

YILLIK

Annual of Istanbul Studies

2019

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İSTANBUL
RESEARCH
INSTITUTE

YILLIK: Annual of Istanbul Studies

1 (2019)

YILLIK is a peer-reviewed annual journal, published in print and online (via DergiPark).

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Title history

2012–2018 | İstanbul Araştırmaları Yıllığı / Annual of Istanbul Studies, 1–7

2019– | YILLIK: Annual of Istanbul Studies

Mode of publication: Worldwide periodical, published annually every December.

Note to contributors: *YILLIK: Annual of Istanbul Studies* accepts submissions in English and Turkish. Articles should conform to the usage of The Chicago Manual of Style (CMOS), 17th edition, and to the style guides published on the journal's website. Articles in Turkish conform to a customized CMOS style available at the website. Research articles are subject to review by two anonymous reviewers and the editorial board. All other submissions are reviewed by the editorial board.

Istanbul Research Institute Publications 43

Periodicals 8

Istanbul, December 2019

ISSN 2687-5012

Publisher: On behalf of the Suna and İnan Kırac Foundation, Necmettin Tosun

Graphic Design: Volkan Şenozan

English Proofreading: Jacob Chizzo

Contact: istanbulstudies@iae.org.tr

Color Separation and Print: Mega Basım Yayın San. ve Tic. A.Ş. (Sertifika No: 12026)

Cihangir Mah., Baha İş Merkezi, A Blok, Haramidere-İstanbul

Tel: 0212 412 17 00

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Meşrutiyet Caddesi No. 47, 34430, Tepebaşı - Beyoğlu / İstanbul

www.iae.org.tr

Certificate No: 12482

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outcomes of the American aid pumped into the Turkish economy (p. 165). Finally, the DP government and the promoters of *tourism a la Americana*, such as Ahmet Emin Yalman, treated the hotel as a watershed moment in the growth of Turkey's tourism industry (p. 191).

Along with demonstrating the intricate entanglements embodied in the materialization process of the Istanbul Hilton, Adalet argues that such exemplary sites of modern but still Turkish hospitality came into being at a particular time during which Istanbul's non-Muslim minorities were being treated with utmost aggression. The Istanbul Hilton was erected in the central location of Harbiye, within the vicinity of Taksim's Gezi Park (a former Armenian cemetery that had been turned into a public space by the Turkish government), and surrounded by neighborhoods predominantly inhabited by non-Muslim minorities of the city. Three months after the hotel's opening, the pogroms of September 6-7 broke out during which thousands of Greek and other non-Muslim habitants' properties, homes, shops, and schools were looted and burned. The fact that such dispossession and expropriation events were omitted or silenced in the relevant public conversations, either embracing or criticizing Istanbul Hilton's significance for the city's ongoing urban

renewal projects on a major scale at the time, makes Adalet call into question the limits of Turkish hospitality that was imagined to be epitomized in this monumental building (p. 181).

Hotels and Highways sheds light unto the previously uninvestigated nodal points where experts, official documents, and material artefacts embodying Turkey's intensifying alliance with the US intersect during early Cold War period. As Adalet touches upon in the conclusion of the book, similar events are to be noticed in recent history. The "Turkish model of 'Islamic modern democracy'" was considered as a role model for the Arab Spring (p. 200). "Many of [modernization theory's] core tenets were invoked to describe and legitimize the reconstruction projects of post-invasion Iraq and Afghanistan" (p. 197). Istanbul has been going through another wave of large-scale urban renewal projects, many of which funded by foreign capital flowing into the country since the Justice and Development Party came into power (p. 199).

In *Yeni İstanbul Çalışmaları: Yersiz, Havasız, Mülksüz Kent*, the editors Ayfer Bartu Candan and Cenk Özbay describe Istanbul as a city of unequal distributions of wealth and extreme oscillations of construction and destruction, gentrification, and pollution. The

ways in which the "mega-projects" and expanding "new economy" of the city have been projected on the billboards in order to market the city as a point of attraction for global and regional audiences are worth noting according to Candan and Özbay.⁷ The generative analytical framework that *Hotels and Highways* offers could be tailored into possible future inquiries to be pursued by scholars.

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1 Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

2 Michel Callon, "Some Elements of a Sociology of Translation: Domestication of the Scallops and the Fishermen of St. Brieu Bay," *The Sociological Review* 32, no. 1 (May 1984), 196-233; Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers Through Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015).

3 Ann Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

4 Sheila Jasanoff, ed., *States of Knowledge: The Co-Production of Science and the Social Order* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013).

5 Anna Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 6.

6 Susan Leigh Star, "This is not a Boundary Object: Reflections on the Origin of a Concept," *Science, Technology & Human Values* 35, no. 5 (August 2010): 602.

7 Ayfer Bartu Candan and Cenk Özbay, eds., *Yeni İstanbul Çalışmaları: Yersiz, Havasız, Mülksüz Kent* (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2014).

Onur İnal and Yavuz Köse, eds., *Seeds of Power: Exploration in Ottoman Environmental History*. Winwick: The White Horse Press, 2019. xvii+292 pages, 26 figures and tables. ISBN: 9781874267997

In 2006, the late John F. Richards published *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World*. In this landmark book, Richards initiated the writing of the global environmental history of the early modern world. It was this world in

which the Ottoman Empire expanded its territory from the northwestern Balkans to the shores of the Red Sea and from the slopes of Mount Ararat to the southwestern Mediterranean. Yet aside from brief references to the Ottoman environment and its inhabitants, *Unending Frontier* did not integrate the Ottoman Empire into the story of global environmental change in the early modern period. The possible reasons for this are beyond the scope of this review. However, one obvious reason was the absence of scholarship on Ottoman environmental history accessible to non-Ottomanist historians. Since that time, however, pioneering works by a new generation of Ottoman historians have opened up the Ottoman frontier in global environmental history.¹ The

interest in environmental history in Ottoman studies cannot yet be called a "historiographical turn" since a "turn" should indicate a shift in the way we think and write about history. Environmental history, however, is no longer a marginal subfield in Ottoman history. As intellectual curiosities are bound to their temporal contexts, the growing interest in environmental history is linked to the global ecological crisis and the ongoing environmental deterioration in the Middle East. Nature has sounded an alarm to Ottoman historians to also look back and explore the changes in the relationship between the human and nonhuman societies and their surrounding environments in the Ottoman past. *Seeds of Power* is a product of this shift as well as a confirmation of a growing interest in

The editors, Onur İnal and Yavuz Köse, present this edited volume as an attempt to find new answers to old questions. I would agree that it achieves this. I would add that by also asking new questions, the contributions in this volume reveal the potential of an environmental history perspective in the effort to rethink the history of the Ottoman Empire, its different regions, and its human and nonhuman inhabitants. This volume does not claim to offer a holistic approach to Ottoman environmental history, but instead asks us to think about what is possible in and with the field, that is, to think differently about how we might conceptualize and comprehend the history of the Ottoman Empire.

The volume begins with a foreword written by Alan Mikhail, a pioneer in the field known for his works on the changing relationship between humans, animals, and nature in Ottoman Egypt. It consists of four parts: 1) Climate and Landscapes 2) Resources and Energies 3) Technologies and Energies 4) Ideas and Actors.

The first part starts with “Searching for the ‘Little Ice Age’ Effects in Ottoman Greek Lands” by Elias Kolovos and Phokion Kotzageorgis, which explores the effects of the “Little Ice Age” in Salonica and Crete. One of the first books published in the field of Ottoman environmental history was Sam White’s *Climate of Rebellion*.² White’s basic argument in this book was that the Celali Rebellions and much-discussed seventeenth-century crisis of the Ottoman Empire were very much interconnected with the fiercely cold weather patterns of the Little Ice Age in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which resulted in several droughts and famines in Ottoman lands, particularly in Anatolia but also in other parts of the empire. The climate change-driven droughts and famine, according to White, resulted in agrarian contraction and mass population movements, leading to social, economic, and political instability in the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century. In their contribution, Kolovos and Kotzageorgis

critique White’s attempt to extend his arguments beyond Anatolia to the Balkans and the eastern Mediterranean. They rightfully remind us of the dangers of making “climatic” arguments for the whole empire, given that the Ottoman Empire comprised topographically, geographically, and ecologically diverse regions. By focusing on the peninsula of Halkidiki and the island of Crete and drawing upon cross-readings of different archival sources such as *tahrir* or *avarız* registers, local Greek sources, and palynological research, Kolovos and Kotzageorgis suggest that White’s arguments need to be limited geographically. The authors demonstrate that even though there were some effects of the Little Ice Age in the Ottoman Aegean region, they were not as devastating as they were in Anatolia. Kolovos and Kotzageorgis not only underline the significance of regional ecologic variations but also show how different human reactions to environmental and climatic changes produce different regional outcomes, and in so doing underscore the importance of combining social and environmental histories.

Environmental historians typically focus on outcomes of climate crises or erratic climate patterns in history and their connections to broader social, economic, and political changes. By contrast, Mehmet Kuru, in his chapter “A Magnificent Climate,” demonstrates what happens when climatic patterns are favorable for cultivators. Kuru interconnects demographic growth, expansion of arable land, and increases in taxable agricultural production in the sixteenth century in the semi-arid regions of Anatolia with the wettest period of the second millennium the region experienced between 1518 and 1587. Kuru argues that this climatic change and agricultural transformation (especially the expansion of grain fields) in Anatolia was “one of the most significant factors in sustaining the continual military expeditions organized in the ‘magnificent sixteenth century’” (p. 50). By correlating favorable climate conditions, the agrarian transformation of inner Anatolia, and the military capacity of the Ottoman

state, Kuru brings another perspective to the Ottoman Empire’s expansion in the sixteenth century.

The last chapter in the first part of the volume is Suraiya Faroqhi’s “Producing Grapes and Wine on the Bosphorus in the Eighteenth Century.” The chapter does not engage with broader environmental history questions but instead shows how the environment and landscapes of Istanbul and its peripheries were subject to constant changes. By using a text written by the Italian scholar Domenico Sestini, who had observed vineyards on the shores of the Bosphorus, Faroqhi gives us detailed information about Istanbul’s viticulture landscape in the eighteenth century. Faroqhi notes that this landscape changed as the vineyards gradually disappeared in the late nineteenth century. She mentions the *phylloxera* epidemic and the development of modern transportation—which allowed local consumers in Istanbul to acquire coveted western Anatolian and Thracian vines more easily and more cheaply—as the supposed reasons for the disappearance of the vineyards and changing landscape of the Bosphorus. Her analysis, however, does not provide a complete answer to the question of why the vineyards disappeared, which would have extended our knowledge of the environmental change in and around the Ottoman capital.

The first chapter in the second part of the volume is Onur İnal’s “Fruits of Empire.” Tracing the growth in the cultivation of figs and raisins in Izmir’s rural hinterland, İnal, one of the two editors of the volume, proposes a new approach to understanding city-hinterland relations in the late nineteenth century. In this case, rather than seeing Izmir as a city dominating its hinterland, İnal conceptualizes the rise of Izmir as a major port city in the eastern Mediterranean and its economic growth as correlating with ecological change in its rural hinterland. Since İnal narrates the transformation in rural western Anatolia and urban Izmir as a linear and peaceful process, one might ask what kind of social and spatial unevenness that transformation produced and in which ways different

social classes experienced the changing urban and rural ecologies. İnal's chapter, nonetheless, shows how approaching this topic from the angle of environmental history leads us to think about the concept of space and spatial reconfigurations between the urban and rural in new, relational, and temporal ways.

In the following chapter entitled, "It's a Bad Fare to be Born Near a Forest," drawing upon fascinating research, Semih Çelik traces the story of *kerestekeşan* (woodcutter) villagers and their buffaloes in northwestern Anatolia during a crucial period of state reform between 1830 and 1860. Çelik shows a usually neglected but critical feature of Ottoman reform processes: increasing resource extraction and the mobilization of human and animal labor. In Çelik's case study, the increasing demand by the state for timber from northwestern Anatolia for the imperial dockyard required the intensification of the mobilization to carry timber from the mountains to the port. Çelik shows how the increasing demands of the state, coinciding with the climatic change and several droughts and famines, exhausted the villagers and their buffaloes. What is even more intriguing in this chapter is his attention to the responses of the villagers. Through reading the petitions written by villagers and exploring their decision to sell their buffaloes in order to get rid of the burden of *corvée* labor, Çelik demonstrates how this crucial period of reform introduced a new relationship between humans, animals, and nature. Çelik's article draws our attention to how micro-environmental history might provide a new reading of Ottoman reforms and nineteenth-century transformations from below.

In the last chapter of the second part, "Water Management Issues in an Ottoman Province," Styliani Lepida looks into the issue of water scarcity in seventeenth-century Cyprus. By using contemporary sources, Lepida argues that while water was an abundant source on the island in the sixteenth century, a scarcity of water introduced precarity into the lives of islanders in the seventeenth century. Lepida takes water as the "indicator of historical reality" and shows how water scarcity driven by prolonged summer heat not

only led Ottoman state authorities and islanders to find novel ways to manage and preserve available water sources, but also led to new definitions of property and new types of property transactions, in which plots of land were sold together with water-related assets, resulting in disputes over land and sources of water. One might ask whether these changes were unique to the seventeenth century or not; answering that question requires comparative reading of sources from both preceding and subsequent centuries. Yet, Lepida shows how looking into the history of a specific natural resource and its social context at a particular time and place contains the potential to narrate a broader social, economic, cultural, and political story.

The two chapters by K. Mehmet Kentel and Mohamed Gamal-Eldin in the third part of this volume expand further the potential of environmental history to rethink space, spatial rearrangements, and urban-periphery relations. Tracing the network of waterworks built in the late nineteenth century between Istanbul's northwestern periphery, Terkos, and the "cosmopolitan" upper-class neighborhood of Pera in "Nature's 'Cosmopolis,'" Kentel perfectly shows the production of uneven geographies and social inequalities in different urban and peripheral scales. First, Kentel demonstrates how water distribution was in a manner "underlining and reproducing the already existing inequalities between different parts of the Ottoman Capital" (p. 165) and creating socially segregated worlds in the city. In other words, while the upper-class district of Pera and its cosmopolitan residents enjoyed potable water provided from Terkos Lake, the working-class districts of Istanbul were deprived of this resource. Secondly, Kentel traces the newly emerging connections between Terkos and Pera. This new connection also produced uneven social and spatial relationships. The upper-class Pera residents not only enjoyed the potable water but also developed a new interest in leisure hunting around Terkos Lake. As put by Kentel, "while the local villagers' autonomous access to their environment was put under increasing control and limitations, Pera's 'cosmopolitan' community

became more and more present in the area's food chain as their interest and contact with birds, boars, and fish expanded" (p. 172). By demonstrating the production of uneven geographies in the urban and peripheral environment of Istanbul, Kentel shows how combining environmental history with critical geography can bring new ways of looking into interrelated urban and rural social inequalities, widen our horizons to think about the notion of space, and demonstrate the potential of environmental history to bring class analysis back into Ottoman studies.

Mohamed Gamal-Eldin, in "Cesspools, Mosquitos and Fever," focuses on Ismailia and Port Said, two Egyptian cities created during the construction of the Suez Canal. He shows how waterways and canals produced certain environments in which malaria became part of daily life in the late nineteenth century. Gamal-Eldin directs our attention not to the environment or plasmodia as the cause of malaria but to human actors, colonialism, and modernity, which puts forward the idea that nature can be controlled and manipulated as a central tenet. By creating stagnant water pools, the so-called "control" of nature through the building of new waterways and canals in Ismailia and Port Said created a perfect environment for mosquitoes to breed, resulting in the spread of malaria. By showing the very relationship between environmental management projects and catastrophic social and ecological outcomes, Gamal-Eldin brings an eco-critical perspective to modernity, colonialism, and the idea of progress, a critique of which is essential to studies of transformations in the Ottoman Empire during the long nineteenth century.

The final part of the book starts with Chris Gratien's "The Rice Debates," which examines parliamentary debates over rice cultivation and its supposed relationship to the spread of malaria in the winter of 1910, which resulted in the promulgation of the 1910 Rice Cultivation Law. This chapter challenges a culturalist and monolithic reading of late Ottoman political camps and ideologies. Gratien shows the dynamism of political camps in the Ottoman parliament and also within the

208 Committee of Union and Progress on the issue of whether rice cultivation in the paddy ecologies should be regulated and limited or not. As Gratien explains, two competing visions emerged that transcended established political camps and confessional boundaries. The “technocrat camp,” which mostly consisted of physicians who were deputies of the parliament, defended the regulations and argued for measures that would protect against the potential impacts of malaria. The “liberal camp,” which mostly consisted of wealthy provincial notables owning large swaths of land and engaged in commercial activity, generally opposed the law and advocated minimized restrictions on economic activity. According to Gratien, the rice debate was a matter of political ecology, focused on who would manage the rural environment in the provinces of the empire. Occupational and class backgrounds were more significant than political and confessional belongings in formulating the two different visions and camps. Gratien’s chapter shows how a social-ecological perspective opens the possibility of rethinking the motivations of actors in late Ottoman politics.

The subsequent chapter, “Discovering the Nature of the New Homeland,” is written by the book’s second editor, Yavuz Köse. Köse looks into how Alexander von Humboldt, considered one of the first proto-environmentalists, is depicted in a short biography written in 1932 by Mustafa Niyazi, a Turkish soldier and geography teacher who also wrote the first geography primer on Anatolia a decade earlier. Köse argues that the biography is not about “Humboldt the cosmopolitan environmentalist but Humboldt the scientific traveler and discoverer [as] a good model [for] the importance of geography in school education” (p. 254). The motive for

Mustafa Niyazi to depict Humboldt in this way, according to Köse, was to encourage Turkish youth to get to know and love their new homeland. It is a very telling example of how early Kemalist cadres (re)imagined Anatolian geography through the lenses of Turkish nationalism, and it raises the question of whether Kemalism had developed a particular vision of the environment of Anatolia, and if so, how that particular vision shaped state policy over nature. In the last chapter of the fourth part and of the volume, “Dispossession by Concession,” Selçuk Dursun traces the changes in legislation pertaining to forests and forestry in the late Ottoman Empire and early republican Turkey to tell the story of the loss of villagers’ rights to access to forest commons. According to Dursun, villagers had enjoyed certain rights for access to specific types of forests, *cibal-i mubaha* (unenclosed forests on the mountains) and *balatalık* (village coppices), until the late nineteenth century when the forests started to be seen as commercial commodities. The state-led privatization of “the use of forest lands” through concessions deprived villagers of traditional rights of forest use while strengthening those who had commercial interests, such as timber traders. In Ottoman historiography it is usually argued that the commercialization of agriculture did not result in dispossession of peasants from their lands; however, by tracing the fate of the commons during the Great Ottoman Transformation, Dursun asks us to rethink the notion of dispossession as well as the experiences of villagers, peasants, pastoralists, and nomads, among others.

Taken together, the chapters comprising *Seeds of Power* confirm that historical sources such as land registers, administrative correspondence, traveler notes, parliamentary minutes, consular reports, newspapers, and

many others can be utilized for writing the environmental history of the Ottoman Empire. That is, there is no source barrier for writing Ottoman environmental history. *Seeds of Power* perfectly demonstrates that the available sources can be used to tell a different story, reconceive the ways we write Ottoman history, comprehend social, political, and cultural transformations from a new window, and reconceptualize the notions of empire, geography, space, capitalism, and class in Ottoman history.

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1 See selected works, Alan Mikhail, *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt: An Environmental History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Antonis Hadjikyriacou, “Society and Economy on an Ottoman Island: Cyprus in the Eighteenth Century” (PhD diss., University of London, 2011); Faisal Husain, “In the Bellies of the Marshes: Water and Power in the Countryside of Ottoman Baghdad,” *Environmental History* 19 (2014): 638–64. Onur Inal, “A Port and Its Hinterland: An Environmental History of Izmir in the Late-Ottoman Period” (PhD diss., The University of Arizona, 2015); Michael Christopher Low, “The Mechanics of Mecca: The Technopolitics of the Late Ottoman Hijaz and the Colonial Hajj” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2015); Zozan Pehlivan, “Beyond ‘the Desert and the Sown’: Peasants, Pastoralists, and Climate Crises in Ottoman Diyarbekir, 1840–1890” (PhD diss., Queens College, 2016); Chris Gratien, “The Ottoman Quagmire: Malaria, Swamps, and Settlement in the Late Ottoman Mediterranean,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 49 (2017), 583–604; Samuel Dolbee, “The Locust and the Starling: People, Insects, and Disease in the Late Ottoman Jazira and After, 1860–1940” (PhD diss., New York University, 2017); Mehmet Kuru, “Locating an Ottoman Port City in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Izmir 1580–1780” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2017); K. Mehmet Kentel, “Assembling ‘Cosmopolitan’ Pera: An Infrastructural History of Late Ottoman Istanbul” (PhD diss., University of Washington, 2018).

2 Sam White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).