limited to Istanbul's peripheral neighborhoods such as Kadıköy, Üsküdar, and Sarıgazi; unlike the Balian, whose projects were often located in more prominent areas such as Karaköy, Beşiktaş, Ortaköy and the Bosphorus waterfront. Second, the Kalfayans undertook modest projects commissioned by the locals (merchants, government officials, religious entities and others); whereas most of the buildings the Balian designed were commissioned by members of the imperial family. Nevertheless, the Kalfayans made a major contribution in weaving Istanbul's urban fabric, both before and during the Tanzimat period.

⁵¹ The Kalfayans is a generic family name used in this thesis to refer to Stepanian's family of six-generation of builders (*kalfas*) in Kadıköy. Not all family members carried the Kalfayan last name since in the nineteenth century family names were determined by the father's name.

The presence of the Kalfayans in Kadikoy goes back to the 17th century, when Papertsi Ghazer, one of Stepanian's forefathers (great-great-great-grandfather) settled in the area and started his career as a carpenter. For over two centuries and six generations, the Kalfayans built and renovated some of the key buildings and landmarks in Kadıköy. They also constructed summer houses in *Fındıklı*, public fountains in *Sarıgazi* and religious buildings in *Üsküdar*. A notable role played by an architect from the family is Hovhannes Kalfa Giragossian's contribution to the construction of the Selimiye military barracks, commissioned by Sultan Mahmud II in 1825. The Kalfayans also contributed to the reconstruction of the Surp Takavor Armenian Apostolic Church in Kadıköy. The church was reconstructed twice: first in 1814, as per a *firman* issued by Sultan Mahmud II and later in 1855⁵², following the Kadıköy fire. Additionally, the Kalfayans built the first Armenian school in Kadıköy in 1836, the Hamazaspian-Muradyan school, which was located right next to the Surp Takavor Church. This prominent family of *kalfas* built also many residential buildings and houses for government officials and notables in and around Kadıköy such as Çuhadar Ağa Ladikli Ahmed Ağa, Şam Kapu Kehyası Hacı Şerif Efendi and others.

What makes the Kalfayans contribution to local architecture particularly significant is the fact that they helped in shaping the urban fabric of a whole town and its environs instead of erecting stand-alone monumental structures scattered across the capital. As Kadıköy was growing into a developed city, the Kalfayans constructed numerous buildings to host some of the town's key functions (i.e. religious, educational, recreational). Their services were not limited to one community only but extended to all

⁵² No *firman* was issued for the second reconstruction works of Surp Takavor since it occurred during Tanzimat period; religious monuments for non-Muslim communities during Tanzimat could be erected as per the Gülhane Decree of 1839.

local communities, particularly the Muslims and Greeks. The Kalfayans played an important role in shaping Kadıköy's both spatial and social fabrics. While the Balian were the court architects, the Kalfayans were undeniably the people's architects in late Ottoman Istanbul.

3. *Status and House Location*

The Kalfayans owned numerous properties in Kadıköy: two residential buildings, a timber workshop and several agricultural lands. The locations and features of the Kalfayans' properties reflect their family's status. The Stepanian map (see Figure 25) locates the Kalfayan family house in the most prominent area of Kadıköy, that is the center of Caferağa Neighborhood. The house was part of a cluster of key buildings and services linked to the Armenian community such as the Surp Takavor Church, several buildings and agricultural lands owned by the Armenian Apostolic Parish, and the Hamazaspyan-Muradyan School. This shows that the family had good relations with the church and therefore was able to acquire such a central location in the district. The house had an L shape and extended over an area of 207 sq m. It was formed by two separate buildings located on both sides of the Mühürdar Street. On the west side of Mühürdar was the main, three-story family house: a timber building with more than six bedrooms; while on the east side of Mühürdar was a smaller house, rented as a pavilion to families from the city in summers⁵³.

The family workshop was as strategically located as the family house. The Kalfayans' *kereste* workshop, inherited from their grandfather, Hovhannes Kalfa

⁵³ Here, the *city* is in reference to Istanbul, as Kadıköy was considered a village.

Giragossian, was located on Caferağa's waterfront, next to the Çavuşbası Iskele⁵⁴ (see Figure 26). Moreover, the workshop was positioned at the intersection of two main thoroughfares (the waterfront promenade and Orta Moda) and was part of a major cluster of industrial shops and recreative services (i.e. restaurants, coffee houses) owned by prominent Kadıköy residents.

Additionally, the Kalfayans owned two large plots of lands: an orchard with an area of 7 dönüm (equivalent to 7,000 sq m) bought from the Chamurdjian family and another plot of land with an area of 12 dönüm (equivalent to 12,000 sq m) bought from Kababcı Hasan in 1853 (see Figure 24).

The physical assets of the Kalfayans are a direct representation of their socio-economic standing in Kadıköy. It is also a reflection of their family's history as master builders. In his memoirs, Stepanian combines information proving these two characteristics of the family with his own accounts of the social and spatial fabrics of Kadıköy. The result is a hybrid document: a personal as well as an urban biography.

⁵⁴ Dock

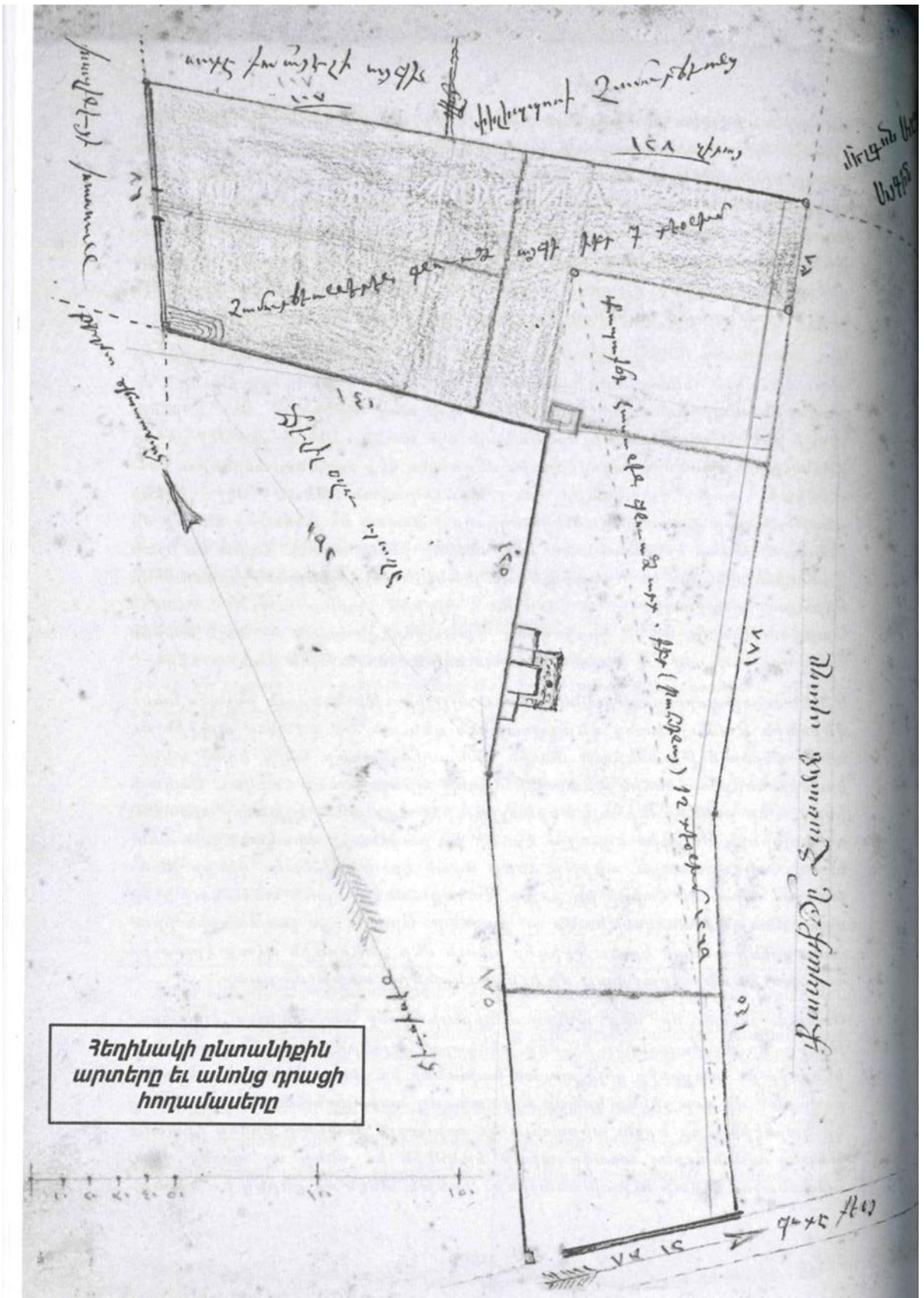


Figure 24. Plan drawing of Stepanian's family garden and annexed vacant plot of land

B. The Memoirs:

1. A personal and an Urban Biography

Hovhannes Kalfa Stepanian's memoirs are a detailed account of nineteenth century Kadıköy. They focus on two main elements: the Kalfayan family history and Kadıköy's urban history. Stepanian is thoroughly knowledgeable about both topics. He documents information he personally collected over the years about his town, townsmen and profession in a 400-page memoirs and a series of maps. The result is more than an archiving work; it is a medium of transmission of Kadıköy's social and urban history to future readers. This is evident in Stepanian's repeated use of the word “ընթերցողը” or “the reader” in his memoirs as if he were in constant dialogue with the readers of his work. His aim is not only to describe facts and events but also to invite readers to understand and question how the development of the town and its people came about, and analyze it within the large context of changes in the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century (Stepanian, 2012, p.276).

Stepanian's memoirs are organized into three sections: A, B and C. Section A provides a historical overview of Kadıköy from antiquity until the mid-1850s. Section B presents the Kalfayan family's history while emphasizing the life and works of Hovhannes Kalfa Giragossian. Finally, Section C includes a brief autobiography of Hovhannes Kalfa Stepanian and sheds light on the urban transformations in nineteenth century Kadıköy.

All the stories, facts and information that Stepanian shares about his family and social life in Kadıköy are intertwined with historical and spatial facts. Stepanian discusses in his memoirs local people's response to major historical or political events that occurred in the empire such as the Anglo-Turkish War in 1806 (p.75-83), the

different *firmans* related to building activities in Kadıköy during the reign of different sultans (p.92, 95, 96), the Kadıköy fire of 1855 (p. 301-309), and the modernization plans of Sultan Abdülmeçid.

Moreover, Stepanian devotes a whole section of his memoirs to the urban development of Kadıköy. He states that “the thirty years [between 1852 and 1882] were very important to the development of both the neighborhood and its inhabitants” (Stepanian, 2012, p.9). He identifies key factors of change such as the 1855 Fire, the expansion of transportation networks (the establishment of the first public ferry service in 1850-52 and the establishment of the railway system in 1872) and the mutually-transforming demographic and spatial changes. He states that these transformations were negatively perceived by the locals at first, however, they soon became a source of wealth and growth for the neighborhood and its population. The developments and changes that Stepanian addresses are in fact the late Ottoman modernization plans; he describes it as “a Pandora’s box that will bring prosperous days to Kadıköy and its environs” (Stepanian, 2012, p.253). Stepanian provides factual information on how these changes were locally perceived and implemented. Stepanian’s memoirs offer significant insights into the literature on Ottoman modernization, particularly the local implications and dynamics that preceded, concurred and followed modernization processes. They also constitute a personal account from the perspective of a local, residing in a neighborhood known for its ethno-religious plurality.

2. Stepanian’s Methodology for Writing His Memoirs

Stepanian’s memoirs are a multiple-source document. They are based on two sets of data: written documents and oral information collected from family members,

friends and other Kadıköy locals; and Stepanian's personal narrative. Both the oral and the written sources provide great insights into Stepanian's time as well as the past of Kadıköy and the author's own family.

Stepanian was thirty-eight years old when he began writing his memoirs. It took him three years (from 1872 to 1875) to complete it. In later years, he added chapters about major events in the empire and their reflections on the town. His last annex is dated May 7, 1903.

Stepanian relied on different sources of information when writing his memoirs. He spent six years collecting data. Most of the historical information in the book is sourced from two manuscripts written respectively in 1814 and 1817 by Father Hagop Seuylemezian, also a resident of Kadıköy. Stepanian also collected stories and information about different generations of Kalfayans mostly from his grandmother Srpouhi Mahdesi, the spouse of Hovhannes Kalfa Giragossian. Moreover, he referred to tombstones to fetch specific information about historical events and prominent local residents. In the memoirs, Stepanian relates details about his private life and his profession in Kadıköy. But, more importantly, he provides great insights into Kadıköy's urban and social fabrics of the nineteenth century and explains the interplay between the two.

From a technical point of view, two things are striking in Stepanian's memoirs: his good command of the Armenian language and his drawing skills. Stepanian started working at a very young age; he was 10 years old when he first started working in the family *kereste* shop. In parallel, Stepanian attended the local school and developed an interest in writing. Over the years, Stepanian also developed good cartography and drawing skills due to his background as a timber merchant and builder; he drew several

detailed plans of local buildings in Kadıköy as well as neighborhood maps which represent the development of the town's urban fabric in the nineteenth century (see The Maps).

Stepanian's detailed memoirs demonstrate his effort to document all the information he had on Kadıköy and its locals, providing, at the same time, material for future researchers. In his own words, Stepanian "intentionally left a few blank pages" at the end of his manuscript so that "information on Kadıköy or the Kalfayans could be added in the future" (Stepanian, 2012, p.380).

C. The Maps

Stepanian's memoirs offer important insights into the socio-spatial constituents of Kadıköy. The three maps annexed at the end of the book particularly stand out. Hand drawn by Hovhannes Kalfa Stepanian in the late nineteenth century, the maps represent the core area of Kadıköy, namely the Osmanağa and Caferağa neighborhoods. They are organized as follows:

- **Map 1:** Old Core Kadıköy before the 1855 Fire (see Figure 25).
- **Map 2:** Old Core Kadıköy marking 1855 Fire location as well as additional details on land use and ownership. Map 2 is also an overlay of the pre- and post-fire street layout of Old Core Kadıköy (see Figure 26)
- **Map 3:** Old Core Kadıköy after the 1855 Fire: A new urban plan based on the street and building regulations of the Tanzimat Period (see Figure 27).

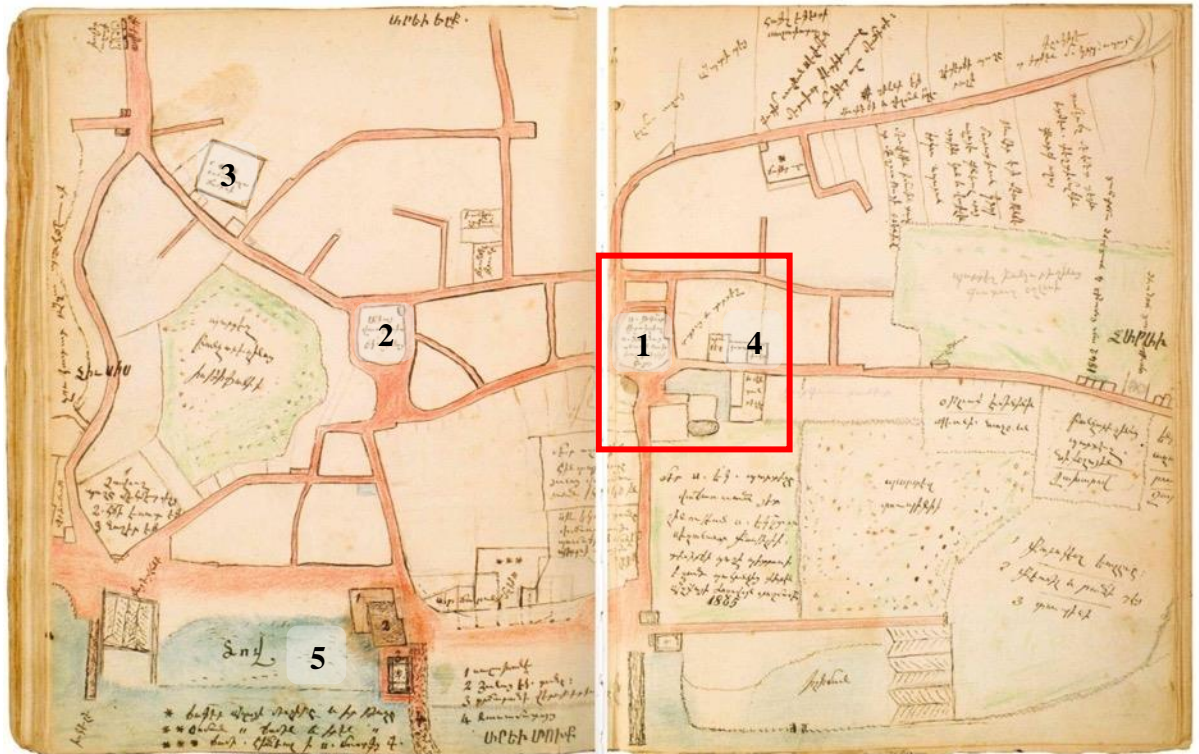


Figure 25. MAP 1: Schematic drawing of Old Core Kadıköy before the 1855 Fire (Stepanian, 2012). (1) Surp Takavor; (2) Hagia Euphemia; (3) Osmanağa Mosque; (4) Stepanian's family house; (5) the Waterfront. The red rectangle highlights the prominent location of HKS family house at the center of Old Core Kadıköy, right next to one of the neighborhood landmarks – the Surp Takavor Church.

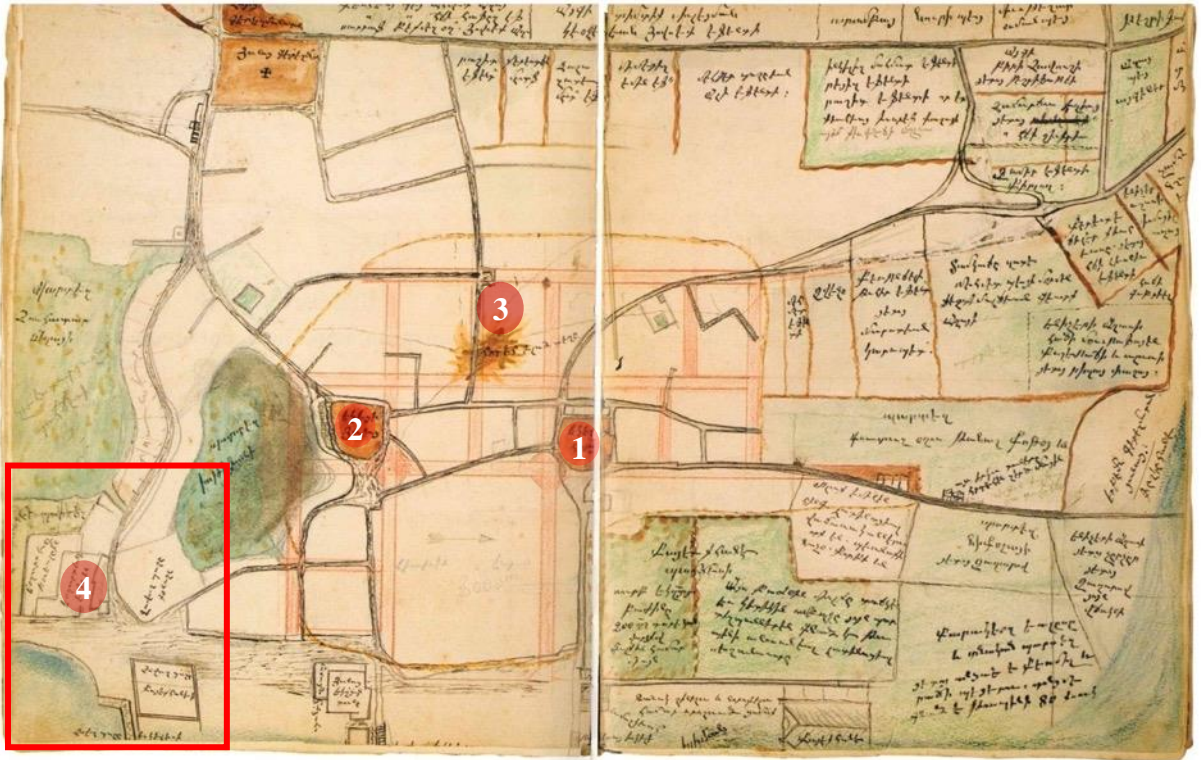


Figure 26. MAP 2: Schematic drawing of Old Core Kadıköy marking the location of the 1855 Fire (Stepanian, 2012). (1) Surp Takavor; (2) Hagia Euphemia; (3) Kadıköy Great Fire location; (4) Stepanian's kereste workshop location. The red rectangle at the bottom left of the map highlights the agglomeration of commercial activities in Kadıköy.

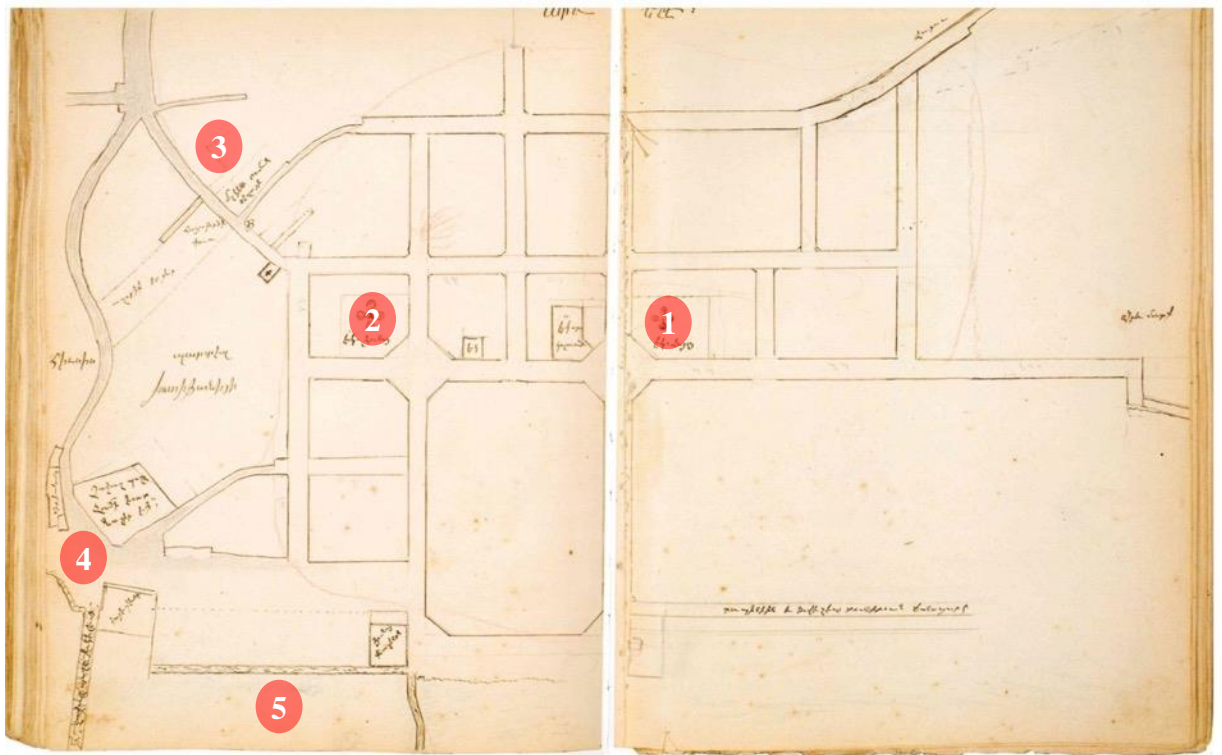


Figure 27. MAP 3: New plan of Old Core Kadıköy post Great Fire of 1855. The plan is developed by Hasan Tahsin Efendi in 1856 and is hand drawn by Hovhannes Kalfa Stepanian (Stepanian, 2012). (1) Surp Takavor; (2) Hagia Euphemia; (3) Osmanağa Mosque; (4) commercial cluster; (5) the waterfront.

The three maps are a precious source of information as they represent one of the first neighborhood planning attempts in Istanbul and the Ottoman Empire at large. Stepanian aims to visualize the transformations of Kadıköy's urban fabric over the years and offers "a medium to draw comparisons between the new and the old fabrics" (Stepanian, 2012, p.380).

The author provides a detailed description of the neighborhood, highlighting its main built elements (e.g. religious buildings, schools, docks), street network and natural components (e.g. gardens, farms and agricultural lands). Stepanian also provides detailed information on land transactions and ownership. Furthermore, he annotates main events and urban changes of nineteenth century Kadıköy. In that sense, Stepanian's map is more than a rigid description of the space; it captures the changing character of the neighborhood and offers visual support to understand the transformations in the physical and social layout of the town during the last century of Ottoman rule. In the sections below, I turn to the linguistics and semiotics of the map.

1. Map Linguistics

The maps are annotated in Armenian. They provide an *état des lieux* or a spatial description of the neighborhood. Possessive pronouns such as "*Մեր*" or "*our*" are used in the maps to indicate sites or buildings owned by the Armenian Apostolic Parish or members of the Armenian community. In some cases, Armenian and Turkish are used alternatively to define the same object. For example, the word "garden" is used both in Armenian "*պարտեզ*" (*bardez*) and in Turkish "*bahçe*" several times in the map (e.g. Çuhadar Ağa Bahçesi, պարտեզ Տուպիսիի). In some cases, the author specifies the use of the green space (e.g. "բանջարեղենի պարտեզ" or farmlands for crop

production), while in other instances he simply marks *պարտէզ* or garden without providing any additional information on its specific use. Moreover, adverbs of time such as “*այժմ*” (now) and “*յետոյ*” (later) are used to indicate the changing ownership of plots of lands in Kadıköy. Through the use of such adverbs temporality is captured in Stepanian’s maps, reflecting the transformations of the urban fabric over time.

2. Map Semiotics

Stepanian’s maps are a rich source of visual information. They contain both spatial and temporal data. Spatial data is represented by shapes or symbols that depict physical elements such as streets, buildings, and vacant plots, while temporal data is represented by texts or symbols which either indicate a specific event or relate a chronological order (see Figure 29). For example, in one of his maps, Stepanian used an irregular shape, very similar to a blast, with hues of fire to indicate the source of the 1855 Fire. Moreover, he annotated property transactions with owners’ name and date to indicate the dynamics of land ownership.

Stepanian also used a variety of colors in his maps: red, to mark points of interests or landmarks; green, to mark vegetated land cover such as urban gardens and farms; blue to mark water bodies; and black to mark street networks. Figure 30 and Figure 31 respectively represent the changes in Kadıköy street network before and after the 1855 Fire, designed according to the Tanzimat regulations.
















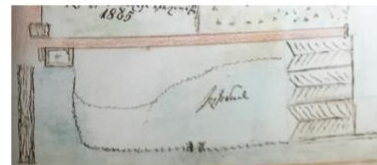


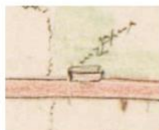

	LAND USE / LAND COVER	EXAMPLES	MAP SEMIOTICS
PRIVATE RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS	GREEK & ARMENIAN RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS	 Greek Orthodox Cemetery  Hagia Euphemia Church  Surp Takavor Church	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Red color denoting key landmarks (e.g. land and property owned by the Greek Orthodox and Armenian Apostolic churches) - Cross symbols to indicate Christian religious monuments
	MUSLIM RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS	 Osmanağa Mosque  Caferağa Mosque  Sultan Mustafa Mosque	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Well-defined plot limits - Asterisks used as map key - Similar graphic to indicate uniformity
PRIVATE NON-RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS	RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS	 HKS House  Residential buildings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Residential buildings grouped in cluster
	COMMERCIAL & RECREATIONAL BUILDINGS	 Cluster of shops  Coffee house  Coffee house	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Commercial buildings grouped in cluster - Well-defined plot limits
VEGETATED PLOTS	BOSTANS URBAN GARDENS	 Tubini's garden  Istiphani's garden  Çuhadar Ağa's garden	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dotted green area to mark private vegetable gardens. - Free-form borders - Light-colored borders
PUBLIC BUILDINGS	FERRY STATIONS	 Çavuşbaşı Ferry Station  Ferry Station	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hatched pattern to indicate ferry stations (oblique lines to indicate wooden roofs for example) - Dark colored and striped pattern to indicate docks - Blue to mark water bodies
	PUBLIC FOUNTAINS	 Halid Ağa fountain  Public fountain  Public fountain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Small rectangular shapes to indicate public fountains
 	LOCATION OF THE		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hues of orange to mark ignition location - Size of symbol : big, which indicates the importance of the fire source

Figure 28. Map semiotics

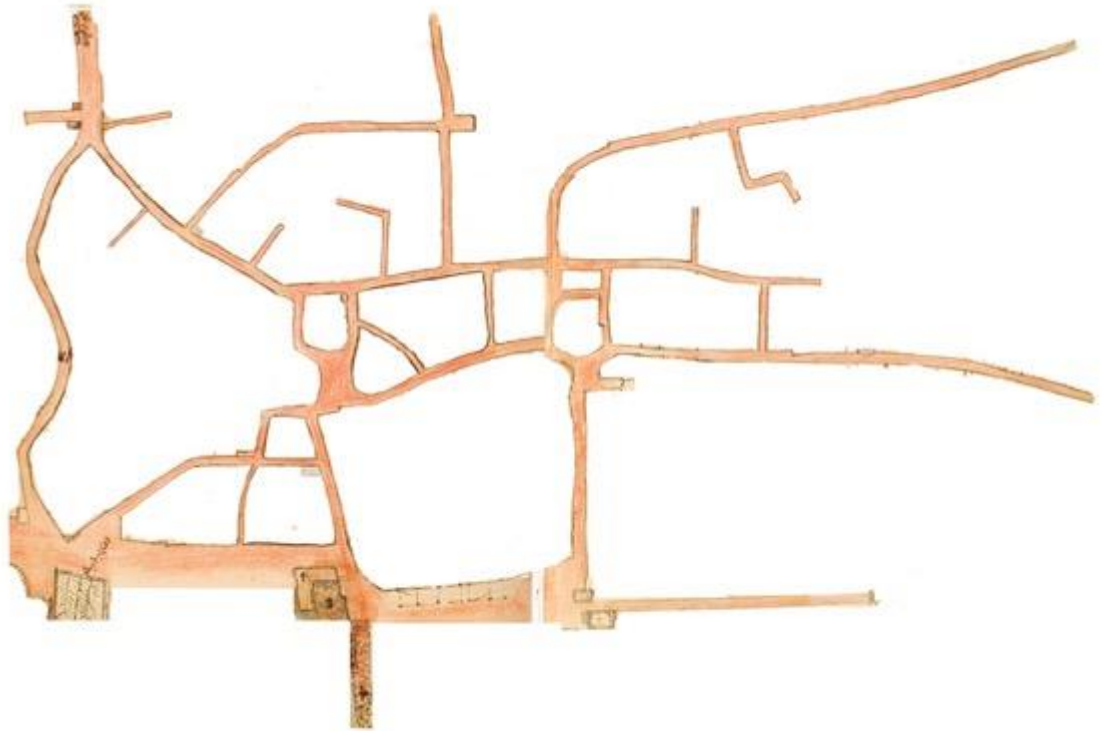


Figure 29. Old Core Kadıköy neighborhood plan and street network before the 1855 fire

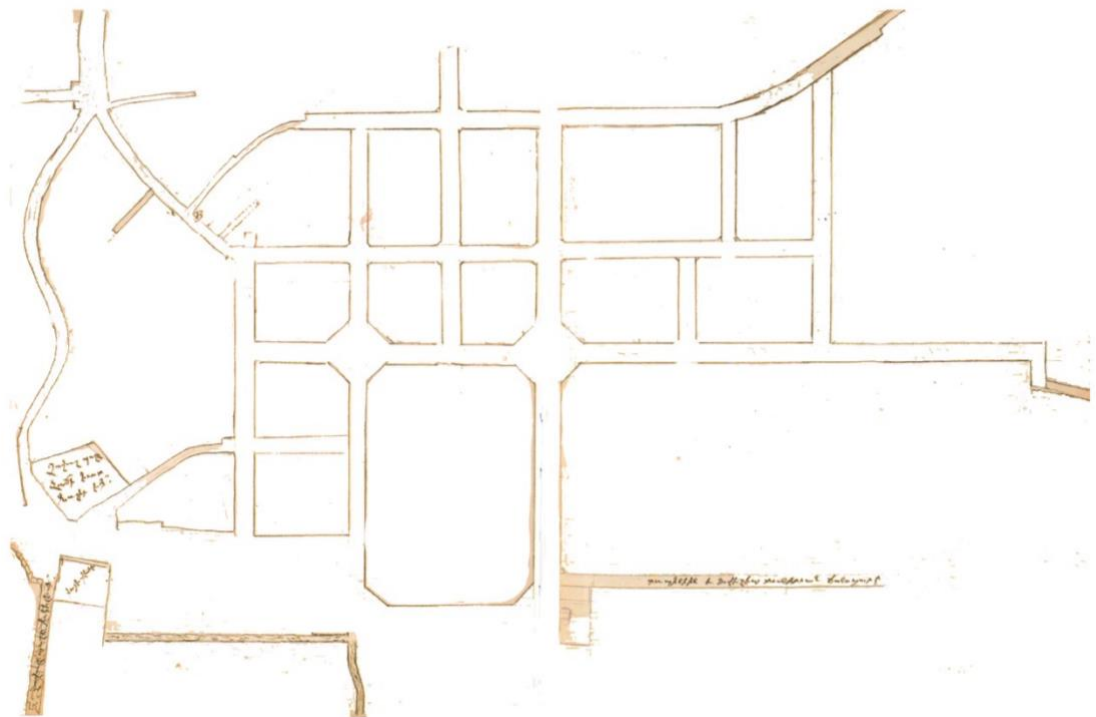


Figure 30. Old Core Kadıköy neighborhood plan and street network after the 1855 fire

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS – URBAN MODERNIZATION IN THE 19TH CENTURY KADIKÖY

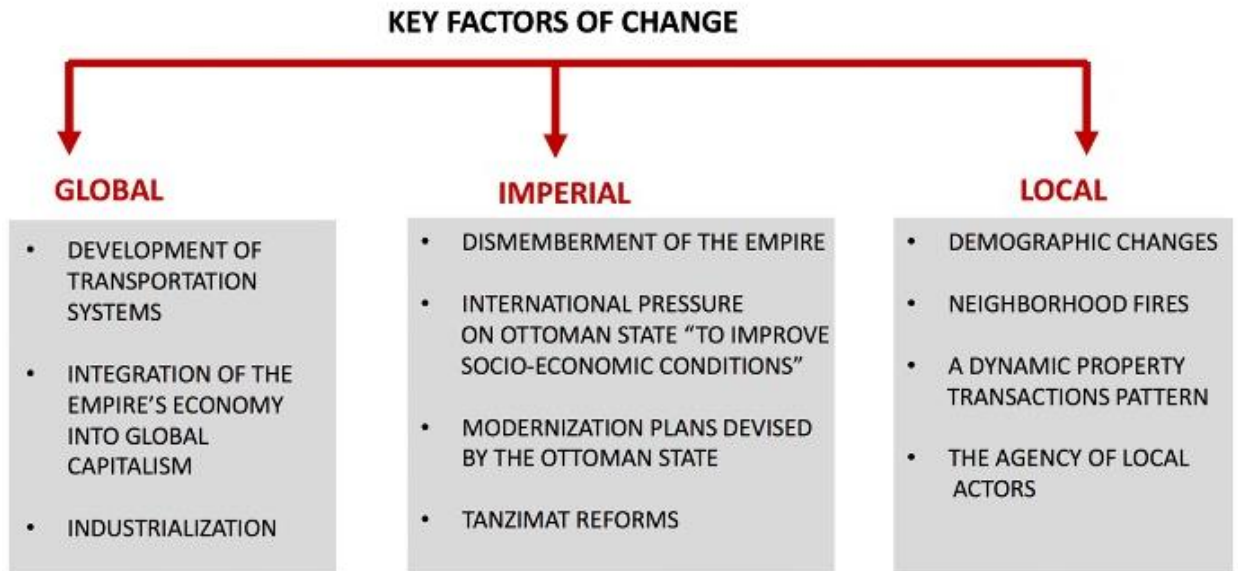


Figure 31. Global, imperial and local factors of change in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire

Major transformations affected the urban fabric of nineteenth-century Kadıköy. These transformations occurred as a result of urban modernization policies devised by the state and implemented across Istanbul and the empire in general. Although bound by common factors of change at the global and imperial scales, there were specific factors, contingent to the local context, which highly influenced the urban transformations across the empire. In this respect, it is important to keep in mind the physical and social characteristics of Kadıköy - a small and mixed neighborhood on the outskirts of Istanbul proper.

In this respect, Stepanian's memoirs and maps together with the Tanzimat rules and regulations (Çelik, 1986; Ergin, 1995a; Ergin, 1995b; Ergin, 1995c), Kadıköy Municipal Surveys (Esad, 2011), and Armenian periodicals (Masis, Istanbul, 1852-

1908; Ports, Tiflis, 1876-1881) provide invaluable information to identify the local factors of change and understand how modernization processes were implemented on the ground. What were these local factors of change that informed modernization processes in Kadıköy and shaped both its urban and social fabrics in the nineteenth century?

To address this question, this chapter will be organized into two main sections. A will examine the spatial factors of change, and B will explore the social factors of change.

In section A, I will first conduct an in-depth analysis of the planning practices in Kadıköy following the 1855 Fire within the context of the Tanzimat rules and regulations. I will examine in detail the neighborhood reorganization plan (parceling, street network and public spaces) and its built fabric (residential, religious and educational buildings). I will then summarize my findings in a table that compares Tanzimat in theory and Tanzimat in practice within the context of urban modernization in Kadıköy. Finally, I will discuss the dynamics of land and building transactions in the district as a result of modernization processes. In section B, I will demonstrate the agency of local stakeholders (such as public officials, prominent individuals, religious communities, and neighborhood councils) in shaping the modernization of Kadıköy's urban fabric.

This chapter will therefore provide a thorough look at the factors and dynamics of urban change in a small and religiously mixed neighborhood in Istanbul during the Tanzimat Period. It represents a case study of urban modernization in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire, and sheds light on similar cases around Istanbul and the rest of the empire.

A. Spatial factors:

1. Planning After The 1855 Kadıköy Fire: A New Neighborhood Plan

Neighborhood	Fire (date)	New urban plan (date)	Type of Urban Plan	Planning body
Kadıköy	1855	1856	Neighborhood plan	Hasan Tahsin Efendi
Aksaray	1856	1856	Neighborhood plan	Luigi Storari
Ayvansaray	1861	Circa 1870	Small-scale fire	N/A
Beşiktaş	1863	N/A	Small scale street regularization	N/A
Hocapaşa	1865	N/A	Regularization of main streets	İslahat-i Turuk Komisyonu
Samatya	1866	Circa 1870	Small scale fire	N/A
Pera	1870	1870	The Grand Plan for Pera	Sixth District Administration

Table 3. Chronological timeline of some of the major fires in different Istanbul neighborhoods in the 19th century (Çelik, 1993; Stepanian, 2012)

Scholars have so far undermined, if not totally neglected, the fact that one of the earliest neighborhood planning practices in the Ottoman Empire was implemented in Kadıköy. Developed in 1856 (Stepannian, 2012) (see Figure 27), the Kadıköy Plan is as old as the Aksaray post-fire plan developed in the same year, which is known as the first grid-street pattern in Istanbul.⁵⁵

Kadıköy's new urban plan was prepared following the 1855 Fire, which started in the core of the neighborhood and destroyed more than 300 residential buildings and shops. A local engineer named Hasan Tahsin Efendi was appointed to redesign the burned neighborhood. Hasan Tahsin's post-fire plan of Kadıköy was very similar to that of Aksaray's⁵⁶, which was developed by the Italian engineer Luigi Storari in 1856. Both

⁵⁵ Ergin, O. N. (1922). *Mecelle-i Umur-i Belediye*. Matbaa-i Osmaniye, Istanbul.

⁵⁶ The Aksaray fire took place in 1856 and destroyed more than 650 buildings. It is considered as "a major turning point in the history of Istanbul's urban form" (Çelik, 1991, p.53). According to Çelik

neighborhood plans were inspired by European planning paradigms which called for, among other things, the regularization of the street network. Accordingly, concepts such as *aérer, unifier, et embellir* adapted from Haussmann's plans for Paris were applied in smaller scale interventions in both Kadikoy and Aksaray. Practically, these concepts were translated into designing wide streets and open spaces to allow air circulation, connect different parts of the neighborhood to create a unified ensemble, and finally promote aesthetic principles to make the area visually more pleasant (De Moncan and Heurteux, 2002). Here, large-scale neighborhood fires played a major role in facilitating the implementation of these concepts in the Ottoman context. As such, the new neighborhood plan of Kadıköy, which was developed a year after the 1855 Fire, conforms to the new pattern (*heyet-i cedide*) devised by the Tanzimat rules and regulations.

The regularization of Kadıköy's urban plan in 1856 was based on the Official Record of 1839, which was devised exclusively for Istanbul, and the Building Regulations of 1848-1849. The town's urban fabric changed from an organic layout to a grid pattern with straight and uniformly wide streets and large rectangular blocks. The new plan was delineated by the limits of the fire (see Figure 22): from Osmanağa Mosque, the Çarşı Hamamı (Public Bath) and the town's bakery in the north to the agricultural lands in the south and from Çarıkcı Mahallesi (or the upper neighborhood) in the east all the way to Kadıköy's waterfront and the Sea of Marmara to the west. Given the gentle profile of Kadıköy compared to other neighborhoods in Istanbul, the area's topography did not really influence the layout of the new plan.

(1991, p.55), the Aksaray post-fire plan "established the urban design pattern of future neighborhoods in Istanbul".

Document	Street category				
	1 st degree	2 nd degree	3 rd degree	4 th degree	5 th degree/blind alley
1839 Official Record (only for Istanbul)	15 m	11.25 m	9 m	7.5 m	–
1848, 1849 Building Regulations	7.5 m	6 m	4.5 m	–	–
1863 Street and Building Regulation	11.25 m	9 m	7.5 m	6 m	4.5 m
1882 Building Law	15 m	11.25 m	9 m	7.5 m	6–4.5 m
1891 Building Law	15 m	11.25 m	9 m	7.5 m	6 m

Figure 32. Widths of streets as suggested in Tanzimat regulations. The 1848-49 Building Regulation is highlighted in red (Ergin, 1995; Gençer and Çokuğraş, 2016).

The new street network was based on the pre-1855 layout of the neighborhood. However, it provided a more organized and regularized layout. The regularization of the street network helped eliminate obstacles such as crooked streets and culs-de-sac and provide easy passage to fire-fighting equipment (see Figure 30). Put differently, the rather chaotic urban fabric of the pre-1855 period gave way to a new plan, one that allowed a continuous circulation and a well-connected street network (see Figure 31). There were two street typologies according to width: main streets and secondary streets with a relative width of 6m and 4.5 m, respectively⁵⁷. Mühürdar Street, which crossed the churches of Hagia Euphemia and Surp Takavor, was labeled as a main street⁵⁸. Its importance was further accentuated by chamfering the corners of the crossroads where the churches were located. These intersections created two public squares. However, the two churches which were previously located on two island plots were now embedded into larger plots and occupied a corner of each intersection (see Figure 27). Nevertheless, this created two focal points at the heart of the town which connected the waterfront to Bahariye and the north to Moda.

⁵⁷ Street widths are measured from Stepanian's post-fire map (see Figure 27)

⁵⁸ To date, Mühürdar is still one of the main streets in old core Kadıköy.

Once the new plan was implemented, Kadıköy's Old Core was organized into sixteen square and rectangular blocks; each block was laid out with respect to its pre-fire size, position and characteristics (see Figure 27). However, to enlarge the streets, a certain area of each plot had to be expropriated. At the time of the Kadıköy reorganization plan (in 1856), property owners were forced to renounce a portion of their property necessary for the operation as per the 1848 Building Regulations (Ergin, 1995). In exchange, owners would be assigned new parcels with the same value of their previous properties. The partial expropriation of Stepanian's both houses is a perfect example to illustrate this practice in Kadıköy. Stepanian's small house of 85 sq m, located East of Mühürdar, was completely expropriated by the state. In return, he was allocated another parcel with the same size. Similarly, around a 100 sq m of land was expropriated from another burned plot of land owned by Stepanian (where his family house was located). As a result, Stepanian was left with a 345 sq m parcel instead of 450 sq m⁵⁹ (see Figure 34 and Figure 35). The expropriation rules were later revised in the 1882 Building Law. The new law stipulated

⁵⁹ There is no mention in the memoirs of any compensation initiatives by the state in exchange of the expropriation of around 100 sq m of land from Stepanian's property.

that a portion of land that could be expropriated by the State was to be limited to a maximum of one-fourth of their pre-fire lot sizes (Çelik, 1993).

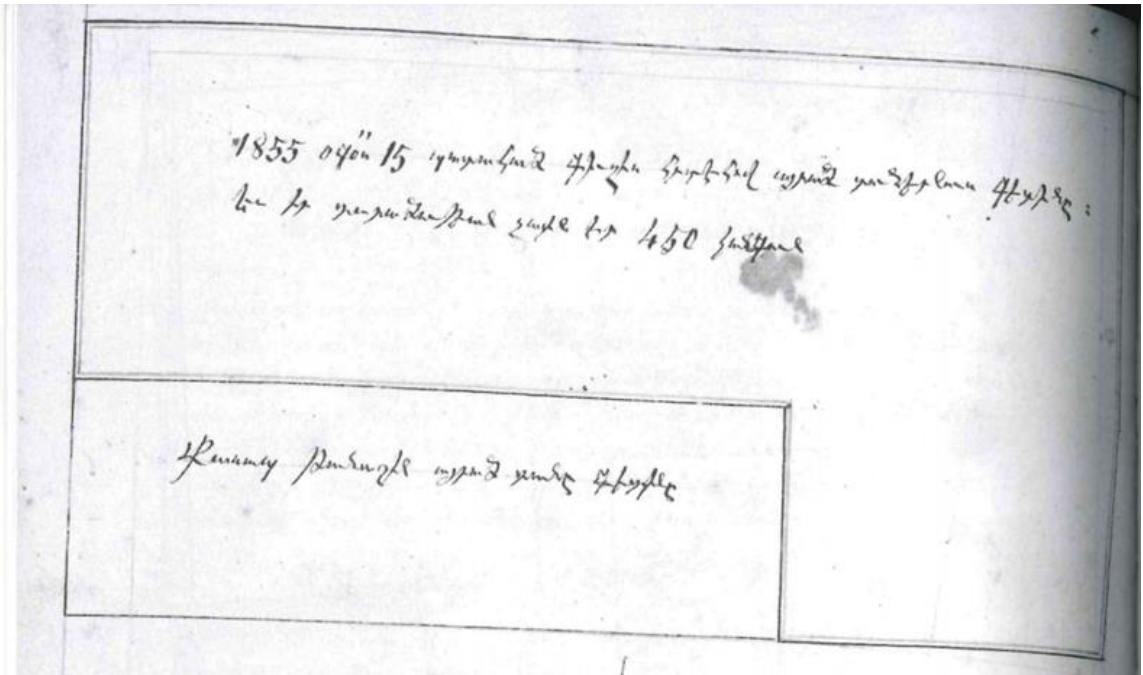


Figure 33. Plot of land owned by Stepanian, before the 1856 Regularization Plan

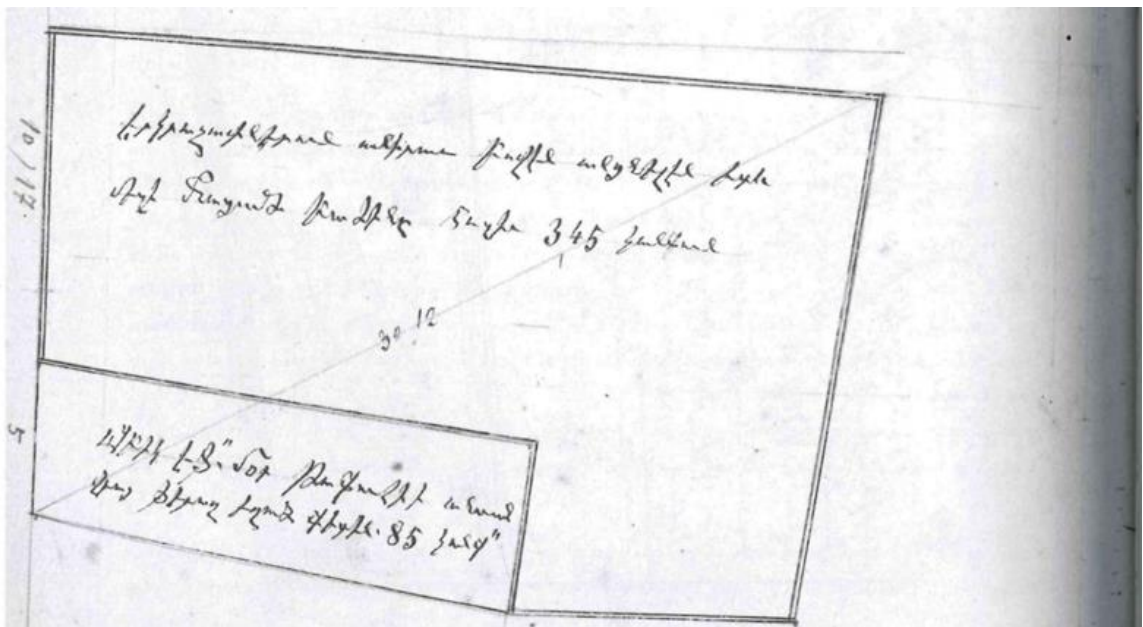


Figure 34. Plot of land owned by Stepanian, after the 1856 Regularization Plan

b. Residential and Commercial Buildings

Table 4. Building heights according to different regulations (Ergin, vol. 2, pp. 1032-1053; Ergin, v. 3, pp. 1240-1243; Ergin, vol.4, pp. 1700-1731, 1863-1885)

Regulation date	Heights of houses		Heights of shops	
	Timber	Masonry	Timber	Masonry
1839		15 meters	NA	NA
1848 Regulation	13,5-16,5 m	16,5-22,5 m	5,25-7,5 m	NA
1848 Specification	10,5 m	15 m	NA	NA
1849	10,5 m	15 m	3,75-6 m	NA
1863	10,5 m; 12 m (6 th District)	15 m; 18 m (6 th District)	3,75 m	6 m
1882	12-15 m	18-22,5 m	4,5-7,5 m	7,5 m
1891		9 m- 26,25 m	NA	NA

Table 3. Building heights according to different Tanzimat regulations. The 1849 Building Regulation is highlighted in red (Ergin, 1995; Gençer and Çokuğraş, 2016).

The urban reform during the Tanzimat period also comprised building regulations. In early 1857, right after the implementation of the new street network and the reorganization of plots in Kadıköy, local property owners started rebuilding their houses and shops as per the new regulations. The most recent building regulation at the time of the post-fire reconstruction in Kadıköy was the 1849 Building Regulation (see Table 3). Along with Aksaray, Kadıköy was one of the earliest cases of the implementation of building regulations at a large scale in Istanbul. Stepanian states that “as per an imperial *irade*⁶⁰, locals were now allowed to build houses with a maximum height of 10 m or 15 m⁶¹ and shops with a maximum height of 5 m” (Stepanian, 2012, p. 313). The 1849 Building Regulation also entailed the use of *kargir* (or masonry) constructions in lieu of timber buildings. Stepanian adds that buildings facing the street had to have a masonry façade: “modest timber houses and shops were soon replaced by beautiful masonry structures” (Stepanian, 2012, p.276) (see Figure 35 and Figure 37).

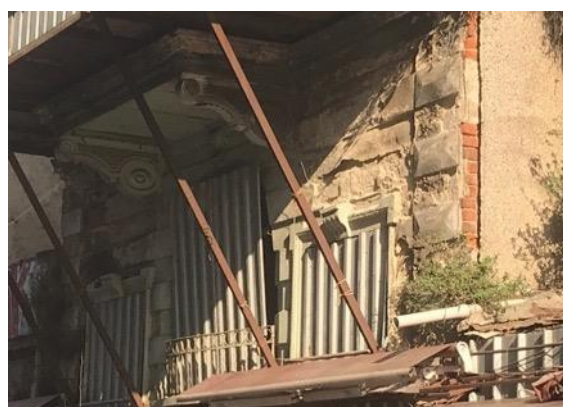
⁶⁰ Ordonnance, in which the Sultan's spoken response was recorded on the document by his scribe

⁶¹ Stepanian does not specify the difference in heights between timber or masonry residential buildings.



Figure 35. Example of a timber house in Caferağa, circa the late 19th century.

Figure 36. Example of a masonry construction in Caferaga, circa the late 19th century



c. Religious Buildings: Surp Takavor, Armenian Apostolic Church

In addition to paving the way for the regularization of the urban fabric, the Tanzimat reforms also provided greater leeway for the construction of non-Muslim religious buildings. Both the Gülhane Edict of 1839 and the Reform Edict (*Islahat Firmanı*) of 1856 provided equal rights to all Ottoman citizens to both repair existing religious structures and erect new ones. The Surp Takavor Armenian Apostolic Church in Kadıköy is an illuminating case to examine reconstruction practices of religious monuments before and after the issuance of the reform edicts.

Surp Takavor was reconstructed twice in the nineteenth century: first in 1814 and later in 1858 following two major neighborhood fires. In this section I will present the details of each reconstruction process based on Stepanian's memoirs, and identify the similarities and differences of pre- and post-Tanzimat periods.

iv. Reconstruction of Surp Takavor (formerly Surp Asdvadzadzin) in 1814:

The church was first built in 1721 as per a *firman* from Sultan Ahmed III and was later restored in 1741 as per another *firman* from Sultan Mahmud I. After the Kadıköy Fire of 1814, Sultan Mahmud II issued a *firman* allowing the reconstruction of the Surp Takavor (then Surp Asdvadzadzin) Church on condition that the works would be completed in 41 days and that the new building will have the same architectural specifications as the former one: a pointed-dome basilica of an 8 m length, 6 m width and 8 m height. The new church was the product of the collective work of three *kalfas* (Hagop Kalfa, Minas Kalfa and Hovhannes Kalfa) and three local notables (Ashnianian Megerdich Agha, Aznavour Amira and Mangig Agha Noradoungian). This committee

was headed by Noradounghian Haroutioun Amira, a *mütevelli*⁶² whose role was to fund and supervise the construction works. The newly reconstructed church had all the distinctive features of the Armenian religious architecture such as a conical dome, a narthex, three altars and a stage (see Figure 39). The main construction material was timber, but stone, marble, lime and cast iron were also used to decorate the church. The total cost of reconstruction works was 36,000 kuruş (Stepanian, 2012, p.9

v. Reconstruction of Surp Takavor in 1857-58. After the Tanzimat and Reform Edicts:

The second reconstruction of Surp Takavor in the nineteenth century took place in 1858, three years after the 1855 Fire. Local community members led by the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople⁶³ submitted a letter to the Imperial State requesting approval for the reconstruction of the church. Once the approval was obtained, reconstruction works immediately started in January 1857. A committee formed by local notables and headed by Garabed Agha Mouradian supervised the reconstruction works. Although Mouradian was assigned as the church trustee (*mütevelli*), the committee members secured most of the funds through collective contributions and communal support. Resimci Hacı Mahdesi Megerdich Kalfa, one of the imperial architects, was commissioned to design the new church. As per Kadıköy's post-fire plan, an area of 1455 sq m on an island block in the heart of the town was allocated for the church and other communal buildings. Accordingly, the newly reconstructed church complex was designed over an area of 460 sq m (see Figure 37). It comprised a main church (Surp Garabed), a chapel (Surp Takavor) and a two-story

⁶² Trustee.

⁶³ Hagopos III Seropian from Balat, Istanbul (1848-1858).

house used as a chancery⁶⁴ (see Figure 37). The church and the chapel had a stone cladding façade topped with a dome (see Figure 39). The reconstruction works ended in September 1858 and costed 253,000 kuruş in total.

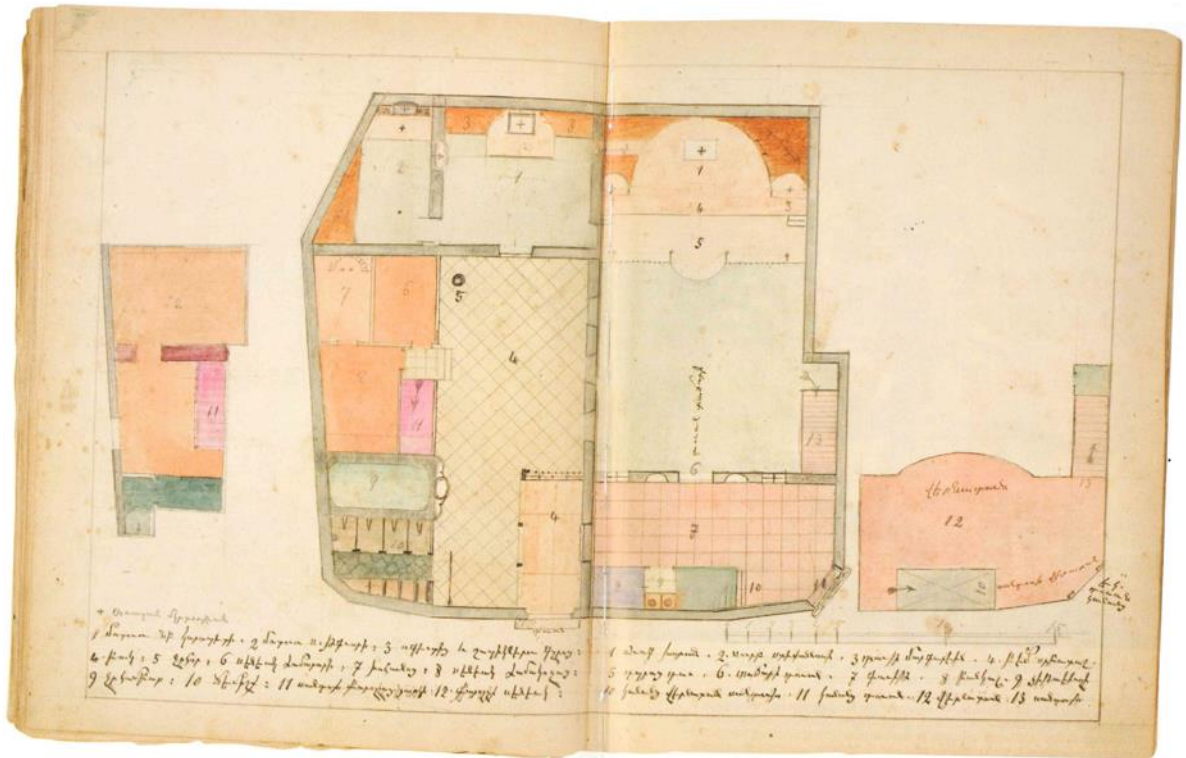


Figure 37. Reconstruction map of the Surp Takavor Armenian Apostolic Church following the 1855 Fire, hand drawn by Stepanian circa mid 1800s (Stepanian, 2012).

- Drawing comparisons

	RECONSTRUCTION OF SURP TAKAVOR IN 1814	RECONSTRUCTION OF SURP TAKAVOR IN 1857-58
Reconstruction period	41 days	20 months
Legal tool	Firman	Imperial order
Sultan	Mahmud II	Abdülmeçid II
Mütevelli	Haroutioun Amira Noradounjian	Garabed Amira Mouradian
Architect	Hagop Kalfa, Minas Kalfa and Hovhannes Kalfa	Resimci Hacı Mahdesi Megerdich Kalfa

⁶⁴ Later in 1884, a wooden bell tower and a *pangal* (room where candles are sold, and alms are received) were added in the courtyard of the complex.

	RECONSTRUCTION OF SURP TAKAVOR IN 1814	RECONSTRUCTION OF SURP TAKAVOR IN 1857-58
Location	Island plot, surrounded by a network of streets	Corner plot, grouped with a cluster of communal buildings within a larger block
Building Type	A single church building	A church complex (chapel, main church, pastor house, chancery, etc.)
Technical dimensions	8 m length, 6 m width and 8 m height	Area of 460 sq m
Architectural elements	Basilica with a pointed dome, a narthex, three altars and a stage	Domed basilica, a narthex, three altars, a stage, a bell tower
Main construction material	Timber	Masonry
Other construction materials	Stone, marble, lime and cast iron	Marble, timber and cast iron
Cost	36,000 kuruş	253,000 kuruş

Table 4. Comparative table of the reconstruction process and activities of the Surp Takavor Church in 1814 and 1858

When closely examined, reconstruction processes of the Surp Takavor Church in both 1814 and 1858 provide interesting insights into the (re)construction of non-Muslim religious buildings before and after the Tanzimat Edict (see Table 4). There are a few key elements in the comparative table above such as the legal tool, the technical specifications and the reconstruction period that I would like to highlight.

Prior to the reforms, religious monuments of non-Muslim communities could only be restored or reconstructed through a *firman* from the reigning Sultan. According to the Sharia, no new religious building could be erected from scratch (Leal, 2010; Wharton, 2014; Girardelli, 2016). The first reconstruction works of Surp Takavor were based on a *firman* issued from Sultan Mahmud II, which limited many of the structural and design options of the new church. There was no room for architectural improvements; the *kalfas* had to replicate the design and technical specifications of the pre-burned condition. However, things significantly changed during the Tanzimat Period. No *firman* was needed for the second reconstruction works of Surp Takavor in

1858. Since there was no legal or technical restraint that defined the type or features of the new church, the head architect, Resimci Mahdesi Efendi, developed a very elaborate scheme. Instead of a single church building, the new plan comprised a church complex that grouped several buildings and extended over a larger plot of land than the previous one. The main church was larger than the old one with more decorative elements and ornate details, both in the interior and the exterior. Also, masonry construction was used instead of timber. More importantly, there was no deadline for the completion of the reconstruction works, which allowed it to last for twenty months. This gave ample time to the architect, committee and workers of Surp Takavor to design, fund and erect the new complex as per their aspirations and resources. This example is strikingly different than the former rebuilding works that occurred before the Tanzimat reforms, where Mahmud II's *firman* granted only 41 days to reconstruct a completely ravaged church from scratch, adding more constraints to the already existing legal and structural ones. Although the Sharia law in the pre-Tanzimat period imposed a lot of restrictions on building activities for non-Muslim religious monuments, it also offered leeway in certain cases. According to Stepanian (2012), the law was bent several times when constructing new churches in Kadıköy and the neighboring towns. For example, the



Figure 38. Kadıköy's 18th century Armenian church with a pointed dome (left) replaced by reconstructed building in 1857 with an atypical dome for Armenian churches (right). Source: Ekdal, (2014) and Damadyan (2016).

term “*papaz menzili*” or pastor’s house was used in some imperial orders to grant permission for the construction of churches from scratch. Also, despite the multiple constraints of the Sharia law, Surp Takavor was strategically located on an island plot in the heart of the town. It was not hidden within a row of buildings, but prominently stood out as a non-Muslim religious monument amidst a residential fabric. It constituted one of the main landmarks of the neighborhood along with the Hagia Euphemia Greek Orthodox Church.

d. Educational Buildings:

	KADIKÖY "SURP TAKAVOR" SCHOOL (1815)	KADIKÖY "SURP TAKAVOR" SCHOOL (1836)	KADIKÖY "SURP TAKAVOR" SCHOOL ⁶⁵ (1858)	ARAMYAN-UNCUYAN SCHOOL (1874)
Legal tool	Firman	Firman	Tanzimat Rules and Regulations	Tanzimat Rules and Regulations
Sultan	Mahmud II	Mahmud II	Abdulmecid II	Abdulaziz
Supervising body	Mütevelli Haroutioun Amira Noradougian	Mütevelli Haroutioun Amira Noradougian	Supervior Bedros Agha Demirdjibashian	School Building Committee + Neighborhood Council + town hall meetings
Architect	Hovhannes Kalfa Giragossian	Stepan Kalfa Haroutiounian	N/A	Hovhannes Aznavourian
Location	Muvakkithane Street	Mühürdar Street (next to Surp Takavor)	Mühürdar Street (next to Surp Takavor)	Rıza Paşa Street
School Type	Male-only	Male-only	Mixed-school but gender-separated classrooms	Mixed school, mixed-gender classrooms

⁶⁵ Later known as The Hamazaspyan-Mouradian School, in 1867

	KADIKÖY "SURP TAKAVOR" SCHOOL (1815)	KADIKÖY "SURP TAKAVOR" SCHOOL (1836)	KADIKÖY "SURP TAKAVOR" SCHOOL ⁶⁵ (1858)	ARAMYAN- UNCUYAN SCHOOL (1874)
Technical specifications	A 200 sq m, one-story building, with a 1000 sq m annexed garden	A two-story high building with a 400 sq m annexed garden	A school building built over a 1455 sq m plot of land within a cluster of communal buildings	A three-story high building with an area of 530 sq m, extending over a 1642 sq m plot of land
Main construction material	Timber	Timber	N/A (presumably stone)	Masonry / Stone with cast iron doors and windows
Cost	N/A	N/A	N/A	3200 liras

Table 5. Comparative table of the planning and implementation processes of Armenian schools in Kadıköy in the nineteenth century as per the local administrative and legal contexts.

Similar to religious monuments, processes of planning and construction of schools in Kadıköy considerably changed across the nineteenth century. Here again, I will refer to one of the examples provided by Stepanian, which mostly focuses on the experience of the Armenian community in planning and establishing schools in Kadıköy.

The first Armenian school in the neighborhood was informally established in the house of the head of the Surp Takavor Parish in the late eighteenth century. Both as an institution and a building, the Armenian school considerably transformed in the following decades, especially during the Tanzimat Period. Matters related to planning and execution such as decision-making, technical specifications and construction materials changed following the legal and administrative contexts of the time. Below, I will focus on the construction processes of four educational buildings in Kadıköy, two of which took place before the Tanzimat Period (i.e. Kadıköy "Surp Takavor" School,

built first in 1815 and later in 1836) and two others built after the Tanzimat Edict (i.e. Kadıköy "Surp Takavor" School built in 1858 and Aramyan-Uncuyan School built in 1874) (see Table 5).

It is a very common model in Armenian populated neighborhoods to construct back-to-back churches and schools to allow for a more integrated approach between educational spaces and religious practices (Vaux B., 2004; Damadyan, 2016). With the exception of the Aramyan-Uncuyan, schools in Kadıköy were built in close proximity to Surp Takavor. Moreover, all schools were located on very prominent streets such as Muvakkıthane, Mühürdar and Rıza Paşa. According to Stepanian, the construction of schools in the pre-Tanzimat period was banned by the state (Stepanian, 2012, p.106, 383). Local schools were erected as houses and teaching took place in informal class settings while learning materials were limited to a few core subjects. This later changed in the second half of the nineteenth century, when advances in and greater access to education occurred in parallel to a changing political and regulatory landscape (Berberian, 2020). As a result, the two schools (Hamazaspyan-Mouradian and Aramyan-Uncuyan) built after the Reform Edicts of 1839 and 1856 were officially established as educational institutions equipped with modern logistics and resources. Following the first official plan of the neighborhood in 1856, the state allocated an area of 1455 sq. m to reestablish the church, the school and the agricultural lands, recognizing therefore the official status of the school. Modernization reforms also induced changes in the construction materials, details and methods. The first two schools were single or double-storied wooden structures, annexed with a garden, while the latter two occupied a larger area, had a stone finishing and were multiple-stories high (see Table 5).

Finally, the Tanzimat Period saw the advent of a collective planning and management model, especially in the realm of communal projects. For example, in the second half of the nineteenth century, an official committee was appointed by the Kadıköy Armenian neighborhood council for the planning of new local schools. The new committee was elected through a voting mechanism and several town hall meetings. The committee was assigned the planning of both Hamazaspyan-Mouradian and Aramyan-Uncuyan schools, in 1867 and 1874, respectively. This new communal planning process was significantly different than the ones that took place before the Tanzimat period, where a single person - the *mütevelli* - controlled most of the executive decisions of planning and establishing schools in Kadıköy.

2. Changes in the Land Cover / Land Use Patterns and Property Transactions in Nineteenth-Century Kadıköy

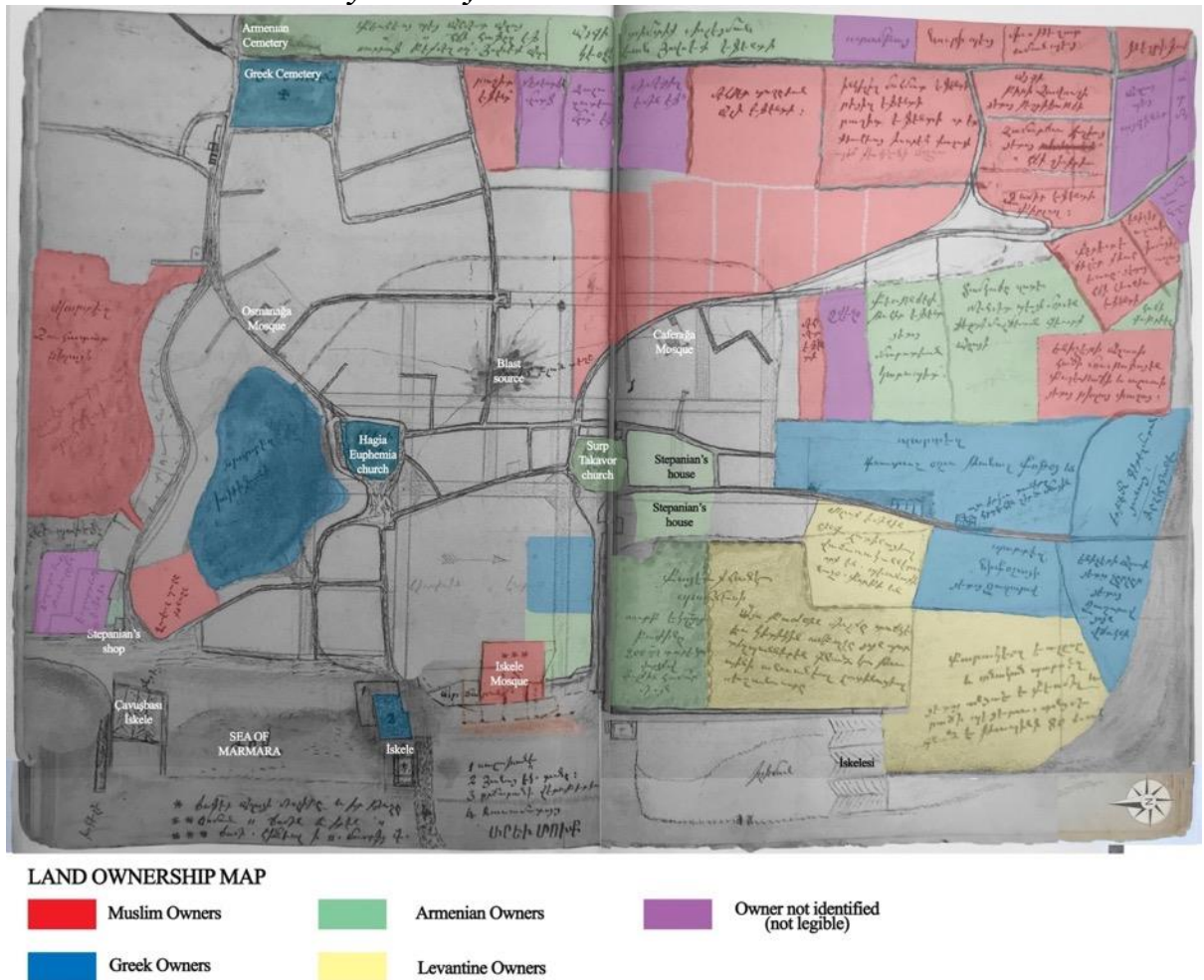


Figure 39

Urban modernization induced many transformations in the Land Cover / Land Use (LC/LU) of nineteenth-century Kadıköy. These changes started with the Tanzimat reforms in 1839 and increased in the 1850s (especially between 1852 and 1858) as a result of the demographic, economic, natural and political context of Kadıköy.

a. Factors of Change in the Land Cover / Land Use in 19th Century Kadıköy

i. A Changing Demography

One of the earliest factors of demographic change in Kadıköy was the migration of many residents from the Istanbul peninsula to the town. These Istanbulite families fled the old city's crowded and densely populated neighborhoods in search for healthier environments (Stepanian, 2012). Kadıköy offered favorable conditions for both a temporary and a permanent stay. The town was characterized by many natural assets such as a strategic location, a pleasant climate, beautiful landscapes, abundant water sources and numerous spaces for recreational activities (e.g. fishing, hunting, equestrian activities and others). Many Istanbulites gradually settled in the town over the years and contributed to shaping its urban fabric. For example, in the early 1840s, several imperial officials, statesman and former *yeniçeri ağasis*⁶⁶ moved to Kadıköy. One of those prominent figures was Rıza Paşa, an Ottoman military commander during the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid that settled in the town around 1840-42 (Stepanian, 2012). Rıza Paşa bought large plots of land from local families in the west of Moda and, by the end of 1860s, owned most of the parcels in that area (see **Error! Reference source not found.**). In the mid-1840s, many Levantine merchants, Greek notables and Armenian Amiras⁶⁷ also left the Istanbul peninsula for Pera, the Prince Islands⁶⁸, the Bosphorus shores, and Kadıköy. They bought numerous plots of lands and built some of the most beautiful residences in the area (Stepanian, 2012). The rich newcomers⁶⁹ brought in the

⁶⁶ Commander of the janissary corps

⁶⁷ An honorific title bestowed upon Armenian individuals by their fellow Armenians to designate people of wealth, influence or those in connection with Ottoman officialdom (Barsoumian, 1980)

⁶⁸ In his memoirs, Stepanian describes the view of Pera and the Islands, at night, as seen from Kadıköy in the mid nineteenth century: "Pera and the Islands were flooded by a sea of lights in the evening; such a sight could not be seen in the Istanbul peninsula" (Stepanian, 2012, p.255).

⁶⁹ Some of the famous families who settled in Kadıköy during that time were Gazeteci Blak, Uruli, Berni, Lorando, Kastelli, Tubini, Zakharov, Gulbenkian, Manougian, Mahdesi Yeram Agha, Djanig and

capital and the knowledge which transformed not only the LC/LU of Kadıköy but also its built fabric. These newcomers had the means and the refined taste to afford multiple-storied dwellings with elaborate architectural details and good-quality materials. In later decades, more families moved from Istanbul and Galata to Kadıköy, especially after the Pera Fire in 1870.

Both the demographic growth and the changing social fabric in Kadıköy significantly influenced the transformations of the LC/LU. First, several vacant lands were transformed into built areas. For example, lands in south of Caferağa, which were vacant up until the early 19th century, were covered with mansions and summer houses starting the mid-1840s. Second, the property ownership model changed from multiple families each owning a limited area of land to a few wealthy families owning multiple plots of lands. Rich notables such as Rıza Paşa, Tubini, Zakharov and Manougian acquired numerous parcels in the neighborhoods east of Mühürdar, south of Caferağa and west of Moda. They eventually owned all the lands in these areas. This, in turn, affected decision-making processes and shaped the dynamics of property transactions. After purchasing numerous plots in a single area, rich owners subdivided the land and sold it by the meter square. Such was the case of Konçci Yanko Sdrati Rali who bought Stepan Megerdichian's farm for 17,500 kuruş in 1851 (Stepanian, 2012). Rali then acquired all the lands surrounding the farm, pooled and subdivided it (probably after the new neighborhood plan in 1856), and sold it later by the meter square. Similarly, starting 1860, Rıza Paşa sold most of his lands in West of Moda to 60-100 kuruş per

Maksoud Amiras, Garabed Mouradian, Kevork Peshdimaldjian, Lutfi Tensoufian, Kevork and Stepan Aladjadjian, Hagopig Noradoungian, Bedros Demirdjibash, and Kevork Demirdjibashian (Stepanian, 2012).

square meter (Stepanian, 2012). These new land transaction practices dominated by the wealthy newcomers played a major role in the urban growth of Kadıköy.

ii. Historical and Political Events:

Historical and political events had a significant impact on the land pattern changes and the increase in the number of property transactions in Kadıköy. The defeat of the Ottomans in The Battle of Sinop in November of 1853 and The Crimean War of 1854-55 increased the fears of the local Muslim community of Kadıköy of a potential Russian occupation of Istanbul. Encouraged by the migration of wealthy Istanbulite families who were looking to settle in the town and consequently acquire houses and lands, many local families sold their properties below market value fearing a Russian invasion (Stepanian, 2012). The intersecting interests of the Kadıköy locals and the newcomers fueled land transaction operations and accelerated the transformations of land cover and land uses in Kadıköy.

However, fears of foreign occupation quickly vanished a few years later. Following the victory of the Ottoman Empire and its allies over the Russian Empire in the Siege of Sevastopol in 1856, a period of urban and economic development started. As a result, land prices in Istanbul increased. This, naturally, reflected on the transactions landscape in Kadıköy. Here, the example of Şakir Bey, a Kadıköy local, best illustrates how historical and political events unfolded on the ground. In 1853, fearing a Russian occupation, Şakir Bey sold most of his properties in Kadıköy. This included 20 *dönüm* of lands on the west bank of the Kuşdili River, which Şakir Bey sold to Ibrahim Ağa for 16,000 *kuruş*⁷⁰ (Stepanian, 2012). A few years later, land prices

⁷⁰ Kuruş was the standard unit of currency in the Ottoman Empire until 1844.

started to increase. In 1856, another Kadıköy local, Ibrahim Ağa, refused to sell his 20 *dönüm* of land for 750 lira⁷¹, anticipating further increase in land value with the growth of the town. According to Stepanian, Ibrahim Ağa would have not sold his land, even if offered 2,750 lira, because of the significant and rapid development of the town.

vi. The 1855 Kadıköy Fire and The New Neighborhood Plan:

The 1855 Great Kadıköy Fire was a transformative event in the history of the neighborhood's urban fabric. The fire ravaged most of the houses in Caferağa, Kadıköy's old core, and burned down most of the orchards and agricultural fields in the vicinities. The post-fire neighborhood plan further transformed the land use patterns in the old core. Following the Kadıköy reorganization plan in 1856 and the expropriation of parcels, some of the vacant lots in Caferağa were built-up and others were incorporated into road networks. For example, Hovhannes Kalfa Stepanian's small house was expropriated by the state and incorporated into the new street network (see Figure 34 and Figure 35. Consequently, both the Land Use and Land Cover of the 85 sq m parcel were transformed from residential to infrastructural.

Coupled with the town's demographic growth, the Great Kadıköy Fire led to the conversion of numerous green lands into built areas. The area, once famous for its vast agricultural lands and fresh produce, started to become urbanized; it lost both its rural character embedded in its name (Kadı Köy or Kadı's village) and its title as the kitchen-garden of the imperial palace. The town was slowly changing its urban character and acquiring new roles in light of the state's modernization plans and urban reforms.

⁷¹ The Ottoman lira replaced the [kurus](#) in 1844 as the principal unit of currency in the Ottoman Empire, with the kuruş continuing to circulate as a subdivision of the lira, with 100 kuruş = 1 lira.

vii. A Developing Transport Network:

The development of transportation systems in the nineteenth century often resulted in a flourishing economy, a demographic growth and an urban expansion. For centuries, Kadıköy was a suburb of Istanbul proper. Located on the Asian side of the Bosphorus, across the historical peninsula, the town's physical connection with the capital was very limited. This quickly changed by the mid nineteenth century when the first public ferry service was established in 1852. The Hüma Pervaz⁷² was the first ferry boat to transport commuters from Kadıköy to the Old City and vice-versa. In the following years, the *Şirket-i Hayriye* (Auspicious Company) bought three ferries to improve the commute lines between Kadıköy and the different districts across the Bosphorus.

The development of public transportation in Kadıköy was one of the main reasons that attracted more families to settle in the area. As a result, more vacant lands and agricultural fields in Kadıköy were transformed into residential neighborhoods. According to Stepanian, this boosted the Kadıköy's economy, and encouraged the locals to invest more in the urban development of their district.

A few decades later, following the modernization efforts of Sultan Abdülaziz, a rail line was constructed on the Asian side of Istanbul. In 1872, the Haydarpaşa Railway Station was established in Kadıköy. This triggered the renovation of old buildings along the rail lines and next to train stations. The railways also incited the development of

⁷² The Hüma Pervaz steamboat was a present from Mehmed Ali Paşa (the Ottoman governor and de facto King of Egypt) to Sultan Abdülmecid I. After an ill-fated incident, the Sultan discarded the boat. Once the ornaments were removed, the boat was allocated to the commute service between Kadıköy and Istanbul villages. (Stepanian, 2012, p.259)

new neighborhoods in the north and the south of the Caferaga, Yeldeğirmeni and Erenköy neighborhoods, respectively.

b. Property Transactions in Nineteenth-Century Kadıköy

PROPERTY TYPE	LOCATION	BOUGHT FROM	SOLD TO	AREA	SALE OR RENT PRI	DATE	LEGAL
1 Bakery + mills	Commercial Cluste	Zot Ođlu (greek)	Mannig Aga Noradougian & Khachadour Ag	N/A	N/A	1800	
2 Kereste Workshop	Commercial Cluste	Aziz Pasha	Hovhannes Kalfa Giragossian	N/A	16 kurus per month	1800	Gedik
3 Surp Takavor church house + garden	Muvakkthane	Uncu Nazar Agha	Surp Takavor Church	2000 sq m	N/A	1814	Vakif
4 Residential Bldg, later Hamazaspian	Mühürdar	Greek owner	Surp Takavor Church	N/A	250 Kurus	1814	Vakif
5 Land (vakif)	Commercial Cluste	Aziz Pasha daughter	Stepan Hovhannes Kalfayan	400 sq m	N/A	1834	Gedik
6 Shares (70 out of 120)	Commercial Cluste	Haroutioun	Yeniçeri Ağasi İsmail Ağa	N/A	N/A	1834	Gedik
7 School + garden	Muvakkthane	Haroutioun Amira Noradougian	Şarabci Angelaki (Greek)	1200 sq m	N/A	1840	
8 Surp Takavor church house + garden	Muvakkthane	Müteveli Haroutioun Amira	Basmadji Mahdesi Bedros Altounian Agha	2000 sq m	N/A	1840	
9 Residential Bldg + garden	Waterfront	Kazetaci	Rıza Paşa	N/A	N/A	1842	
10 Shares (70 out of 120)	Commercial Cluste	Yeniçeri Ağasi İsmail Ağa	Sarkis Stepanian	N/A	16,000 kurus	1844	B. b. istighlal
11 Land	West of Moda Cadı	Garabed Chamurdjian	Rıza Paşa	14 donum	9,000 kurus	1845	
12 Land	West of Moda Cadı	Krikor Chamurdjian	Rıza Paşa	14 donum	38,000 kurus	1845	
13 Şaraphane	Waterfront	Mahdesi Vartan	Surp Takavor Church	N/A	16,000 kurus	1848	
14 Coffee house	Waterfront	Aziz Muazzin	Surp Takavor Church	N/A	6,500 kurus	1848	
15 Casino (previously a şaraphane)	N/A	Mahdesi Stepan	Surp Takavor Church	N/A	40,000 kurus	1848	
16 Residential Bldg.	East of Mühürdar	Damgaci Mehmed Bey's moth	Kevork Peshdimadjian	N/A	200,000 kurus	1850	
17 Residential Bldg.	East of Mühürdar	Köstenceli Tahir Efendi	Garabed Mouradian	N/A	135,000 kurus	1850	
18 Agricultural lands	N/A	Stepan Meguerdichian	Konchdji Yanko Sdrati Rali	N/A	17,500 kurus or 35 ke	1851	
19 Agricultural lands	Moda Caddesi	Baltaci Mustafa	Lorando Brothers	N/A	N/A	1851	
20 Residential Bldg.	Waterfront	Ihtisab Ağasi Hüseyin Bey	Bulumcuzade Salih Efendi	N/A	N/A	1852	
21 Land	West of Moda Cadı	Kabakci Hasan	Sarkis Stepanian	12-16 donum	5,500 kurus	1853	
22 Land	Kuşdili River banks	Şakir Bey	Ibrahim Ağa	20 donum	16,000 kurus	1853	
23 Farm works (orchard)	West of Moda Cadı	N/A	Sarkis Stepanian	3.5 donum	2,500 kurus	1853	
24 Land + farm works	West of Moda Cadı	Chamurdjian	Sarkis Stepanian	7-9 donum	N/A	1853	
25 Land	Moda Burnu	Baltazzi	Tubini	N/A	1600 lira	1855	
26 Residential Bldg. (construction)	N/A	HKS	HKS	85 sq m	30,000 kurus	1857	
27 Residential Bldg. (selling)	N/A	HKS	Satay Dimitri	85 sq m	30,000 kurus	1860	
28 Residential Bldg. (construction)	next to HKS big hou	HKS	HKS	85 sq m	160 lira	1860	
29 Residential Bldg. (construction)	N/A	HKS	HKS	110 sq m	275 lira	1863	
30 Residential Bldg + garden	next to HKS house	Greek owner	Lutfi Agha Tensoufian	440 sq m	N/A	1863	
31 Surp Takavor garden	Muvakkthane	Surp Takavor Church	Demirdji Bedros Agha	2800 sq m	500 lira	1865	
32 Surp Takavor garden	Muvakkthane	Demirdji Bedros Agha	Tubini	2800 sq m	N/A	1865	
33 Kereste workshop (expansion)	Commercial Cluste	N/A	HKS	N/A	120 lira	1868	
34 Land	Orta Moda	Suleyman Deukmedjian	The Mkhitarists Congregation	N/A	N/A	1869	
35 Aramyan-Uncuyan School	West of Moda Cadı	Rıza Paşa	Armenian Neighborhood Council	1642 sq m	N/A	1871	

Table 6. Summary table of property transactions in nineteenth-century Kadıköy organized into three main periods: (1-6) before the official Record of 1839; (7-24) from 1839 – Great Kadıköy Fire and (25-35) Post-Kadıköy Fire. Data in this table is compiled from Stepanian (2012).

As seen above, urban modernization instituted a lot of changes in the Land Cover/Land Use in Kadıköy in the 19th century. This was reflected on the ground through a high number of property transactions. **Error! Reference source not found.** shows the real estate dynamics in Kadıköy from the early 1800s until the end of the century. The list includes 35 entries⁷³ and is organized into three categories.

i. Property transactions before the Tanzimat period: early 1800s-1839

⁷³ There is a larger number of property transactions mentioned in Stepanian's memoirs and/or annotated on his maps. However, since not all transactions have detailed information, I have only included in Table 8 the ones with the most variables available.

- ii. Property transactions during the Tanzimat period: 1839-1855 (before the fire)
- iii. Property transactions during the Tanzimat period: 1855-1871 (after the fire)

Data in **Error! Reference source not found.** is based on information acquired from Stepanian's memoirs. Naturally, it is not a comprehensive list of all the transactions that occurred in Kadıköy in the nineteenth century. Yet, it offers interesting insights into the transformation of land patterns in Kadıköy and provides detailed information on property types, locations, total areas, buying entities, selling entities, prices and transaction dates.

- i. Property Transactions Before The Tanzimat, Early 1800s - 1839

Error! Reference source not found. shows that there was a limited number of transactions during this period, either because previous Ottoman laws limited property transactions before the Tanzimat reforms in 1839⁷⁴ or because Stepanian did not have extensive information on land and building transactions in the early 1800s⁷⁵. The transactions that occurred during this period were mostly limited to a few commercial units (e.g. bakery and mills, timber shop), one educational building (e.g. Surp Takavor School) and a few communal properties and lands (e.g. Surp Takavor Church's house and orchard). Most of these transactions were limited to two locations only: the commercial cluster located north of Caferağa and the central area of Mühürdar and Muvakkıthane streets. The parties involved in the property transaction operations were from the local Muslim, Greek and Armenian communities.

⁷⁴ Before the Gülhane Edict of 1839, the right to perform property transactions was mostly limited to Muslim Ottomans. Non-Muslims were only able to exploit properties through the legal frameworks of the Sharia law such as Bey' bi'l istiğlal/Bey' bi'l vefa or Gedik (see Chapter 5, Section C.Tanzimat in Theory vs. Tanzimat In Practice: Imperial Regulations vs. Local Practices.)

⁷⁵ Stepanian's data on this period was based on two manuscripts written by Father Hagop Seuylemezian in 1814 and 1817, and information collected from Kalfayan family members.

ii. Property Transactions During The Tanzimat Period:1839-1855 (Before The Great Kadıköy Fire)

This period comprised the highest number of property transactions. This can be explained by two facts: first, the Tanzimat reforms facilitated property transactions for all Ottomans regardless of religion. Second, many families moved from Istanbul to Kadıköy starting the early 1840s and acquired large numbers of properties. Vacant lands and residential houses were the two most common property transaction types in Kadıköy in the years between 1840-1855. In addition to Kadıköy locals, names of newcomers start to appear in **Error! Reference source not found.** after the 1839 Edict; it includes prominent figures such as Rıza Paşa, the Lorando brothers, and Garabed Manougian. These wealthy newcomers acquired large plots of lands in previously uninhabited areas (e.g. west of Moda, Kadıköy's waterfront, east of Mühürdar and along the Kuşdili River) and built large mansions. For example, Rıza Paşa bought 28 *dönüm* of lands west of Moda, while İbrahim Ağa purchased 20 *dönüm* of lands on the left bank of the Kuşdili River. Prices largely depended on variables such as the location and the parties concerned. For example, two plots of land with the same total area (14 *dönüm*) located in west of Moda were each sold at two different prices in the same year (1845): 643 *kuruş* and 2714 *kuruş* per *dönüm*, respectively. A few years later, 20 *dönüm* of land on the Kuşdili River was sold for 800 *kuruş* per *dönüm*. Most of Stepanian's data during this period was collected from his brother, Sarkis Stepanian, who acted as a realtor in many of the transaction operations that occurred in the town.

iii. Property Transactions During the Tanzimat Period: From 1855 Until the End of The Century

The active property transactions pattern continued during this period. Since the built fabric in Kadıköy was affected by the Great Fire of 1855, operations also included the construction and renovation of houses and shops. Therefore, a lot of local names such as Hovhannes Kalfa Stepanian and Lutfi Agha Tensoufian reappear in the table. Names of newcomers such as Tubini and Satay Dimitri are also added. Transactions in this period were still limited to the same locations as in the previous period. However, land prices considerably jumped after the new regularization plan of Kadıköy and the substitution of coins by paper currency in 1862⁷⁶. For example, a plot of land with a total area of 2.8 dönüm on Muvakkıthane Street was sold to 500 liras in 1865 (i.e. the equivalent of 44,643 kuruş per dönüm) compared to 2714 kuruş per dönüm in 1845 (Stepanian, 2012). This implies that urban modernization and development could have both played a potential role in the drastic increase in land prices in late Ottoman Kadıköy. However, further research and data (i.e. comparative data from other districts; inflation and currency devaluation information) is needed to confirm this hypothesis.

B. Social Factors: The Role of Public and Private Stakeholders

Local stakeholders played a complex role in shaping the urban fabric of nineteenth-century Istanbul. In Kadıköy, the local residents contributed to the development of their district through an extensive network of professional and communal partnerships, a well-grounded relationship with government representatives,

⁷⁶ 1000 kuruş was worth 4 gold coins and 6 konsolid. (Stepanian, 2012).

and a dynamic property transactions model. Unlike what some sources suggest (Çelik, 1986), residents were not only responsible for street maintenance especially before the Tanzimat; also, there were key entities other than the imams and priests who were responsible for communal life in the *mahalle*. In fact, there was a complex network of actors consisting of *bostancıbaşı*, *subaşı*, *mütevellîs*, religious figures, neighborhood councils, prominent individuals, builders, merchants and local residents who collectively contributed to the transformation of the urban space in Kadıköy. What follows is an analysis of a number of urban projects that took place both before and during the Tanzimat Period. This will shed the light on the roles of the different actors involved in the urban development of Kadıköy in the nineteenth century.

1. The Role of Local Residents in The Development of Urban Projects in The Pre-Tanzimat Period

a. The Reconstruction of Surp Takavor: A Public Urban Project

The reconstruction of the Surp Takavor Church in 1814 is perhaps one of the best examples of how social dynamics shaped Kadıköy's urban fabric in the pre-Tanzimat period. The project engaged a large number of actors both from the Armenian and Muslim communities who collectively contributed to the reconstruction of one of the key religious monuments in the district (Stepanian, 2012). It perfectly illustrates the relationship between official and non-official actors in building processes at that time. In other words, it is a very tight relationship between the Armenian community, Muslim notables and government officials. A breakdown of the different layers of each category reveals the following:

The Armenian Apostolic Church, headed by the local priest, initiated the reconstruction project as a means to consolidate the urban and social fabrics of the community after the neighborhood fire in 1814. Decision-making, planning and funding were mainly carried out by the *mütevelli* (Noradoungian Haroutioun Amira) with the help of a few notables (Ashnanian Megerdich Agha, Aznavour Amira and Mangig Agha Noradoungian). The *mütevelli*, a man of influence and wealth, had good connections with government officials, which helped him sort out the administrative and legal requirements for the reconstruction of Surp Takavor. The *mütevelli*'s efforts were accompanied by those of strong Muslim notables such as Şamkapı Kahyası⁷⁷ Hacı Şerif Efendi and Çuhadar Ağası⁷⁸ Ladikli Ahmed Ağa. These notables were Kadıköy residents holding strong posts in Ottoman bureaucracy, which greatly helped secure the necessary resources to complete the reconstruction works efficiently and on time. Ahmet Ağa was particularly instrumental in obtaining a *firman* from Sultan Mahmud II, which granted permission for the reconstruction of Surp Takavor. Moreover, both Şerif Efendi and Ahmet Ağa played an intermediary role between the church and the local *bostancıbaşı* Deli Abdullah. The latter was appointed by the state to supervise the rebuilding operations. His role was to ensure that the works were conducted as per the Sultan's *firman* which entailed the completion of the edifice in 41 days and the conformity of the new church's architectural details with those of the former one. The close relationship between the different official and non-official stakeholders facilitated the reconstruction process of the Surp Takavor Church.

⁷⁷ The chief of the doorkeepers who guarded the imperial palace in Istanbul, but could also be a steward or an intendant serving under a vizier; Hacı Şerif Efendi was a Vüzera Kapı Kethüdası under the reign of Sultan Mahmud II. (Süreyya, 1996).

⁷⁸ An Ottoman official and one of the four closest ağas to the Sultan; Ladikli Ahmet Ağa was a çuhadar ağası under the reign of four sultans (Süreyya, 1996).

On a technical level, three *kalfas* were assigned to design and build the church: Hagop Kalfa, Minas Kalfa and Hovhannes Kalfa. Because they were bound by the *firman*'s conditions, the *kalfas* had to rebuild the church with the same architectural style and features as the former one. Nevertheless, they were able to bypass the restrictions imposed by the *firman* and improve the interior space thanks to the strong support of both the local Armenian and Muslim notables. As such, the *kalfas* were able to use high-quality construction materials and ornate the interior of the church with marble, cast iron and timber (Stepanian, 2012, p. 96)

Finally, the local community played a major role in ensuring both the physical and material resources for the completion of the works within the given time frame. The reconstruction of Surp Takavor is an example of collective effort between notables, professionals and the local population to restore one of Kadıköy's key religious monuments that has marked its landscape since 1721.

b. The House of Surp Takavor's Head of Parish: A Private Urban Project

The close relationship between public and private stakeholders also extends to private building practices in Kadıköy. This is most evident in the case of a residential building project initiated by Der Megerdich Kahana, the pastor of Surp Takavor, in the early 19th century (Stepanian, 2012). The project involved a one-story house in Kadıköy. Shortly after the construction work had begun, one of the locals filed a complaint to the *bostancıbaşı*, claiming that the new house would block the views from his own house. In response, the *bostancıbaşı* ordered the cessation of the works. A counter-order issued by Çuhadar Ağası Ladikli Ahmed Ağa allowed the resumption of the construction work, even authorizing a second story. In turn, the locals filed a new complaint to the *bostancıbaşı*. Unable to supersede the orders of the çuhadar ağası,

however, the *bostancıbaşı* refrained from halting the construction once again. On the contrary, he authorized the addition of a third story.

The above examples unravel the complex relationship between private and public stakeholders in building practices. The example of the reconstruction of Surp Takavor shows that communal projects in the early nineteenth century were based on a multi-layered socio-spatial model. It particularly shows that religious leaders not only managed social matters, but also initiated urban projects at the neighborhood scale. Far more than building a single church structure, the community built a nucleus for educational, social and financial purposes. Centered at the heart of the town, this nucleus comprised a school building, three orchards, a residential building, a *şaraphane*, a coffee house and a casino. This cluster formed an active core around which residential buildings were grouped. These projects were mostly carried out with the collaboration of a large group of actors, namely *mütevellis*, local notables, *kalfas* and the community at large. The role of Armenian *mütevellis* was particularly important because they were the direct link between the local community and government officials. Together with the help of Muslim notables, the *mütevellis* were able to secure the legal permission for the construction and renovation of their religious monuments. They were also able to facilitate construction activities to comply with the directives of *bostancıbaşısı* and *subaşı*s who were assigned to supervise the implementation of the works.

Local notables also helped in facilitating private construction activities. Although Sharia law limited the height of residential buildings for non-Muslim individuals, examples from Kadıköy show that locals were sometimes allowed to go beyond the height limit and erect multiple-storied houses. Such was the case of Surp

Takavor's priest house, where a close relationship between a local *çuhadar ağası* and the *bostancıbaşı* resulted in the construction of a three-story building.

The examples above show that non-official actors had an equally important (if not more prominent) role as government officials in shaping the urban fabric in Kadıköy during the pre-Tanzimat period. As we will see below, this dynamic continued to inform the urban modernization of the *district* during the Tanzimat period.

2. The Role of Local Residents in The Development of Urban Projects During the Tanzimat Period

a. The Construction of Aramyan-Uncuyan School: A Public Urban Project

The planning and implementation of the Aramyan-Uncuyan school was carried out in the early 1870s. By that time, much had changed since the early nineteenth century in terms of the planning approach, the legal framework, and the role of local stakeholders in building practices. The top-down planning approach, which had been prevalent in the pre-Tanzimat period, was replaced by a collective planning and decision-making model. A new actor came into play: the neighborhood council⁷⁹, a committee of Kadıköy residents, who were not assigned but elected by local inhabitants. The first neighborhood council was elected in 1860 following the establishment of the Armenian National Regulations⁸⁰ (*Nizâmnâme-i Millet-i Ermeniyân*). The neighborhood

⁷⁹ Թաղային խորհուրդ

⁸⁰ The Armenian National Regulations (also known as The Armenian National Constitution) is a document devised following the communal reforms in the Ottoman Empire. The document defined both the conditions of the Armenians within the Ottoman state and the powers of the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople. It was officially approved by the State in 1863.

Here, it is important to clarify the ambiguity around the title. Although titled “Armenian National Constitution” in Armenian, French and English sources, it was officially known as the “Regulations of the Armenian Religious Community” in Ottoman Turkish. (Düstur, 1862; Prud’homme, 1862; Yeritzians, Ports, 1876; Lynch, 1901; Shahrigan, 1914).

council replaced the *mütevelli* and its close circle of self-appointed notables. It carried out the same role as the latter and performed key planning practices. For example, for the establishment of the Aramyan-Uncuyan school, the neighborhood council acquired the land, appointed the architect, made the executive decisions, funded the project and implemented it. The local community, which used to be only in charge of collecting funds and helping with construction works, now played a key role in the school establishment process. The neighborhood council became one of the leading actors in planning practices in Kadıköy and contributed to shaping its urban fabric during the Tanzimat period.

b. Examples of Private Urban Projects

The Tanzimat Period saw the emergence of new actors in the architectural and urban scene of Kadıköy. From the early 1840s onwards, many affluent individuals who moved from Istanbul to Kadıköy played a major role in the style and scope of the built fabric, and the expansion of the district. The newcomers built masonry houses with intricate architectural details and annexed gardens in areas such as the waterfront and Moda Burnu. They also acquired large plots of land in previously unbuilt areas in Kadıköy and developed new neighborhoods. The district first expanded to the south of Caferağa from the 1840 to the 1860s, and then slowly to the north and east from the 1870s onwards.

Kalfas or builders also played a key role in shaping the urban fabric. They constructed many of the private and public buildings in town. Other than undertaking construction projects, *kalfas* acted as realtors. For example, Armenian builders such as Sarkis Stepanian helped public and private entities such as the church, local families and newly settled individuals acquire lands, houses and shops in the town. *Kalfas* also

supplied much of the building material that shaped the character of the local built fabric, which consisted predominantly of timber or brick houses. They were part of both neighborhood planning and community life in Kadıköy. For example, for decades, members of the Kalfayan family were part of the decision-making both before and during the Tanzimat period; Hovhannes Giragossian and Stepan Stepanian partook in planning committees under *mütevelli* rule; and Hovhannes Stepanian was a member of the neighborhood council. Additionally, Stepanian's background as a *kalfa* allowed him to document and archive much of the urban history and development of Kadıköy in the nineteenth century. However, by the second half of the century, *kalfas* were gradually replaced by architects and engineers for planning urban and communal projects in Kadıköy. For example, Hasan Tahsin Efendi was assigned to carry out the regularization of the streets network in 1856; Resimci Hacı Mahdesi Megerdich, one of the imperial architects, was appointed to conduct the construction works of Surp Takavor in 1858; and, finally, Hovhannes Aznavourian was selected to build the Aramyan-Uncuyan school in 1874. Unlike the *kalfas* who were Kadıköy locals, the newly appointed architects were not, which greatly affected the style, dynamics, and practices of planning in the district.

Finally, later in the century, municipal officials took over the administrative and planning practices in the district. Esad (2011) documents the name of Kadıköy residents who performed key roles in the municipality. For example, in 1868, Haroutioun or Artin, an Armenian architect who worked for the Üsküdar municipality, was in charge of supervising construction of buildings and streets in Kadıköy. Between 1875-79, the municipal council headed by Mustafa Yaver Efendi included several Kadıköy locals

from the Armenian community such as Krikor Khorian and Djanig Agha (Damadyan, 2016, vol.3, p. 1658).

C. Tanzimat in Theory vs. Tanzimat In Practice: Imperial Regulations vs. Local Practices.

This section provides a detailed depiction of Kadıköy's urban modernization in the long nineteenth century. Although it focuses on Kadıköy, it offers insights into the early implementations of modern urban planning practices not only in Istanbul but the Middle East at large. It also examines the complex mechanism of devising regulations at the large scale (in this case, at the imperial scale) but implementing them at the local scale (in this case, at the district or the neighborhood scale). Additionally, this section demonstrates the agency of local actors in the planning and development of cities in non-Western contexts. Finally, it sheds light on incremental planning practices that occur over long periods of time, and that are responsive to local socio-political contexts. All these points are closely examined in Table 7 below. Table 7 is a synthesis of data from both the literature on Ottoman modernization and official Tanzimat records, coupled with comprehensive data from Stepanian's memoirs. The table examines the urban changes in Kadıköy across the nineteenth century both in the classical and the modernization periods - the first dictated by *firman*s (orders), juridical rules, customs and traditions; the second governed by a set of laws, rules and regulations. The table specifically examines four urban layers - spatial, social, administrative and legal - and depicts how modernization was actually played out on the ground.

Table 7 could be perceived as a roadmap to the studies on the early examples of modern urban planning in the Middle East. Although it focuses on Kadıköy, it could be used in the analysis of modernization of other small and plural districts in Istanbul and the Ottoman Empire at large.

Below is the organization of Table 7 into four categories:

1. SPATIAL
 - a. District scale: Kadıköy
 - b. Neighborhood scale: Caferağa, Kadıköy's urban core.
 - c. Site scale: examples from residential, commercial and educational buildings.
2. SOCIAL
3. ADMINISTRATIVE
4. LEGAL

1. SPATIAL

a. District Scale: Kadıköy

Table 7. Overview table of 19th century Ottoman modernization policies and practices analyzed at the spatial, social, administrative and legal levels in Kadıköy.

			BEFORE THE TANZIMAT EDICT	AFTER THE TANZIMAT EDICT (1839)
	The District Scale	Neighborhoods	The core area - divided into two neighborhoods: lower and upper. Main urban elements in lower neighborhood: Hagia Euphemia, Surp Takavor and Mühürdar street. Main urban elements in upper neighborhood: Osmanağa and Caferağa mosques, and Bahariye Street	Expansion of the core: East of Mühürdar, West of Moda, Bahariye
			Existing streets and neighborhoods: Mühürdar, Moda, Hünkar İmamı, Kumbaracı Yokuşu, Fenerbahçe, Yoğurtçuçeşme, Selamiçeşme, İhlamurluçeşme	The emergence of new neighborhoods and streets: Haydarpaşa (Rasımpaşa), Bağdat Caddesi, the waterfront

			BEFORE THE TANZIMAT EDICT	AFTER THE TANZIMAT EDICT (1839)
SPATIAL		The Land Use/Land Cover	N/A	New neighborhoods: Yeldeğirmeni and Erenköy
			Residential in the core with surrounding agricultural lands; a commercial cluster on the north end of the old core	Gradual conversion of most of the agricultural lands into built areas for residential, commercial, infrastructural or recreational use
		Property Transaction Dynamics	Imperial Kitchen-Garden	Major transportation hub
			Property Ownership Model: multiple families each owning a limited number of lands	A few wealthy families owning multiple plots of lands (Rıza Paşa, Tubini, Zakharov and Manougian)
			N/A	Buying numerous plots; pooling and subdividing; selling by the square meter
			N/A	Increase in land prices starting the late 1850s
			Limited number of property transactions: 6 transactions in 34 years, from the early 1800s to 1839	An active pattern of property transactions: 26 transactions in 37 years, from 1839 to 1871
			Predominantly locals (individuals or religious institutions)	Locals and newcomers: Muslim, Greek, Armenian and Levantine notables from Pera, Galata and Istanbul
			Shops and residential buildings	Mostly vacant plots of land, but also some residential buildings
		Transactions' profile: small plots located mostly within the old core	Transactions' profile: Larger plots scattered around the old core	

b. Neighborhood Scale: Caferağa

			BEFORE THE TANZIMAT EDICT	AFTER THE TANZIMAT EDICT (1839)
	The Neighbor	Parceling	An organic layout	A grid plan
			Irregularly-shaped blocks, defined by the street network or natural elements surrounding it	Well-defined blocks (square or rectangular); 16 blocks in total

SPATIAL			N/A	Expropriation of parcels by the state; no cap on expropriation area	
			Street Network	Organic, narrow, serpentine roads with cul-de-sacs	Regularized street network with no dead-ends
				No uniformity of street width	Defined street widths: 6 m and 4.5 m
				No formally defined street hierarchy	Primary and secondary roads
				Mühürdar: main street; other important streets are Bahariye and Orta Moda	Mühürdar: keeps its status as main street; Bahariye, Moda and main waterfront streets gain a more prominent status
			Public Spaces	Two squares / communal gathering areas by Hagia Euphemia and Surp Takavor churches	Accentuated squares with chamfered corners at the crossroads; same location but detached from the two churches
				A recreational/religious cluster area located on the old core's waterfront	The creation of a promenade area on the old core's waterfront, known as the Tubini Quay
				Three existing iskeles (quays) and docking areas servicing light maritime traffic	Reorganization and expansion of Kadikoy harbors and docks to accommodate more ferry traffic and a higher number of commuters

c. Site Scale: Residential, Commercial and Educational Buildings.

		BEFORE THE TANZIMAT EDICT	AFTER THE TANZIMAT EDICT (1839)
The Site Scale	Residential/Commercial	Construction material: timber (in general)	Construction material: Masonry buildings; from wooden to kargir (stone or brick)
		Building height: one or two-storied building	Building height: timber houses (10 m), masonry houses: (15 m); Shops (5 m)
		N/A	Masonry façades for all buildings facing main streets
		N/A	Façade projections (especially for buildings located in the old core)
		An existing commercial cluster on the northern edge of the old core	Same location maintained for the commercial cluster; no shop

		BEFORE THE TANZIMAT EDICT	AFTER THE TANZIMAT EDICT (1839)	
SPATIAL		Religious: Non-Muslim monuments; ST		relocations to the outskirts of the district
			Island plot, encircled with streets	Corner plot, embedded into a larger block
			Focal point, connecting the waterfront to Bahariye and the north to Moda.	No longer a focal point, but connection maintained through the same street network as per the pre-fire condition
			Building type: single church building	Building type: a church complex (chapel, main church, pastor house, chancery, etc.)
			Dimensions/Area: 8 m length, 6 m width and 8 m height	Area: 460 sq m
			Architectural elements: basilica with a pointed dome, a narthex, three altars and a stage	Architectural elements: Domed basilica, a narthex, three altars, a stage, a bell tower
			Main construction material: Timber	Main construction material: Masonry
			Other construction materials: stone, marble, lime and cast iron	Other construction materials: marble, timber and cast iron
			Construction period: 41 days	Construction period: 20 months
			Executive body: <i>mütevelli</i> , a few local notables, the head of parish, <i>kalfas</i>	Executive body: <i>mütevelli</i> , a few local notables, the head of the parish, a <i>resimci</i>
		Legal tool: <i>firman</i>	Legal tool: Imperial order	
		Educational	One or two-story buildings annexed with a garden	Three-story building annexed with a garden
			Main construction material: Timber	Main construction material: Masonry
			Design and construction professional: local <i>kalfas</i>	Design and construction professional: Architects (non-locals)
			Executive body: <i>mütevelli</i> and a few local notables	Executive body: neighborhood council + school building committee + town hall meetings

2. SOCIAL

			<u>BEFORE THE TANZIMAT EDICT</u>	<u>AFTER THE TANZIMAT EDICT (1839)</u>
Social			<p><u>Mütevelli</u>: self-appointed patron; in charge of decision-making, planning and funding; has good connections with government officials; facilitates the administrative and legal settings of urban projects</p>	<p><u>Neighborhood council</u>: a committee of six to ten locals elected by vote; administers the social, urban and educational matters of the community; carries out main planning projects (e.g. schools, cultural centers)</p>
			<p><u>Notables</u>: small circle of self-appointed prominent locals; assist the <i>mütevelli</i> in executive decisions</p>	
			<p><u>The Church</u>: key actor in planning and building projects for non-Muslim millets; initiates urban communal projects; provides religious, educational and recreational services; also provides job opportunities for community members</p>	<p><u>The Church</u>: a key actor in planning practices; executive role delegated to the neighborhood council; acts more as an umbrella body rather than a direct agent of management and implementation.</p>
			<p><u>Kalfas</u> (builders/merchants/realtors): design and construct buildings; supply construction materials (timber, bricks, mortar); facilitate buying and selling of properties</p>	<p><u>Architects</u>: Non Kadıköy locals who carried out major urban projects; with formal training; directly applied Tanzimat regulations in the post-fire context; affected the style, dynamics and the planning practice in Kadıköy in the second half of the 19th c.</p>
			<p><u>The Kalfayan family</u>: multi-generational builders, timber merchants and realtors, but also “urban archivers”</p>	
			<p><u>Local Ottoman officials</u>: mediators; help non-Muslim communities secure administrative and legal settings for the implementation of public and private urban projects.</p>	
			<p><u>Kadıköy locals (religious, ethnic and professional communities)</u>: perform municipal services such as street maintenance, cleaning and others</p> <p><u>The local Armenian community</u>: participate in communal urban projects through helping</p>	<p><u>Kadıköy locals</u>: no longer in charge of municipal services; responsible only of the maintenance of private properties</p> <p><u>The local Armenian community</u>: A more inclusive role in decision-making, especially in</p>

			<u>BEFORE THE TANZIMAT EDICT</u>	<u>AFTER THE TANZIMAT EDICT (1839)</u>
			physically and ensuring material resources for construction works; limited role in decision-making.	matters related to communal projects. Participate in town hall meetings and elect neighborhood councils.
				<u>The newcomers</u> : have a major impact on the built fabric; brought in capital and a new architectural style (stone buildings with elaborate architectural details); contributed to the development of new neighborhoods

3. ADMINISTRATIVE

			<u>BEFORE THE TANZIMAT EDICT</u>	<u>AFTER THE TANZIMAT EDICT (1839)</u>
Administrative	Juridical & Municipal		<u>Grand Vizier</u> : head of the various state executive departments and its legislative bodies (e.g. supreme council of judicial ordinances, the council of the Tanzimat)	<u>Ministers</u> : administrative jurisdiction transferred from viziers to ministers
			<u>Kadı</u> : judge and mayor; responsible for juridical and municipal matters; controls the kadılık as a whole but delegates his duties to naibs and religious leaders at the <i>semt</i> and <i>mahalle</i> levels, respectively	<u>Şehremini</u> : city prefect or mayor; in charge of supervising and implementing the following tasks: provision of basic needs, control of building activities, regulation and collection of taxes, construction and maintenance of roads, cleaning and embellishment of the city, control of markets and guilds. The şehremini is the head of the twelve members of the <i>şehir meclisi</i> (city council)
			<u>Religious leaders (imams and priests)</u> : administer religious and juridical matters of the millets at the local scale (the <i>mahalle</i>)	
		Municipal	<u>Mimarbaşı</u> : supervise the construction and repair of private	<u>Şehir meclisi</u> : members of the city council; help the şehremini

			<u>BEFORE THE TANZIMAT EDICT</u>	<u>AFTER THE TANZIMAT EDICT (1839)</u>
			and public buildings; inspect and improve construction plans; build and maintain aqueducts and public fountains	in the execution of municipal services
		Financial	<u>İhtisap Ağası</u> : supervise and regulate industry, trade and commerce; collect taxes imposed on goods; supervise public behavior in markets	<u>Municipal Commissions: İntizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu</u> (Commission for the Order of the City): comprised of Ottoman and foreign individuals residing in Istanbul and familiar with European models of governance and administration. Role: implement a set of rules related to infrastructural services (regularization, repair and embellishment of streets; establishment of sewage and drainage systems and street lighting); empower local governance (divide the city into 14 districts) and manage financial resources (create an accounting branch within the municipality)
			<u>Kassam</u> : Ottoman official who deals with inheritance matters; responsible for recording the estates left by members of the <i>askeri</i> class (individuals serving the central administration)	
		Security	<u>Bostancıbaşı</u> : ensure public order, social control and conformity in the district; record all building activities and ensure its compliance with imperial orders	
			<u>Şubası</u> : local police chief; responsible for enforcing law and order	

4. LEGAL

		-	<u>BEFORE THE TANZIMAT EDICT</u>	<u>AFTER THE TANZIMAT EDICT (1839)</u>
Legal	Legal concepts	Land types	<u>Mülk</u> : a type of land tenure which grants the owner full private ownership (the right to buy, sell or mortgage the property); it also includes the right to hold a <i>gedik</i>	<u>Mülk</u> : a wider scope of action with <i>mülk</i> property during the Tanzimat period; right to purchase land was granted not just to co-owners of the land, but also to the adjoining neighbour of the land in question.
			<u>Mahlül</u> : vacant land	<u>Mahlül</u> : if state land (<i>miri</i>) is left uncultivated for three years it could be taken back by the state, depriving the owner of possession
			<u>Vakıf</u> : endowments or property entrusted permanently to charitable institutions. It can comprise buildings, plots of land or other assets which a person dedicates for charitable purposes. It is also defined as usufruct state land (or property) from which the state revenues are assured to pious foundations (both Muslim and non-Muslim)	<u>Vakıf</u> : The Ottoman Land Code of 1858 classifies <i>vakıf</i> as one of the five main categories of lands in the Ottoman Empire. It further categorizes <i>vakıf</i> lands into two types: (1) <i>Arazi-i memlüke</i> (privately owned lands) made <i>vakıf</i> in accordance with Shariaa law and (2) <i>Arazi-i miri</i> (state land) made <i>vakıf</i> by the Sultan.
		Sale transactions	<u>Gedik</u> : the right to exercise a given craft in a specific place; It includes either the right to use the locale/workshop or the right to practice the craft. The latter consists of two types of crafts: mobile (fishermen, street vendors, etc.) or immobile (silversmiths, carpenters, bakers, etc.)	<u>Senedat or tapu</u> : title deeds

		-	<u>BEFORE THE TANZIMAT EDICT</u>	<u>AFTER THE TANZIMAT EDICT (1839)</u>
			<p><u>Bey' bi'l istiğlal/Bey' bi'l vefa:</u> a temporary sale of land or building to a creditor as collateral for a debt. In Bey' bi'l vefa, the money lender can utilize the property throughout the lending period as per conditions set prior to the agreement. In the case of a commercial shop, the lender can cash the revenues until the debt period is over. In Bey' bi'l istiğlal, the borrower sells his property to the lender; he then rents it from the lender until he pays his debt. Bey' bi'l istiğlal is a sale transaction type as per "bey' bil vefa" agreement</p>	
			<p><u>Ferağ:</u> Alienation of land possessed by <i>tapu</i> (title deeds) either gratis or for a set price.</p>	<p><u>Ferağ:</u> Alienation of land possessed by <i>tapu</i> (title deeds) either gratis or for a known price.</p>
		Property inheritance	<p><u>Inheritance of property:</u> One of the most common ways of acquiring land or access to land in classical Ottoman period. It is derived from religious sources (Islamic law, millet laws) which organizes the division of an individual's property upon his death to shares. Inheritance practices were widely gender-biased during this period.</p>	<p><u>Inheritance of property:</u> a liberal system of land ownership; it increased the distribution of titled land and encouraged the development of medium and small-sized land holdings. It provided a secular and a more gender-equal legal framework: standardized inheritance procedures both for Muslims and non-Muslims as well as the same inheritance rights for men and women.</p>

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Twenty-first century Kadıköy is Istanbul's portal to Asia. Located in a transcontinental metropolis, the district hosts hundreds of thousands of daily commuters crossing over the Bosphorus from one side or continent to the other. Kadıköy's role as a nexus between Asia and Europe is reinforced by a highly developed infrastructure network comprised of the Haydarpaşa Port (the largest port in Istanbul), the Haydarpaşa Train Station, numerous ferry services, subway network, and a tram line. A bustling commercial center, a dynamic recreational hub and a large residential fabric further solidify the district's role as a major transportation hub.

Kadıköy's current role and position are not a product of recent interventions. It was actually in the nineteenth century that Kadıköy as we know it emerged. This thesis has demonstrated that Ottoman urban modernization shaped the district as early as the mid-1800s. The district's pivotal role as an intercontinental link is also rooted in this period. Once an insignificant neighborhood located on the shores of the Sea of Marmara, Kadıköy evolved into being one of the most vital hubs in extra-mural Istanbul. At the turn of the nineteenth century, Kadıköy emerged as the heart of Asian Istanbul, eclipsing Üsküdar, its neighbor that had been a city in its own right (one of the *bilad-i selase*⁸¹) from the fifteenth century up to the nineteenth century.

So, why did the Ottoman Empire choose Kadıköy as a hub of transportation, commerce and trade in Asian Istanbul? Why did it establish two of its strategic transport facilities (i.e. Haydarpaşa Port and Haydarpaşa Train Station) in Kadıköy and not in

⁸¹ One of the three districts outside of the city walls of Istanbul proper (1453-1855). The other two districts were Eyüp and Galata.

Üsküdar? Why did the empire invest so much in the modernization of Kadıköy To answer these questions, we should first reconsider the agency attributed to the state. The state was not the sole decision-maker in the planning of modern Kadıköy. My research shows that there was actually a far more complex set of factors and actors that shaped the state's decisions and made modernization processes more responsive to the actual dynamics on the ground. This Table 10 below summarizes this clearly. It represents a chronological set of key socio-spatial factors that gradually shaped Kadıköy into a modern district across the nineteenth century, and eventually helped it gain its current role as a transcontinental nexus.

Early 1800s: Kadıköy, a small agricultural town on the outskirts of Istanbul	
1830-1840s	• Influx of residents (newcomers and large capital owners)
1852	• First public ferry service, connecting Kadikoy to districts across the Bosphorus
1855	• Great Kadıköy Fire
1856	• First neighborhood plan in Caferağa - Old Core Kadıköy
1850s-1970s	• Population growth, growth of the old core, new neighborhoods, active real estate transactions.
1868	• Kadıköy, one of the 14 official districts of Istanbul
1872	• The construction of the Haydarpaşa Train Station
1874	• The establishment of Kadıköy's first municipal council
1899	• The construction of the Haydarpaşa Port
Late 1800s: Kadıköy, a transportation hub and one of Istanbul's key districts	

Table 8. Chronological list of socio-spatial events that shaped the modernization of Kadıköy in the 19th century.

Table 10 shows that every major social, economic and administrative change in the district was followed by an urban intervention involving a major infrastructure project, which demonstrates the entanglement of global, imperial and local factors in the physical reconfiguration of Kadıköy.

Building strong infrastructure networks was a key aspect of Ottoman urban modernization. In Istanbul, as well as in the major port cities of the empire such as Izmir, Beirut and Salonica, it catered to the strategic goal of linking the capital city to its provinces and the world at large, integrating the imperial into the global economy. The emergence of Kadıköy as a major hub of commerce and transportation was a product of the interplay between this strategic goal and peculiar local dynamics. That the nineteenth century Kadıköy evolved organically based on demographic and spatial growth, rather than being planned in advance, testifies to the significant role of local dynamics in fueling the district's urban modernization. For example, from the 1830s onwards, a large number of prominent and wealthy families from the Old City, Pera and Galata settled in Kadıköy either permanently or temporarily. The increase in the number of residents instigated the need to establish a public ferry service to facilitate commuting across the Bosphorus. Although privately owned, the new public transportation service was probably one of the first urban projects towards a modern Kadıköy. The first public intervention initiated by the state was introduced a few years later, after the Great Kadıköy Fire in 1855: it involved the reorganization of Old Core Kadıköy as per modern urban planning principles (i.e. grid street patterns, well-defined plots, and regularized building typologies). Although state-devised, Kadıköy's new neighborhood plan was largely informed by local practices and actors (see Section A.1., Chapter 5). The reorganization of the Old Core in 1856 triggered a period of growth. In

the following years, Kadıköy's population started to grow rapidly. Big capital owners bought large plots of lands in different areas across the district. This led to the expansion of existing neighborhoods or the development of new ones (e.g. Yeldeğirmeni, Erenköy and Haydarpaşa). In twenty years, the town grew exponentially – both in terms of its spatial fabric and population size. As a result, Kadıköy became officially one of Istanbul's fourteen districts in 1868.

In 1872, Kadıköy attracted a key infrastructural project: the construction of the Haydarpaşa Train Station. This key urban intervention placed the district on the map of major centers for transportation, commerce and culture. It promoted the link between Kadıköy with not just Istanbul proper but other cities in the empire. Finally, the construction of the Haydarpaşa Port in 1899 further solidified Kadıköy's prominent role as a transportation and commercial hub. By that time, Kadıköy was already administered by an independent body, the municipal council, a key outcome of Ottoman reforms.

This picture suggests two things: first, much of the contemporary characteristics of Kadıköy are rooted in nineteenth century incremental modernization practices; and, second, the modernization process was not based on a top-down approach, but largely informed by local dynamics. The state was more attentive to those dynamics and seized the opportunity to promote its agenda in harmony with them. Kadıköy's strategic location across the Istanbul peninsula, east of the Sea of Marmara, and its rapidly developing urban pattern might have encouraged the state to concentrate its modernization efforts in Kadıköy instead of Üsküdar to the north, and eventually transform it into Istanbul's main nexus on the Anatolian side.

How did urban modernization policies and plans actually play out on the ground? Did the state plan and local actors implement? Or did local dynamics shape much of the state’s decisions and plans? It is actually a more fluid relationship between state and local actors: the Tanzimat Edict created the appropriate background for social and spatial development in Kadıköy which induced much of the local dynamics in the district (seen Table 10) and, in turn, shaped the state’s modernization approach vis-à-vis Kadıköy (Table 9).

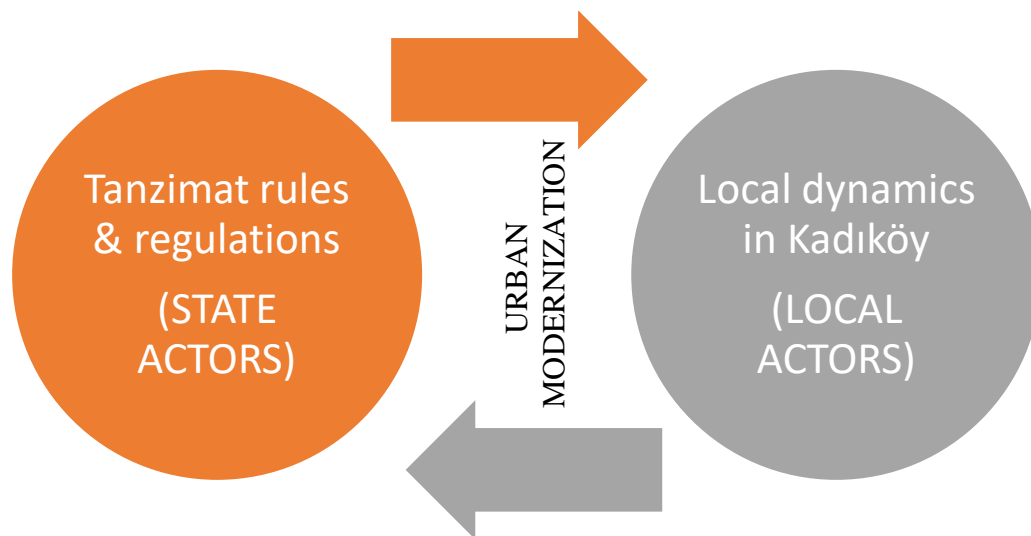


Table 9. Urban modernization dynamics in 19th century Kadıköy

This analysis offers an alternative understanding to the established scholarly paradigm of Ottoman modernization: one that is centered on the actual dynamics on the ground and not just based on a set of policies and regulations devised at the state level. Such an analysis could have only been possible by examining data from local sources. In this respect, Stepanian’s memoirs provides insights into the nineteenth-century modernization practices beyond what official sources offer. Stepanian documents, down to the minute, details the development of Kadıköy into a modern district. The memoirs are accompanied by hand drawn maps, informative sketches and archival data that

reflect the actual practices on the ground. While underlining the role of the state, the memoirs also shed light on other key actors such as neighborhood councils, communal institutions, *kalfas* and eminent individuals, who have largely contributed to the reorganization and modernization of 19th century Kadıköy. Stepanian also chronicles main events that had a significant impact on the implementation of the Tanzimat policies at the local scale (Table 10). Finally, the memoirs show that late Ottoman modernization practices were much more pliable and responsive to the local realities than what was documented in earlier studies⁸².

Kadıköy's nineteenth century urban modernization experience greatly resonates with contemporary planning discourses that call for incremental and participatory approaches. It demonstrates the specificities of planning practices in non-Western contexts, namely the Middle East, at a time when modernization and globalization were intersected with the birth of modern urban planning in Europe. The case of Kadıköy gives a lot of insights into early planning experiences in the Middle East and sets the background for contemporary debates on planning practices in our region. It shows how local practices were integrated into larger planning schemes; how realities on the ground steered the urban modernization into a gradual and long-term development process; how social diversity shaped spatial dynamics; how local agents were actively involved in the urban changes; how experts with non-academic backgrounds were informed, implicated and influential in shaping the urban space; and finally, how urban change was less imposed from above and more adapted to local realities. This has proved to be a successful model since urban interventions in nineteenth century Kadıköy have laid the ground for three pillars of urbanism in Istanbul.

⁸² The following studies on Ottoman modernization serve as an example: Çelik, 1986; Pinon, 1996; Anastassiadou, 1997; Ostle, 2002.

1. A developed infrastructure network making it a major hub.
2. A spatial layout promoting the district's commercial role.
3. A multicultural past attracting a growing number of new initiatives.

In the last few years, Kadıköy has been gaining a lot of attention for its multicultural past. This falls in line with the general interest in the cosmopolitan heritage of plural neighborhoods in Istanbul which has been growing for the last few decades (Açıkgöz, 2018). Viewed as an asset, local and international organizations have recently been developing various projects to assert the role of such neighborhoods as hubs of multiculturalism in Istanbul. In this respect, organizations such as KADOS and the Hrant Dink Foundation (see Chapter 1) have developed different projects in Kadıköy to highlight the district's built and cultural heritage. Local agents have played a key role in the development of these projects. In addition to international stakeholders (i.e. the European Commission), numerous local actors such as professionals in the fields of planning, architectural and urban history, religious leaders, members of different ethno-religious communities and residents of Kadıköy contributed to mapping the socio-spatial fabric of Caferaga, Kadıköy's core area, and highlighting its built and cultural assets. This draws parallels with the roles played by local actors across past centuries. As this thesis has demonstrated, local actors largely contributed to reorganizing and modernizing Kadıköy in the 19th century. Similarly, local agents shaped modern Istanbul in the early republican era by proposing, processing and negotiating many architectural and urban interventions (Açıkgöz, 2018). Today, local actors in Kadıköy are playing a similar role through projects such as "Call to mind: Cultural diversity in Kadıköy"⁸³ and "KarDes"⁸⁴. Although they are not directly shaping

⁸³ Project developed by KADOS in collaboration with the European Commission (2017-2019)

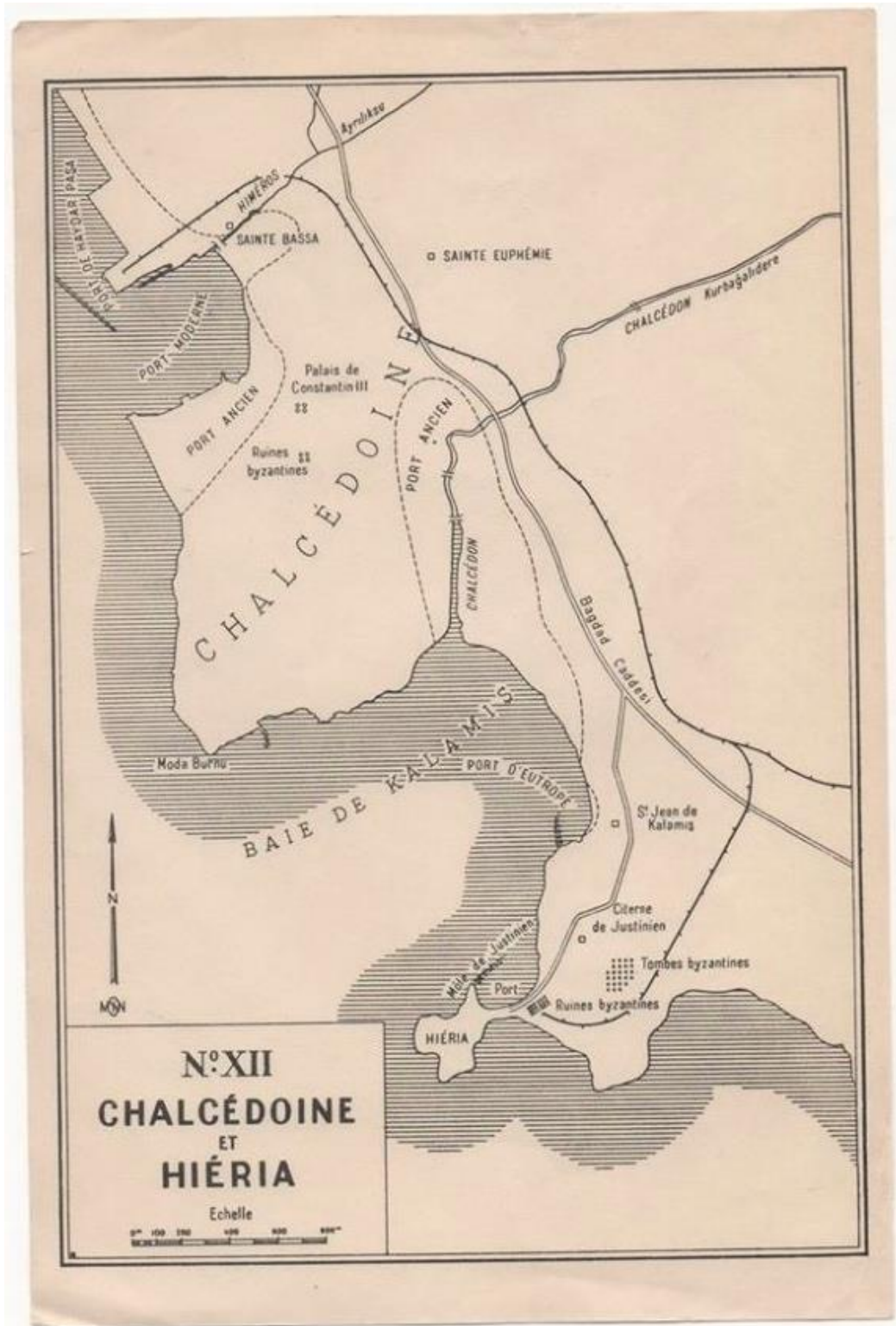
⁸⁴ Project developed by the Hrant Dink Foundation in 2019

the urban space, local agents are actively participating in promoting the district's built and cultural heritage. This is an important resource for local planning and governance agencies, which can be used for future development projects. It is especially significant in light of local and international interest in the multicultural history and urban development of cities and neighborhoods that went through processes of urban modernization, especially in non-Western contexts.

There is a lot to be learned from the early planning experiences of cities in the Middle East. This thesis falls in line with recent studies conducted on the urban modernization of key Ottoman cities such as Salonica, Izmir and Beirut (Zandi-Sayek, 2012; Sharif, 2014; Lafi, 2020), but it highlights the experience of smaller, less prominent, yet equally cosmopolitan urban centers like Kadıköy. The case of Kadıköy's urban modernization reveals a great number of details about the trilogy of "global-imperial-local" and "policies versus real-ground" dynamics. It also shows that using diverse sources, especially non-conventional ones (i.e. memoirs), can provide great insights on the history of urban modernization in the Ottoman Empire. Finally, Kadıköy's example shows that at a time when globalization and modernization were shaping key international cities such as Haussmann's Paris and Olmsted's New York, these same concepts were shaping the smallest districts in the Middle East. This thesis is an invitation to further explore the early modernization experiences in non-Western contexts, especially in light of a large interest in this topic in both the academic and the non-academic worlds.

APPENDIX

A. Map of Chalcedon (Kadıköy) in the Byzantine era by Raymond Janin (1950).



B. List of Kadıköy locals who had a role in shaping the urban fabric. This list is compiled from Stepanian’s memoirs (2012) and Celal Esad’s document (2011)

MUSLIMS	GREEKS	ARMENIANS	LEVANTINES	JEWS
Abdi Bey	Çalıglı Andonaki	Altunoğlu	Baltazzi	Aharon
Balmumcuzade Salih ve Nuri Beys	Çiçekci Christo	Apig Efendi Uncuyan	Banker Sineor Castelli	
Çavuş Başı Mehmet Paşa	Istifanaki Bey	Bedros Demirdjibashian	Berni	
Çırçır	Istifani	Çamurcu Yeghia	Alexandre Blacque (Blak)	
Çuhadar Ağa Ladıklı Ahmed Ağa	kalpakçı Andonaki	Garabed Gelibolian	Lorando	
Damgacı Zade Mehmed Bey	Konchdji Yanko, Sdrati Rali	Garabed Hazarian	Tubini	
Deli Abdullah Bostancıbaşı	Kosdaki Giuseppe	Garabed Mouradian	William Churchill	
Dimdik Süleyman	Kosdanti Zakharov (Greek tradesman)	Haci Kapriel		
Elmas Ağa	Madrabaz Yorgi	Hagop Berberian		
Haci Esad Efendi	Meraklı Dimitri	Hagop Krtigian		
Haci Hüsnü Efendi	Nikola	Haroutioun & Kevork Kapamadjian		
Haci Murafa	Rali	Haroutioun Amira Noradougian		
Haci Şükrü	Şarabci Angelaki	Haroutioun Efendi Manougian		
Hüseyin Bey (İhtisab Ağa)	Satay Dimitri	Hovhannes Kalfa Giragossian		
İngiliz Mahmud Efendi	Stefanovich	Hovhannes Kalfa Stepanian		
İsmail Ağa	Zamir Efendi Kirloz	Hovsep Efendi Geucherian		
Istendilli Tahir Efendi	Zot oğlu (baker from Tessaloniki)	Kevork Ağa		
Kahya Bey Ahmed Ağa		Kevork Demirdjibashian		
Kahya Bey Haci Hafız Efenfi		Khachadour Chamourdjian		
Kahya Hüsref Paşa		Khachig Gamsaragan		
Kamil and Raci Beys		Khosrov Aladjajian		
Karagöz Yalısı		Krikor Meguerdichian (goldsmith)		
Keresteciler Kehyası		Küpekci oğlu		
Köstenceli Tahir Efendi		Mahdesi Haroutioun Djamdjian		
Ladıklı Ahmed Ağa Çuhadar		Mahdesi Serovpe Gulbenkian		
Mehmed Ali Efendi		Melkon Terzian		
Mehmed Efendi		Mrgdich Amira Cezayirlian		
Mehmed Emin Efendi		Nshan Chamourdjian		
Mustafa Paşa (from Şkodra)		Peshdimaldjian Kevork		
Müşteşad Osman Bey		Sarkis Stepanian		
Nazir Efendi		Sarraf Pekmezoğlu Hovsep Ağa		
Nuri Bey		Stepan Hovhannes Kalfayan		
Otluk Emin		Stepan Meguerdichian		
Raşid Efendi		Tensoufian Loutfi		
Reyiz Efendi				
Rıza Paşa				
Şam Kapu Kyahyası Haci Şerif Efendi				
Tahir Paşa				
Tevfik and Mühhieddin Bey				
Tosyalı Oğlu Süleyman				
Yeniçeri Ağa				
Yeniçeri Ağa				
Yoğurtcu Emin				

Figure 40. List of Kadıköy locals who played a role in shaping the urban fabric. This list is compiled from Stepanian’s memoirs (2012) and Celal Esad’s document (2011)

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