

The Transformation of Beyođlu Muslim Cemetery: Sanitizing, Beautifying and Reproducing the Memory of the City in the Nineteenth Century

Gizem Kıyıcı



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THESIS ADVISOR

Professor Cengiz Kırlı
Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History
Boğaziçi University

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Professor Nadir Özbek
Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History
Boğaziçi University

Assistant Professor Hakkı Başgüney
Beykoz University



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Abstract

“The Transformation of Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery: Sanitizing, Beautifying and Reproducing the Memory of the City in the 19th Century”

Gizem Kıyıcı, Master’s Candidate at the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University, 2019

Professor Cengiz Kırılı, Thesis Advisor

This study is about the transformation of the Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery in 19th century. It draws on first and second-hand sources to examine the dynamics of the 19th century Istanbul which reshaped the city, changed the spatialization of death and led the transformation of the cemetery. Moreover, the study reveals the spatialization of two influential discourses; beautification and sanitation.

Based on archival material, the study describes the urban fabric, the institutional change and different responses with the help of visual data. Although the transformation of cemeteries was a common practice in 19th century urbanism, not only in Istanbul, but also in other Ottoman and European cities, the change in spatialization of death and the transformation of cemeteries are generally overlooked topics in the historiography of the city. Thus, most goal of the study is to comprehensively document the multi-layered historical data and to assert cemeteries’ significant role in spatial practices.

25,000 words

Özet

“Beyoğlu Müslüman Mezarlığı’nın Dönüşümü: 19. Yüzyıl Kentinde Sıh-
hileştirme, Güzelleştirme ve Hafızanın Yeniden Üretimi”

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Profesör Cengiz Kırılı, Tez Danışmanı

Bu çalışma 19. Yüzyılda Beyoğlu Müslüman Mezarlığı’nın dönüşümünü konu etmektedir. 19. yüzyılın, mezarlığın dönüşümünü tetikleyen, kenti yeniden şekillendiren ve ölüm mekansallığını değiştiren dinamikleri, birincil ve ikincil kaynaklardan yararlanılarak incelenmektedir. Bunun yanısıra çalışma, 19. yüzyıl kentleşmesinde belirleyici iki söylemin; güzelleştirme ve sıhileştirme, mezarlık alanı dönüşümünde mekansallaşmasını ortaya koymaktadır.

Çalışma, arşiv belgelerine dayanarak dönemin kent dokusunu, kurumsal dönüşümü ve bu dönüşümle içkinleşen farklı tepkileri, görsel malzemenin de yardımıyla incelemektedir. 19. yüzyıl şehircilik pratiğinde mezarlık alanlarının dönüştürülmesi İstanbul’la sınırlı olmayan, tüm Osmanlı ve Avrupa’da denenen yaygın bir pratiktir. Yine de bu pratik Osmanlı kent tarihi literatüründe hakettiği yeri bulamamıştır. Bu nedenle, çalışmanın öncelikli hedefi konu hakkındaki çok katmanlı arşiv malzemesini okuyucuya sunmak ve böylelikle kentleşme pratiklerinde mezarlık alanlarının tarihsel rolünü ortaya koyabilmektir.

25.000 kelime





To my uncle, Sedat Altın...

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Last but not least; the geography that I told the story with this study is Beyoğlu; my home. Frame of my most beautiful and terrifying memories. The flow that I lost and found myself again and again. I met Beyoğlu in 2005, for the first time with my uncle; Sedat Altın. I still remember how we enjoyed and observed the place together. I remember how I felt happy. All these years he has been accompany of my most beautiful memories. I wish to represent my deep gratitude by dedicating the story of my home to him. Thank you my dear uncle for your support, for your trust, for the unconditional love that you have given me since I was a child...



Introduction

Every alive shall taste the death.

Ali Imran: 185, Quran

Today, this verse of Quran hangs on the big door of *Zincirlikuyu Cemetery*, very big neighbourhood of Istanbul's dead. In the middle of the city's most crowded centre and rush, the dead remind living subjects the very existence of the death with this verse which was written by an alive.

Without a doubt, this is a surprising image in the city as a spatial organization where life goes at full of speed. Even under the today's global pressure, between alive's hard struggles on urban land, the neighbourhoods of dead remain their place in Istanbul. In fact, throughout the fields of the urban transformation, which is an emerging topic for today, cemeteries that located most "valuable" parts of the city are not even a matter of discussion. They have a special position in Istanbul urban landscape and define large green spaces between dense buildings. Thus, they concrete a strong image in the city.

Historically, the cemeteries have had continuity on city's image and landscape. Even though Istanbulites, as "insiders", do not find this image surprising, a short trip to travellers' notes represents that an "outsider look" has always been astonished at that image in past and still in present. Especially in

European travellers' memory books, the cemeteries position in urban landscape takes an important place as nearly as memorial buildings do.

Not being astonished does not state "insider" in a passive position. Quite the contrary, the neighbourhoods of dead and their certain situatedness have concreated by urbanities and their way of attributing such a meaning to their dead and the death itself. In other words, historically, Istanbulites' bounds with their dead and death have spatialized in urban space relating with the memory. Furthermore, this spatialization has such a power that have defined city's image throughout the centuries.

From that point of view, the urbanization dynamics of Istanbul in the 19th century which led the transformation of one of the oldest cemeteries, Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery where does not remain any sign today, are quite an interesting and fruitful topic for urban history. In 19th century urbanization practices, the transformation of Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery was not the only example. Rather, transformation of cemeteries was a quite common practice in 19th century urbanism, not only in Istanbul, but also in other Ottoman and European cities.¹ On the other hand, the cemeteries and their transformation is generally overlooked topic in the historiography of the city. Still, a few researches about the field emphasize that the cemeteries and gravestones are powerful social analysis tools for history and promising topic for new researches with their strong position in urban life.²

In the means of urban historiography, 19th century was a significant time period. With the strong effects of previous centuries rapid changes, like Industrial Revolution and French Revolution, the discourses of these changes had institutionalized and spatialized throughout the 19th century. The spaces of these changes and discourses were cities. On one hand, increasing idea of modernism had defined the boundaries between the rulers and the subjects, thus the governmentality. The urban space became the definition of development with new representations and but also with the ways of its "citizens"

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- 1 For the examples from Salonika and İzmir see Devin E Naar, *Jewish Salonika: Between the Ottoman Empire and Modern Greece* (Stanford University Press, 2016).
 - 2 Edhem Eldem, *İstanbul'da Ölüm: Osmanlı İslam Kültüründe Ölüm ve Ritüelleri* (Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2005), p.3.

treated it and the ways of urban space treated its citizens. Furthermore, this definition of development was a competitive subject in global scale. New gatherings like world fairs and exhibitions³ were important events on global scene where the countries represented their inventions on economy, social life and urban governing and commonized the discourses by influencing each other's practices. On the other hand, the development itself was a challenging process. The cities were tested with the problems of industrial and commercial development; increasing population, migration and new technologies had forced the existing capacity of urban space and urbanities bodies. Pollution, epidemics, waste and the management of public health were crucial problems. It was not a coincidence that new practices on bodily health and urban sanitation had invented and used common concepts and words like "operation". Segmental understanding of analysis had rationalized on both human body and urban space in 19th century.⁴

The pick point of this segmental understanding in practice was Eugene Haussmann's Paris renovation in 1853-1872.⁵ Radical renovation of Paris determined the urban planning understanding and practices. But Paris was not the only example; Vienna developed around Ringstrasse in 1860's and Roma transformed with Alessandro Viviani's plan in 1882.⁶ The beautification and sanitation of the cities were the main discourses of modernizing cities and practices. Furthermore, these discourses conceptualized as essential principles of the developed cities. Camillo Sitte published a "handbook" *City Planning According to Artistic Principles* in 1889. Beautification institutionalized on intellectual scale with *The City Beautiful Movement* in America in 1890's. In 1898

3 For a comprehensive research on architectural gatherings and their discursive analysis, see Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam in the 19th Century World's Fairs* (University of Columbia Press, 1992).

4 Le Corbusier's Modular Man is one of the sharpest examples of the segmental understanding. He redefined the human body (a body of man) and constituted a standardization on spaces according to his modular man. Le Corbusier, *Modular Man* (YEM Yayınları, 2014).

5 For an analysis about the relationship between sanitation and Hausmann Paris plan see Matthew Gandy, "The Paris Sewers and The Rationalization of Urban Space", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 1 (1999).

6 Zeynep Çelik, 19. *Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul* (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1986), p. 2-3.

English urban planner Ebenezer Howard extended these practices with his proposition; *The Garden City*. All these movements carried the marks of early 19th century dealing practices with urban space and spread the ideas by developing them. Thus, beautification and sanitation reshaped the urban space in 19th century and continuously in 20th century.

Ottoman Istanbul was part of this change. Reform movement, which began in the previous centuries with the changes in military, education and bureaucracy, institutionalized in 19th century. Sultan Abdul Medjid signed the *Tanzimat Fermanı* in 1839 and reform movement in Ottoman governmentality officially began. For the first time in Ottoman Empire history, the relationship between the emperor and *tebaa* (public) was defined and legislated with the laws. According to the *Tanzimat Fermanı* the emperor promised all subjects to treat them equally. Likewise in other European cities, Ottoman reform movement needed its own institutions and spatialization. The capital city was the face of Ottoman reform movement.

Besides being face of the movement, Ottoman Istanbul had to deal with the problems of modernizing world. The reasons of these problems differed from other European cities in 19th century; Istanbul had not been industrialized yet. Still, as being an important seaport, it was affected by the circumstances like trade agreements, demographic changes and wars. Thus, the footsteps of the changes in all around the globe rebounded in Istanbul. Rapid changes forced the existing institutions and spatial organizations of the city. Furthermore, disasters and epidemic attacks forced government to take action on public health management. Both institutional and spatial transformations emerged with the discourses beautification and sanitation in Istanbul, too.

One of the significant places of this spatial transformation was cemeteries. On one hand, Ottoman cemeteries, which located on the peripheries of the city in the previous centuries, were under the pressure of growing city centres. In means of beautification; these places were potential leisure areas with their open landscape. On the other hand, burials became a public health treatment under the circumstances of epidemic attacks. As mentioned before, the transformation and transmission of cemeteries were common practices in the 19th century. Many capitals of the time period shared similar problems including epidemics and increasing population. Furthermore, developments on the

health pointed cemeteries as potential treatment areas in global gatherings like Sanitary Conference. Thus, concerns of sanitation legitimated cemeteries transformation with the agendas of beautification.

Although there is a broad literature on the urban history and 19th century urbanization, there are a few works directly addressing the cemeteries and their transformation. Studies of Hans-Peter Laqueur and Edhem Eldem, articles of Nicolas Vatin and Işık Demirakın and a PHD research of Mehmet Kentel are notable examples. Other works not directly related the issue but important for their ancillary information can be grouped as follows; studies on administrative and legal reform on urban governmentality, studies on city plans and new spatial orders and studies on cultural changes regarding migration, labour and daily life. All of them represent the influential factors on the production of urban space in the 19th century, but cemeteries are not considered as important as street orders or forms of the buildings.

The present study aims to fill this gap in the literature to an extent, focusing on archival records related to transformation of Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery in 19th century. Rich archival materials provide a wide range of content from death rituals to demographic change in Istanbul dead. Indeed, cemeteries and gravestones provide social analysis tools to read division of labour, ethnicity and class, social and economic spatial relations of the century. This creates a certain difficulty for the researcher; each topic demands reliable knowledge and all of the materials may be read with different perspectives. In this regard, the present study's intent is not to examine every issue related to the cemeteries transformation. Rather it represents a general overview by focusing on a case study; Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery and point out possible research agendas. The original contributions of the thesis are that it reveals new, unused archival materials; provides a general descriptive picture of the phenomena; visualizes and schematizes the influential factors of the transformation of Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery; tests the relevant literature against newly found archival data; and rises new questions on the matter.

Cemeteries are interesting places not only with their strong position in urban landscape but also as being an issue for urban transformation. These places are sacred for societies. Although their residents -dead- are silent subjects of the communities; have no objections, no negotiations, still so powerful

in the memory of the society. The dead gain body by spatialization throughout the memory of livings, the traditions and religion. Thus, every change on that spatiality -including the body- emerges enormous challenges. For a society which constructs itself with religious discourses, these challenges include so many layers. The interest of the study was born at this point: How did Ottoman Empire transform a Muslim cemetery in 19th century? Which urbanization practices played role throughout the transformation? How did the society affect the urban space and be affected by the transformation process?

The research began with these questions and the motivation was to test Ottoman urban transformation practices on a specific area. Throughout the research, the study structured itself according to arguments that raise in archival materials. For each decision for the Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery, the discourses beautification and sanitation were repeated against the objections. The case study's position clarified through the urbanization dynamics of the time period; new administrations, new spatial orders and disasters.

Beyoğlu was the dynamic and exclusive space of the 19th century urbanization practices. Non-Muslim, Levantine and foreign population were determinative in demographic structure. Furthermore, this population's engagement to both Ottoman bureaucracy and foreign geographies diversified the requests and the practices. They defined a competitive discourse between European cities and Ottoman Istanbul. Thus, the rapid changes in urbanization mostly had practised in Beyoğlu throughout the 19th century.

Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery, one of the oldest cemeteries in Istanbul, had a powerful image and memory on the city landscape. Even, French called it *Le Petit de Champs des Morts* (Little Cemetery), Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery occupied a very large land. In gravures of the area, its strong image with cypress trees was represented. In Ottoman urbanism, burying dead out of the city was common rule.⁷ Also each Ottoman city had at least one saint and their tombs with convents located at the top of a hill outside the city center.⁸ Large cemeteries located around these convents. This common rule was the spatialization

7 Hans-Peter Laqueur, *Hüve'l Baki: İstanbul'da Osmanlı Mezarlıkları ve Mezar Taşları* (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997), p. 78.

8 Edhem Eldem, *İstanbul'da Ölüm: Osmanlı İslam Kültüründe Ölüm ve Ritüelleri*, (Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2005), p. 16.

of Ottoman Empire's Islamic discourse. In northern side of the Golden Horn, Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery and Galata Mevlevi Convent defined the Islamic memory of the city. However, by the 19th century the area was no longer periphery, it became the very center of the city where Ottoman Empire spatialized its modernization practices. In this sense, the transformation of Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery states multi-layered conflicts between old and new, traditional and modern. With the practical problems of urbanization and the discourses beautification and sanitation, the transformation represents Ottoman Empire's characteristic on reproducing the space and thus its own modern urbanism.

Even though the beautification and sanitation were phenomenal discourses of the time period according to modernization, this should be noted that modernization itself is a conflicting conceptualization in the historiography. One of the most conflicting assertions of modernization is that it suggests European political and economic changes as a universal experience or model. Urban history literature mainly inherits modernization or Westernization conceptualizations to examine Ottoman urbanization in 19th century. On the other hand, the unique experience of Ottoman Empire and how it constructed these phenomenal discourses "inside" still an important matter of question.⁹ Therefore, the present study aims to examine Ottoman experience on beautification and sanitation and their constitution process which was determinative on space production. Thus the main questions the study raises are as follows: How did the definition of urban space change in 19th century Istanbul? How did Ottoman Empire define beautification and sanitation on urban space? How did Ottoman Empire practice and produce these definitions on a specific place, a Muslim cemetery, where it constructed its religious discourses and memory?

The thesis is composed of five chapters including the introduction and conclusion. The second chapter "The Theory, The Literature, and The Focus of the Study" will critically discuss the relevant literature, represent the change

9 Göksun Akyürek, *Bilgiyi Yeniden İnşa Etmek: Tanzimat Döneminde Mimarlık, Bilgi ve İktidar* (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2011), p. 5.

in urbanization practices in general which led the transformation and consist of three subsections. First, a theoretical framework will be drawn to read distinctive characteristics of cemeteries in urban space. The significant position of the cemeteries in urban space will be framed with the body, the memory and the space relationship which spatializes the death and makes the dead and cemeteries ruling subjects. With the help of Maurice Halbwachs' "collective memory" and Henri Lefebvre's "space production" conceptualizations, the background of defining the urban space will be questioned. Second, Ottoman urbanism and cemeteries position will be discussed. The radical turn in the 19th century will be presented with the administrative, demographic and social changes which were determinative for redefinition of the city, thus the transformation of Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery. In general, the cemeteries in Ottoman urbanism and their contribution to the image of the city will be represented including the comparison with other cities' practices, also.

The third chapter "Sanitizing the City: Epidemic Disasters and Cemetery as Public Health Treatment" will examine the spatial constitution of the public health in the 19th century Istanbul and how it affected the spatialization of the death. Six cholera attacks and Ottoman Empire's precautions will be analyzed to represent discursive and institutional changes which affected reproduction of the space very deeply. In the first subsection, new regulations on burial practices will be represented with the related archival documents and the help of the medical history literature. The quarantine practice will be questioned with its determinative role on institutionalization of the public health, and dead management which emerged a certain conflict on existing cemeteries and led the transformation of the Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery. Ottoman Empire's efforts on public health was part of international action because of the geographic footprints of the dissemination. The information about each region's efforts on sanitation was shared by the medical doctors who had a powerful agency in that time period and their opinions drew discursive lines within the geography both in regional and local levels, especially by the international gatherings like Sanitary Conferences. Thus, in the second subsection, debates in International Sanitary Conferences and their backwash in Ottoman Istanbul will be examined to represent the background of the spatial division on Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery according to sanitary concerns. In the third

subsection, the spatialization of the sanitation discourse will be examined with directly analyzing the municipal regulations and legitimating arguments of the transformation.

In the fourth chapter “Beautifying the City: Urban Projects and The Transformation of Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery” will examine spatial outbreaks of the beautification discourse which had reconstituted according to modernization efforts.

Many attempts in the 19th century urban planning had the very concern of beautification. On the other hand, rather being only an aesthetical concern, “beautification” draws a discursive area which relates and mostly contains the influential factors of the time period. For the 19th century Istanbul, these influential factors included sanitation, security and institutionalization efforts on urban governing. The transformation of the Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery began with the partial road constructions and a city park project *Tepebaşı Bahçesi* completely changed the spatial context of the area. In the first subsection, Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery’s position in the image of the city will be examine with the help of the travelers’ visual and literary illustration of the space. On the other hand, these representations and natural beauty of the cemetery was looking for a new spatial context according to needs of the Beyoğlu district. Therefore, the discursive analysis will include the different tendencies that emerged a stress field on the cemetery which simultaneously constituted new borders within the space. In the second subsection, the major urban projects will be opened to discussion. This subsection is constructed on the analysis of visual materials. The major urban projects; macro city plans, transportation projects, *Tünel* construction, the development of the *Pera* will be analysed with their contribution to transformation of the Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery.

Lastly, the conclusion will compile the findings of the study and answer the questions raised by the thesis.

The Theory, The Literature, and The Focus of The Study

The present study is constructed by the observation that the role and the transformation of cemeteries in Ottoman Istanbul is a generally overlooked topic in the historiography of the city. As influential factors producing urban space, administrative organizations, architectural forms, urban planning regulations, and cultural patterns of daily life, cemeteries should not be ignored. This chapter presents a theoretical framework to read the distinctive characteristic of cemeteries and a critical review of the relevant literature to examine influential factors that led the transformation of Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery and to illustrate what is lacking from it. This study is organized according to three main axes; spatialization of the sanitation discourse, spatialization of the beautification discourse and how these leading discourses met each other throughout the reproduction of the urban space and had changed the spatialization of the death. In the present chapter these axes will be examined to clarify the position of the study.

§ 2.1 Ruling the Death: The Body, the Memory, and the Space

Then Allah sent a raven digging the ground, to show him how to cover his brother's corpse. He said, "Woe to me! I was unable to be like this raven, and bury my brother's corpse."

Maida: 31, Quran

The quoted verse tells the story of the first murder in Earth, according to divine religions, and the first dead body came out because of *Kabil's* murder. It points *Kabil's* desperation who didn't know what to do with his brother's corpse and learned burying him from a raven. The quote is taken from Quran, but the story repeats itself in other divine religions' books too, even in mythological legends, with different names, and it clearly points the hardness of dealing with a dead body.

This hardness with its bases and variety of dealing practices can be opened to discussion with many approaches by different scholars' perspectives. In this research, two related aspects are taken to account. Firstly; the dead bodies, corpses, are human waste that has considered a serious treatment for public health. Therefore, they have to be ruled. Secondly, a dead body had been connected a community throughout his/her lifetime, thus community's beliefs and traditions construct a continuity on memory by assigning such a meaning to the dead body beyond being only a human waste, but mostly as an afterlife presence, a soul. Memory's domination on the dead body has ritualized¹ and some parts of the rituals help recycle the body as biological, human waste: According to community's traditions, the dead body is buried or burned, so on. In each condition, rituals have been spatialized. These two aspects determine the unique characteristic of each spatialization and emerge certain continuity on the dead bodies as ruled subjects even after the life. Furthermore,

1 For an analysis about Islamic death rituals' role on the society se Leor Halevi, *Muhammad's Grave: Death Rites and The Making Islamic Society* (Colombia University Press, 2011).

these rituals are significant tools that the community reconstructs and empowers its traditions and beliefs. Therefore, each spatiality on and about death is sacred and every change on that spatiality, including the body, emerges enormous challenges.²

By buried to the ground, the dead body re-acquires a material plane with its afterlife presence, soul, and it is spatialized by the graves and cemeteries. Thus, it returns to the community as a part of collective memory, mostly, related with the religion. In other words, the determination of burying the body and all rituals occur according to the collective memory of the community, and then, the acquiring spatialization -which has located in daily life-, provides a continuity to the community that reproduce the collective memory again. This circle emerges the dead body as ruled subject and reconstructs itself on the body, the memory, and the space.

By extension, this circle also defines influential factors of urbanization practices and urban space itself, a complex spatial organization, where large population of people share daily life on a limited land, and different communities live together. For this reason, in the present study, the transformation of Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery in 19th century, with the provocative factors and resistance is framed with Maurice Halbwachs's collective memory approach and Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad which assert the strong relationship between the body, the memory and the space.

Lefebvre's space theory -which connects physical, mental and social processes-, constructed itself on this assessment: "(Social) space is a (social) product".³ Lived space (*l'espace vécu*), perceived space (*l'espace perçu*), and conceived space (*l'espace conçu*) are three founder moments of the space production which cannot separate. The aim of Lefebvre is to represent elements with their conflicts and challenges which connect social production processes. Throughout the production of space, dialectically related but also two-sided three moments occur: At one side spatial practices, representation

2 For example, in the 19th century medical researches on corpses caused rebellions in Ottoman Empire. See Nuran Yıldırım, "Osmanlı Coğrafyasında Karantina Uygulamalarına İsyanlar, 'Karantina İstemezük!'", in *Toplumsal Tarih*, 150 (2016).

3 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of the Space*, (Basil Blackwell, 1991), p. 26

of space and representational space; at the other side lived space, perceived space, and conceived space. Lefebvre connects these two triads with covering human body, its practices and social practices together.⁴

Spatial practice, which embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation. [...] Representations of space, which are tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose. Representational spaces, embodying complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art.⁵

In the urban history literature, urbanization dynamics of the 19th century was read on the built environment and architectural production, for a long time.⁶ These analysis were framed with an unclear “Westernization” concept which emerges so many conflicts; on one side points a certain “deterioration” of unique Ottoman architectural form, on the other side inherits progression discourse of the “Westernization”. The structural changes on the space were examined with focusing activities of a limited community –bureaucrats and architects- and analyzing limited places –cemeteries for example are not part of these analyses. These analyses -that only contain representational spaces-overlooks space production process, spatial practices, and more importantly contributions of the different communities. In fact, the contribution of the divers groups and the stress field that was defined by the conflicts between them was determinative on the space production. Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery transformed to a city park with an architectural attempt, however the transformation began and spread more than a century which included the change over

4 Adile Arslan Avar, “Lefebvre’nin Üçlü –Algılanan, Tasarlanan, Yaşanan Mekan- Diyalektiği” in *Mimarlık ve Mekan Algısı*, 17 (TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, 2009), p. 7.

5 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of the Space*, (Basil Blackwell, 1991), p. 33.

6 The leading researches that use Westernization approach in the literature as follows: Afife Batur, “Batılılaşma Döneminde Osmanlı Mimarlığı, *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’ Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, 4 (İletişim Yayınları, 1985). Doğan Kuban, *İstanbul: Bir Kent Tarihi-Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul* (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000). Selim Denel, *Batılılaşma Sürecinde İstanbul’da Dış Mekanlarda Değişim ve Nedenleri* (İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 1982).

the spatialization of the death, requests of divers group of people and the borders of the place was determined by the conflicts that they emerged.

As analyzed in detail in the third and the fourth chapters of the thesis, each discourse that led the transformation echoes different to each social group according to the continuity running with their memory. By this way, even the dead were determinative on the space production. In this sense, the space and the memory relationship goes beyond the monumental definitions –which also depict a mythical picture about space- and includes social changes and daily life practices.

Halbwachs's proposition on the memory and space relation is based on a quite clear statement: "Each collective memory occurs in a spatial frame".⁷ Indeed, all practices in life happen in a spatial frame. They construct daily life and be constructed within the spatial framework, thus they use space and shape it at the same time. Physical form of the space that includes daily life defines the context of both individual and collective memory. Thus, space provides *locus* through the constitution of individual and collective memories.⁸ So, in a significant period of time when spatial framework changed rapidly, when the functions and the adjectives of the spaces were under the pressure of a certain reconstitution, how did the memory and space relation contribute and include these changes? How did the influential discourses; sanitation and beautification, sense to this relationship?

Halbwachs sociological framework help to read the determinative role of memory and space relation on space production by drawing attention to bodily practices of different communities in which become very visible especially throughout the rituals and spatialization of the death. Indeed, the dead, as a separate body from life, has a strong position in bodily practices and space that occurs continuity. According to the religion and tradition, the community performs some rituals while leaving the dead body. These rituals function to recycle the body but also, help community to return the daily life and represent continuity on transition of traditions one generation to another. The new

7 Maurice Halbwachs, *Kolektif Bellek* (Pinhan Yayıncılık, 2018), p. 174.

8 Serpil Özaloğlu, "Hatırlamanın Yapıtışı Mekanın Bellek ile İlişkisi Üzerine" in *Bir Varmış Bir Yokmuş: Toplumsal Bellek, Mekan ve Kimlik Üzerine Araştırmalar*, ed. Tahire Ermanand Serpil Özaloğlu (Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2017), p. 13.

place of the dead body coincides with spiritual and moral images. Therefore, the spaces where death rituals performed are strong symbols of religions in that continuity. The separation between the sacred and unsacred -which is essential for religious communities-, locates materially in space. When a person, who is part of a religious community, enters a temple or a cemetery or another sacred place, s/he knows that s/he can find the mood that s/he experienced before repeatedly and remembers common memories which happened in the past and have maintained with other religious persons and thoughts.⁹ Thus, the dead gains a symbolic body with the space and communized in the community's collective memory again.

Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery had a very strong image on the collective memory of the Muslim community and it was a representational space for the Ottoman Empire –like other Muslim cemeteries- as the part of Islamize policy of the conquered city. On the other hand, by the 19th century it became a recreational place for leisure activities of divers groups. It became a significant space that the life and the death had struggled each other. The communities that shared this place gave different responses to sanitation and beautification discourses according to their tendency created a stress field on the cemetery that defined the borders of the transformation. For this reason, the transformation of the Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery pointed not only a change on a religious and sacred place, rather it included the conflicts in constitution of the discourses and their effects on different social communities which also crystallized the space production dynamics of the time period.

§ 2.2 Literature Review: 19th Century Ottoman Urbanism

In the previous section, a theoretical framework is drawn to represent a perspective to read the distinctive characteristic of the production of the urban space; in the study case of the transformation of Beyoğlu Cemetery in 19th century. In this section, which is constructed on the critical review of the relevant literature, cemeteries' role in Ottoman urbanism is examined to represent the influential factors on the production of urban space.

9 Maurice Halbwachs, *Kolektif Bellek* (Pinhan Yayıncılık, 2018), p. 188.

The transformation of Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery historically began in second half of the 19th century when Ottoman governmental approach had changed and also urbanization practices had transformed relatively. Thus, the transformation of the Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery was the one of the spatial parts of this paradigm shift. *Tanzimat Fermanı* was signed by Sultan in 1839 and reform movement in Ottoman governmentality officially began. For the first time in Ottoman Empire history, the relationship between the emperor and *tebaa* was defined and legislated with the laws. Equality, freedom and human rights concepts entered in the Ottoman's discourse. On the other hand, these concepts could not meet with the public; rather they responded international bourgeoisie's requests that had started to settle in Istanbul, especially in Beyoğlu, Galata.¹⁰ Ottoman Empire challenge with these concepts was not only about discursive accessibility, during the 19th century these concepts tested Ottoman Empire many times with disaster management. Like administrative, political, economic and social changes; big fires, earthquakes and epidemic attacks shaped the 19th century's urban space in Istanbul.

The urban history literature¹¹ that covers these changes generally focuses three main topics. Firstly, a numerous researches on 19th century Ottoman urbanism examine the administrative and legal reforms in urban governmentality.¹² Secondly, mostly in architectural history literature, researches point the spatial transformation mainly with focusing architectural forms of the buildings, city plans and agency of the architects.¹³ Finally, a broad number of researches focus on cultural change in urban space including migration, labor

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- 10 Zeynep Çelik, *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul* (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1986), p.28.
- 11 According to context of this study, urban history literature is limited only with the researches about Istanbul urbanization practices.
- 12 Osman Nuri Ergin's works are the base of this literature. For bibliographic review see Tarkan Oktay "Osmanlı Belediye Tarihi Araştırmaları ve Kaynak Malzeme Üzerine Notlar" in *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, 3 (2005).
- 13 For a bibliography of architecture history of Ottoman Empire see: Gülsün Tanyeli, "Türkiye'de Mimarlık ve İnşaat Teknolojisi Tarihi Araştırmaları: Kısa Bir Tarihçe ve Bibliyografya", in *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, 7 (2009).

and transformation in daily life habits.¹⁴ In the present section, these researches are combined with a critical review to represent the trigger factors in the background of Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery's transformation.

2.2.1 *The Radical Turn in Ottoman Urbanism in 19th Century: An Overview*

Ottoman urbanism is mainly examined with Islamic city conceptualization.¹⁵ The Islamic city conceptualization covers not only religious places which occur monumental position in the image of the city, but mostly the Islamic governmental approach. The Islamic city conceptualization refers Islamic set of rules including social and economic layers of the production of the space. The Islamic city approach is based on two related assessments: Firstly, the settlement organization, including neighborhoods and city centers, was founded around religious buildings and services. Secondly, Islamic cities did not have an autonomous institution for municipal services. Rather “they were institutions which the systems worked.”¹⁶

Indeed, in the case of Istanbul, before the second half of the 19th century urbanism practices were ruled by the existing authorities and institutions with

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- 14 For example see Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı'da Gündelik Yaşam* (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999).
- 15 In fact, The Islamic City conceptualization constructed itself as an opposition European City at first. European scholars that focuses on 19th and 20th century urbanism practices had used the conceptualization to define two spectrums: Islamic City as backwardness, European City as development. For example, see Max Weber, *Şehir* (Bakış Yayınları, 2000). But with the later studies and debates, conceptualization includes critical responses to orientalist and Western centric perspective. For examples of the debates and responses about the conceptualization see André Raymond, “Islamic City, Arab City: Orientalist Myths and Recent Views”, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 21 (1994), Albert H. Hourani, “The Islamic City in the Light of Recent Research” in A.H. and S. M. Stern, *The Islamic City: A Colloquium*, (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1970).
- 16 Albert H. Hourani, “The Islamic City in the Light of Recent Research” in A.H. and S. M. Stern, *The Islamic City: A Colloquium* (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1970), 17-18.

shared duties and individual initiatives. The duties were shared by public authorities like *Kadı*, *Muhtesib*, *Subaşı*, *Imam* and chef architect and civic initiatives like waqfs, *loncas*, communions, neighborhood organizations.¹⁷

Although each institution had a district hierarchical order, the duties and responsibilities were shared by public authorities and institutions not in a district hierarchical order but more in an organic, interbedded way. In that kind of organization, the agency of individuals -as being a public authority or being a notable of the city- was as powerful as institutions. More importantly the agency of these individuals was determinative in institutions' autonomy because beyond their controller role they were founders or rulers of these institutions which in return empowered their position as Empire's public authority.

Osman Nuri Ergin defines this kind of organization as *Ferdiyet System* (Individuality System).¹⁸ The translation of *Ferdiyet* as *Individuality* cannot cover the meaning of the definition. Rather being a secular individualism as Western approach defines, *Ferdiyet* points agency of the persons who took initiative financially and socially as the subjects of the empire or the god. Also, in *Ferdiyet System*, these persons gained their agency through the heritage of their family.

In Ottoman urbanism, *Kadı* who was a high figure in Ottoman hierarchical bureaucratic system had authority in territorial and municipal functions. *Kadı* was appointed directly by the central council and with this authority he was responsible of the order of the services with his controlling and ruling duties. *Kadı* had used his authority by the norms of Islamic law like *Şeri* laws, emperor direct orders *Fermans*, habitudes, usages and precedents.¹⁹

Muhtesib who worked under the authority of *Kadı* was responsible to control tradesmen order. The legal frame of *Muhtesib* duties was determined by

17 Tarkan Oktay, *Osmanlı'da Büyükşehir Yönetimi İstanbul Şehremaneti* (Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2011), p. 3

18 Osman Nuri Ergin, *Türkiye'de Şehirciliğin Tarihi İnkişafı*, (Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1936), p. 5.

19 Tarkan Oktay, *Osmanlı'da Büyükşehir Yönetimi İstanbul Şehremaneti* (Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2011), p. 3

Ihtisap Codes. *Subaşı* who was in fact connected to *Yeniçeri Ocağı* had responsibilities under the control of *Kadı*. His duties were catching the criminals as being kind of police force and informing chef architect about demolishing buildings and broken infrastructures like roads and pedestrian roads. *Tahir Subaşı* was responsible for cleaning services. Chef architect with *Hassa Architects Chamber* under his control was responsible for construction standards and order.²⁰

In Ottoman urbanism the most powerful non-governmental institution was waqf. Waqfs functioned with the approach of *Ferdiyet System*, also and had certain financial, social and spatial effects on the production of the space.²¹

In metropolises such as Istanbul the urban space developed not around a single nucleus but around several, variously located, each constructed as a well-planned complex of religious buildings and supported by a waqf.²² The basic public buildings like mosque, bazaar, library and *medrese* (school) were built by waqfs. Cemeteries also were properties of them. Subjects used these services freely without paying any taxes. Ergin explains individuals and waqfs relation, how they empowered their position through the production of the space by exempling directly emperors' and their family's waqf activities and motivation:

One should remember that many emperors built municipal services to appropriate for every subject but they did not build them on their reputation or dept. Not only emperors, but also their families built these services, too. As can be understood their names, even emperors built these services from their own grant with the emotions of charity and compassion and with appreciating the wisdom.²³

20 Ibid, p. 6-7.

21 Halil İnalçık, "Istanbul: An Islamic City" in *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 1 (1990), Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İmaret Sitelerinin Kuruluş ve İşleyiş Tarzına İlişkin Araştırmalar.

22 Halil İnalçık, "Istanbul: An Islamic City" in *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 1 (1990), 10.

23 Osman Nuri Ergin, *Türkiye'de Şehirciliğin Tarihi İnkişafı*, (Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1936), p. 46.

Subjects who built these services with their waqfs supported both construction and management costs. Waqfs had ruled for decades by the same family according to transmitting system from father to the oldest child. Islamic precedents were determinative for punitive activities of waqfs. The management rules were defined with verses of Quran and one who would not obey these rules was threatened with the bad effects and curses of the verses.²⁴

Loncas (tradesmen chambers) were another significant institution that had certain responsibilities on urban space. Especially in bazaars, *loncas* fixed the roads, supplied water systems and lightning, educated tradesmen and determined the standardizations of services.²⁵

Neighborhood organization was the base of the settlement area. Neighborhoods located around the religious buildings like mosque and church and shared by mostly a homogenous community. In neighborhood scale, urban space was ruled and produced by common norms that were responsibility of all community members. The administrative part of the community was originated by *Imam* (religious leader of the neighborhood) and board of regents. *Imam* had duties like announcement of birth, death and marriage and managing the rituals of these kind of events in neighborhood. The neighborhood organization was responsible for cleaning of the common places, lightning the streets and charity activities. The financial foundation of these activities was *Avarız Akçesi Waqf* which was supported by community and neighborhood notables.²⁶

In 19th century, before and after *Tanzimat Reform*, Ottoman urbanism practices had changed with new set of rules and new institutions. In this period, the trigger factors that had changed the Ottoman urbanism can be explained with two related progressions. The first one was Ottoman Empire's desire to gain power again with centralization likewise European countries did at the same time period. *Ferdiyet System* -which is the organizational reflection of Ottoman Islamic governmental approach- had gave certain privileges to individuals and communities against the state. Halbwachs's collective memory

24 Ibid, p. 48.

25 Tarkan Okaty, *Osmanlı'da Büyükşehir Yönetimi İstanbul Şehremaneti* (Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2011), p. 8.

26 Ibid, p. 9-10.

approach on property rights -which focuses on the space and memory relation rather focusing on legal systems-, may help to frame these privileges. According to him, the property right exists as a result of an attitude that the community took for a certain space continuously. A person or a community has a property right on something, just in case, the society admits the relationship between them. In each property right system, the right only be admitted when collective memory secures its practice. The society does not settle only with relating the image of the space and written document. Rather, it defines the space as a connected thing to a certain community or a person.²⁷ In the Ottoman case, *Ferdiyet System* defined the property and, thus the authority on urban space and governing. Therefore, it emerged challenges for Ottoman Empire that desired to rebuild its authority with centralization, “a new social base was needed if the Empire was to survive”.²⁸

Secondly, especially in seaports, in Istanbul at the first place, the existing urbanism organizations both spatially and administratively were incapable to solve increasing population problems like health services and transportation. Stanford Shaw examines the increasing population and changes in Istanbul’s demography in 19th century. According him, the population of Istanbul was 391.000 in 1844, 430.000 in 1856, 547.437 in 1878 and 851.227 in 1886.²⁹

With administrative reforms, some institutions which had played important roles through the urban governing were closed down like *Yeniçeri Ocağı* and *Hassa Architects Chamber*. Without the existence of a municipal institution, Ottoman Empire was incapable providing population’s needs. Crimean War made these circumstances more difficult. Through the war, many soldiers and materials were coming to Istanbul, the existing accommodation

27 Maurice Halbwachs, *Kolektif Bellek* (Pinhan Yayıncılık, 2018), p. 163.

28 Selim Deringil, “The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808 to 1908, in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 35 (1993), p. 4.

29 Stanford Shaw, “The Population of Istanbul in Nineteenth Century”, in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 10 (1979), p. 266-275.

facilities and hospitals were not enough for them and the treatment of epidemics could not be prevented.³⁰ The requests and critics of European diplomats empowered Ottoman Empire's desire of strengthening its position in the modern world.

Ottoman Empire founded and, more importantly, was obligated to find new administrative, legal and spatial tools for the production of the urban space. But, at the same time, it was not alone. In this sense, Zeynep Çelik emphasizes the significant position of 19th century's Istanbul in the comparative urban history. The second half of the 19th century was the development period for European cities, too. Paris, under the comment of urban planner Eugene Haussmann, rebuilt in 1853-1872, Vienne development around Rigstrasse in 1860's and Roma was transformed with Allesandro Viviani's plan in 1882.³¹ Not only in urban planning area, but also in demographic growth, Istanbul shared similarities with European metropolises. On the other hand, the reasons were different. In England, the urban population increased because of the Industrial Revolution. Paris and Vienna developed because of the centralization policies of the governments. One of the reasons of increase in Istanbul's population was Muslim that escaped from the wars in southeast Europe and Russia. Another was non-Muslims that came Istanbul mostly for providing capitulations. In the years between 1840 and 1900, 100.000 non-Muslims moved to Istanbul.³²

Under these circumstances, Ottoman Empire produced the urban space with new administrative organizations and spatial images which were constructed with the memory that occurred through the interaction with European cities and population. More importantly, Ottoman Empire constructed its new, contemporary governmental approach with these organizations and images. Steven Rosenthal explains the effects of foreigners in Ottoman bureaucracy, especially on municipal reforms. He points the spatial segregation

30 İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Yerel Yönetim Geleneği*, (Hil Yayınları, 1985), p. 111-112.

31 Zeynep Çelik, *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti Değişen İstanbul*, (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1986), p. 2-3.

32 *Ibid*, p. 32-33.

also, which later led to the establishment of the first Western style municipality, The Sixth Municipal District:

The Frankish section of Istanbul had always a unique relationship to the other parts of the city. [...] Enjoying vastly increased wealth and population due to the Crimean War and basking in the prestige of military victory, the foreigners and non-muslims inhabitants of Galata began to exert cultural and political influence over the rest of the city.³³

In this kind of historical periods when the concentrated social transformation stresses and weakens the old traditions, the conceptualization of production of such images is framed with English historian Eric Hobsbawm's concept "invented tradition".³⁴ According to him, invented tradition concept "is taken to mean a set of practices normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past".³⁵ Even through the paradigm shifts and revolutions, which radically break with the past, have their own relevant past. By extension, spatial plane of the "invented tradition" is covered by the spatial practices which ensure continuity, by representations of space which are tied to the signs, codes and frontal relations and by representational spaces embodying complex symbolism as Lefebvre asserts.³⁶ In Ottoman urbanism the "invented traditions" occurred with seeking of new central administrations and urban planning regulations. While European architects and planners reorganized the city with the

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- 33 Steven Rosenthal, "Foreigners and Municipal Reform in Istanbul: 1855-1865" in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 11 (1980), p. 228-229.
- 34 Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- 35 Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions", *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 1-2.
- 36 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, (Basil Blackwell, 1991), p. 33

grid system, some regulations were legislated like *Ebniye Nizamnamesi*³⁷ (Regulation of Buildings) in 1848, *İstimlak Nizamnamesi*³⁸ (Regulation of Buildings) in 1856 and *Sokaklara Dair Nizamname*³⁹ (Regulation for Streets) in 1859. In 16th of May 1855, *Şehremaneti* established with sharing the same institutional patterns with French *prefecture de la ville*.⁴⁰ But it could not survive with limited authority. In the report that examined *Şehremaneti*, the institution was criticized because of its incapability. Especially, comparing with the European cities and their municipal services, the necessity of beautifying and cleaning the city was emphasized. The idea of an expert commission including both Ottoman and foreigner citizens adopted and with that idea, *Intizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu* (Order of the City Council) established in May 1855.⁴¹

With the experience of these institutions, in 1857 Ottoman Empire took a significant step for municipal organization. An article published in *Takvim-i Vekayi* (official government newspaper) which announced the necessity of establishment more organized institution for municipal services:

Since the natural beauty of Istanbul needs to be kept in an orderly state with a little touch of man-made embellishment and as it is necessary to pay special attention to the cleanliness of the city, Istanbul is going to be divided into 14 districts.⁴²

The Sixth Municipal District that included Galata, Beyoğlu, Tophane was chosen as the pilot area. The motivation of this chose was clearly pointed in government record:

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- 37 Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediye* (İBB Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1995), p. 1031.
- 38 Ibid, p. 1758.
- 39 Ibid, p, 1785.
- 40 Ibid, p. 1268.
- 41 Zeynep Çelik, *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti Değişen İstanbul*, (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1986), p. 37.
- 42 Takvim-i Vekayi No. 159. Original text translated by Işın Demirakın, *A Study of Ottoman Modernisation on the City: The Sixth Municipal District of Istanbul (1858-1877)*, MA Thesis (Bilkent University, 2006).

For the reasons that beginning everything with the other districts would be confusing, the valuable buildings and real estate's located in the Sixth District and also the residents of the area have seen these regulations in other countries and would appreciate them, the reform program will begin in the Sixth District.⁴³

Thus, Ottoman Empire took most initial step on municipal urban governing not in governmental center *Bab-ıali* but in Beyoğlu where residents were mostly non-Muslims and European foreigners. The motivation of this step included population growth and gaining reputation in modernizing world, but, most importantly, Ottoman Empire organized new urbanism practices with answering the memory of Beyoğlu's residents who had experienced these practices before and extended the memory of rest of the city, inside, with exemplifying the Sixth District. The words "beauty" and "cleanliness", as *Takvim-i Vekayi* asserted in previous report, were repeated in many archive documents, which represented next chapters of the study. In these circumstances, Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery could not remain its position for another century.

2.2.2 Cemeteries in Ottoman Urbanism

As represented in the review above, the urban history literature mainly focuses on administrative, demographic and legislative changes in Ottoman Urbanism in 19th century. In these researches, cemeteries are not considered as important as street orders or forms of the buildings. There are only a few researches that directly points the role of the cemeteries in Ottoman urbanism. In fact, cemeteries had a significant position in Ottoman cities both with their symbolic contribution to the image of the city and spatial organization.

Even throughout the conquest of Istanbul, Ottomanizing process of the city began with the claim of finding Islamic saint Ayyüp's lost grave just near the city walls. Ayyüp who shared the same house with Islam prophet Muhammad, still, is an important figure for Muslims. More importantly he was one of the narratives of prophet's vision: "Constantine will surely be conquered some

43 Takvim-i Vekayi No. 560 in Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediye*, cilt 3, (İBB Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1995), p. 1308.

day. What a beautiful commander who conquered her. What a beautiful army that conquered her". Halil İncalcık assert that the discovery of the saint's grave no less miracles or significant than the conquest.⁴⁴ After the discovery, sultan ordered to build a tomb, a mosque and a convent around the grave. Hereby, he spatialized the Islamic memory by a saint's grave who was one of the most powerful references of the religion as being prophet's friend and narrative. The tomb of Ayyüb became most sacred place in Istanbul. Around his tomb a great cemetery had grown and occupied large lands on Golden Horn. The importance of the Ayyüb' grave had continued bodily practices in emperor degree. Visiting saint's tomb was a ritual for every sultan that came to force. Therefore, the symbolic existence of the saint not only made the whole Istanbul consecrated place for Muslims but also gave sultan his rule over the Muslims religious sanction. Not only Istanbul, every Ottoman city had at least one saint and their tombs with convents located at the top of a hill outside the city center.⁴⁵

Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery had a long history, also. According to Schader, Pera hillside became Muslim cemetery as Sultan Mehmet II command just after death soldiers buried this location throughout Istanbul's conquest.⁴⁶ Since the conquest, cemeteries had spatialized in two ways in Istanbul: Firstly, big cemeteries that located peripheries of the city and the city walls and secondly, *hazires*⁴⁷ that located around the religious buildings. Hans-Peter Laqueur, in his phenomenal research on Ottoman graves and gravestones, asserts that burying dead out of the city was a common rule in every Ottoman city.⁴⁸ Also Edhem Eldem, in his exhibition research and book about Ottoman death rituals, says that the first information about development of the cemeteries out the city can be found in the documents that belong the period of

44 Halil İncalcık, "Istanbul: An Islamic City" in *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 1 (1990), p. 3

45 Ibid, p. 4.

46 Friedrich Schrader, *Konstantinopel. Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Tübingen, 1917), p. 196.

47 For a research about hazires see Nicolas Vatin and Stephane Yerasimos, "Documents sur les cimetières ottomans" *Turcica* 25 (1993).

48 Hans-Peter Laqueur, *Hüve'l Baki: İstanbul'da Osmanlı Mezarlıkları ve Mezar Taşları* (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997), p. 78.

Sultan Beyazid II. According to these documents, the large cemeteries that located in the west side of the city walls (between Yedikule and Golden Horn) and the north side of the Golden Horn (between Hasköy and Galata) were properties of Sultan Beyazid Waqf.⁴⁹ To Eldem, these documents represented Ottoman policy on keeping cemeteries outside the city since the 15th century. Indeed, the old maps and gravures of Istanbul represent that the city was surrounded by big cemeteries.⁵⁰

Beside these big cemeteries, the second group of cemeteries, *hazires* was another characteristic spatialization of death in Istanbul. *Hazires* are special cemeteries that located around the religious buildings like mosques and convents and on the contrary of other cemeteries, *hazieres* were surrounded by walls. The owners of the waqf, their family members and notables were buried in *hazires*. In the early periods, burials inside the city walls were possible only with the special permission of Sultan. On the other hand, in later periods, especially in the 18th century, this rule had lost its certainty and the board of trustees' permission was enough to bury the deads inside the city walls. This duality of the cemeteries spatialization represents the class and status differences of Istanbul's dead during the Ottoman Period.⁵¹

Ferdiyet System as the base of the Ottoman urbanism was determinative for the cemeteries, also both administratively and spatially. According to Osman Nuri Ergin, the cemeteries that had covered "most beautiful parts of the cities" were places where the individual assigned to the dead with free of charge.⁵²In this property context, Ergin also explains municipal system conflicts through the transition process of individual property system -later on in the Republic of Turkey period- with an ironic language:

When the cemeteries were taken from *Efkaf* [plural word of waqf] and given to the municipalities, each time that municipality attempt to do

49 Edhem Eldem, İstanbul'da Ölüm: Osmanlı-İslam Kültüründe Ölüm ve Ritüelleri, (Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2005), p. 16

50 Ibid, p. 16-18.

51 Osman Nuri Ergin, *Türkiye'de Şehirciliğin Tarihi İnkişafı*, (Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1936), p. 25.

52 Ibid, p. 25.

something, it came across with the ownership certificates of these individuals. Even they paid taxes for these places which represented as farm in treasury records. As it turns out, these places were farms where were planted with human bodies! Poor municipalities, they get disappointed on this job, too.⁵³

Waqfs were responsible for the plantation which was a significant element of the cemeteries both for public health conditions and the city image. Furthermore, planting a cypress tree for each grave became a rare tradition: Each person planted a cypress above the grave of the dead.⁵⁴

Again, in the comparative urban history Istanbul has significant position with its cemeteries, also. In the European cities, the death rituals and, thus, spatialization of the death represent differences from Ottoman practice. Firstly, in European cities, having an individual grave and name-plate was limited only with privileged persons. On the contrary, in Istanbul, according to Islamic tradition, there was no such thing group burials, each person had his/her own grave that could not open for re-use, also. Therefore, the cemeteries located outside the city and they occupied large land in Ottoman practice.⁵⁵

Europe gave up the tradition of burying dead outside the city in Middle Ages. Later on, cemeteries became an important issue for growing cities. Locationally, finding a proper place was a challenge, but, more importantly with the epidemics European cities had to find new solutions for cemeteries. On the other hand, the cemeteries that located around the religious buildings and churches had kept their existence until the 19th century in middle and west Europe. The integrity between churches and cemeteries broke in 19th century with the new medical developments which pointed the relation between cemeteries' hygienic conditions and public health. Thus, particularly in London and Paris these cemeteries transformed and transmitted to peripheries.⁵⁶

53 Edhem Eldem, *İstanbul'da Ölüm: Osmanlı-İslam Kültüründe Ölüm ve Ritüelleri*, (Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2005), p. 16.

54 Hans-Peter Laqueur, Hüve'l Baki: *İstanbul'da Osmanlı Mezarlıkları ve Mezar Taşları* (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997), p. 78

55 Ibid, p. 79

56 Ibid, p. 74-75

Ottoman cemetery practice separated not only from European cities, but from other Islamic cities, also. According to Islam religion, the death equalizes people: No matter their class or status, they return to their god as being shrouded only with white fabric. For this reason, shaping the grave and monumentalizing it is *mekruh* (not forbidden but also not suggested) for the Muslims. However, Ottoman practice monumentalized dead by decorated gravestones, in fact, the gravestones represented not only class and status, but also profession and gender of the dead.

In the 19th century, relating with other changes in urbanism, cemeteries and death practices had changed, also. Firstly, number of the new *hazires* and graves of the high authorities decreased in this period. The Muslim notables of the city gave up the tradition of building convents and tombs. Laqueur stresses administrative and financial problems as the reasons of this change. According to him, Ottoman Empire's modernization process caused instability in public authorities' life. For instance, throughout the six century reign of Ottoman Empire, *sadrzams* had changed approximately in two years, on the other hand in 1850-1922, this position had changed 78 times, and thus public authorities could not have reputation and finance to build such places.⁵⁷

In the map below, cemeteries' spatialization of Istanbul and Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery's (number 27) location represented clearly.⁵⁸ Indeed, Istanbul was surrounded by the cemeteries in the beginning of the 19th century.

57 Ibid, p. 71-72

58 1. Koca Mustafa Paşa, 2. Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa, 3. Davut Paşa, 4. Cerrah Paşa, 5. Murad Paşa, 6. Fatih, 7. Burmalı Mescid, 8. Kemal Paşa, 9. Şehzade, 10. Mollagürani, 11. Süleymaniye, 12. Bayezid, 13. Atikali Paşa, 14. Mahmud Paşa, 15. II. Mahmud Türbesi, 16. Aydınoğlu Tekkesi, 17. Sokollu Mehmed Paşa, 18. Küçük Ayasofya, 19. Silivrikapısı, 20. Merkez Efendi, 21. Edirnekapısı, 22. Edirnekapı Sermeni, 23. Davud Ağa, 24. Eyüp, 25. Hasköy, 26. Kulaksız, 27. Küçükkabristan, 28. Büyükkabristan, 29. Taksim, 30. Pangaltı, 31. Feriköy, 32. Maçka, 33. Beşiktaş-Abbasağa, 34. Yahya Efendi Dergâhı, 35. Karacaahmed, 36. Haydarpaşa İngiliz. See online archive of SALT Reseach Center.

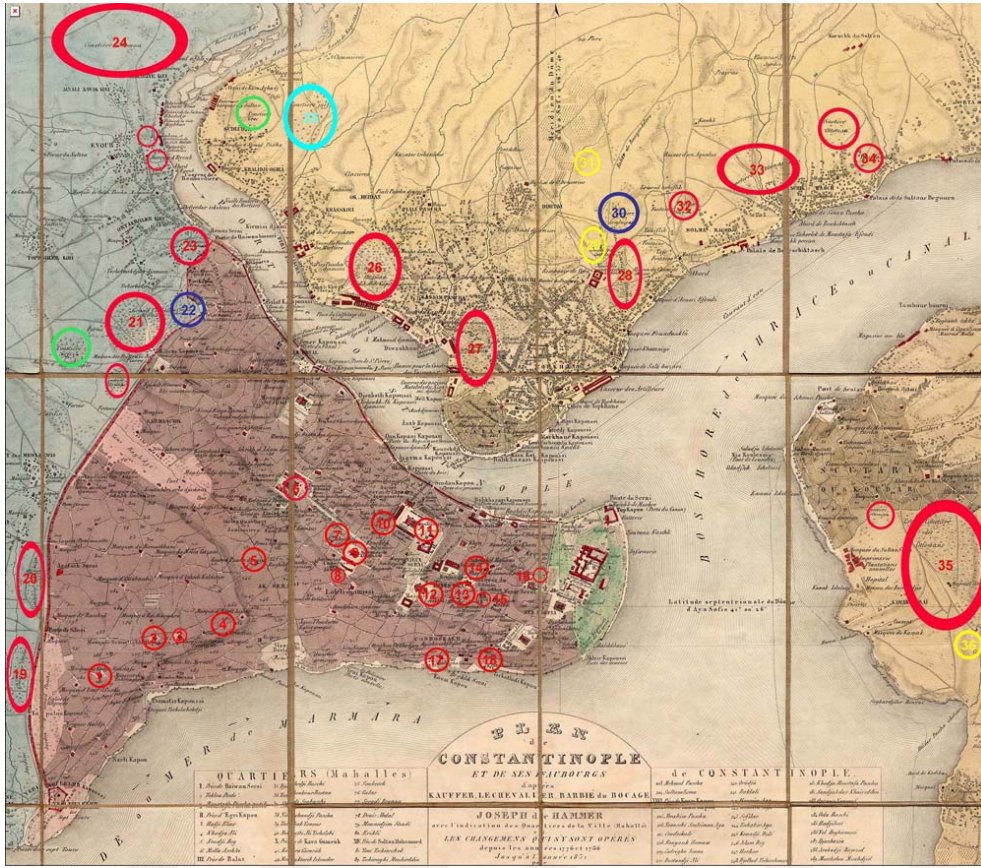


Figure 2. 1 Cemeteries of Istanbul in 1836 Hellert Plan (Source: SALT Research Center)

The quoted literature, insofar, frames the changing dynamics of the Ottoman urbanism and cemeteries position among them. The works of Laqueur and Eldem give insights about Ottoman death rites and their spatialization. Furthermore, these studies emphasize the significant position of the death in daily life practices and deconstruct the 19th century Istanbul image in the urban historiography which does not include the cemeteries. On the other hand, they draw a general perspective about the issue.

Çelik Gülersoy's book *Tepebaşı Bir Meydan Savaşı* is one of the notable examples about the Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery's transformation.⁵⁹ Although Gülersoy's book focuses on general transformation and cultural activities in

59 Çelik Gülersoy, *Tepebaşı Bir Meydan Savaşı* (İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları, 1993).

Tepebaşı district, it represents the image of the cemetery and archival documents about the transformation. Gülersoy's book represents some clues about the diversity of the district against the literature that mainly focuses the cultural atmosphere of Beyoğlu with analysing a limited social group and their places.⁶⁰ On the other hand, Gülersoy work does not offer a comprehensive reading about spatial dynamics within the transformation.

Işık Demirakın in her article *Expropriation as a Modernizing Tool in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire: The Case of Cemeteries in Beyoğlu* examines the background of the transformation.⁶¹ She focuses on institutional change in urban governing practices in Beyoğlu and represents the influential dynamics of the transformation that is also base for the present study. However, her assertions develop over the dynamics of expropriations and lack of detail analysis about spatialization of the discourses. Still, the questions that Demirakın's work points constitutes the present work's structure.

Mehmet Kentel's PHD dissertation *Assembling 'Cosmopolitan' Pera: An Infrastructural History of Late Ottoman Istanbul* offers a comprehensive perspective to the read the transformation including Cemetery's relationship not only with Pera but also with Kasımpaşa where usually could not find a place in the historiography of Beyoğlu.⁶² Kentel's infrastructural frame deconstructs monolithic and "mythical" narrations about Beyoğlu in a broader scale and Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery (cemeteries Beyoğlu district in general) is one of the advanced cases for the issue. Although Kentel's dissertation is one of the most influential resources for the present study, it does not aim to analyse the spatialization of the discourses "beautification" and "sanitation" on Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery, and examines Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery as one of the many cases of a broader change.

60 For example Nur Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera* (Literatür Yayınları, 2011).

61 Işık Demirakın, "Expropriation as a Modernizing Tool in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire: The Case of Cemeteries in Beyoğlu", in *Turkish Studies* 18/1-2 (2012).

62 Mehmet Kentel, *Assembling 'Cosmopolitan' Pera: An Infrastructural History of Late Ottoman Istanbul* (PHD Dissertation, University of Washington, 2018). I am thankful to him for his commnets and recommendations about my study.

§ 2.3 Methodology of the Study

As seen in the review above, there are only a few researches about cemeteries and specifically about Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery. This study aims to fulfill a vacuum in the relevant literature with examining the transformation of Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery and the leading discourses that legitimated the transformation. The study is constructed on reading the data from archival materials, the articles from the newspapers of the term and visual materials.

This study is organized according to three main axes; spatialization of the sanitation discourse, spatialization of the beautification discourse and how these leading discourses met each other throughout the reproduction of the urban space and had changed the spatialization of the death.

First of all, the approach should be clarified in order to put Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery in a proper historical context. Urban space as the social product has produced within the conflicts that the diversity emerges, it is not a top-down process. In this sense, “Westernization” approach that is usually framed as top-down process in the urban history literature about the 19th century Ottoman urbanism covers only limited part of it. How diverse groups of people responded and constituted the change is still an important matter of question. Therefore, the study stands closer to the mentioned scholars’ position that criticizes Westernization approach and offers a comprehensive perspective to read the conflicts that lie down within the materials.

The first axis of the study -spatialization of sanitation- will show how the spatial context of the cemeteries -death in general- had changed because of the epidemic disasters during the 19th century. As a matter of fact, after the deconstruction of the existing institutions, the epidemic attacks and public health management were determinative on the constitution of the new ones which directly affected the management of the dead. The geographical treatment of the epidemics had evoked standardization ambition of the countries and the utilization efforts on standardization of public health shaped the urban space, especially over the cemeteries. Thus, Ottoman practice will be examined with help of the information that the medical history researches provide. Medical doctors were influential actors of the time period. They had a

global network that transmitted the information one city to another. Their position and contribution throughout the constitution of the sanitation will be analysed focusing directly on their narrations that provided from medical history literature and Ottoman-French medical science magazine *Gazette Medicale D'Orient*. Ottoman's response and efforts will be examined analyzing regulations and related archival documents. The transformation of the Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery was one of the crystallized example of the sanitation, which also redefined the boundaries between diverse groups spatially.

The second axis of the study –spatialization of beautification- will represent the motivation within the urban projects in Beyoğlu during the second half of the 19th century. Researches in urban history literature repeatedly assert that many attempts in the 19th century urban planning had the very concern of beautification.⁶³ In the case of Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery, the conflict in beautification emerges at that point: It was already a “beautiful” place that illustrated in traveler's memories with the words of admiration. As will be represented in the fourth chapter of the thesis, Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery was also recreational space for the people. Therefore, the transformation of the cemetery to a city park shows how spatial frame of the beautification and recreation had changed during the 19th century. The change in beautification will be analyzed focusing on narrations of the divers groups, project plans and visual materials.

The third axis of the study will examine how these leading discourses met each other throughout the reproduction of the urban space and had changed the spatialization of the death in Beyoğlu in so much that the memory of the city does not include today. The change in the image of the city will be discussed within the analysis of each discourses.

63 Işık Demirakın, “Expropriation as a Modernizing Tool in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire: The Case of Cemeteries in Beyoğlu”, in *Turkish Studies* 18/1-2 (2012).

Sanitizing the City: Epidemic Disasters and Cemetery as the Public Health Treatment

Perhaps the easiest way of making a town's acquaintance is to ascertain how the people in it work, how they love, and how they die.

Albert Camus, *The Plague*

The world did not meet with epidemics in the 19th century. Epidemic disasters had been determinative on urban space for centuries. However, epidemics' determinative role gained a new characteristic in the 19th century: Institutionalization agendas of modernization redefined the sanitation. On one hand, the public health was discussed with the perspective of human rights. Relatively, the governmental precautions against the epidemic attacks determined the development criteria of the cities. On the other hand, the developments and inventions of medical science supported the institutionalization of public health and sanitary discourse. New medical services and their places emerged in that time period, medical doctors and public health notables gained agency both in international and local levels and their suggestions shaped the daily life and thus, the space production. The health of human body had spatialized by the new definitions of sanitation on urban space.

Yet, many metropolises faced with epidemic disasters for many times during the 19th century. The new epidemic emerged and became pandemic¹ for six times; the cholera was the nightmare of the 19th century. Outsider effects; migration and transportation increased the circulation of disease one city to another. On the inside, industrialization, uncontrolled water systems, sewers, construction and waste production spread the disease as the depth of development.

In the 19th century, Ottoman Empire dealt with epidemic disasters, also. As a seaport, Istanbul faced with pandemic dissemination of cholera six times during the 19th century: First in 1832, second in 1847-1849, third in 1854-1856, fourth in 1865, fifth in 1870-1872, and sixth in 1893-1894. The serious treatment of disease and huge numbers of dead emerged spatial problems like management of existing cemeteries and finding new burial areas for the dead population.² In this chapter, Ottoman sanitation discourse and its spatialization will be examined with representing new regulations, institutions as spatial precautions, which directly affected the cemeteries, thus Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery.

§ 3.1 The Corpse Seeking the Grave: The Cholera and Burial Bans

In the year 1910, a document received in *Evkaf Nezareti* which requested a graveyard permit in Fatih *Hazire* for a woman who had lived in the house of a high degree soldier, a *Miralay*, in Ottoman Army. Be buried in Fatih *Hazire*

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- 1 In the Oxford Epidemiology Dictionary, epidemic defined as “the occurrence in a community or region of cases of an illness, specific health-related behavior” and pandemic as “an epidemic occurring worldwide or over a very wide area, crossing international boundaries”. Miquel Porta (ed.), *A Dictionary of Epidemiology*, (Oxford University Press, 2014). I use these terms to point geographic manners throughout constitutions of the term definitions that also is important part of the discourse.
 - 2 Because of the geographic dissemination of the disease, cholera affected border politics of the countries. For a study on dead exchange between Ottoman Empire and Iran see Sabri Ateş, “*Bones of Contention: Corpse Traffic and Ottoman-Iranian Rivalry in Nineteenth-Century Iraq*”, *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 30/3 (Duke University Press, 2011).

was her will but the answer of the institution did not change: “Because of cholera, burials in the city are not safe”. The corpse should be buried in another “proper” area.³ After the serious cholera attacks during the 19th century, seeking for a proper burial area had continued in the 20th century. Even in new-open cemeteries, burials were under control. In Feriköy cemetery, for example, the burials on the land near the houses were forbidden.⁴

Almost after a hundred year from the first cholera visit of Istanbul, the institutions and the public still tried to negotiate on burials of the corpses. It had been a challenging process from beginning to the end. When Ottoman Istanbul met with cholera for the first time because of a ship came from Odessa to Galata in 1831, the disease was new for the entire world, too.⁵ Medical scientists were researching the disease and trying to offer precautions according to experiments on the dead. The most accepted effective precaution was quarantine. The quarantine practice included limited places for the investigation of suspected ships, animals and foreigners, isolation of infected areas from the rest of the city and, most importantly, disinfection, intervention, and research on corpses.⁶

However, how to treat a corpse was strictly defined by Muslim wises. The most common guidebook for the Ottoman Muslims was *Muhtasar* written by Ebu'l Hasan el Kuduri. The book was a primary source for Muslims that explained to them how to practice religious duties in daily life. Babü'l Cenaiz Chapter (The Dead Chapter) of the book represents Islamic dead ritual in detail. In so much that, the prayers, how many time times shall wash the dead and the position of their feet and head according to the Kible are written.⁷ Disinfection and liming the corpse are not part of it.

3 BOA, BEO, 3834-287522 (16 Zilhicce 1328 [18 December 1910]).

4 BOA, A}.MKT.MHM, 597 (25 Şaban 1316 [8 January 1899])

5 Özgür Yılmaz, “1847-1848 Kolera Salgınları ve Osmanlı Coğrafyasına Etkileri”, *Journal of Eurasian Inquiries*, 23/55 (2017), p.29

6 Nuran Yıldırım “Osmanlı Coğrafyasında Karantina Uygulamalarına İsyanlar ‘Karantina İstemezük!’”, in *Toplumsal Tarih* 150 (2016), p. 18.

7 Edhem Eldem, *İstanbul'da Ölüm: Osmanlı-İslam Kültüründe Ölüm ve Ritüelleri*, (Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2005), p. 56

According to Islam religion, the burial was an important moment that the soul meets Allah. All sufferings, sins, diseases were gone from the material plane, thus the body. In fact, because of that belief Ottomans did not take any serious and scientific action against plague attacks in previous centuries. The plague had accepted as God's punishment. The precautions were nothing more than regular cleaning practices.⁸ Missioner and founder of Robert College Cyrus Hamlin mentioned on that issue in his memory book:

When I entered my own hired house in Pera, in the spring of 1839, a friend gave me a bottle of medicine for the plague. In 1837, it had raged in Constantinople (...) it was taken for granted that every few years its ravages would be repeated and every head of a family must have his plan of defense. (...) The greatest safety was in seclusion. Its greatest ravages were among the Mussulmans whose fatalism and trust in Allah prevented their taking any precautions.⁹

During the first visit of the cholera, Istanbul was repeatedly suffering because of the plague, too. Sultan Selim III was aware of the importance of quarantine and led the first quarantine practice in 1831. On the other hand, the government could not announce it to the public. There were rumors around that quarantine was not lawful according to Islamic code. The public did not approve especially examination of women corpses and liming the dead. A wise council was held in *Bab-ı Ali* and they decided that the quarantine was not against the Islamic Code. *Şeyhülislam Mekkizade Asım Efendi* approved the quarantine, too.¹⁰ Then, the quarantine officially announced.¹¹

The Istanbul Supreme Council of Sanitation (*Meclis-i Kebir-i Umur-u Sıhhiye*) was established consisting of eight Ottoman members nine European

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- 8 Nuran Yıldırım, "Salgın Afetlerinde İstanbul", in *Afetlerin Gölgesinde İstanbul: Tarih Boyunca İstanbul ve Çevresini Etkileyen Afetler*, (İBB Yayınları, 2009), p. 116.
- 9 Cyrus Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2013), p. 235.
- 10 Nuran Yıldırım "Osmanlı Coğrafyasında Karantina Uygulamalarına İsyancılar 'Karantina İstemezük!'", in *Toplumsal Tarih* 150 (2016), p. 18-19.
- 11 *Takvim-i Vekayi*, No: 164, (11 Safer 1254 [6 May 1838]).

delegates in 1839.¹² Hereby, Ottoman practice gained an international character. Later the council's advice and regulations would be determinative on municipal services and urbanism. The practices of the Council included death. The religious leaders of the communities were requested to inform The Council in any event of death no matter its causes. Burial of the dead without the sealed permission of the Council was banned.¹³

By this way, the death circle of the community included new members. Before The Council, the determination of burying the body and all rituals were ruled by the community and the religious leaders. By then, the rituals broke with examination and disinfection of the body with the new institutions and concerns of sanitation. The spatialization of the continuity tried to include burial permits and control over cemeteries. These practices were not familiar with the collective memory of the community.

In that period, doctors prepared guide books to explain to community leaders how to be protected from disease and burial conditions. On the newspapers, cholera explained like the plague that spread from the human body and the air. The importance of settling around the fresh air repeated as a precaution.¹⁴ Hamlin, for example, felt curiosity about a man's sickness who, according to him, was strong, healthy and living in a "good locality", the reason was that the man had breathed the air after the hours of hard work.¹⁵ While Ottoman Muslims tried to adopt new regulations on sanitation, the European population of the city started to be obsessed with hygiene of the air and the city. To them, the plague, the cholera and the fires were the "terrors" of the time.¹⁶ The obsession with healthy body and fresh air became concrete with the smell. The appearance of doctors' clothes which had a mask with smell in it affected the smell obsession. American traveler James Ellsworth noted this thrilling atmosphere because of the plague rumors:

12 Nermin Ersoy, Yüksel Güngör, and Aslihan Akpınar, "International Sanitary Conferences from the Ottoman Perspective (1851–1938)," *Hygiea Internationalis: An Interdisciplinary Journal for the History of Public Health*, no.1 (2011), p. 54.

13 BOA, BEO. AYNd, 1714 (25 Muharrem 1255 [10 April 1839])

14 *Gazette Medicale D'Orient*, April 1868.

15 Cyrus Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2013), p. 238.

16 James Ellsworth de Kay, *Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832*, (J. J. Harper 1833), p. 77

Consternation and anxiety are excessive. It is truly surprising that people who have been from their childhood accustomed to the presence of this disease should yet live in such continual terror. I have noticed that people of all classes with smelling bottles in their hands, and with rags or bits of cotton thrust into their nostrils. To a newcomer it is laughable to witness the caution with which the Frenks pick their way long the streets, carefully avoiding to thread on the least particle of woolen, cotton or paper and jumping from side to avoid touching even the cloths of the passerby.¹⁷



17 Ibid, p. 131.

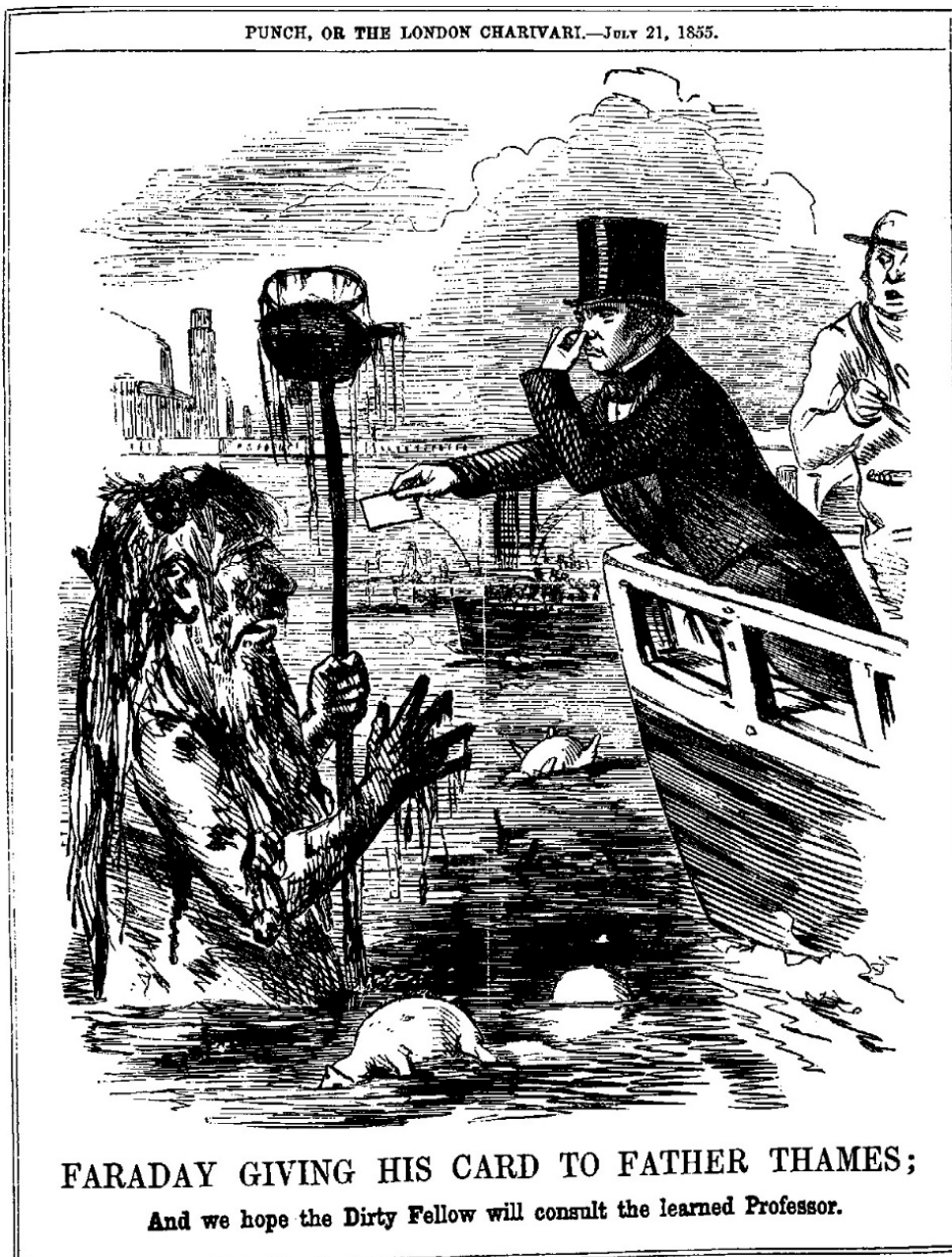


Figure 3.1 Punch Charicature criticism about the smell and the cholera dated 21 July 1855 (Source: Norman Howard-Jones, *The Scientific Background of the International Sanitary Conferences 1851-1938*, World Health Organization (1975), p. 21.)

In the memory book of Ellsworth, the ignorance attitude of the Muslims against repeated even he drew a more paradise-like orientalist picture of the city.

In fact, Frenks obsession had a base from other European cities practices. In London, for example, medical advocates offered cremation as a more effective alternative than burial. Because the medical theory of the time stressed that decay contaminated the air with miasma which spread to the air and caused disease by breathing. As a result of many discussions, almost a hundred graveyard transformed to city parks and playgrounds and dead were transmitted new cemeteries outside the city.¹⁸ Transmitting cemeteries outside the city and planting cemeteries emerged as “Rural Cemetery Movement” in all around America.¹⁹

On the other hand, burying dead outside the city already had practiced in Ottoman cities and planting the cemeteries was an important part of that. Traveller James Ellsworth de Kay also explained his observations on Muslim burial ceremony which according to him “shallower” than non-Muslims’:

No other ceremony accompanies the deposit of the coffin in its narrow cell than a simultaneous silent prayer, after which the grave is filled up and water sprinkled over it by the nearest relatives. This last ceremony is connected with the poetical association that, like a plant, the soul of man will rise to immortality. Pots of flowers are placed near and over the grave and in those which are covered with marble a small aperture is left, in which the posts are embedded and the care necessary to watch and preserve these plants forms for many months and even years, the mournful occupation of the bereaved relatives.²⁰

Still, these precautions could not stop the cholera attacks. During the second visit of the disease in 1847-1849, the government tried to get under the control

18 Peter Thorsheim, “The Corpse in the Garden: Burial, Health and Environment in the 19th Century London”, in *Environmental History* 16/1 (2011).

19 Stanley French, “The Cemetery as Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mount Auburn and the “Rural Cemetery” Movement”, in *American Quarterly* 26/1 (1974).

20 James Ellsworth de Kay, *Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832*, (J. J. Harper 1833), p.129-130.

burials more strictly. The public did not inform The Council about burials which were against the order. In response, the government again warned religious leaders of the neighborhoods not to bury corpses without the permission of quarantine.²¹

In 1865, Istanbul handled most aggressive epidemic which named as “The Big Cholera” in the memory of the city. The symptoms began in summer and by September the number of the dead was over a thousand by day. Until Hoca Paşa Fire burned all the city, the cholera killed a huge number of people in the city. Hamlin noted the ambiguity on dead numbers and how the cholera affected the daily life:

During the last days of August of that year, business ceased and the great capital attended to nothing but the burial of the dead. By the actual count of an English friend, more bodies were carried out one gate than the whole number of deaths reported by the government; the latter hoping to diminish the panic by false reports.²²

Gazette Medicale D’Orient, the popular medical science magazine of the time, pointed the ambiguity of the statistics. M. S. Zennaro, in his article about The Big Cholera, examined Istanbul’s conditions during the epidemic disasters. While official records explained the number of the dead as 13,000, Dr. Zennaro’s assumption was approximately 20,000. According to him, the gap between his assumption and the official announcement emerged because of the non-certificated burials. Especially Jews and Muslims buried their dead without the prior visit of a doctor and without a burial permit.²³

The Council’s effort on registered patients was challenging also. In the same article, Dr. Zennaro mentioned Sanitary Council’s practice on burials with appreciating its efforts, also. The article reported that the public insisted on burying the dead inside the city walls, the funeral procession and the ecclesiastical ceremonies were suppressed. On the other hand, the Council prepared carefully the coffins to remove and bury the corpses:

21 BOA, A.MTK.MHM, 12/33 (15 CA. 1265 [8 Nisan 1849])

22 Cyrus Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2013), p. 236.

23 M. S. Zennaro, “Etude sur le Choléra de Constantinople en 1865”, in *Gazette Medicale D’Orient* (May, 1868), p. 23.

The tumultuous scenes that have occurred when it comes to defending the burial in the internal cemeteries of the capital, give a favorable idea of its intelligent energy against fanatic oppositions. It is to be hoped that the severe regulations, at this bad time on the field dead, will be applied in the future.²⁴

The regulations, that *Gazette Medicale D'Orient* hoped for, did not delay for a long time. *Defn-i Emvat Hakkında Nizamname* (The Regulation on Burials) was established in 1868 and burials in the cemeteries in city centers were forbidden. With the regulation in 1868, the essential function of the Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery completely ended.²⁵



24 Ibid, 24.

25 Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediyeye* (İBB Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1995), p. 2141.

MORTALITÉ DE CONSTANTINOPLE.			Pendant le mois de Chaval				
(du 27 Novembre au 25 Décembre 1867.)			(du 26 Décembre au 23 Janvier 1868.)				
Musulmans	hommes	218	} 455	Musulmans	hommes	231	} 511
	femmes	237				femmes	
Chrétiens	hommes	210	} 349	Chrétiens	hommes	210	} 345
	femmes	139				femmes	
Israélites	hommes	28	} 58	Israélites	hommes	30	} 48
	femmes	30				femmes	
Total			862	Total			907

OBSERVATIONS MÉTÉOROLOGIQUES.

(12^{me} année) Faites au niveau et sur la rive Européenne du Bosphore, à Orta-Keui, (Constantinople) par M. RITTER.

MOIS DE DÉCEMBRE 1867.													MOIS DE JANVIER 1868.																			
EXTRÊMES.			9 HEURES DU MATIN.					Températures extrêmes depuis 1856.					ENTRÊMES.			9 HEURES DU MATIN.					Températures extrêmes depuis 1857.											
Jours du Mois.	Température de l'air.	Baromètre.	Température de l'air.	Baromètre.	Vent.	Aspect du Ciel.	Min.	Max.	en	Jours du Mois.	Température de l'air.	Baromètre.	Température de l'air.	Baromètre.	Vent.	Aspect du Ciel.	Min.	Max.	en	Jours du Mois.	Température de l'air.	Baromètre.	Température de l'air.	Baromètre.	Vent.	Aspect du Ciel.	Min.	Max.	en			
	Mérid.	700									Mérid.	700									Mérid.	700								Mérid.	700	Mérid.
1	11.0	67.12	3.4	11.4	75.0	18.1	C. 0	N	17	4.4	11.0	9	60.0	8.4	8.2	69.0	3.3	S. 3	C	62	-1.1	13.0	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
2	2.8	67.7	7.7	11.0	66.7	9.8	SO. 3	S	63	2.0	10.8	9	60.0	8.4	8.2	69.0	3.3	S. 3	C	62	-1.1	13.0	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
3	7.9	68.2	9.2	11.1	66.6	3.7	SE. 4	C	27	0.2	17.4	5	67.9	8.1	8.8	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
4	7.9	68.2	9.2	11.1	66.6	3.7	SE. 4	C	27	0.2	17.4	5	67.9	8.1	8.8	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
5	8.3	68.5	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
6	10.4	67.2	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
7	8.2	68.4	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
8	11.0	66.6	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
9	9.8	68.6	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
10	6.4	67.8	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
11	7.4	68.5	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
12	3.8	67.9	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
13	4.0	67.7	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
14	3.9	67.6	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
15	1.2	68.1	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
16	0.5	67.9	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
17	4.4	67.2	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
18	4.6	67.9	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
19	7.3	68.7	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
20	9.0	68.8	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
21	8.9	68.4	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
22	8.3	68.4	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
23	4.0	68.1	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
24	4.8	68.3	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
25	1.1	68.0	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
26	4.4	67.6	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
27	6.8	68.8	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
28	0.1	67.9	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
29	0.2	68.8	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
30	-3.2	67.5	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
31	2.8	67.3	11.1	11.1	67.3	0.4	SE. 5	S	26	0.3	14.5	9	67.4	8.2	8.1	67.3	3.8	C. 0	C	62	-3.4	14.5	67	69	-0.8	14.2	65	62	-3.4	14.5	67	
4.38 8.16			104.0			6.62 9.52			756.89			NE. 1. S 3			1.47 7.59			88.6			NE. 4. S. 4			Neige—19.29.			31.					
6.37			en 13			6.62 9.52			756.89			SO. 18 N 8			5.88			en 17			7.39 763.54			NE. 8. S. 5			C. 1. 4.35			Brouillard—4.6.9.		
Moyennes de 12 ans depuis 1856.			6.45 Moyenne			115.0			9.81 763.21			16. 2			4.79 Moyenne			70.4			7.22 763.37			47			4.7			9.5		
			3.77 Minimum—1863			13.9												1.00 Minimum—1864			13.2											
			9.33 Maximum—1857			journs															8.35 Maximum—1857			journs								
			Tempêtes—2 et 3. SO + S + SE.																													
			8. à 4 h. soir—Bourrasque S. extrêmement violent.																													
			11. de 40 h. m. à 3 h. s.—S. + O.																													
			19. 20.—SO + S + SE + E.																													

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Figure 3.2 Dead Statistics and Meteorology Observations in Gazette Médicale D'Orient April 1868 (Source: SALT Reserach Center)

§ 3.2 Geographic Division of the Death: International Sanitary Conferences

In the 19th century, cholera was a common treatment for the world. Developments on transportation increased mobility, merged borders and under these circumstances, a cholera epidemic in a certain region spread throughout the other regions easily. As discussed in the previous section, cholera was a new disease for the entire world. The microorganisms had not found yet. Thus, precautions were developed on control over the mobility and the borders. On one hand, the control had an international level: European concerns on dividing the geographies to orient and occident shaped the precautions as new tools for drawing spatial and discursive lines between them. On the other hand, these lines were multi-layered; they did not include just country borders, rather they emerged social divisions in the “orient” cities, also. In this section, debates in International Sanitary Conferences and their backwash in Ottoman Istanbul will be examined to present the background of the spatial division on Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery according to sanitary concerns.

3.2.1 *Gathering the Division: The Cholera as “Unwanted Emigrant”*



Figure 3.3 1883 Puck caricature (Source: NOVA, History of Quarantine [date of accessed 28 May 2019])

1883 *Puck* caricature above published with the caption as follows: “The kind of assisted emigrant we can not afford to admit”²⁶ On the boat, the members of the New York Board of Health were carrying a bottle of carbolic acid, a disinfectant, and they were trying to keep cholera at bay that represented as the reaper wearing fez and *peştamal*; clearly came from the East, from the orient.

This representation was the summary of a geographic division of death according to sanitary efforts against cholera. The developments on transportation and trade agreements made the borders fluid; as so the epidemics did not recognize them. The route of the disease was defined by the transportation and its footprints pointed certain geography which dragged European countries to anxiety.

26 NOVA, *History of Quarantine* www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/typhoid/quarantine.html [date of accessed 28th May 2019]

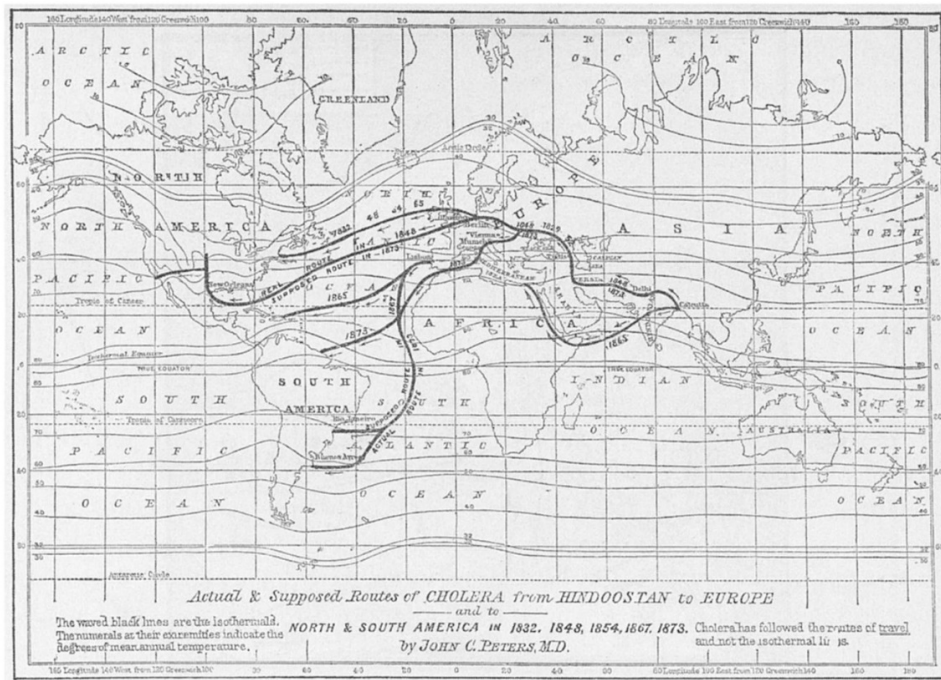


Figure 3.4 Edmund Charles Wendt, *A treatise on Asiatic cholera*, New York, 1885 (Source: Valeska Huber, “The Unification of the Globe by Disease? The International Sanitary Conferences on Cholera, 1851-1894”, *The Historical Journal* 49/2 (2006).

In the second half of the 19th century, most of the medical scientists believed that the cholera was a problem that threatened the completely human race and that international co-operation was needed to handle it. In the proper manner of the 19th century international event trend, the need for an international action emerged as the international sanitary conferences. Like many internationalist event projects, sanitary conferences were part of a broader tendency towards standardization of the regulations. However, more importantly, they were competition platforms for countries where Eurocentric self-confidence dominated and defined the formation of discourses and regulations.²⁷

The first and second International Sanitary Conferences were held in Paris with a political agenda rather than a scientific one. The first began on 23 July

27 Valeska Huber, “The Unification of the Globe by Disease? The International Sanitary Conferences on Cholera, 1851-1894”, *The Historical Journal* 49/2 (2006), p. 457.

1851 and ended on 19 January 1852 with the participation of delegates from 12 countries as follows: Ottoman Empire, France, England, Spain, Tuscany, Austria, Sicily, Vatican, Portugal, Sardinia, Greece, and Russia. Two delegates from each country, one physician and one diplomat, participated to the conference and French envoy C.E. David was elected as the chairperson. Halphen, handling political affairs and Dr. Bartoletti, taking care of sanitary as mandated by the office of the French envoy, represented the Ottoman Empire.²⁸ Although French delegate's speech pointed a tendency between countries and peoples which "made of different peoples a sole and large family"²⁹ the conference held with the European dominance; as the list of the participants clearly represents.

Rather unifying the world against the cholera, the conferences served to deepen the boundaries between orient and occident. As Valeska Huber asserts, the participants of the conferences stated their purpose to the defense of Europe against an evil originating in Asia and despite the fact that it caused much higher mortality in other regions, the focus of the conferences on cholera posed to European countries.³⁰ The first conference ended with the standardization of the European protection purpose; an international sanitary system was concreted with the cordon sanitaire regulations and an international health agreement with 137 articles was adopted.³¹ Ottoman Empire approved the new quarantine regulation in the same year.³²

In the first and second conferences, the geographical division was drawn by the standardization efforts on sanitation with a Eurocentric approach. During these conferences, the position of the Ottoman Empire was overlooked by

28 Nermin Ersoy, Yüksel Güngör and Aslıhan Akpınar, "International Sanitary Conferences from the Ottoman Perspective (1851-1938)", in *Hygiea Internationalis: An Interdisciplinary Journal for the History of Public Health*, 1 (2011), p. 56.

29 Paris 1851, Protocol No II, 27 Sept. 1851, French delegate Melier, pp. 9ff in Valeska Huber, "The Unification of the Globe by Disease?", p. 460.

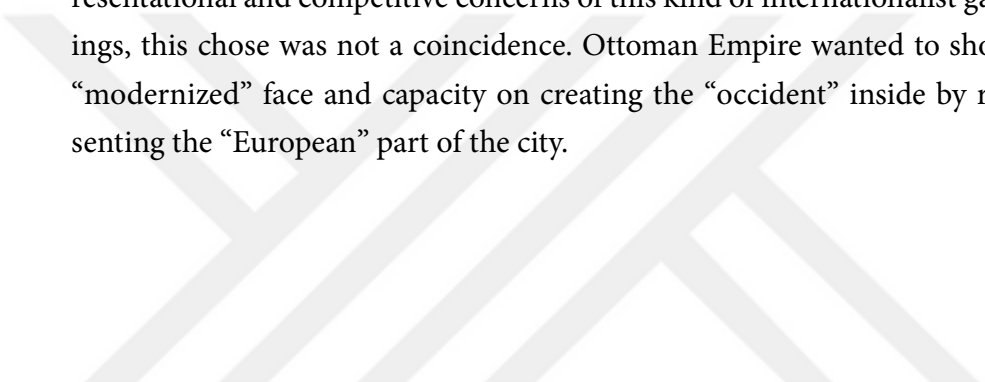
30 Ibid, p. 461

31 Nermin Ersoy, Yüksel Güngör and Aslıhan Akpınar, "International Sanitary Conferences from the Ottoman Perspective (1851-1938)", in *Hygiea Internationalis: An Interdisciplinary Journal for the History of Public Health*, 1 (2011), p. 57.

32 BOA, İ. HR., 94/4596, (7 Rebiulahir 1269 [19 December 1852]).

the European countries.³³ This position -which was defined by the European ignorance-, was not suitable Empire's ambition to prove itself among these countries. Furthermore, Ottoman Empire was located in the middle of the geography of European trade interests and was aware of the importance of its location. For the third international gathering, Ottoman Empire used this awareness to draw attention to its modernized capital and accepted to participate in the conference only if the conference would have held in Istanbul.³⁴

As Ottoman Empire request, The Third International Sanitary Conference began on 13 February 1866 in Istanbul. For an international gathering, an educational building in the middle of the *Grand Rue de Pera* was chosen. *Mektebi Sultani* (Galatasaray High School) hosted the sessions. Considering the representational and competitive concerns of this kind of internationalist gatherings, this chose was not a coincidence. Ottoman Empire wanted to show its "modernized" face and capacity on creating the "occident" inside by representing the "European" part of the city.



33 Valeska Huber, "The Unification of the Globe by Disease?" p. 461.

34 Orhan Koloğlu, "Osmanlı Basınında 1865 Kolera Salgını, İstanbul Sağlık Konferansı ve Mirza Malkom Han", in *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları*, 2 (2005), p. 142.



Figure 3.5 Ali Paşa entering Mekteb-i Sultani for the opening ceremony of the 1866 International Sanitary Conference (Source: Vahdettin Engin, “Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultani”, *Journal of History and Civilization* 35 (1997), p. 51)

Delegates from Austria, France, Belgium, Danmark, Spain, Vatican, ABD, Britain, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Prussia, Sweden, Norway, Russia, and Iran participated in the conference.³⁵

Despite the fact that the main issue was the Muslim pilgrims’ mobility and their risk to spread of the cholera, there were only two Muslim countries in the conference. The aim of the European delegates became more visible during the sessions. The distinction between the orient and the occident was deepened through the debates on mobility. Moreover, the distinction was created not only by the European delegates but by the representatives of the Eastern countries, also. For example, Iran delegate Sawars defined the orient as follows:

35 Nermin Ersoy, Yüksel Güngör and Aslıhan Akpınar, “International Sanitary Conferences from the Ottoman Perspective (1851-1938)”, in *Hygiea Internationalis: An Interdisciplinary Journal for the History of Public Health*, 1 (2011), p. 59

The populations most of the time itinerant and nomad cross the borders unceasingly and in great numbers at a hundred different points. These populations only subject themselves to material force and do not have the least respect for the law, be it sanitary or civil; on the contrary, they do everything they can to violate it.³⁶

For the Muslim countries which stated at the margins of the Western Europe, Istanbul Conference was challenging. Because the proposition of French doctors stated keeping pilgrims away from Europe by using district quarantine regulations including limited transportation:

The Red Sea is the shortest way for the cholera; once it reaches to Egypt, Europe cannot be safe. The desert is the most natural block to stop it. Hence, the first state to block the dissemination is to forbid pilgrims' transportation by ships.³⁷

These words belonged to Dr. Bartolli, the Ottoman representative. After his hard work during the Big Cholera, he prepared a report for the conference ending with this suggestion. Muslim delegates reacted to the suggestion. However, Ottoman Empire's reaction, as the most powerful representative of Islam, was not as powerful as its position. The countries which stated at the margins of the Western Europe tried to expand the orient-occident boundaries with emphasizing their existence in these gatherings. Persian delegate Mirza Han pointed the conflict:

I am Oriental at the same time as being member of this conference; I want to work towards the aim of this conference without forgetting anything of what we owe to the Asian spirit.³⁸

Ottoman response was to fashion itself as equals to Europe's power by defining the Empire as hygienically trustworthy, reforming and modern.³⁹

36 Valeska Huber, "The Unification of the Globe by Disease?", p. 462.

37 Orhan Koloğlu, "Osmanlı Basınında 1865 Kolera Salgını, İstanbul Sağlık Konferansı ve Mirza Malkom Han", in *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları*, 2 (2005), p. 143.

38 Valeska Huber, "The Unification of the Globe by Disease?", p. 463.

39 Ibid, 463.



Figure 3.6 The cover of the original proceeding of 1866 International Sanitary Conference, Its 1130 pages printed copies are very rare. Source: Norman Howard-Jones, *The Scientific Background of the International Sanitary Conferences 1851-1938*, World Health Organization (1975), p. 21.)

The medical history literature emphasizes that 1866 International Sanitary Conference was a landmark in many respects: Agreement was reached that India was the home of the disease, and it was always exported from there by man.⁴⁰ Indeed, it was significant breakpoint because of the discussion's volume on division, also. It stressed European's ambition to draw a bold line on geography with the concerns of sanitation not only with discursive manners but also with spatial ones. "The large family" divided according to communities' capacity to accept the standardizations and regulations which was legitimated again by European interests. Sanitation was defined by the control over the communities. Hygiene was not only daily practice; rather it became an institutional approach which "orient" countries would receive only if they increased their capacity on the orientation of modernization.

Another key point of the conference was that the medical doctors, who worked in non-European countries, gained agency throughout this institutional approach. Especially their notes and reports on Eastern countries were followed very carefully. As Dr. Bartolli's suggestions presented clearly, their role went beyond being only a scientific advisor. They reshaped the discourses, politics and thus the dynamics of the space production both in international and local levels.

3.2.2 *Constituting Sanitation in Ottoman Istanbul*

Although the 1866 International Sanitary Conference became the main topic in Ottoman French newspapers of the time period⁴¹, there is no adequate information to make any assumption about Istanbulites interest in the conference.⁴² However, for the medical doctors the sanitary conferences were important gatherings to share knowledge, to increase agency and to constitute public health discourses.

40 Norman Howard-Jones, *The Scientific Background of the International Sanitary Conferences 1851-1938*, World Health Organization (1975), p. 34.

41 See *La Turquie* 13 February 1866.

42 Not just Sanitary Conference, but as far as I reached from the Ottoman newspapers, cholera became an issue for discussion by the 20th century especially in comic magazines. During the 19th century Ottoman newspapers cholera mentioned only as official announcements.

In the second half of the 19th century, European delegates of the Sanitary Council empowered their position with establishing a medical association called *Société de Médecine de Constantinople (Cemiyet-i Tibbiye-i Şahane)*. They had weekly meetings in association's office in *Grand Rue de Pera* and in these meetings, delegates had presented reports, analyzed cases and discussed public health issues. Recordings of the meetings, medical articles and doctors' observations on public health had published in society's popular science magazine *Gazette Medicale D'Orient*. Throughout its 70-year publishing journey, *Medicale D'Orent* had spread the information over the medical scientist and applied developments from Europe to Ottoman Empire.

Dr. Fauvel, for example, the French delegate of the Sanitary Council in 1848-1867 and co-founder of the association, exchanged correspondence with The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs regularly. He reported the Council's works, death statistics, and public health management in Ottoman Empire.⁴³

Dr. Fauvel did not participate in the first sanitary conferences as a delegate, but he followed the discussions. In Istanbul Sanitary Conference, his report based on his experiences during the Big Cholera attracted the notice of European delegates. He pointed out the uncertainty of possible sources of dissemination and emphasized hygienic precautions:

Marine transportation is quite effective on dissemination. Furthermore, pilgrimage, wars, fairs and city crowd create a suitable environment for the exacerbation of the disease. The hygienic precautions have essential importance to stop the dissemination. Rather there are suitable conditions on the air for the dissemination; the disease emerges only in the nearest places to the source.⁴⁴

Basiretçi Ali Efendi, one of the most popular journalist of the time and wrote about Istanbul's problems in his column *İstanbul Mektupları* issued Big Cholera several times. In his writing in earlier period of the dissemination, he found exaggerated the treatment of the disease. Later on, he started to point some districts as the sources of the disease. Basiretçi Ali Efendi, *İstanbul Mektupları*, ed. Nuri Sağlam (Kitapevi, 2011), p. 62.

43 Özgür Yılmaz, "Fransız Epidemiyolog Antoine Fauvel'in Osmanlı Devleti'ndeki Çalışmaları (1847-1867), in *Osmanlı Bilim ve Düşünce Tarihi Sempozyumu Bildiri Kitabı* (Gümüşhane Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2014), p. 192.

44 Ibid, 202.

With his report, Dr. Fauvel emphasized spatial conditions especially, in urban space. As seen throughout the discussions, doctors suggestions were focusing on spatial precautions rather than treatment methods. In this sense, *Gazette Medicale D'Orient's* position is worth to mention in detail. Although the members were part of an international society which had an aggressive ambition to divide the geography as discussed in the previous subsection, the magazine did not have the same aggressive discourse.

For example, in the article, *Public Assistance in Constantinople*, Barozzi from the *Société de Médecine de Constantinople* reproached his European colleague who published an article in *Medical Union* after his 13 days visit of Istanbul and pointed out Istanbul's undeveloped institutional structure on public assistance by sharing his observations on Imaret system. Barozzi criticized his colleague with explaining charity activities of different institutions and appreciating Municipality's efforts on building a hospital in Pera:

Frightful cholera produced the municipal hospital. This is the case where ever to say, to something bad is good. (...) In this little hospital, in fact, there is no distinction; the Moslem, the Christian, the Jew are there side by side, surrounded by the same solicitude.⁴⁵

Two aspects may be asserted as the reasons for this attitude. Firstly; the public health management in Istanbul and its institutions were ruling with their efforts. Any insulting criticism about Istanbul targeted not only the Empire but also their efforts and society. Secondly, they had a fragile position; the public reactions were unpredictable (as seen in the quarantine regulation) against new developments. Thus, they had to embrace a negotiating attitude to apply them. Throughout the 1867 periodical *Gazette Medicale D'Orient* serialized Istanbul International Sanitary Conference.

Although they put efforts to transfer medicines to poor neighborhoods with Municipality and Sanitary Council, *Gazette* pointed out the certain districts that disease emerged first and did not hesitate to define them as "centers of the dissemination". For Galata-Pera region, this district was nowhere else

45 Barozzi, "L'assistance publique à Constantinople", in *Gazette Medicale D'Orient* (January 1868).

but Kasimpaşa and Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery was the transitional boundary between Kasimpaşa and Pera. (See Appendix A)

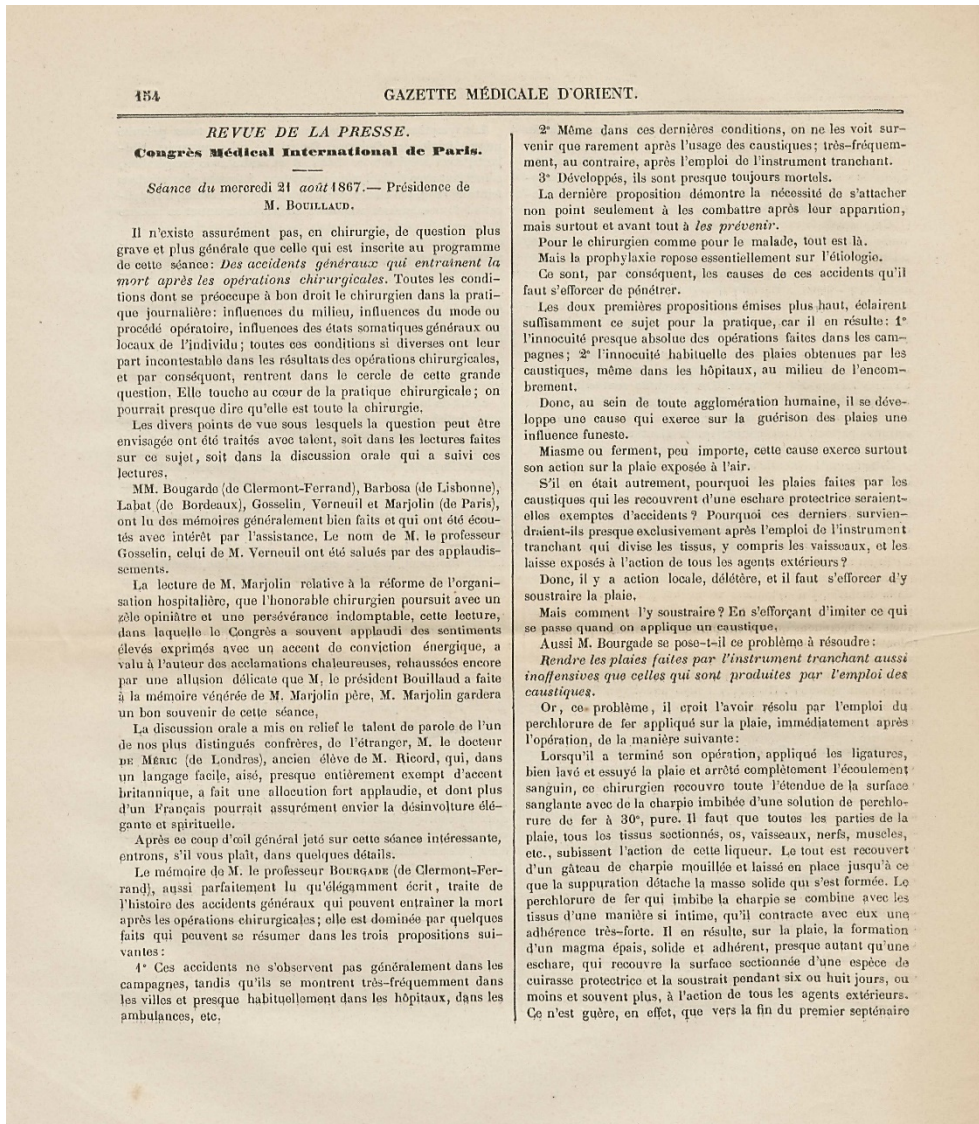


Figure 3.7 Notes about the International Sanitary Conference in Gazette Medice D'Orient January 1868 (Source: SALT Research Center)

§ 3.3 Building the Division: The Spatialization of Sanitation on Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery

In the literature that focuses on the transformation of cemeteries, Istanbul Sanitary Conference pointed out as the background of legislation of burial bans inside the city.⁴⁶ I couldn't reach any documents in the Ottoman archive which directly referred the conference nor any discussions during the conference that made direct suggestions about cemeteries. Furthermore, the burial bans inside the city began and repeated during the previous epidemic disasters. *Defn-i Emvat Hakkında Nizamname* that the literature pointed out was the highest degree regulation among them according to *Tanzimat*'s centralization fashion.

Still, it is clear that death caused by cholera and sanitation definition constituted according to it were determinative on space production. As seen throughout the discussions both in Sanitary Conference and Ottoman-French magazines and Sanitary Council's works, the international information and discourses had constituted in Istanbul and defined dynamics of the urbanism agendas.

The rarity of the sentences and decisions that directly pointed cemeteries should not lead a misunderstanding about discussions' effects on the transformation of the cemeteries. On the contrary, the division that these discussions pointed emerged a discursive pressure on the continuity of Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery. Furthermore, the sanitation conceptualization that was framed by these discussions had used as legitimization tool to transform Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery where had a powerful position in the memory of the city. In other words, the spatial continuity that the death occurred with the religious beliefs was deconstructed by new the definition of the sanitation including fear of the death.

Throughout the establishment of The Sixth Municipal District, sanitary concerns came to the forefront. During the Crimean War, demographic change disclosed the insufficient capacity of the facilities in the city and the

46 Işık Demirakın, "Expropriation as a Modernizing Tool in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire: The Case of Cemeteries in Beyoğlu", in *Turkish Studies* 18/1-2 (2012), p.12.

cholera dissemination increased because of the soldiers' mobility. In the absence of Ottoman Empire's institutions responsible for the municipal services⁴⁷, sanitation emerged throughout the cleanliness of the streets and open spaces. Considering that, it was not surprising to encounter sanitary concerns in the establishment announcement of The Sixth Municipal District:

Since the natural beauty of Istanbul needs to be kept in an orderly state with a little touch of man-made embellishment and as it is necessary to pay special attention to the cleanliness of the city, Istanbul is going to be divided into 14 districts.⁴⁸

Sokaklara Dair Nizamname divided the streets into three degrees and cleaning routines were determined due to their degrees. Cleaning service was put out to tender. A penal sanction was enforced to the subjects causing the dirt.⁴⁹

Waste production was an important issue for both municipality agendas and public discussions.⁵⁰ The cemeteries -as open spaces- became the place of uncontrolled waste production. Yet already, they became a treatment according to dead management throughout the cholera attacks. Thereupon being a place for the waste that could not find a proper area in the settlements, cemeteries emerged a very high risk for public health. Furthermore, cemeteries that lost functional continuity with the burial bans seen as "potential empty spaces" for the new spatial decisions like new buildings and city parks. For example, in 1898, Ottoman Empire and British Embassy decided to take land from Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery for the British Naval Hospital's additional

47 As discussed in *The Theory, The Literature and The Focus of the Study* chapter.

48 Takvim-i Vekayi No. 159. Original text translated by Işın Demirakın, A Study of Ottoman Modernisation on the City: The Sixth Municipal District of Istanbul (1858-1877), MA Thesis (Bilkent University, 2006).

49 Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediye*, vol 4, (İBB Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1995), p. 1758.

50 The regulations on sanitation included cleaning routines of the streets, city parks, trade buildings and tradesmen's order. See Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediye*, (İBB Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1995). The Ottoman newspapers and Muslim intellectuals put a special attention to cleaning services of the municipality. See Basiretçi Ali Efendi, *İstanbul Mektupları*, (İBB Yayınları, 2001).

building and British Embassy offered another place for the Muslims in return.⁵¹

Another significant example was Tepebaşı Garden. According to city park fashion of the time period, in 1880 Tepebaşı Garden took place on the Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery. The necessity of fresh air combined with the cemeteries' idle position as the new "wasteyards" of the city. Throughout the discussions on Tepebaşı Garden's construction process, the oppositions were persuaded by the sanitary concerns. The waste production and the pollution caused by the smell were shown as the reason for the transformation. Two persons' dead because of the typhoid was mentioned as the evidence of the unhealthy conditions of the area.⁵²

These spatial interventions which may be seen as small points on the map -especially considering the large area that the cemetery occupied- created socio-spatial division between Pera and Kasımpaşa and the sanitation was one of the constitutive discourses. Although cholera took hold of a certain geography, dissemination and death cases usually emerged in places where were inhabited by mostly poor families and labors. In doctors' notes, positive effects of living in a clean district were emphasized. Mapping was used as a tool to represent spatial characteristic of dissemination. Dr. Mongeri's cholera map (See Figure 3.8) which visualized the dissemination of the Big Cholera was a significant example. The certain neighborhoods and districts were pointed on the map with statistics of the death cases in each area. An article in *Gazette Medicale D'Orient* examined Big Cholera with referring Dr. Mongeri's map and emphasizing the neighborhoods' conditions. The article specifically pointed Kasımpaşa as the "center of diffusion and the seat of distinct epidemics". Social relations and "hospitality" of the country were represented as causes of the dissemination.⁵³

51 BOA, A.} MKT.NZD, 178 (3 Recep 1272 [10 March 1856] and BOA, DH.MKT (9 Zilkadde 1326 [3 December 1908])

52 BOA, İ. DH 783/63659 (11 Safer 1296 [4 February 1879]).

53 *Gazette Medicale D'Orient* (April 1868).

THE TRANSFORMATION OF BEYOĞLU MUSLIM CEMETERY

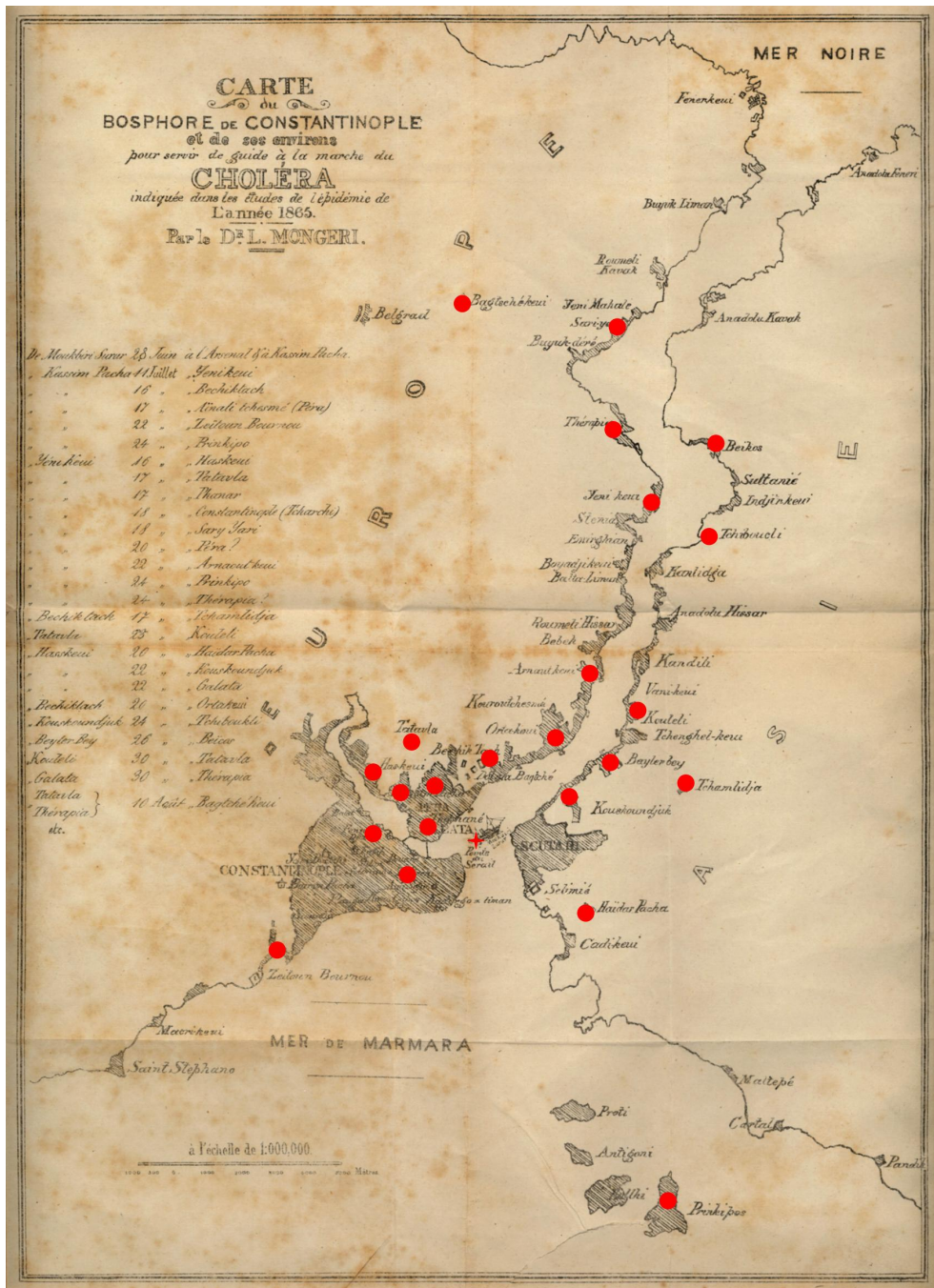


Figure 3.8 Dr. Mongeri Map De Cholera (Source: SALT Research Center İBB Atatürk Library Collection)

Mehmet Kentel, in his dissertation, examines the background of the division between Pera and Kasımpaşa by emphasizing Beyoğlu Cemetery's position

between “two worlds”. By the 19th century, the growth of the Imperial Arsenal (*Tersane-i Amire*) and Naval Ministry affected the social composition Kasımpaşa where were inhabited by mostly working class and urban poor. The district’s social division from the Galata-Pera gained an administrative character by the municipal law. While Galata and Pera were given under the governance of The Sixth Municipal District, Kasımpaşa was designated as the Ninth District until 1871. Sixth District’s efforts on urban governance including infrastructure and public health and the lack of municipal attention to Kasımpaşa became a significant concern for the residents of the Pera. The growing anxiety against Kasımpaşa population was riveted with the arsenal workers’ agitation and strikes. The Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery defined a fluid border between Pera and Kasımpaşa. The spatial interventions on Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery emerged conflicts while they concreted solid borders between two worlds.⁵⁴

The fluidity of the border -that Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery defined- occurred with the recreative needs of the population. The cemetery with its greenery and open view to Golden Horn and *Dersaadet* had functioned as a non-organized city park where people used for leisure activities and for assembly point during the earthquake disasters.⁵⁵ Thus, municipality’s attempts to build walls around it emerged challenges between the resident of Kasımpaşa and Pera. On Pera side, walls were needed to prevent security problems.⁵⁶ However, in 1856, the residents of Kasımpaşa requested for the termination of the construction of walls around the cemetery.⁵⁷

The sanitation concerns combined with security anxiety and used as legitimization tool to spatial intervention on the cemetery which emerged a divi-

54 Mehmet Kentel, *Assembling “Cosmopolitan Pera”: An Infrastructural History of Late Ottoman Istanbul*, PHD dissertation (University of Washington, 2018), p. 129-131.

55 BOA, Y.PRK.ŞH, 5-9 (13 Muharrem 1312 [17 July 1894]).

56 *Chronique*, Journal de Constantinople (3 March 1865).

57 BOA, HR.MKT 40/199 (5 Zilhicce 1273 [27 July, 1857]) in Mehmet Kentel, *Assembling “Cosmopolitan Pera”*, p. 131. According to another document in Ottoman archive, the debate about wall emerged between three Muslim women in Kasımpaşa and non-Muslims. See BOA, HR.MKT 31/199 (5 Zilhicce 1273 [27 July, 1857]).

sion between Pera and Kasımpaşa. The division between two communities reshaped spatial dynamics of the area. As discussed throughout the sanitary conferences, the orient-occident division occurred far beyond the geographical borders, in the very center of the city. Sanitary concerns included a class inequality and the borders of the division were built on the Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery.



Beautifying the City: The Image of Pera and the Transformation of Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery

As repeated in urban history literature, many attempts in the 19th century urban planning had the very concern of beautification.¹ On the other hand, aesthetical manners of the urban space define a problematic area, especially in the historiography of the city. Overall, “beauty” is a questionable concept, not just for the public, but also for the authorities who construct it both in discursive and spatial levels. For example, Haussmann’s Paris plan in 1853-1872 was the advanced example for the beautification agendas which had affected many other urban practices during the second half of the 19th century. However, the response did not delay; in 1889, Camillo Sitte -an Austrian architect- published *City Planning According to Artistic Principles* which redefined aesthetical manners of a city with criticizing 19th century planning practices as not just more than technical accomplishments.²

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- 1 Stefan Yerasimos, “Tanzimat’ın Kent Reformları Üzerine” in *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, (ed.) Paul Dumont and François Georgeon (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), p. 4.
 - 2 Camillo Sitte, *The Birth of Modern City Planning*, (ed.) George R. Collins and Christiane Crasemann Collins (Dover Publications, 2006).

Ottoman practices on beautification during the 19th century was criticized also in the same time period. *Usul-i Mi'mar-i Osmani*³ -which was written and published for the Venice exhibition in 1873 to represent the architectural heritage of Ottoman Empire to European countries-, defined the architectural production of Tanzimat period as the “deterioration” of original and unique Ottoman architectural form.⁴

Thus, rather being only an aesthetical concern, “beautification” draws a discursive area which relates and mostly contains the influential factors of the time period. For the 19th century Istanbul, these influential factors included sanitation, security and institutionalization efforts on urban governing. One of the important spatialization of “beautification” discourse in the second half of the 19th century was the city parks that were built according to landscape design principles of the period and, thus, they pointed a specific and limited area for the leisure activities. In the Beyoğlu district, two cemeteries were chosen for the construction of new city parks. On the other hand, the conflict within the “beautification” discourse emerged at this point: Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery was already a place for leisure activities and people from different social communities praised its beauty, also. Therefore, the beautification concern behind the transformation contained not just the spatial intervention inside the cemetery; but also was part of a more comprehensive attempt to spatial institutionalization process of urban governing that included functioning, securing and sanitizing the city.

§ 4.1

3 İbrahim Edhem Pasha, *Usul-I Mi'mar-i Osmani*, (ed.) Dr. Raşit Gündoğdu (Çamlica Basım Yayın, 2010).

4 While the many works in architectural history literature have adopted “deterioration” approach, still, a few works go further the formal concerns and problematize the constitution of the “beautification” concept during the 19th century in urban scale and social dynamics behind. Göksun Akyürek’s work *Bilgiyi Yeniden İnşa Etmek: Tanzimat Döneminde Mimarlık, Bilgi ve İktidar* is a notable example in recent years.

Deconstruction of the Image: Debates on Function and Limitations within the Cemetery

As the part of Ottoman Empire's Islamicise policy on the conquered city, Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery had long past. Pera hillside became Muslim cemetery as Sultan Mehmet II command just after death soldiers buried this location throughout Istanbul's conquest.

Throughout the spatialization of the cemeteries and their position in the image of the city, three founder and related factors were determinative. The first one was topography; cemeteries mostly located on the hills of the city where gained them visual accessibility. The topography of the cemeteries was an important part of the Islamicise policy of the Ottoman Empire. As mentioned before, not only Istanbul, but every Ottoman cities also had at least one saint and their tombs with convents located at the top of a hill outside the city center and cemeteries located around these convents.⁵ Thus, the second determinative factor was en existence of a convent. For the Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery, Galata Mevlevi Convent which established in 1491 as the first Mevlevi convent in Istanbul⁶ was an important part of the spatial context of the area.

The last determinative factor on the image of the cemeteries was the single burial tradition. The property of the grave belonged to only one dead person. The context of the "property" contained a continuity on memory and religious tradition rather being a legislative definition. This continuity had spatially expanded for centuries, occupied large areas and by this way created a strong image with the help of the topography.

The position of cemeteries in the image of the city, especially Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery took an important part in the memories of the travelers with detail descriptions and admiration. In 1836, Miss Pardoe, for example, pointed glorification of the death with praising cemeteries' spatialization:

5 Halil İnalçık, "Istanbul: An Islamic City" in *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 1 (1990), p. 4

6 Ekrem Işın, "Galata Mevlevihanesi", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1992), p. 362-363.

I have alluded elsewhere to the apparent care with which Turks select the most lovely spots for burying their dead, and how they have, by such means, divested death of its most gloomy attributes. Like the ancient Romans, they form graveyards by the wayside and, like them, they inscribe upon their tombs the most beautiful lessons of resignation.⁷

The planting tradition during the burial ceremony occurred a natural landscape and greenery inside the city and cemeteries were part of the spaces that emerged urban and rural linkages. According to documents in the Ottoman archive, a certain economy was running inside the cemeteries. Even the land did not sell for the burials; waqfs were founded by the sales of cypress trees.⁸ The image of the cypress trees was reflected on the maps as the symbols of the cemeteries. Their environmental characteristic was not overlooked by scientific attention, also. In 1864, Pierre de Tchihatchef, one of the most respected geologists of the time period, wrote about Istanbul cemeteries with defining them “small forests” and praising their beauty: “As a natural scientist, my frequent walks in the cemeteries of Istanbul are among the most cherished moments of my life.”⁹

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- 7 Miss Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan; and Domestic Manners of the Turks, in 1836* (H.G. Clarke and Co., 1845), p. 200.
- 8 BOA, İ. HUS 30/105 (30 Cemaziyelev 1312 [29 November 1894]) and BOA, BEO, 507/37965 (30 October 1894)]
- 9 Pierre de Tchihatchef, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, (ed.) Hamdi Can Tuncer (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000), 112-113.



Figure 4.1 Le Petit Champs des Morts, Pera, Illustration of William H. Barlett – J.T. Willmore in 1838 (Source: SALT Research Center, Edhem Eldem Collection)

Miss Pardoe’s and Tchihatchef’s admiration on Ottoman cemeteries were part of a new understanding about burial areas in all over Western Europe and America. As mentioned in the previous chapter, sanitation concerns on dead led European cities to construct a new type of burial area which was as nearly as Ottoman practice did; located on the large areas outside the city centers and designed according to landscape principles. By the 1840s, in America this type of burial attitude emerged as “Rural Cemetery Movement”, the traditional generic terms “graveyard” and “burial ground” were replaced by the word “cemetery”. Furthermore, these places designed to serve as a “cultural institution”. For the travelers, visiting the cemeteries became route routine like visiting city gardens.¹⁰

10 Stanley French, “The Cemetery as Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mount Auburn and the “Rural Cemetery” Movement”, in *American Quarterly* 26/1 (1974), p. 38-39.

Attributing an institutional definition to Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery is contradictory, on the other hand, as understood from the insights of the travelers' notes, it was already a recreative place for both Istanbulites and travelers. Because of its view including *Dersaadet* and Golden Horn, Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery was an important part of the visual representations of the city. These novelty and visual illustrations promise to give insights about social life and leisure activities, also. For example, Italian author Edmondo de Amicis pointed out the diversity of the people including women and children who enjoyed the fresh air and the view:

Footpaths wind in and out among the graves and trees, crossing and recrossing one another in all directions from one end of the cemetery to the other. A Turk seated in the shade smokes tranquility; boys run about and chase each other among the tombs; here and there cows are grazing, and a multitude of turtle-doves bill and coo among the branches of the cypress trees; groups of veiled women pass from time to time; and through the leaves and branches glimpses are caught of the blue waters of the Golden Horn streaked with long white reflections from the minarets of Stambul.¹¹

The organic landscape of the Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery was shaped by both burial and leisure activities of different social communities which also emerged a social and spatial transition between them. The location of the cemetery -which was accepted as the periphery of the city in the previous centuries- was centralized by the new developments on Pera, Galata, Karaköy and Kasımpaşa districts.¹²

Edmondo de Amicis also explains cemetery's connection with Pera as follows:

11 Edmondo de Amicis, *Constantinople* (Merill & Baker, 1896), p. 92-93.

12 Lorans İzabel Baruh examines the axis on a large scale including the Sirkeci Station see Lorans İzabel Baruh, *The Transformation of the "Modern" Axis of 19th Century Istanbul: Property, Investment and Elites from Taksim Square to Sirkeci Station* (PHD Dissertation, Boğaziçi University, 2009).

Coming out of the cemetery, we passed once more close to the base of the Galata Tower and took the principal Street of Pera. Pera lies more than three hundred feet above the level of the sea is bright and cheerfully and overlooks both the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus. It is the “West End” of the European colony the quarter where are to be found the comforts and elegancies of life. The Street which we now followed is lined on both sides with English and French Hotels, cafes of the better sort, brilliantly lighted shops theatres, foreign consulates, clubs, and the residences of the various ambassadors; among which towers the great stone palace of the Russian embassy commanding Galata, Pera and village of Fundukli on the shore of the Bosphorus, for all the world like a fortress.¹³

Inside the land of the cemetery, newly open roads increased the transition, but at the same time they broke the integrity of the religious context of the space. As understood from a document in 1856 which forbidden the gambling inside cemeteries, the leisure included “illegal” activities that not hold with Islamic traditions.¹⁴ Therefore, the image of the cemetery created a stress field within the contextual shift of the space and different voices were raising. Suggestions pointed the limitation of the space both functional and spatial levels. Basiretçi Ali Efendi argued that the cemeteries should be protected by constructing walls around them. By this way, the soul of the dead could be protected from intruders who sold wine and raki on top of the graves:

I am disappointed on behalf of myself because of the disrespectful behaviour of our community. They put chair and enjoy on the chest of our ancestors without remembering that one day we will be like our ancestor who left the life and lie down underneath and waiting for a Fatiha that honour their soul. These disrespectful behaviours emerged in every cemetery, especially on the cemetery in Kasımpaşa, people drink raki and wine publicly. This is, indeed, such a behaviour for dis-

13 Edmondo de Amicis, *Constantinople* (Merill & Baker, 1896), p. 93.

14 BOA, A.} MKT. NZD 186/61 (13 Şevval 1272 [17 June 1856]).

appointment. The solutions are cleaning the cemeteries from these behaviours and covering them with the walls. After that the guardians should be charged with protecting cemeteries from the dumping.¹⁵

Basiretçi Ali Efendi was the conservative representative of the stress field that shaped dynamics of space production. In this article, it is clearly seen that the anxiety about sanitation, security and beautification shared by different representatives of the time period but the context of the anxiety was framed by the collective memory of these representatives.

In his following article, Basiretçi Ali Efendi congratulated the municipality for the efforts on building walls around the Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery. On the other hand, he repeated his solution for another cemeteries, also with pointing the hierarchical positions of the Muslim cemeteries. According to him the cemeteries the degree *İstanbul*¹⁶ and Üsküdar cemeteries was higher than the Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery.¹⁷

15 Basiretçi Ali Efendi, *İstanbul Mektupları*, ed. Nuri Sağlam (Kitapevi, 2011), p. 164-166.

16 Istanbul used for the explaining the historical peninsula, *Dersaadet*, the center of the government.

17 Basiretçi Ali Efendi, *İstanbul Mektupları*, ed. Nuri Sağlam (Kitapevi, 2011), p. 167-168.

The map above (see Figure 4.2) represented clearly that the roads and wards divided the burial grounds partially and how pieces of the cemetery land squashed into the buildings.

The road constructions redefined the contextual relation between Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery and Galata Mevlevi Convent, also. Likewise the cemetery, Mevlevi Convent became accessible for the public, especially for tourists who had the ambition to observe the regional traditions of the “orient”. In a sense it gained a recreational character, too. Raymond Lifchez mentioned the contextual change of the convent in his study on İstanbul convents. From the French, restaurant that opened beside the convent tourists observed the ceremonies, held every Tuesday and Friday. By the 1860s, *Rue de Tekke*, had given way to an extension of the Pera and became even more popular.²¹

On the other side of the stress field the need of public green space was voiced in the Ottoman French newspapers and the suggestion was to transform cemeteries -that already lost reputation because of the the health treatments- into city parks.²² The “beauty” of the cemetery which were appreciated by its users became one of the discursive tools to redefine the space as a city park.

21 Raymond Lifchez, “The Lodges of İstanbul”, in *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, Sufism in Ottoman Turkey*, (ed.) Raymond Lifchez (University of California Press, 1992), p. 104.

22 Nur Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera* (Literatür Yayınları, 2011), p. 151.



Figure 4.3 Galata Mevlevi Convent in Pervititch Map (Source: Jacques Pervititch, *Pervititch Sigorta Haritalarında İstanbul*, (Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2001 [1922-1945]).

As analyzed in the previous chapter, the influential factors for transformation of the cemetery emerged with the occurrence conflicts which shaped by clash of international and local tendencies. On one side, modernization discourses had the very concern of attributing certain functions and definitions to space

by the tools including design, expropriation, limitation and construction. This concern deconstructed the multi-functional image of the space - city park for leisure activities and cemetery for memorials. However, the framework of the concern differentiated according to base of the communities. As seen in the Basiretçi Ali Efendi's writings, modernization tools were framed by the Islamic conservative tendency and spatialized with the ambition of protecting a sacred tradition. Sanitation concerns located at the heart of the legitimization. The spatial and contextual integrity of the cemetery was divided by the transportation projects, newly open roads, and construction. Efforts on protection emerged on the shattered pieces and these efforts included building and fixing the walls, cleaning and securing the space.

At the very heart of this circle, new borders within the cemetery were constructed and the "beauty" of the cemetery was looking for a new spatial context which emerged as city park. On the other hand, the framework was not limited with city park concept, rather it was only an example of crystallization of the stress field which shaped by the institutional efforts objectifying the urban space with the new tools of space production.

§ 4.2 Stressing the Space and Contextual Change from Cemetery to City Park

After the establishment of the District Sixth Municipality, 1860s and 1870s were the years when the major urban projects gained speed. Although the projects transformed the space partially, each project process evoked the other simultaneously. There are some attempts on more comprehensive urban planning projects but both the public and the government rejected the suggestions.

One of these attempts emerged just after the fire disaster that burned out more than 3 thousand buildings in Pera, in June 1870. After the disaster, the government established a commission to rebuild the district. The first suggestion of the commission was a *nouvelle ville* "new city" project that was not feasible financially. Plan suggested a commercial structure including new squares

with monuments, theaters and hotels instead of settlement areas. The government rejected the project and the commission made another suggestion which, emphasized squares but, this time, ignored the topography.²³

None of these suggestions took place. However, they pointed alternative axes to *Grand Rue De Pera* that stressed the field of the cemetery. Even so, cemetery did not any sign or place in these plans. As a matter of fact these plans were space representations -as Lefebvre asserts- pointed a certain urban development axis which did not include the cemetery and Kasımpaşa district. The tramway road emphasized the development on the axis, also. Although *Grand Rue De Pera* was the main street, the tramway road crossed throughout the *Rue De Kabristan* that divided the cemetery from the British Embassy.

The axis began in Sirkeci and by Karaköy, Yüksel Kaldırım and Pera it reached the Taksim and Pangaltı districts and stressed the two cemeteries that occupied large land in the middle of the urban development area. (see Appendix C)

The removal of Taksim Cemetery started with an agreement in 1852 between the diplomatic representatives of foreign countries and the Ottoman Empire that enabled the land exchanges for the Catholic and Protestant cemeteries in the district because Taksim Cemetery's capacity was no longer available for the new burials. After the removals, Taksim Cemetery transformed to Taksim Public Garden and opened its "gates" in 1869.²⁴

Just after ten years, a negotiation process started for another city park, Tepebaşı Garden that built on Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery. Debates in the related document represent a very complex spatial conflict including like newly constructed projects, construction waste and urban development axis. The opening of the land request started with pointing the *Tünel* construction. The excavation debris of the *Tünel* construction dumped on the Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery and the construction waste started to threaten the public health.²⁵

23 Zeynep Çelik, 19. *Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti Değişen İstanbul*, (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1986), p. 53-54.

24 Işık Demirakın, "Expropriation as a Modernizing Tool in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire: The Case of Cemeteries in Beyoğlu", in *Turkish Studies* 18/1-2 (2012), p. 8.

25 BOA, İ. DH 783/63659 (11 Safer 1296 [4 February 1879]).

The emerging conflict had so many layers. On one hand, Ottoman Empire with its municipal, legislative and institutional efforts had tried to spatialize sanitary concerns. On the other hand, a construction waste easily dumped on the cemetery where was already accepted a treatment area because of the cholera attacks and burial management but, at the very same time, continued its recreational character. Institutional development included new legislation, which controlled over the emerging problems like burial bans, street cleaning routines and property expropriation but its gapes occurred when it came to handle with excavation.



Figure 4.4 Hotel at Pera, occupied by Lord Salisbury and his staff, The Illustrated London News 23 December 1876 (Source: SALT Research Center, Edhem Eldem Collection)

The illustration above represents the view of the area with the excavation debris that occupied the landscape. With the debris the area seemed as an empty

land with full of waste. However, there were people around who enjoyed the view of the Golden Horn.

The construction of the *Tünel* pointed another conflict about the Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery, also. It located on the Galata Mevlevi Convent Cemetery. As mentioned before Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery and Galata Mevlevi convent had a contextual relationship, spatially and historically.

Against Convent's objections²⁶, *Tünel* started its journey in 1875. Regulation on Land and Property Acquisition for the Public Benefit of 1856 made possible to transform the area. According to the regulation if any construction needed the purchase of a property for "public benefit", it would be bought at a price set in accordance with its location.²⁷

Eugene-Henri Gavand, a french engineer and concessionnaire of the *Tünel*, determined the necessity of the projects while his touristic trip in İstanbul, in 1867. During his visit, Gavand observed the crowd that running on the Karaköy-Pera axis. People were using *Yüksek Kaldırım* street to reach the Pera district, almost 4000 people passed by this road just in a day. On the other hand, *Yüksek Kaldırım* was a narrow and sloping to carry such a crowd. To him, the solution was to construct an underground tramway. He offered his project to Ottoman Empire in 1868. On side of the station opened in Karaköy and the other one located on the Convent Cemetery.²⁸ Gavand, himself, was aware of the sensitivity of the area:

Among the lands that I needed for the construction of Pera station, one did not belong to the general expropriation list; and because of its special importance, I was required to act very carefully. This land was part of Têke cemetery needed for the station. In all civilized nations,

26 I could not find a document in Ottoman archive about Mevlevi Convent's objections, still, in Eugine Gavand, in his own book about *Tünel* project, mentioned expropriation process in detail. Rosenthal also mentioned that Mevlevi Convent objected a road construction within the cemetery. See Steven Rosenthal, "Foreigners and Municipal Reform in Istanbul: 1855-1865" in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 11 (1980), p. 237.

27 Işık Demirakın, "Expropriation as a Modernizing Tool in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire: The Case of Cemeteries in Beyoğlu", in *Turkish Studies* 18/1-2 (2012), p. 3.

28 Vahdettin Engin, *Tünel* (Simurg, 2000), p. 24.

and especially in Turkey, respect for the dead made it impossible to expropriate this cemetery that was next to the Galata Mevlevi Lodge. Many were quite certain that I would not be able to realize this expropriation. In fact, if it were possible to build the station anywhere else, I would have asked for that.²⁹

Gavand, in his memory book, told the negotiation process that he gave the expropriation fee directly to Midhat Pasha, one of the leading figures of the Tanzimat, for the intended use of charity.³⁰ The insights about the negotiation can be followed in the archival records, also. The related document represents that the expropriation fee that Gavand suggested was taken for the granted to the *Daruşşafaka* (The Orphan School) and *Sanayi-i Nefise-i Şahane Mektebi* (Imperial School of Fine Arts).³¹ For the diplomats of the Tanzimat, who had experienced European cities because of their bureaucratic duties, reproduction of the urban space was the part of Ottoman reform movement. Midhat Pasha's contribution to the *Tünel* construction was not only example. After the Hocapaşa Fire in 1865, Sadrazam Fuad Pasha had the same attitude against conservative oppositions about the Divan Yolu construction that destroyed the graves of two *hizares* -Köprülü Mehmet Pasha Tomb and Firuz Ağa. Against the accusations of being “godless” and “Frenk lover”, Fuad Pasha answered the oppositions with claiming that the dead statesman would have appreciated their work.³²

29 Gavand, *İstanbul Tüneli-Tunnel de Constantinople*, trans. Vahdettin Engin (İETT, 2010), p. 28. Original text translated by Mehmet Kentel, *Assembling 'Cosmopolitan' Pera: An Infrastructural History of Late Ottoman Istanbul*, p. 132.

30 Gavand, *İstanbul Tüneli-Tunnel de Constantinople*, trans. Vahdettin Engin (İETT, 2010), p. 28.

31 BOA, A. MKT.MHM 465/70 (10 Şaban 1290 [3 October, 1873]).

32 Reşat Ekrem Koçu, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul Ansiklopedisi ve Neşriyat, 1968), p. 4625.

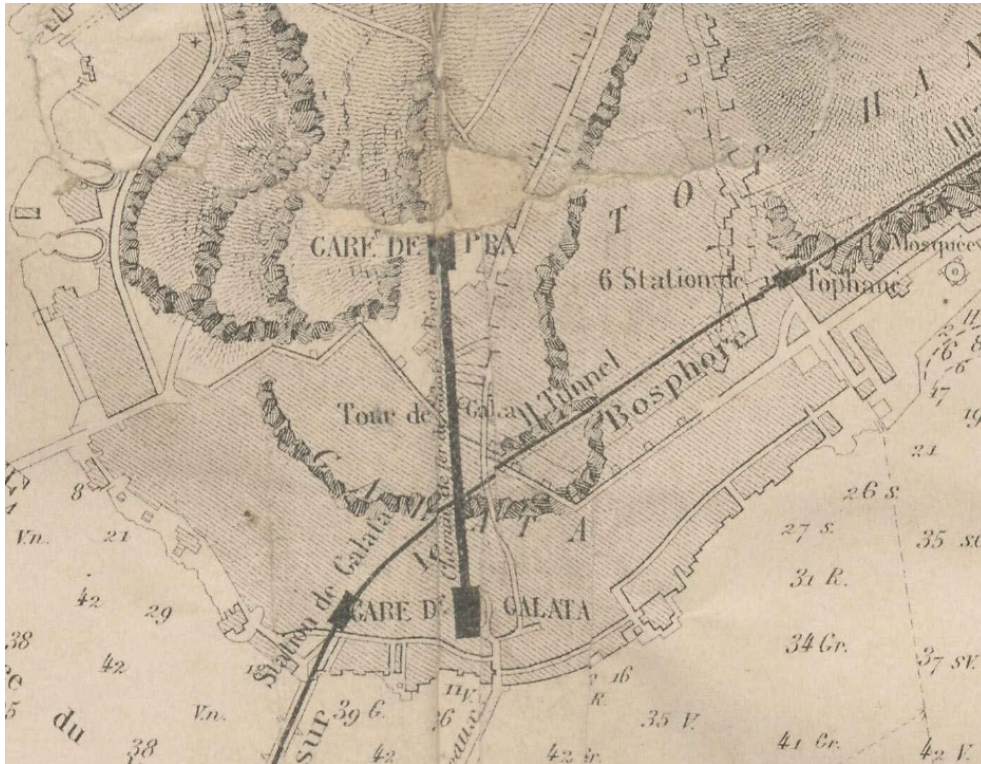


Figure 4.5 The location of the Tunnel (Source: Eugène Gavand, *Chemin de fer métropolitain de Constantinople ou chemin de fer souterrain de Galata à Péra dit Tunnel de Constantinople*)

The second reason of the transformation of Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery was the need of a second city park in the Beyoğlu district. Taksim garden was the only city park which located “far from the city center.”³³

Indeed, in second half of the 19th century Taksim was not centralized yet. The spatial practices emerged newly for its centralization. On the other hand, Tepebaşı located at very heart of the Pera district. The embassies of the European countries located in that area. As the matter of fact, the buildings of the embassies had long history in Pera, on the other hand the architecture of the buildings had changed after the 1831 Pera Fire and replacing form Ottoman type of wooden *konak* to monumental European neoclassical style.³⁴ As seen

33 BOA, İ. DH 783/63659 (11 Safer 1296 [4 February 1879]).

34 Paulo Girardelli, “Power or Leisure? Remarks on the Architecture of the European Summer Embassies on the Bosphorus Shore”, in *New Perspectives on Tukey* 50 (2014), p. 33-34.

in the Figure 4.6 the new type architecture of the embassies emerged a certain boundary over the Pera hill and pressure on cemetery.



Figure 4.6 Jean Brindesi Pera Illustration in 1855, Russian, French and Austrian embassies, right to left (Source: Paulo Girardelli, “Power or Leisure? Remarks on the Architecture of the European Summer Embassies on the Bosphorus Shore”, in *New Perspectives on Tukey* 50 [2014], p. 34)

Rue De Kabristan -later named Meşrutiyet Avenue, divided the cemetery and central buildings of the districts. The tramway road passed through *Rue De Kabristan*. The hotels located on the Pera side of the avenue, furthermore the European bureaucrats and the members of the Ottoman bourjwazi established their mansions in Tepebaşı district where overlooked the view of the Golden Horn.³⁵ (See Appendix D)

35 Lorans İzabel Baruh, *The Transformation of the “Modern” Axis of 19th Century Istanbul: Property, Investment and Elites from Taksim Square to Sirkeci Station* (PHD Dissertation, Boğaziçi University, 2009), p. 189.

The pressure over the cemetery emerged a contextual change and the spatial representation of it was a city park once again. In the document about land negotiation, the request of the Municipality was rejected because of the treasury's possible deficit and there were graves on the land. However, the municipality persuaded opposition instantly: Once the city park built, it would ensure that no building would be constructed on the land and thereby the soul and sanctity of the dead would not be disturbed. For the deficit concerns, the municipality offered property taxes; furthermore, the park would provide a good income for municipality that was essential for the Ottoman Empire to sustain the continuity of the new municipal system.³⁶

According to *La Turquie*, The Sixth District Municipality invited the landowners of the district for an urgent meeting to request their help for the city park construction. The debate heated; according to some participants, Pera district had more urgent problems like stray dogs that carried diseases. They questioned the legitimacy of municipality's request, also. As the result of the meeting, participants decided to establish a committee with two delegates from Mezarlık Street and one delegate from Kabristan, Asmalı Mescit, Timoni, Venedik, Glavyan and Tepebaşı Streets. The committee would propose a project to ensure covering the costs by voluntary subscription. *La Turquie* encouraged the property owners claiming that the park would rise the value of their properties, furthermore "the park is a public utility".³⁷

However, Tepebaşı Garden did not include the "public" at all. Like Taksim Garden, it had an entrance fee which former users of the cemetery could not afford to pay.³⁸

By the construction of the Tepebaşı Garden, the boundary that was drawn by the buildings (as represented in the Figure 4.6) expanded including the city park area. (see Appendix E)

36 BOA, İ. DH 783/63659 (11 Safer 1296 [4 February 1879]).

37 "La Municipalite et les Petit-Champs", *La Turquie* 91 (19 April 1879).

38 Işık Demirakın, "Expropriation as a Modernizing Tool in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire: The Case of Cemeteries in Beyoğlu", in *Turkish Studies* 18/1-2 (2012), p. 8.

Conclusion

The transformation of the Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery had continued during the first half of the 20th century and by 1950s, the cemetery erased completely from the memory of the city.¹ This study conveys that Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery was inseparable part of the history, especially historiography of the Beyoğlu. Today, cemeteries in general define a separated spatialization within the daily life and their current position has a historical base.

The present study documented the discursive and physical features of the transformation throughout the 19th century. The beautification and sanitation were phenomenal discourses of the time period according to modernization, the present study examine how Ottoman Empire dealt with these discourses and constituted them in urban governing practices that leded a certain change in spatialization of the death.

Although the rigid spatial intervention emerges as construction of the city park, it was only an outcome of a broad transformation process that had created a certain pressure and stress on, around and within the field. The study represent the determinative role of the sanitation concerns by examining six cholera attacks and Ottoman Empire's precaution during the 19th century. The

1 Hans-Peter Laqueur, *Hüve'l Baki: İstanbul'da Osmanlı Mezarlıkları ve Mezar Taşları* (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997), p. 45

quarantine practice is questioned with its determinative role on institutionalization of the public health, and dead management which emerged a certain conflict on existing cemeteries and led the transformation of the Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery. The geographical treatment of the epidemics had evoked standardization ambition of the countries and the utilization efforts on standardization of public health shaped the urban space, especially over the cemeteries. Thus, the present study asserts the agency of the medical doctors within the production of the urban space and represent the global network that was determinative in the means of knowledge utilization on public health and institutionalization practices.

Many attempts in the 19th century urban planning had the very concern of beautification. On the other hand, rather being only an aesthetical concern, “beautification” draws a discursive area which relates and mostly contains the influential factors of the time period. For the 19th century Istanbul, these influential factors included sanitation, security and institutionalization efforts on urban governing. The transformation of the Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery began with the partial road constructions and a city park project *Tepebaşı Bahçesi* completely changed the spatial context of the area.

On the other hand, the conflict within the “beautification” discourse emerged at this point: Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery was already a place for leisure activities and people from different social communities praised its beauty, also. Therefore, the beautification concern behind the transformation contained not just the spatial intervention inside the cemetery; but also was part of a more comprehensive attempt to spatial institutionalization process of urban governing that included functioning, securing and sanitizing the city.

The study asserts that the influential factors for transformation of the cemetery emerged with the occurrence conflicts which shaped by clash of international and local tendencies. On one side, modernization discourses had the very concern of attributing certain functions and definitions to space by the tools including design, expropriation, limitation and construction. This concern deconstructed the multi-functional image of the space - city park for leisure activities and cemetery for memorials. However, the framework of the concern differentiated according to base of the communities.

The study represent that the sanitation and beacutification concerns combined with security anxiety and used as legitimization tool to spatial intervention on the cemetery which emerged a division between Pera and Kasımpaşa. The division between two communities reshaped spatial dynamics of the area. As discussed throughout the sanitary conferences, the orient-occident division occurred far beyond the geographical borders, in the very center of the city. Sanitary concerns included a class inequality and the borders of the division were built within the Beyoğlu Muslim Cemetery.



Appendix A Plan General de Galata, Pera et Pancalti, 1858-1860, G. D'Ostoya (SALT Research Center)





Appendix C Plan D'Assurance de Constantinople, 1905, E. Goad (SALT Research Center)



Appendix D Tepebaşı Garden (BOA ,ŞD, 2423/1 [11 Muharrem 1297 (December 25, 1879)])





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